ABSTRACT

The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual with particular reference to the Speculum Christiani and some related texts.

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Pastoral manuals are designed as practical aids to the proper execution of the cura animarum and address themselves to the most immediate problems of parish life: basic catechesis of the laity and the administration of the Sacraments. By looking at the provision made in such works for teaching the rudiments of the Christian faith, it is possible to see how such books developed and evolved to meet the changing needs of the parish clergy (and ultimately of the literate layman), and to see the place of one of the most popular of such works, the Speculum Christiani, in this tradition of pastoral aid.

The first section, 'Context', opens with an analysis of the legislation issued by the bishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and shows how it influenced and encouraged the emergence of manuals of pastoral care which were distinct from the larger penitential reference books. It examines the developing concern with ignorantia sacerdotum and discusses the ways in which the syllabus of instruction included in many sets of constitutions became a structural norm for the contents of the pastoral manual. Chapter two examines the elementary and grammar schools and their books to show the ways in which pastoral handbooks were perhaps influenced by and overlapped with the 'set-texts' in the medieval English schools. Chapter three is a study of some of the Latin and vernacular pastoral manuals found in clerical miscellanies from early in the thirteenth century to early in the sixteenth. It examines the form of these manuals, how their contents changes and how their authors developed techniques for presenting and enlivening basic teachings. The influence of the pastoral tradition on works such as Piers Plowman is also considered.

Section two, 'The Evolution of the Speculum Christiani', is in the nature of a case history. In chapter four I discuss the Latin summa called Cibus Anime which seems to have provided most of the Latin quotations which make up the Speculum. An account of the versions of the text is given and the character of the text is discussed. An attempt is made to suggest the provenance and date of the work, which is anonymous. Chapter five provides a detailed analysis of the Speculum Christiani showing how its compiler exploited the resources of the Cibus Anime, reorganising the material into a working handbook of the pastoral care. A series of analytical tables chart the dependence of the Speculum upon the Cibus Anime and analyse the contents of some anomalous copies. The circulation of additional Latin texts (not included in the EETS edition of the Speculum but often found in the manuscripts) is charted and transcriptions of the texts provided. Some other works which also appear to draw on the Cibus Anime to support vernacular and Latin texts are discussed.

THE LITERARY FORM OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PASTORAL MANUAL

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO

THE SPECULUM CHRISTIANI

AND SOME RELATED TEXTS

A thesis submitted for

the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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PREFACE

When I began my study of the Speculum Christiani, my first instinct was to turn to the well known summas and penitential handbooks, in both Latin and the vernacular, to see to what extent they illuminated the paths in which the Speculum seemed to be treading. Indispensable as this orientation was, I discovered that these larger works provided little or no guidance in my study of the Speculum because they seemed to operate at a consistently higher level of canonical and theological sophistication. It became obvious that the Speculum's compiler was framing his work not on the model of such larger texts, but in a humbler and perhaps more pragmatic kind of manual tradition. In elucidating the implicit formal expectations which the Speculum seemed to be attempting to satisfy, this study, of necessity, became an examination of what seems to have been a distinct sub-genre of books. The clerical miscellanies which contain these pastoral manuals in both Latin and the vernacular are very numerous, and the texts which they contain are similarly prolific. It was clearly impossible, therefore, to study all such manuals, and my third chapter is an attempt to draw out significant features of the manual tradition by a study of what are, I hope, representative texts, with a few anomalous and unusual works included for contrast. The other chapters attempt to discuss the intellectual and legislative background not only of those who wrote these books but also of those who used them. It is always difficult to reconstruct the cultural milieux which produce authors and their books, and in particular, the broad generalisations about the

impact of the educational system on these pastoral manuals are offered as tentative notes towards a definition of these milieux rather than as assertions of certain influence.

My study of the Speculum itself is based largely on its development out of fairly traditional theological summa, the Cibus Anime. I have examined all the manuscripts of the Cibus Anime that are known to me. Of the many manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani, I have examined all but two of the British copies of the complete work in person (the exceptions being the Ushaw MS. and the Stonyhurst College MS., although in each case their Librarians were generous with their time in replying to specific enquiries), although I have not examined all those manuscripts which contain only the Marian lyric also found in tabula 8 of some copies of the Speculum, as in many cases these manuscripts have no direct link with the textual tradition of the larger work. For continental copies I have relied upon the generosity of Dr A.I. Doyle for European manuscripts and Mr M.B. Parkes and Mr D. Williams for the North American copies, as well as consulting several manuscripts on microfilm.

In general it has been my policy to consult works in their manuscript context wherever possible, even where modern editions are available (as they rarely are for this class of literature), as I firmly believe that these contexts can tell us much about the nature and use of didactic and catechetic texts. If I have concentrated on these humble working collections apparently to the exclusion of discussion of some better known texts, it is because the very popularity of those larger texts means that they will be read and interpreted more readily than

these unpretentious works, even though it is this latter class of material which provides, to borrow Grosseteste's analogy, the foundations upon which the spiritual edifice is built. As I have tried to show, humble and unsophisticated as many of these texts are, their influence can be discerned in unusual and perhaps unlikely places.

It is a pleasure to be able to record here the assistance and advice I have been fortunate to receive from many quarters. Miss M. Robertson of the Huntington Library and Mrs E.G. Riely of the Osborn Collection, Yale University Library were of great assistance in answering questions about their copies of the Speculum, as were the Librarians of Lincoln Cathedral, Lambeth Palace Library, Stonyhurst College, Jesus College Cambridge, Trinity College Cambridge, St John's College Cambridge and, in particular, Dr J. Cremona of Trinity Hall Cambridge. Dr G.S. Salt of King's College Cambridge and Miss C. Foyle of Beeleigh Abbey, Maldon, Essex, were kind enough to let me examine their manuscripts in their own homes, and were extremely helpful with subsequent enquiries. Mrs J. Cook of the Department of Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library answered many letters of entreaty.

I am grateful to Dr M. Laing of the University of Edinburgh for her kindness in discussing with me her work on Lincolnshire dialects, and to Miss K.M. Longley the Archivist of York Minster Library for her assistance in unearthing material about the Garton family. Particular debts of gratitude are owed to Dr A.I. Doyle for his many helpful remarks and his seemingly inexhaustible supply of information about manuscripts, their

provenance and their owners; Dr A. Hudson for access to her work on Gaytryge; Dr D. Thomson; Miss R. Pyper; Prof. R.H. Rouse and Mr J. van Banning. Mr M.B. Parkes has consistently answered questions which I didn't realise I was asking, as well as providing moral support on numerous occasions. I have tried to profit from his scholarship and to learn from his example. Prof. D. Gray has supervised my work from the outset with a lightness of touch that has belied the influence of his guiding hand, and I am very grateful for his many kindnesses as well as for allowing me to benefit from his great knowledge of the later medieval period. My wife has been a consistent support and source of encouragement and it is fitting that these acknowledgements should end with her.

NOTE

A general outline of some of the arguments employed in this thesis, and some more specific discussion of the work of Gaytryge, and of the Speculum Christiani have appeared in published form as 'Doctrina and Predicacio: The Design and Function of Some Pastoral Manuals', Leeds Studies in English, New Ser., 11 (1980 for 1979), 36-50. The paper upon which this article is based was read at the first Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium in Oxford in July 1979.

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS:

A Note on Procedure

Where quotations have been taken from a modern edition of a medieval text, the spelling and punctuation of that edition have been retained. Transcriptions from manuscripts and from books printed before 1641 observe the orthography of the manuscript or book, except for u/v which has been normalised in accordance with modern practice. Scribal ý for þ is printed þ. Punctuation has been kept to a minimum, but where provided is editorial. The indication of lemmata has been standardised in the following form: Gregorius:. Scribal insertions above the line are indicated thus: \..../. Where the manuscript is deficient through damage, trimming or wear, the damaged portion is indicated thus: ⟨.....⟩, where each point is roughly equivalent to one letter space if it has not been possible to supply the deficiency. Editorial additions (such as indications of source chapters in Appendix 8) are enclosed by square brackets. Latin abbreviations have been expanded silently. Where marks of abbreviation or suspension are omitted in the manuscript, the expanded portions of the word have been placed in round brackets. Vernacular abbreviations are expanded in italics.

A manuscript is identified on its first appearance by full reference to library and shelfmark. Subsequent references are to shelfmark only, except where the manuscript is reappearing after a lengthy absence, or where there is danger of confusion (e.g. between Oxford and Cambridge colleges, or between the Additional collections of several libraries). When in doubt I

have cited in full. In chapter 5, manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani are cited in abbreviated form throughout.

Folio references in the body of the text are in full (folio 6 recto). In the endnotes and appendices they are abbreviated fol. 6r). Books printed before 1641 are referred to by folio where foliation is provided; otherwise I have used the quire signatures as indicators (a. iii, verso).

All references to and quotations from the Vulgate text of the Bible refer to Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, ed. A. Colunga and L. Turrado, 4th ed. (Madrid, 1965).

In Appendices 1 and 3, folio references are provided only where the relevant material is not either the only text in the manuscript, or the text occurring first in the manuscript.

ABBREVIATIONS

Analecta Hymnica	G.M. Dreves, C. Blume and H.M. Bannister, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, 55 vols (Leipzig, 1886-1922) with Register, comp. M. Lutölf et al. (Bern, 1978). References are to volume and page.
Archiv	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
Arch. d'Hist. Doct. et Lit. du M. A.	Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
B.L.	British Library
BRUC	A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 (Cambridge, 1963)
BRUO	A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9)
Copinger	W.A. Copinger, Supplement to Hains' Repertorium Bibliographicum, Part 2, (London, 1898-1902)
De Ricci/Wilson	S. De Ricci and W.J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, 3 vols (New York, 1935-40) with Supplement by C.U. Faye and W.H. Bond (New York, 1962)
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
EETS O.S. E.S.	Early English Text Society, Original Series Extra Series
Fasti	J. Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, rev. ed., 12 vols (London, 1962-7)
Hain/Copinger	L. Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum, 2 vols (Paris, 1826-31) and W.A. Copinger, Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum, Part 1 (London, 1895)
H.	Speculum Christiani, ed. G. Holmstedt, EETS, O.S. 182 (1933). References in the form H. 21.3 are to page and line.

IMEV	C. Brown and R.H. Robbins, Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943) with Supplement by R.H. Robbins and J.L. Cutler (Lexington, 1965)
Incipits	M.W. Bloomfield et al., Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices 1100-1500 A.D., Medieval Academy of America Publication No. 88 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979)
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Jolliffe	P.S. Jolliffe, A Check List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance (Toronto, 1974)
JRL	John Rylands Library, Manchester
Kaeppeli	T. Kaeppeli, Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorem Medii Aevi (Rome, 1970-)
MLGB	N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks 3, 2nd ed. (London, 1964)
PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, accurante J.P. Migne
RTAM	Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale
STC	A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books printed Abroad, 1475-1640, 2 vols (London, 1926) [STC], 2nd vol. revised and enlarged by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson and K.F. Pantzer (London, 1976) [STC 2]
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
Walther, Sprichwörter	H. Walther, Proverbia, Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, 2, 6 vols (Göttingen, 1963-9)

Walther, Versanfänge	H. Walther, Initia Carminum ac Versuum medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtung, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, 1, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1969)
Watson	A.G. Watson, Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library, 2 vols (London, 1979)
Wells, Manual	J.E. Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400, 6th pr., and Supplements (New Haven, 1937, 1929-52)

INTRODUCTION

In 1956, Leonard Boyle presented his massive thesis on the work and influence of William of Pagula, the first really systematic study of the manuscript tradition of a large number of Latin manuals varying in size from the comprehensiveness of the Oculus Sacerdotis to the mnemonic brevity of the Quinque Verba. For vernacular works of spiritual guidance, similar pioneering work had been undertaken by Ian Doyle in his 1953 Cambridge thesis. The appearance since then of Jolliffe's Checklist of vernacular prose and Bloomfield's full list of Incipits for the Latin works have greatly facilitated work on these manuals.

There has, however, been relatively little work on the much simpler vernacular and Latin manuals, the compendia of rudimentary instruction which are found in so many clerical manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and which in some cases were readily appropriated for lay use. Since the studies of Boyle and Doyle, the hierarchy which clearly obtains among manuals for the clergy and handbooks of spiritual instruction has become much clearer. For example, an examination of the copying, circulation and ownership of manuals has helped to clarify the strata among the book-owning clergy. Thus, thanks to the work of Boyle and the recent Cambridge thesis of Robert Ball, it is possible to see that the circulation of Pagula's works and of the Pupilla Oculi was limited largely to a kind of clerical and magisterial elite containing not only graduates involved in the cura animarum but also priests involved administration at various levels.

My concern in this thesis is not primarily with the more sophisticated manuals of pastoral theology nor the increasingly complicated penitential summas. Books like this, whatever their prologues may say about their desire to instruct the simple, often have a sophisticated apparatus and a careful ordinatio which marks them out as works of reference. The demands made upon the Latinity, knowledge of canon law and theological sophistication of the user by works such as this suggest that they rarely found their way into the hands of the non-graduate clergy.

My concern in this thesis is with the simpler, cruder, humbler manuals circulating in clerical miscellanies. They are manuals in the proper sense of books to be held in the hand. They are designed as practical aids to the problems of the pastoral care and address themselves to the most immediate problems of parish life: basic catechesis of the laity and the administration of the Sacraments. Yet although designed to function in severely practical contexts, many of these manuals attempt to present profoundly commonplace material in new and didactically effective ways. By looking at the provision made in these manuals for teaching the rudiments of the faith it is possible to examine the presentation of a relatively stable body of material over a substantial period of time (c. 1215 - c. 1500) to see how they attempt to adapt to the needs of the parish priest and ultimately to the needs of the literate layman. The 'literary form' of these manuals emerges in response to the challenge of effective catechesis and to the need for practical teaching aids to assist a clergy whose literacy was not always much greater than that of their pupils.

This study is divided into two sections. The first section, 'Contexts', presents the background to the development of pastoral manuals as a distinct sub-genre among clerical books. Chapter one is an analysis of the legislation issued by the bishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and shows how it influenced and encouraged the emergence of manuals of pastoral care which were distinct from the penitential reference books. Chapter two examines the elementary and grammar schools and their books to show the way in which pastoral handbooks were influenced by and overlapped with the 'set texts' in the English schools of the Middle Ages. Chapter three is a study of some of the pastoral manuals found in the clerical miscellanies, both Latin and vernacular. It examines how these manuals developed and how they evolved techniques for presenting and enlivening basic teachings. It also shows how these techniques were sometimes employed in the imaginative literature of the age, notably Piers Plowman. The second section, 'The Evolution of the Speculum Christiani', is in the nature of a case history. It examines the development of the Speculum, one of the most popular of the fifteenth century handbooks and the first such manual to be printed. In chapter four, I discuss the Latin summa called Cibus Anime which seems to have provided most of the Latin quotations which make up the Speculum. In chapter five I give a detailed analysis of the Speculum showing how its compiler exploited the resources of the Cibus Anime, how radically he reorganized the material from his source, changing it from a work of reference to a working handbook, and, in an examination of some anomalous copies of the text I examine what appear to be

other attempts at a similar reorganization. The relationship between the Cibus Anime and the Speculum Christiani which emerges from this analysis suggests that by the date of its compilation the sub-genre of pastoral manual had indeed evolved into a literary form of its own.

SECTION 1: CONTEXTS

Chapter 1. Legislation

I

Most of the manuals discussed in this study were produced in response to the impetus for improved pastoral education for the clergy provided initially by the Lateran Council of 1215 and more locally by the inspired series of episcopal decrees promulgated by English bishops in the thirteenth century. Indeed these manuals are closer in form and content to the instructions provided in or appended to these decrees than to any other form of clerical instruction. Because of this, this chapter discusses the problem of clerical ignorance with particular reference to these decrees, and to the level of educational attainment amongst the least literate section of the clergy which was a major concern of their authors.

Even if allowance is made for hyperbole and conventional overstatement in the various accounts of clerical ignorance, it is clear that the legislation emanating from thirteenth-century councils and synods necessarily assumed a low level of priestly literacy and, as an inevitable consequence, correspondingly low levels of education and knowledge. The legislators therefore aimed at improving the educational standards of the least literate to ensure that the souls in their care received at least a basic catechetical training in the fundamental truths of the faith. The magistri, the sublime and literate could be left to fend for themselves. Most of them had access to the increasing number of clerical encyclopaedias and summas and in any case relatively

few were involved in parish work before 1400, when there seems to have been a change of heart amongst graduates in favour of pastoral work.[1]

For those priests to whom these larger works of reference were closed either through their own illiteracy or through their poverty, the instructions provided by bishops were a fundamental point of reference, the foundation upon which their pastoral work was based. This is so partly because in many cases they were required to have copies of the relevant legislation at hand when administering the Sacraments, and partly because the teaching contained in the legislation was frequently expounded on and examined by the archdeacons either in visitations or at the periodic meetings of the clergy at the cathedral church. Consequently the statutes present a fascinating picture of the steps taken by the episcopacy to ensure that their parish clergy were fitted for their active roles in parish life, and in particular for their important advisory function in the Sacraments (especially Penance). This new active role had been developed in the sacramental theology of the twelfth-century schools, particularly at Paris, and the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) introduced much of this new theology into the basic law of the Church. The legislation following the Council is an attempt to interpret and apply the injunctions of the Council to English pastoral conditions.[2]

It should not, however, be assumed that legislation on the education of the clergy was a wholly post-conciliar phenomenon. At least one major set of statutes survive from shortly before the Council to suggest the vitality of existing pastoral legislation. These are Steven Langton's statutes for the diocese of

Canterbury. Once believed to date from after 1222, recent research has suggested that they are much earlier, perhaps dating from 1213x14.[3] It is of course not surprising that Langton should be responsible for such progressive statutes. He had studied at Paris, probably under Peter Cantor, had been a canon of Notre Dame and, apart from producing didactic poetry and hymns, had been a prolific author, a skilled preacher and a considerable biblical scholar.[4] Trivet wrote of him that 'he commented on the whole Bible and divided it into the chapters which we moderns use.'[5] As a pupil of Peter Cantor he would probably have had first hand experience of the new developments in pastoral theology which the Lateran Council tried to implement. Indeed his Questiones show him trying to examine theological issues from a pastoral viewpoint, discussing their moral implications rather than analysing them with abstract logic.[6] Thus his diocesan statutes are important not only because they are 'the earliest surviving set [of statutes] for any English diocese',[7] but also because they show us an important pastoral theologian attempting to apply his theories of pastoral reform and tailoring them for the needs of an English diocese. Although appointed to Canterbury in 1207, Langton landed in England only in 1213 because of royal opposition. If the current dating of these statutes is correct therefore, he seems to have lost little time in grappling with the problems of his diocese, although many of his ideas were probably formulated during his six years exile at Pontigny.

In the Prologue Langton lays down the two basic principles which govern his legislation. It is vital, he states, that those with the cure of souls should live correctly so that they

may give a good example to the people, and it is also essential that they should correctly perform the rites of the Sacraments which they administer.[8] In the decrees which follow he forbids clerics to frequent taverns or games (spectaculis) (cap. 7) and instructs them to take care to preserve their moral integrity.[9] Much of the legislation is concerned with the niceties of sacramental procedure. For example he instructs his clergy 'ut verba canonis in missa rotunde dicantur et distincte'.[10] And also he encourages them to enquire into the circumstances of sins in the Sacrament of Penance (cap. 40), an injunction also found in the canons of the Lateran Council.[11] The statutes are framed in simple functional Latin, unadorned with rhetorical flourishes and are clearly framed so as to be easily understood by the simplest cleric. However, no explicit mention is made of clerical education, although Langton does include the syllabus of the rudimentary knowledge which it is the duty of the priest to expound to all his parishioners:

> Quia quilibet christianus adultus dominicam orationem, scilicet Pater Noster, et simbolum apostolorum, scilicet Credo in deum, scire debet, precipimus quod quilibet sacerdos parochianos suos ut hec addiscant/ammonere. Studeat (cap. 34)[12]

Langton's other major piece of legislation resulted from the Council for the Province of Canterbury at Oseney in 1222. At this council, Langton promulgated the decrees of the Lateran Council and added further instructions of his own. The resulting canons 'came to form the basis of the local law of the English Church in the later Middle Ages',[13] and as such are worthy of study here. But their direct influence on individual parish priests was probably small, partly because, as a provincial council, attendance was limited and the legislation

was intended to be re-communicated locally (cap. 15) and, at a more pragmatic level, the rhetorical and self-consciously ornate style presents a barrier to clear understanding. Many chapters are associative collections of pious phrases and biblical allusions. One measure which had direct bearing on the parish clergy was Langton's instruction to archdeacons which lists the requirements to be met by the clergy in their parochial visitations:

> in sua visitatione provideant quod canon misse emendetur et quod sacerdotes rite proferre noverint saltem verba canonis et baptismatis, et quod in hac parte sanum habeant intellectum. (cap. 29)[14]

This injunction that the clergy should be examined to ensure a sound understanding of the words they recite suggests the problem of limited literacy amongst the clergy and shows the formal beginning of attempts to combat it.

Although Langton was Archbishop of Canterbury during the immediate post-conciliar years, the most influential legislation in this period came from elsewhere. Richard Poore, although drawing on Langton's earlier statutes,[15] presents in his statutes for Salisbury (1217x21) the first legislation which is not only geared specifically for the benefit of the parish clergy but also provides positive assistance and instruction for them as well as prescriptive legislation. Poore came from a distinguished family of clerical administrators - his brother Herbert preceded him at Salisbury. Furthermore he had also studied at Paris and had probably been a student of Langton there.[16] His legislation at Salisbury was the culmination of many years of pastoral reform and experience as he had been Dean of Salisbury from 1198 until his appointment to Chichester in 1214 (after abortive elections

at Winchester and Durham). He may have commissioned Robert of Flamborough's penitential, suggesting an early interest in convenient and uncomplicated aids to the clergy;[17] and Thomas of Chobham's Summa Confessorum, which is itself remarkable for its concern with pastoral care (again the probable result of a Paris education during which he met Peter Cantor), although probably finished before Poore became Bishop of Salisbury in 1217 may have benefited from his advice while Dean.[18]

As Cheney points out, Poore's statutes are remarkable for their pragmatism - he omits the usual regulations about flies and spiders in the chalice[19] - and their eclecticism. He uses canons from the third Lateran Council (1179) as well as 4 Lateran which he attended, the provincial canons of Archbishop Hubert (1200) and the reforming canons of Odo of Sully who was Bishop of Paris 1196-1298.[20] The value of his pragmatic approach to the simpler clergy is suggested by the presence of his statutes in one manuscript with the short summa known as Qui bene praesunt which is itself remarkable for the brevity and simplicity of its expositions, and is attributed in this manuscript to that other master of pastoral aids, William de Montibus.[21]

The first fourteen chapters of the statutes are explicitly concerned with the priesthood. From the outset he stresses the importance of the priests themselves as ministers of Sacraments, emphasising the need for active faith on their behalf:

> Cum per ministerium (nostrum) ecclesiastica sacramenta tractari et dispensari debeant, necessaria est vobis, filii karissimi, fidei catholice agnitio et professio; quia sine fide impossible est placere deo [Heb. 11.6]. (cap. 3)[22]

They must acknowledge and profess - the function is personal as well as social. He stresses the need for frequent instruction

of the laity in the Articles of the Faith 'sine qua non est salus', but goes further than a bare decree and establishes a mechanism for ensuring the clergy are fitted for their catechetic function. The tact he displays throughout his statutes is here most noticeable in his explanation of the function of the archdeacon in instructing the pastors. The juxtaposition of the archdiaconal instruction of the clergy and the clerical instruction of the laity illustrates the 'domino effect' noticeable in much legislation of this type and suggests that the level of theological attainment amongst the clergy was not always much greater than that of their parishioners, even if theirs was in the vernacular:

> Quod ut melius et expeditus fiat a vobis, districte archidiaconis iniungimus quod in capitulis suis expositionem fidei catholice in generali concilio promulgatam sane et simplicibus verbis exponant. Et sacerdotes, prout eis deus inspiraverit, parochianos suos instruant et eis illam expositionem frequenter domestico ydiomate sane inculcent. (cap. 3) [23]

Poore stresses that the archdeacon's explanation must be in 'simplicibus verbis', and there is perhaps a suggestion that the clergy were expected merely to repeat and translate the archdeacon's exposition ('illam expositionem') to the laity. Chapter 5 deals with how the clergy should teach the basic syllabus. To the Creed and Pater Noster listed by Langton, Poore adds the Ave Maria and suggests more intimate ways of teaching other than exposition from the pulpit or in the confessional: 'Pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant in predictis' (cap. 5). Parents, who are 'periculose negligentes' are to be reminded of their obligation to teach their young.

Perhaps Poore's most significant innovation is to require that the constitutions should be transcribed and corrected and

that priests should acquire a copy for their personal use:

> ut sacerdotes, ipsas frequenter habentes pre oculis, in ministeriis et dispensationibus sacramentorum sint instructiores et in fide (recta) catholica bene vivendo firmiores. (cap. 114)[24]

Poore envisages his statutes as a working book - a handbook to be used in the exercise of the pastoral care and not merely a reference book to be used occasionally. He gives basic instructions on the Deadly Sins and on the Sacraments (aimed as much at the individual cleric as at the laity as his peroration suggests) and he emphasises the fundamental link established in the prologue between knowledge of the faith and a good life.

Many bishops borrowed from and expanded portions of Poore's statutes in their own legislation although few managed to produce collections of canons or statutes of such practical value. There is a repeated emphasis in these statutes on the prime importance of those priests involved in the cura animarum. Peter des Roches, for example, in his synodal statutes for Winchester in 1224 (Winchester I) places special emphasis on the recitation of the office by those in parish work.[25] He also stresses the need for direct instruction of the faithful 'saltem in materna lingua', although he envisages the confessional as the major source of such instruction. Robert Bingham's statutes for Salisbury (1238x44, Salisbury II) are intended to supplement Poore's. Bingham had been a member of the Sarum chapter and clearly imbibed the pastoral spirit of Poore's work. In his discussion of the Sacraments (cap. 4) he stresses their centrality in the priestly ministry and the need for straightforward exposition:

> Cum in dispensatione sacramentorum nostrum consistat ministerium, que sunt principalia sacramenta et quot propter simpliciores duximus exprimenda.[26]

Another distinguished scholar who used Poore's statutes as a basis for his own was Richard Wych whose Chichester legislation survives (1245x52, Chichester I). He was Chancellor of Oxford University and later Chancellor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Rich. After Rich's death, Wych became a Dominican and was elected Bishop of Chichester in 1224.[27] Apart from the usual instruction to teach the laity 'in lingua saltim materna' (cap. 70),[28] he also requires all priests under his jurisdiction who have the cure of souls that they should all have 'has constitutiones ... in libellis suis scriptas easque diligenter observent, habentes eas sepe pre manibus et pre oculis'.[29] The book is to be brought to synods, presumably to allow correction and emendation. This reference to the constitutions being copied 'in libellis suis' might mean that priests were to make their own copies but it is also possible that Wych envisaged his clergy copying his statutes into existing clerical miscellanies.[30] Indeed it is true that many manuscripts of conciliar and synodal material also contain other works of clerical and in particular pastoral interest.

The popularity of Poore's Salisbury statutes in no way inhibited the development of pastoral legislation, despite their influence throughout the country. As Cheney's account in English Synodalia makes clear, at least two other bishops promulgated statutes of comparable popularity and influence; Grosseteste and Cantilupe.[31] Before examining these two diocesan traditions, it will be helpful to study the Legatine Council called by Otto at St Paul's in 1237. In many ways this Council marks the end of the first generation of English pastoral legislation, which has as its leading figures Langton and Poore.

The Legatine Council, ostensibly called 'ad roborandum et reformandum statum ecclesiasticum in partibus Anglie',[32] served to give national force to many of the reforms and innovations that were operating in most local dioceses. Thus its purpose was less to reform the Church in England as to codify and promulgate with Legatine force the good work which had already been done. Otto is particularly interesting in his emphasis on the functions of the archdeacon who is responsible not only for examining candidates for ordination, and parish priests during his visitations, but also has an important role in ensuring that they are properly instructed (a role which had frequently been performed by the Chancellor, as the work of William de Montibus suggests):

> Archidiaconi quoque in singulis decanatuum suorum conventibus sacerdotes maxime in hiis studeant erudire, docentes eos qualiter circa baptismum,penitentiam, eukaristiam,et matrimonium debeant se habere. (cap. 2)[33]

It is interesting to note that instruction is to be given only in those Sacraments which the priest with cure of souls is likely to encounter daily. With regard to archdiaconal visitations, apart from examining the parish 'generaliter de temporalibus et spiritualibus inquirendo', the archdeacon is to instruct the incumbents 'ut bene sciant et sane intelligant verba canonis et baptismatis, que scilicet sunt de substantia sacramenti'.[34] Once again complexity is avoided - only the essential information (substantia) is to be communicated.

If Otto's Council represents a consolidation of the experience gained by the bishops in dealing with parish problems and legislating for them, the work of Grosseteste at Lincoln represents the next stage in pastoral development. Although he

may have studied at Paris, Grosseteste's most distinguished work was done at Oxford. In this he differs from the first generation of scholar bishops. His application of his enormous erudition to the solution of practical pastoral and theological problems may however be compared to the endeavours of the older bishops. In the years after 1235, 'Oxford ... was the common intellectual home of some of the most distinguished of the Bishops of Henry III.'[35] Grosseteste had himself served as an archdeacon under Poore and Hugh of Wells,[36] and so had first-hand experience of the problems of the parish clergy when he came to legislate for them. Despite his experience he retained an almost idealistic view of the supreme importance of the cure of souls. Pantin paraphrases his general view as follows:

> the pastoral care aims at the purgation and illumination of souls, at their 'deification', their assimilation and union as far as possible with God, their 'perfect and incon vertible recession' from evil.[37]

He seems to have had particularly high standards for clerical literacy and many nominees were rejected because of their failing in this respect. An indication of this is that about 14 per cent of the clergy instituted to parochial cures during his episcopacy were graduates, at a time when pastoral work was low on the list of priorities for the average graduate.[38] In addition to his statutes, Grosseteste's letters offer a valuable insight into his administration of his large diocese and his forthright views on the pastoral charge. He refuses to present an illiterate deacon to a cure and cites St Augustine about the dangers of a weak clergy 'tu das oves lupo, pro quibus tuendis a lupo teneris animam tuam ponere'.[39] He writes to a priest criticising him for his licentious lifestyle, and several letters

are directed to his archdeacons urging them to ensure that canonical hours are observed by the clergy, and urging them to carry out their pastoral task with zeal and enthusiasm.[40] It is however in his statutes (?1239) that his views are most fully formulated. In the opening chapter he presents his syllabus of minimal religious knowledge which he explicitly states is intended to help the clergy as well as the laity. The legislation is aimed unambiguously at the clergy:

> ... firmiter iniungentes ut unusquisque pastor animarum et quilibet sacerdos parochialis sciat decalogum ... eademque populo sibi (subiecto) frequenter predicit et exponat. Sciat quoque que sunt septem criminalia, eademque similiter populo predicet fugienda. Sciat insuper saltem simpliciter septem ecclesiastica sacramenta, et hii qui sunt sacerdotes maxime sciant que exiguntur ad vere confessionis et penitentie sacramentum ...[41]

His syllabus is intended to serve as a basic religious knowledge of the clergy as well as the laity, even if the clergy are required to have a slightly more detailed knowledge of some parts.[42] He stresses the importance of Scripture as food for the soul but emphasises (cap. 7) that the priest should read with understanding. Children are to be instructed in the rudiments of the faith and adults are to be examined in them at confession (cap. 8). It is clear that Grosseteste is eager to exploit all the various modes of contact between priest and people - preaching, small group teaching and confessional examination - in an attempt to ensure that the catechetic message is communicated. His desire for efficient communication is also manifested in his manual for the clergy, the Templum Domini which is discussed elsewhere.[43]

The statutes of Nicholas of Farnham for Durham (1241x49, Durham II) illustrate the way Grosseteste's colleagues imbibed the spirit of his legislation. Farnham himself enjoyed an

illustrious career at Paris, Boulogne and at Oxford, and Matthew Paris, who knew him personally, says he was the confessor of the royal family. He seems to have been close to the legate Otto.[44] Like Grosseteste he held the regimen animarum to be of paramount importance, referring to it as the ars artium, a phrase frequently recurring in thirteenth-century discussions of pastoral care. He speaks of the need for vigilance on the part of pastors 'quod oves sue a luporum morsibus defendantur', in what may be a deliberate echo of Grosseteste's own use of Augustine.[45] His own teaching on clerical education is based heavily on Grosseteste's and even uses basically the same formulation, inserting a few exhortations and, interestingly, stresses the importance of clerical example in one of his additions.[46] Farnham uses material from 4 Lateran and Poore's Salisbury statutes in his chapter (4) on the function of archdeacons. At the general chapter archdeacons are to expound 'sane et simplicibus verbis' the exposition of the faith promulgated by the general council and are to instruct priests on the performance of their other duties. Farnham instructs the archdeacons to ensure that the constitutions are expounded and observed in chapters, and that each church possesses a copy. Once again the emphasis on simple and sound exposition emphasises the need for simple and sound aids for the clergy - a need which the pastoral statutes could only partly fulfil and which the simpler pastoral manuals seem to have been designed to meet. Several bishops, aware of the lack of supplementary material suitable for the average parish priest, decided to issue their own small manuals of pastoral material to aid their clergy. The manuals are particularly interesting because they represent

a deliberate attempt to simplify the mass of canonical and theological material available in the larger summas not only for convenience but also to cater for the tastes and abilities of the priests under their charge.

The earliest of these episcopal manuals seems to have been issued with the statutes of Alexander Stavensby for Coventry and Lichfield (1224x37). Although Stavensby intended the tracts to circulate with his statutes (and there is no evidence that he is their author), in fact they also circulated independently and found their way into at least one theological miscellany.[47] The first tract, on the Seven Deadly Sins, is intended to assist the priest in exposition of them which he is supposed to undertake on Sundays and other feasts, and is highly traditional in its treatment and exposition, drawing much material from Gregory's Moralia on Job.[48] The second is an equally traditional confessional formulary, giving practical advice on the form and nature of the sacrament:

> Cum penitentia consistat in tribus, in cordis contritione, oris confessione, operis satisfactione,

and emphasising the value of the doctrine of circumstances, using the mnemonic tag widely employed in summas of this type.[49] Neither of these works represents a significant development in manual technique, although their method of publication perhaps ensured for them a wider authority and episcopal support.

The work of a later occupant of the same see, Roger de Weseham (1245-56), is perhaps more significant because his Instituta are a deliberate attempt to make available in summary form the repertoire of knowledge required by the average parish priest, presented schematically (although without the tabloid

sophistication of Grossetestes's Templum Domini). Weseham's approach is simple and direct and he instructs his clergy to adopt a similar manner in their attempts to instruct the faithful:

> Volumus eciam quod de fide et de suis articulis fiant frequenter menciones in ecclesiis ad populum et predicaciones aliquando simpliciter et sine discucione, magis initentes exemplis quibus congrue possunt quam racionibus subtilibus vel inquisicionibus vel discucionibus.[50]

Only the clauses of the Creed receive any explanation, presumably because it contains the fundamental beliefs of the Church, but the explanations given are of a very rudimentary and didactic nature:

> Undecimus articulus est quod sacramenta ecclesie animas santificant. Ad hunc articulum reducere possumus quod sacramenta nove legis efficiunt quod figurant; item quod extra ecclesiam et absque sacramentis non est salus.[51]

As this text survives in a single manuscript it is impossible to suggest its circulation and possible influence, but it does provide evidence of official sanction for these simple manuals - indeed the Instituta can be seen as a distillation of the pastoral teaching of preceding legislation into a convenient and compact form.

Walter de Cantilupe's Worcester statutes (1240, Worcester III) seem to have included a now-lost penitential which was given equal standing with his constitutions - priests were to be examined in both before being admitted to the cure of souls, and chapters were to include random reading tests from both to examine priests in their knowledge of the contents and to enable archdeacons to explain points of difficulty. Failure to possess or ignorance of the documents rendered the guilty party liable to a fine.[52]

Peter Quinel (or Quivel) issued a longer summula with his statutes of 1287 (Exeter II). Like many of his predecessors he sees the dispensation of the Sacraments as the major part of the priests' duties and decrees that their understanding of them should ensure that the clergy administer them correctly. His concern for the education of the clergy leads him to devote a whole chapter to the means of examining prospective parish clergy 'super litteratura'.[53] Drawing on the Decretals, he opens, like Pecham, with a denunciation of clerical ignorance:

> Omnium mater errorum ignorantia precipue in sacerdotibus est vitanda, qui in populo dei docendi officium susceperunt, quorum opus in predicatione et doctrina consistit ut edificent cunctos tam fidei scientia quam operum disciplina. (cap. 20)[54]

He moves on from this to discuss the knowledge required by parish clergy. Once again the phrasing is unambiguous in its stress on the need for priests first to know the basic syllabus of religious instruction and secondly to teach that syllabus to the laity. To ensure that the clergy have this information at their disposal (and drawing on Cantilupe's ruling for Worcester), Quivel decrees, he has produced a summula for their use:

> Ut autem quilibet sacerdos, cui animarum cura incumbit, melius sciat et intelligat qualiter debeat in ipsa versari.

The summula is a distillation of the most useful aids to the cure of souls 'a diversis tractibus extractam sub compendio'. Quivel specifies precisely what the clergy are to do with the summula; they must possess a copy (habeat scriptum might mean either that they copied it themselves or that they caused a copy to be made), must read and understand it (et ipsam sane intelligat) and must use it. Once again a fine of one mark is

to be levied by local archdeacons for non-observance of this decree.[55]

The summula itself illustrates the developing tendency of detaching the basic syllabus from the main body of statutes, forming in effect a separate manual. Although these episcopal manuals may have been influenced initially in their form by existing penitential literature (as with Stavensby's tracts), by the time Quivel's summula was published not only were manuals for the clergy becoming increasingly available, but also the scope of these manuals was widening to include wider pastoral issues. Thus Quivel's text is drawn 'a diversis tractatibus' and is not tied to the narrow format of the penitential. Furthermore the publication of these manuals with episcopal authority makes it likely that they exercised an important influence on the structure and form of other manuals being produced, so that they may be seen both as a product of and a formative influence on the manual tradition.

Quivel's summula is more sophisticated than the other episcopal manuals - he clearly expected more from his clergy. Like many of the later manuals, it uses auctoritates from patristic and scriptural sources to give authority to the arguments used. Thus Quivel blends the directness and pragmatism of the schematic lists with the theological richness of the larger summas, balancing the two carefully to produce a work which is edifying and instructive without overpowering by its erudition. The auctores used are conservative and theological, with a particular preference for Augustine and Ambrose.[56] Canonical material is omitted.

Quivel states that the summula is primarily designed to assist in the confessional - he feels pity for the inadequacies of priests in the confessional 'quorum ignorantiam protho dolor sepissime sum expertus'.[57] He uses the Commandments as a means of simplifying the complexities of the canonical rulings on sin 'quoniam ad transgressionem decem dictorum mandatorum tota reduci potest criminum multitudo' (cap. 1). Thus the Commandments become, with characteristic pragmatism, structural and even mnemonic devices. He briefly lists under the heading of each Commandment the types of sin that might usefully be considered there. His discussion of the mortal sins also employs a mnemonic device of considerable popularity, the arbor vitiorum. Although no visual representation of the tree is mentioned, his analogy of root and branches, a commonplace of penitential literature, would surely bring such representations to mind. The doctrine of circumstances is presented in its usual mnemonic form (cap. 20).[58] The ignorance of the penitent is to be taken into account and, where possible, lessened by instruction: 'Quo invento doceat cum sacerdos articulos fidei quos ignorat' (cap. 33). As the chapter on the Articles of Faith illustrates (37), the confessional is envisaged as the major means of instruction and through confession the priest is to ensure that the laity know the basic prayers of the Church 'saltem in lingua materna'. Even so, the evidence of other episcopal statutes suggests that teaching in other contexts was not uncommon and it is clear that the summula, although geared to penitential practice, would serve as a valuable aid to preaching and small group teaching; those manuals should not

be seen as limited in their usefulness.

In the context provided by these attempts at solving the problem of clerical ignorance it is perhaps possible to see more clearly the function of Archbishop Pecham's famous decree Ignorancia Sacerdotum, issued as part of the canons of the provincial Council of the province of Canterbury at Lambeth (1281). The earlier confusion about the function of the decree has been resolved in a sensible discussion of the problem by Haines. He analyses the opposing claims that the decree is (1) a list with no didactic content (Boyle), (2) a didactic treatise of the sort more common in diocesan statutes (Jheney) and (3) that Pecham is using the 'systematic theology' of the schools (Robertson).[59] His conclusion is that 'Pecham's intention seems to be the provision of a basic syllabus designed as a terminus a quo rather than a terminus ad quem.'[60] Yet it is clear that the legislation is in no way original. Pecham is writing (perhaps with a degree of rhetorical selfconsciousness) in an established tradition of synodal concern for the literacy of the clergy. The influence which his decree had and the frequency with which it was commented upon, translated and re-issued in the following three centuries must derive from its status as part of the provincial legislation rather than any intrinsic worth; it provided a convenient and widely accessible formulation.

Pecham instructs the clergy to expound the basic truths of the faith four times a year: 'per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica' (cap. 9). It seems clear that pulpit exposition is envisaged, and yet the syllabus was clearly valuable in other

contexts. Thus the list is cited by the compiler of the Speculum Christiani as the framework for the first six tabulae of his work, although the prologue clearly draws a distinction between the different methods used in preaching and teaching, suggesting that the work might have been used in both contexts. Pecham lists the bare bones of the teaching programme so that none of the clergy can claim ignorance as a defence - 'ea perstringimus summaria brevitate'.[61]

In a sense Pecham's legislation was already slightly archaic, not in its attempt to deal with the problem which still seems to have been real, but in the presentation of his solution. As we have seen, a number of bishops had attacked the problem directly by publishing their own summas. Pecham's decree, embedded in provincial legislation, could not rival these in catechetic effectiveness (and may not have been intended to do so). Like the Legatine canons of Otto, Pecham's decree was a restatement at national level of the principles of a movement which was rapidly developing at the local level.

II

'The great period of English ecclesiastical legislation was over well before the close of the thirteenth century. By comparison the output of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is meagre.' This claim by Haines, echoing the received opinion on the Church's legislation stems ultimately from the work of Cheney.[62] Although true for legislation dealing directly with the problem of clerical ignorance, it fails to do justice to the rich diversity of laws aimed at solving other problems which

developed in the course of the fourteenth century, most notably the problem of orthodoxy. Wilkins' collection illustrates the developing concern about the spread of heresy, particularly among the clergy, and the attempts, at first uncertain but later dogmatic, which were made to enforce orthodox opinions. In this climate of uncertainty it is hardly surprising to discover that legislators were on the whole conservative and that their legislation is largely retrospective, leaning heavily on the fundamental principles established by their thirteenth-century predecessors. The decrees and canons of the fourteenth-century bishops are usually short and aimed at specific abuses. In many cases this was because the dioceses already had established codes of pastoral instruction. Those dioceses which had not produced major series of synodal statutes generally modelled their new legislation on the older material available elsewhere. The diocese of Bodor, for example, in constitutions published in 1291, was provided with an extremely brief outline of ideal clerical behaviour, the brevity and simplicity of which suggests either that further legislation and instruction was forthcoming or that the clergy were expected to have access to other sources of information. Chapter 3, on De honestate clericum, after the usual injunctions about avoiding taverns, goes on to instruct the clergy:

> quod unusquisque, secundum quod sapit de evangelio et sacra scriptura, articulosque fidei plebi suae exponat, necnon diligenter moneat parochianos suos, et pueros suos instruat symbolum apostolorum, et orationem dominicam,cum salutacione beatae Mariae virginis.[63]

This tired rehearsal of the standard syllabus is in sharp contrast with legislation for the same diocese published in

1350 by Bishop William Russell. In 1334 the Scottish Islands west of the mainland were detached from the diocese, leaving the Isle of Man as its centre. Russell's legislation for the new diocese is much more explicit and detailed. He specifies that the faith should be expressed to the laity on all Sundays and feast days, and emphasises the importance of the regimen animarum, describing it in the conventional terms of ars artium. His instructions include information on the preparation of the bread and wine for Mass and he uses mnemonic verses to summarise the main points.[64]

Richard Ledrede, compiler of the verses in the Red Book of Ossory,[65] produced a conventional set of pastoral constitutions for his Irish diocese in 1320. He begins with an affirmation of faith: 'Firmitur credimus, et specialiter confitemur, quod unus est solus Deus, verus, omnipotens....' His provision for the publication of statutes provides further insight into the chain of production which ensured the distribution of essential legislation. Each rural dean is to transcribe the constitutions within a month of publication, and within six months rectors, vicars and deacons are to have procured their own copy (presumably from the decanal exemplar), 'ac in suis ecclesiis salvo custodiant ad perpetuam rei memoriam, et instructionem successorum'.[66] Similar procedures were adopted at York by Thoresby in his 1357 constitutions, 'et, ne rectores, vicarii, et alii subditi nostri de clero et populo, praemissorum ignorantium praetendere valeant in futurum', clergy were to have copies within two months of the date of publication and were rigorously to observe the mandates.[67]

Thoresby is of course responsible for a significant series of instructions published at the same time as the constitutions. The instructions are not significant because of their contents, which are commonplace and rudimentary, but because they mark a further stage in the evolution of the vernacular pastoral manual by conferring official approval and encouraging the circulation of a vernacular version of the Latin original of the instructions. Both versions are enrolled in Thoresby's register and the work of translation into English verse was undertaken by a monk of St Mary's Abbey in York, John Gaytryge.[68] In the tract on vernacular translation of the Bible often incorrectly attributed to Purvey, the author claims that Thoresby distributed copies of the text direct to the laity: 'and sente hem in smale pagynes to the comyn puple to lerne this and to know this, of which ben yit manye a companye in England.'[69] Doyle points out that the Lambeth copy of the expanded 'Wycliffite' version is headed by a rubric which explicitly states that the instructions were designed 'ad predicandum parochianos illorum'.[70] This is almost certainly how the text was originally envisaged as being used - as an aid to the exposition 'in materna lingua' that formed the backbone of lay religious instruction. But the text itself suggests that other uses were not excluded. The orthodox text in Thoresby's register and the expanded version both end with the promise of a 40 day indulgence from the Archbishop:

> ... til al that kunnes tham,
> Or dos thair gode diligence for to kun tham,
> And ratifies als-so that othir men gifes,
> So mikel couaites he the hele of yhour saules.[71]

A lay audience seems to be presumed by these words and although the laity might have learnt the six points of the programme by

listening to the clergy's oral exposition, it is not impossible that the literate laity actually consulted copies of the work. 'Purvey's' comment suggests that copies eventually found their way into lay ownership and this is supported by the presence of the text in Robert Thornton's miscellany (Lincoln Cathedral M. 91), and is characteristic of the movement of vernacular manuals into lay ownership as the general standard of literacy improved.

Thoresby himself was a considerable scholar, and was the dedicatee of John Bacenthorp's commentary on Aristotle's Ethics. In addition he had a distinguished career in public life, serving as Master of the Rolls, Keeper of the Privy Seal and finally Chancellor of England from 1349 to 1356, overlapping with his early years at York, where he was translated from Worcester in 1351.[73] In his scholarship and public involvement, as well as in his pastoral zeal, he resembles the great reforming bishops of the thirteenth century. The fourteenth-century chronicle life of the Archbishops of York, attributed to Thomas Stubbs, makes no mention of his pastoral instructions, although he is remembered as making peace between the provinces of Canterbury and York over the issue of provincial rites of the respective metropolitans. 'Lites et contentiones ubique delevit' states the chronicle, and he is praised for the assiduity with which he executed the opus dei, no doubt to serve as an example to those clergy whose observance of the Divine Office was less rigorous.[74] His main contribution according to this chronicle was the inception of building work on the new choir at the Minster. A metrical chronicle dating from the fifteenth century also praises

his building work as the most significant feature of his reign, although it does refer to his interest in pastoral care:

> Hic novum ecclesiae chorum inchoavit,
> Et sic domus Domini decorem amavit.
> Vixit in regimine pastoralis curae
> Ad annum vicesimum binum praelaturae.[75]

In their Latin form, Thoresby's instructions bear a superficial resemblance to Pecham's decree Ignorantia sacerdotum although this may owe as much to the similarity of their contents as to any direct textual indebtedness. At no point does Thoresby appeal to the authority of the influential primate in his own decree, nor does he directly cite or publish the Pechamite syllabus as Arundel did for Canterbury in 1408 followed by Neville (1465-76) for York and Wolsey also for York in 1518. The passages printed by Nolloth in his introduction to the EETS edition 'to show the close correspondence of the two texts,not only in substance, but in phraseology', succeeds in establishing parallel content but illustrates a very limited and possibly fortuitous similarity in expression.[77] Indeed the basic idea that priests should not have the excuse of ignorance because of the appended syllabus is not confined to Pecham but had been implicit in the legislation of many of his predecessors. Significantly, Thoresby does not repeat Pecham's directive that instruction should be given four times a year but requires more frequent exposition 'saltem diebus dominicis'. Thoresby's preamble to the exposition is briefer than Pecham's and does not contain the biblical references which appear in the latter.[78] His comments on the implementation of the teaching syllabus and on the teaching of children are not paralleled in Pecham, while their lists of the topics to be

expounded, although agreeing in substance, are not closely similar in expression.[79] There are clear differences in the expositions themselves. Thoresby divided the Articles of Faith into seven pertaining to the divinity of Christ and seven to the humanity, a common division in basic handbooks. Pecham, however, states that the first seven articles refer to the Mystery of the Trinity and the second to the humanity of Christ. The actual formulation of the articles is frequently quite different in the two texts, especially in the first seven articles. A comparison of the sixth article will illustrate this difference:

Thoresby	Pecham
Sextus est credere sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et sanctorum communionem, quae consistit in congregatione et communione fidelium, et sacramentis ecclesiae et aliis quibus communicat ecclesia Christiana, ita quod extra istum ecclesiam non est salus.	Sextus est, sanctificatio Ecclesiae per Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiae sacramenta, et caetera omnia in quibus communicat Ecclesia Christiana. In quo intelligitur, quod Ecclesia cum suis sacramentis et legibus per Spiritum Sanctum omni homini, quantumcunque peccatori, sufficit ad salutem, et quod extra ecclesiam non est salus.[80]

Although the basic idea of both versions is much the same - the fundamental importance of the Church as the vehicle of salvation - the expression is very different. Similar differences occur in the passages dealing with the Commandments where Pecham divides them into the two tabulae and Thoresby does not, although here it must be admitted, there are occasional passages of closer verbal similarity.[81] Thoresby has a passage at the end of the Decalogue reserving absolution in certain cases to the Bishop or his Official which is not in Pecham. Pecham proceeds from the Decalogue and the Commandments of the

Gospel to the Sacraments whereas Thoresby's Latin text follows the Commandments with the Theological and Cardinal Virtues,[82] although the English version follows the Pecham order at this point. Thoresby's discussion of the Virtues is much more extensive than Pecham's.[83] There are similarities in the two discussions of the Deadly Sins, although their position in the two syllabuses differs.

From this evidence it is apparent that Thoresby is less indebted to the Pechamite syllabus than the editor of the text suggests. He claims that Thoresby's instructions are 'framed on Pecham's model' but such programmes of instruction were sufficiently widespread before Pecham to make such a close relationship between the two texts unnecessary and undesirable.[84]

III

The vernacular version of Thoresby's Latin instructions, apparently made in 1357, expands the original and re-organizes certain sections.[85] This expansion and modification suggests that Gaytryge consulted and perhaps borrowed from other similar manuals of instruction (not necessarily in the vernacular) when he embarked on his translation.

Gaytryge opens by placing the teaching function of the Church in a wider spiritual and historical context than the Latin original. Man was originally created with reason and with knowledge of Himself by God but this gift was lost by the sin of Adam and Eve, and we, as their children, have that sin visited upon us. Their knowledge and wisdom was instinctive,

a gift from God:

> And all the knawyng þat we have in þis world of him,
> Is of heryng, and lerynge and techyng of othir,
> Of the lawe and þe laiþe þat langes till halikirke.
> (ll. 27-9)

This teaching should be learnt and followed as the true way to gain everlasting life, but the world is full of people who are 'noght wele ynogh lered to knawe god almighten' (l. 34). This homiletic preamble, ending with criticism of clergy who neglect their duty of teaching their parishioners, although a loose rendering of the formal lament for ignorance which opens Thoresby's Latin instruction, is more specific in its explanation of the Church's teaching function. This directness is understandable in a work which was to be used primarily for the instruction of the laity who could not be relied upon to know or understand the basic premises of the ecclesiastical attitude to teaching and salvation. The value of instruction and the need for salvation are not stressed by Thoresby who is more concerned with the implementation of the programme than with discussing its rationale. Of course Gaytryge's discussion is simple and unsophisticated, but it provides a suitable prologue to the announcement of Thoresby's scheme. His will 'that al men be saufe and knawe god almighten' (l. 44) is seen against the background of the scheme of salvation, and his syllabus produced 'for commune profet' is presented as a valuable aid.

Gaytryge immediately announces the structural principle of the work:

> The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten,
> That principali mai be shewed in this sex thinges.
> (ll. 51-2)

Although the six points are present in the Latin original they are not announced in this way, although they are listed at the beginning of the work. Gaytryge's decision to specify the number, thus breaking the work up into a series of well-defined units (each perhaps suitable for one session of exposition) may be compared with the opening of tabula 5 of the Speculum Christiani:

> My dere frendes I 3ou pray
> Foure thynges in herte bere away,[86]

where the four headings provide an umbrella for a discussion of all the important issues concerning sin and penance.[87] There is a clear pedagogic value in announcing at the outset the scope and subject matter of the treatise. Oral recitation of the work (or portions of it) seems to be envisaged - priests should admonish their parishioners:

> That thai here and lere this ilk sex thinges,
> And oft sithes reherce tham til that thai kun thaime,
> And sithen teche tham thair childir, if thai any have,
> What tyme so thai er of eld to lere tham. (ll. 62-5)

Gaytryge changes the focus of the passage in Thoresby's original about culpable ignorance (where publication of the text is intended to prevent priests avoiding their catechetic duty) and restates the principle, aiming it primarily at the laity:

> And forthi that nane sal excuse tham
> Thurgh unknalechyng for to kun tham,
> Our fadir the Ercebisshop of his godenesse
> has ordayned and bidden that thai be shewed
> Openly on inglis o-monges the folk. (ll. 72-6)

The nature of this 'shewing' is left tantalisingly vague.

His account of the Articles of the Creed and Decalogue are quite close translations of the Latin. After the Decalogue, Gaytryge alters the order of the sections in the original. In

the Latin version the Commandments are followed by a discussion of the theological and cardinal Virtues, and the Sacraments follow them. In Gaytryge's version the Sacraments follow the Commandments directly.[88] Gaytryge also changes the order of the Sacraments following Confirmation with Penance and not Eucharist as in the original. He slightly expands his account of the Eucharist, inserting an exhortation to annual communion and stressing the need for 'reasonable cause' for not communicating. This is clearly a practical expansion aimed at assisting the priest to foster devotion to the Sacrament. The discussion of Penance in the original uses the classic definition of the sacrament: 'Confessio debet esse humilis nuda et integra...', widely found in Latin handbooks of penitential theology.[89] The vernacular version simplifies this and emphasises the importance of contrition and confession and satisfaction as the three main elements of the sacrament. Thus Contritio in the original should be 'devota intima et amara' and in the vernacular version becomes simply 'sorow of our hert that we have synned'; Confessio, quoted above from the original becomes simply 'open shrift of our mouth how we haf synned' and Satisfactio described as 'libens et laeta injunctae poenitentiae completio' becomes 'rightwise amendes makyng for that we haf synned'.[90] The change of emphasis is clearly from the penitential to the pulpit or the confessional. The Latin formulations of the elements of the sacrament are intended to assist the priest in the administration of it, whereas the vernacular version is primarily intended to educate the laity and Gaytryge employs a rhetorical simplicity to achieve this end with the repetitions of 'that we have synned ... how we haf synned ... for that we haf synned'.

Gaytryge's account of the 'ferthe thynge' (the Works of Mercy) inserts an apocalyptic warning:

> that god sal reherce us apon the dai of dome,
> and wit how we haf done tham here in this lyfe,
> (ll. 351-2)

again clearly intended for lay consumption, although it is interesting that he also inserts the mnemonic verse traditionally used to encapsulate the Works of Mercy in the Latin manuals.[91] Further outside influence is apparent in his inclusion of the spiritual Works of Mercy which are not included in the syllabuses of either Thoresby or Pecham, but were common in the schematic lists of the rudiments found in pastoral miscellanies, and again provides in his exposition a Latin mnemonic to assist in learning them, or perhaps to act as a preaching aid.[92]

The discussion of the Virtues, displaced from its position in the Latin text, states that there are seven and then subdivides into three principal and four cardinal Virtues, whereas in the Latin the two groups are numbered separately. Once again Caytryge expands and comments on his original, as in his discussion of 'trouthe' (faith) where he stresses the interdependence of faith and good works; and of charity, where he cites St John's epistle on the importance of loving God and our neighbour. The purpose of these expansions seems to be a modest improvement in the didactic value of the sparse account originally provided by Thoresby.

The final section deals with the Deadly Sins. The order of sins in the two versions is different and further supports the contention that Caytryge was drawing on other literature in

compiling his translation. The Latin uses the Gregorian order of sins (known by the mnemonic siisaagl) as does Pecham's syllabus. Gaytryge's however uses an unusual order (siigaal) differing from the three schemas most common in England at the time.[93] Again Gaytryge opens with a direct appeal to the lay audience:

> That ilkman augh for to knawe to fle and forhoue,
> For man mai noght fle tham bot he knawe tham.
> (ll. 449-50)

He explains why they are called 'head' sins and quotes from Ecclesiastes to encourage men to flee sin. Gaytryge replaces Thoresby's lengthy peroration concerning the publication and circulation of the text and its use in parishes with an admonition encouraging people to learn the instructions and promising a 40 day indulgence to those who succeed in learning them 'or dos thair gode diligence for to kun tham' (l. 568). He ends with high claims for his treatise as a repository of the church's learning and wisdom:

> For if ye kunnandly knaw this ilk sex thinges
> Thurgh thaim sal ye kun knawe god almighten.
> (ll. 571-2)

Doyle has pointed out that 'besides Thoresby's official copy there are over half-a-dozen extant Northern examples, of which as many appear unrelated to pastoral activities as ones which are, and more to be of regular than of secular origin'.[94] This, he suggests, may reflect the monastic status of the translator. One of the monastic copies, British Library MS. Harley 1022, contains a detailed account of the translation and the circumstances of Gaytryge (here called Taystek) in a colophon where Gaytryge is described as a 'venerabilem et discretum virum'.[95] This copy omits the prologue and first

eighty-four lines of text, beginning at the exposition of the Articles of the Creed. As the omitted portion deals with the responsibilities of priests with the cura animarum to educate their parishioners, and their consequent responsibility to learn, prefaced by the Archbishop's expressions of pastoral care, it may have been omitted because these sentiments were irrelevant to a monastic audience who would, nevertheless, find the exposition of the basic doctrine valuable. MS. Bodley 789 also omits this prefatory material.[96] The monastic interest in the text might be explained by its monastic provenance but this is not really a satisfactory explanation. More probable is the general interest in pastoral theology exhibited by the monastic orders. I suggested above that Jaytryge used other manuals in compiling his own translation. Unfortunately the extant remains of his abbey library do not provide any assistance in identifying these influences.

We have, however, much more specific knowledge of the library holdings of the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans in the field of pastoral theology and although direct comparability is clearly impossible it does serve to give some idea of the monastic interest in this type of literature. The St Albans library has been the subject of a recent study by Dr Hunt. He prints a borrower's list of monks present in the abbey between 1420 and 1437. He points out the fact that 'five of the six monks have manuals useful for confessors and elementary theological manuals.'[97] Although penitential literature is clearly of interest to the monastic readers, the elementary works read by the monks seem to have been specifically designed for the lower ranks of the parish clergy. Thus the monks read,

apparently in parallel, such compendious works as Raymond of Pennaforte's penitential summa and the small immensely popular manual of Richard Wetheringsett known as Qui bene praesunt, the one in four large books, the other in less than a dozen pages of vellum.[98] The reading list of William Wolston illustrates this synthesis of large reference work and small practical volume:

> Item tractatum Hugonis eiusdem de duodecem abusionibus claustri. Item summam magistri Ricardi de Leycestria de officio sacerdotis. Item casus in quibus sacerdos non potest absolvere parochianos suos. Item liber quartus Reymundi de penitenciis et remissionibus. Item tractatus magistri Roberti Lincolniensis de officio sacerdotis....[99]

(the last work almost certainly being Grosseteste's Templum Domini, a highly schematic and diagrammatic presentation of priestly life and of the knowledge essential to it). The pattern is repeated in the other lists. The library even seems to have contained the middle ranging works of William of Pagula, whose popular Oculus Sacerdotis seems to have been intended for and used by a kind of clerical elite at the upper end of the spectrum of literacy.[100]

The text of Gaytryge's instructions seems to have circulated with other vernacular texts or in compilations where vernacular texts predominate.[101] One consequence of this was to increase the likelihood of lay access to these manuscripts, or of texts from such volumes being copied by the laity, as Robert Thornton seems to have done. The awareness which Gaytryge shows of the flexibility of his translation and the ambiguity of its appeal (being valuable to clergy and laity) is reflected in the colophons of the manuscripts. The Lambeth manuscript of the expanded 'Wycliffite' version records that Thoresby sent the

instructions to all the vicars in his province 'ad predicandum parochianos illorum'.[102] In the Thornton manuscript, however, it is stated that the work's purpose is to teach 'how scrift es to be made and whareof and in how many thyngez solde be consederide'.[103] As Doyle suggests, this focus on the penitential aspect of the work, or at least its application and use in a penitential context illustrate the private aspect of the work.[104] Certainly the surrounding texts in Thornton's book indicate his interest in meditation and personal devotional techniques, which support the contention that he used Gaytryge's instructions as a framework for personal private meditation and as a prelude to confession. However, it is also probable that Thornton made the book available for the general edification (visual and aural) of his family, and possibly of his servants. Here again the instructions have a valuable role to play at the level of fundamental catechesis, and are assisted in the volume by works such as the Speculum Ecclesie, The Abbey of the Holy Ghost and simple treatises on the Commandments, the Gifts of the Spirit and the Lord's Prayer, as well as a fragment of The Prick of Conscience.[105]

Several manuscripts contain fragments of the orthodox text as part of vernacular miscellanies, suggesting the popularity of the work, and seem to have travelled in very similar company to the complete text.[106] The extracts are probably designed to support and expand the other teaching included in the manuscripts; the ancillary function of Gaytryge's discussion of the Creed or Decalogue in supporting the teaching of The Form of Living or The Abbey of the Holy Ghost is clear. Furthermore this quarrying

of various sources to create a new synthesis (another favourite source being the Speculum Ecclesie) gave rise to the ad hoc compilations of pastoral material found in the fifteenth century.[107]

IV

Palace Library
The version of Gaytryge's translation preserved in Lambeth / MS. 408, the longest of the expanded texts, represents more than a Lollard revision of the original text, with the insertion of Wycliffite doctrine and clerical polemic.[108] The Lambeth MS. preserves a significant expansion of the original format to include topics not discussed in the original version with the aim of making the instructions more useful to the parish clergy while stressing at the same time the responsibility of the clergy diligently to execute their teaching office:

> And no prestts may be excusid for þe trew
> dette þey holdyng to teche þaym . (l. 48)

The first addition to the Thoresby syllabus comes immediately after the prologue and is an exposition of the Pater Noster.[109] There are several possible reasons for the addition of the Pater Noster. The prayer formed an essential part of the basic catechetic training of the laity and features in many of the episcopal lists of the rudiments of the faith.[110] Furthermore, because of its widespread use in elementary catechesis both in the confessional and in the primary school, the prayer had become a paradigm of the schematic presentation of dogmatic material, with the seven petitions being equated with the other mystical sevens associated with the principal tenets of the Church. Commentaries on the Pater Noster frequently provide compendious

information on the faith in a form which makes access easy because of the schematic organization of its contents.[111] The compiler of this version of the instructions was probably influenced by the popularity of such commentaries and by the usual contents of manuals of pastoral theology, and it is characteristic of his additions throughout that they tend to bring Thoresby's original further into line with other popular handbooks. This desire for completeness is perhaps as important a motive for the compilation as the hope of disseminating Lollard doctrine. The exposition itself is typical of the genre, emphasising the pre-eminence of the prayer:

> In auctorite, in sotylte and profyt to his chyrche. (l. 62)

Its value as a catechetic device is explicitly stated in the comment on its 'sotylte':

> For we schulle ȝndyrstonde
> Þat in þese vij askyngkys are conteyned
> Alk þe poyntys of þis world in þe whiche is ony wyt. (ll. 67-69)

Having stressed its mnemomic value, however, the exposition of the seven petitions does not include the schematic link with other sevens commonly found. The Pater Noster is followed by a similar clausal commentary on the Ave Maria, which also usually accompanies it in its independent circulation.[112] The commentary is remarkable only for one passage of polemic criticising the Pope for sanctioning the inclusion of the names of Mary and Jesus into the text of the salutation.

Following this is a passage on the Creed. Although the Latin text and Gaytryge's translation both begin with a discussion of 'the fourtene poyntes that falles to the trouthe',[113] the

compiler of this version clearly thought it worthwhile including another rather different examination. Indeed the interpolated discussion of the Creed deliberately sets itself aside from the conventional accounts of the Articles of the Faith. First it lists the three Creeds used by the Church (the Apostle's, the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds) and limits its analysis to the most common, the Apostle's Creed: 'For yt is more comyn and more schortyr þan eny oþer' (l. 229). This much is commonplace. Then it rejects the most common mode of analysis, that of breaking it down into clauses and assigning each clause to an Apostle:

> Ne bysy we vs nat what [þe] apostyl made.[ne] what party of þis holy Crede.
> and whan þe apostelys gaderyd yt.
> For oure beleue techis vs þat god ordeynyd hyt al.[114] (ll. 230-2)

Instead the Creed is reduced to three principles 'and eche of þese thre partyes contenys many partyclys' (l. 243). The three principles are:

> Trow in god.and [trow] to god.
> and trow god þat ys þe leste. (ll. 245-6)[115]

Three sections are distinguished, the first dealing with God the Father, the second with Christ (here divided into fourteen articles, the more usual division of the whole prayer) and the third with the Holy Spirit, dividing into six articles the passage from the profession of belief in the Church to the end. The division lacks the clarity and simplicity of the more usual discussion and cannot be seen as being more effective catechetically. Indeed it operates at a slightly higher level of sophistication than the average pastoral commentary found in clerical miscellanies which frequently consists of little more than a bald list of articles with appropriate biblical and

patristic support (as in, for example, the Speculum Christiani). The main thrust of the discussion comes at the end when an analysis of the nature of the Church divides it into three parts; wandering on earth, sleeping in purgatory and resting in Heaven. Membership of the Church is not automatic and men have no way of knowing whether or not they have gained membership, which is equated firmly with salvation and depends upon the extent to which and the success with which Christ has been followed. The Lollard interest here shows itself not only in a denunciation of the princes of the Church, but also in the implicit equation of them with Antichrist:

> And so as sum men thynke.þese popys ne þese prelatys ar nat part of holy chirche.but of synagoge [of sathanas] ... þus techis our be-leue.how-euyr antecrist gruccheis. (ll. 319-20, 322)

The list of the five inner and five outer Wits which follows is again a commonplace of the brief and frequently ad hoc compilations of pastoral material found increasingly from 1350, although occurring less frequently in formal manuals.[116] As usual the Wits are exploited for their potential as moral exemplars - each wit has its appropriate sins which should be shunned or avoided. The five 'Inwyttys' similarly should be disciplined towards increasing the love of God - in particular the virtus imaginativa - and the love of worldly things is to be steadfastly countered by thinking devoutly on the Passion of Christ.

The link back from this lengthy interpolation to the original text is clumsy. A holy life will lead us to joy, and if we want joy we must know the six things that formed the basis of Thoresby's syllabus, the first of which is the Creed

and its fourteen articles which have been already discussed.

Thus, although returning to the framework provided by Thoresby and Gaytryge, the compiler has clearly been influenced by other manuals in his choice of additions. This is also apparent in the second major expansion which he undertakes, the addition of a detailed commentary on the Commandments bringing in biblical and patristic authorities. His most significant innovation here is the use of rhyming mnemonic verses at the head of each discussion, to provide a memorable formulation of the basic command.[117] This section is noticeably more discursive than the original treatment of the Decalogue and is characterised by frequent attacks against corrupt clergy. In the second Commandment, for example, people misusing high office are considered to be taking the name of God 'in vayn':

> For in as moche.as þey take þese offycys or statys./
> in þat þey be þe mynystris of god. to do ryȝtwisnesse
> and bere down wronges and synne. and to be myrour
> and ensampyl of holynesse and ryȝtwysnesse to alle
> men vndyr hem. (ll. 585-90)

The discussion of Fatherhood under the fourth Commandment, traditionally emphasising the paternal responsibility of the clergy and the filial duty of the laity, stresses the need for the faithful to 'styre hym and confort hym to do hys offys trewly' because if he fails in his office 'he is a þowsand fold more cursyd þan suggettys wyþdrawyng here tythis.' (l. 690) Spiritual murder, another commonplace of Decalogue expositions by this date, is again forcibly expressed, adding a new vitality to the convention:

> And þey ar bounde vp-on peyne of dampnacioun to
> teche þus godys word þat ys fode of mannys sowle.
> (ll. 731-3)

Lechery is seen not only as a sin of the laity but also as a sin of commission by those clergy who allow fornication for an annual rent. Again the sin is vividly charactierised: 'þey sellyn sowlys to satanas for a lytyl worldly dryt' (ll. 770-1). Although this concern with the clerical orthodoxy might be said to characterise the work of both Thoresby and Wycliffe (as Nolloth suggests in his Introduction[118]), the interpolations do tend to change the nature of the work. They considerably lengthen it, thus making Gaytryge's injunction to attempt to memorize as much as possible largely inappropriate to the Wycliffite version. Furthermore there is an inconsistency of tone, particularly in the Decalogue exposition. This is addressed more overtly to the laity and adopts a slightly more intimate tone which does not fully integrate with the more public expository manner of the main text, though this difference may be more apparent in reading than in verbal performance. However, the Wycliffite version is clearly and unashamedly a rather eclectic compilation in which, as I have suggested, comprehensiveness is perhaps more important than consistency of address. The original independence of the Decalogue exposition is perhaps suggested by the lengthy preamble and epilogue which reiterate many teachings covered elsewhere in the original syllabus. The discussion in the first Commandment, for example, of God's might and power and our duty to obey him overlaps with the similar discussion not only in the original exposition of the Creed but also in the first interpolation, also dealing with the Creed. The lengthy peroration, dealing with the joys of heaven and pains of hell and facing man with the choice between them, ends with a striking rhetorical flourish:

> Ilke man þat haþ resun ȝwot wheþer ys better to chese./
> And þerfore no man may be excusyd./ (ll. 969-71),

and again the link back to the main text (recommencing with the two Commandments of the Gospel) is artlessly executed.

A similar expansiveness is found in the additions to the original discussion of the Works of Mercy (a simple list followed by a Latin mnemonic). Here a lengthy account of the justification for these good works changes the tone from factual exposition of a received truth to persuasion and exhortation:

> Lord whi schulde venym or stynk lette vs to visite
> men in presun, sythyn þey be many tymes presonyd
> for hate and for trewthe þat þey mayntene. (ll. 1133-4)

The style is closer to pulpit rhetoric than to the spare didacticism of the original. There is a tendency to polemic, exemplified by the attacks on Confraternities, Chantries and bulls of pardon as well as by criticism of the prelacy.[119]

Gaytryge's version of Thoresby's instructions seem to have been used by the compiler of Lambeth 408 as a framework to which he added material covering other aspects of the teaching syllabus. The complicated textual history of its component parts is by no means clear, in particular because many manuscripts contain parts of the text but no other manuscript offers an exact parallel. Dr Hudson's tentative suggestion, based on the circulation of the material, that Lambeth 408 is 'a composite text, made by putting together a number of already existing elements' supports my own contention based on the nature of the material added, that this version should be regarded as an *ad hoc* manual.[120] Just as Gaytryge expanded his Latin original, perhaps under the influence of other manuals, so the compiler

of Lambeth 408 made Gaytryge's work even more comprehensive. The concept of pastoral aid had clearly evolved considerably from the early formulations of a basic syllabus in the episcopal constitutions of Langton, his colleagues and his successors.

Chapter 2. Education

Formal catechesis provided by and in the church was only one of the ways in which the religious education of the laity and their pastors was ensured. Another was the educational system itself. Although the legislation existed for priests with the cure of souls to study at university for varying lengths of time, the evidence discussed below suggests that relatively few of them took advantage of these provisions, or rather that those responsible for the administration of the legislation decided to prefer different types of priests to this kind of training. The experience of the average parish priest (if such a thing ever existed) in the world of learning was probably limited to the pre-university schools and in particular to the books which formed the core of the syllabus in those schools. This chapter examines these schools and studies the basic texts used in them. It illustrates the considerable overlaps between the school texts and some of the pastoral manuals commonly used to assist in catechesis and in the correct execution of the priestly office, not only in terms of their common subject matter, but also in the ways in which the material was ordered, presented and commented upon.

I

Parallel with the episcopal decrees and diocesan legislation concerned with the problem of clerical ignorance, there developed a body of legislation emanating from Rome which attempted to provide a framework within the body of canon law to support,

supplement and (at least initially) to encourage more local measures. The evolution of canon law concerning clerical education has been charted by Professor Boyle.[1] Apart from the decrees of the third and fourth Lateran Councils in 1179 and 1215 concerning the provision of grammar masters in all cathedrals (3 Lateran) and theologians in metropolitan churches (4 Lateran), the legislation provided for clerics to be granted licence to be absent from their cure in order to enable them to study.[2] Honorius III in 1219 proposed in a letter known as Super Specula that promising clerics should study theology at university and enjoy their benefices for five years, notwithstanding earlier legislation on absenteeism.[3] In 1274, however, Gregory X's post-conciliar constitution Licet Canon re-affirmed the need for residence. Out of the subsequent confusion and unrest (typified by the reaction against the decree of the English bishops at the Council of Reading in 1279, and their failure to send a protesting letter 'quia clerus nolebat contribuere'[4]) came a need for clarification and a positive re-statement of the Church's attitude to the education of the clergy. Boniface VIII, influenced by Durandus the Elder, promulgated his constitucio novella Cum ex eo in 1298. By this legislation bishops could 'dispense incumbents for up to seven years study provided they proceeded to the sub-diaconate within a year and to the priesthood within a like term after the expiration of their licences.'[5]

The intention and operation of this decree has been the subject of debate. Boyle claimed that, unlike Super Specula, Cum ex eo was designed not to increase the number of teachers

of theology (presumably to function in cathedral schools and other local centres of clerical education and in-service training) but to enable a literate parish clergy to further their education; 'its application was strictly confined to clerics who were destined for an ordinary and unencumbered cura animarum.'[6] He saw the decree as being aimed at young uncommitted men, not yet sub-deacons. Haines has presented convincing reasons for modifying this view of the decree, and in particular for believing that, whatever the intentions of the promulgators of the legislation, its operation suggests that it was interpreted (at least by the English bishops) in rather a different fashion. Asking the telling question 'how suitable was university education for the ordinary incumbent', he points out that 'the ignorance of the rector lay initially in his lack of Latin; without Latin the university lectures and the prescribed texts would be meaningless.'[7] The evidence, he argues, suggests clearly that the decree Cum ex eo was exploited by the bishops, and that many licences to study were granted to clerics who were already magistri.[8]

The career of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, who, as we shall see, had strong views about all forms of education, illustrates the evolution of episcopal attitudes to Cum ex eo licensing and the concomitant problems of absenteeism. As Godfrey's study of non-residence shows, the first fourteen years of Grandisson's reign were generous in the issue of licences; the second fourteen were much tighter and favoured magistri. In 1355 he issued a mandate against absenteeism and apparently stopped issuing licences for absence altogether.[9] Haines also prints statistics which illustrate the preference of fifteenth-century bishops for

licensing *magistri*.[10] Furthermore the influence and popularity of *Cum ex eo* seems to have been largely restricted to the first half of the fourteenth century. After 1330 there is a general decline in the number of licences issued. Thus the impact of the decree on the majority of the parish clergy seems to have been negligible and indeed what Haines calls the 'extra-mural instruction' provided by the increasingly elaborate episcopal decrees and the developing trade in producing pastoral manuals probably modified the need; academic learning is not usually seen as an essential attribute of the parish priest in the manual accounts of the paradigm.[11]

However, although Haines convincingly demonstrates the minimal impact of the decree on the problem of an illiterate clergy, it should be mentioned that licences were frequently given not only for the full seven years, but also for intermediate periods. Philip Repingdon, bishop of Lincoln from 1405 to 1419, licensed many clerics for three years study at a *studium generale*. This period suggests further general education rather than specific theological training and may indicate a less specific use of the universities.[12] Nevertheless, it seems clear that many bishops 'exploited *Cum ex eo* as additional machinery for enabling the beneficed to attend the Schools and for scholars or those seeking further qualifications to postpone further ordination.'[13]

The formal education of the majority of the clergy was, therefore, probably limited to the more elementary stages of the educational system, while the evidence provided by the examinations in literacy conducted before ordination and institution to a

living suggest that some failed even to progress as far as the grammar school.[14] Yet many of the clergy were not only students at such elementary institutions (or at the less formal schools also found) but also subsequently taught at them.[15] For this reason both the nature of the education they received and the methods used to present information and to encourage its retention are clearly a significant and influential part of their experience of the world of books and learning. The books they used established a norm against which other works encountered by them would have been evaluated and judged. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that pastoral aids for the clergy are often strikingly reminiscent of books used in schools. Some texts, in fact, seem to have served both functions.

II

All levels of the medieval English educational system were aware of, and exploited the functional advantages of verse as a medium of instruction. From the elementary and song schools right through the grammar school and even up to the study of the Sentences of Peter Lombard at university, the student was surrounded by texts in verse which he would be expected to be able to read and expound. These verse texts provided the staple of their daily work and, as the following discussion will show, were used in a variety of didactic contexts to fulfil a variety of pedagogic functions.

The first school book was the so-called Primer. This collection of texts had evolved out of the Psalter which had historically provided the backbone of the Church's daily worship

in the Divine Office. As Bishop has shown in his account of the origin of the Primer, by the end of the thirteenth century manuscripts are found containing the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms and various litanies and prayers.[16] The popularity and widespread use of such collections inevitably led to variation and development in the general format and the accretion of much devotional material, so that the Primer became a compendium of formal and informal prayer and a manual of meditation. So substantial was this accretion of what Leroquais calls 'secondary' material that separate devotional miscellanies were often formed, presumably to function as companion volumes to the Books of Hours proper.[17]

In addition to the more devotional additions to the basic text of the Primer it is not uncommon to find manuscripts which also contain material of a more didactic nature, particularly discussions of the basic teaching syllabus as laid down by the episcopal legislation. The logic of this arrangement is clear. Priests were under an obligation to ensure that the laity were instructed in the rudiments of the faith, and what better medium to present this material than the so-called Lay Folk's Prayer Book, the religious text which achieved the widest circulation among the literate laity. Several of the manuscripts collated by Littlehales in his discussion of the Primer include such material either as an integral part of the book's design or as a later addition.[18] In thus fulfilling the requirements of the reforming statutes, such collections performed a function similar to the purpose-built works of instruction. It is therefore not surprising to discover that this most rudimentary

set of devotions should also have been used as the first 'set-text' in schools.

In addition to the standard Primer containing this didactic information, special Primers in larger and clearer handwriting appear to have been produced specifically for the use of children, often beginning with the alphabet and Sign of the Cross.[19] The 'cross-row' formed an essential part of the elementary training, as Trevisa's poem suggests:

> A croys was maked all of reed / In the bigynnyng of my book
> That is clepid 'God me speed', / In the first lessoun that I took.
> Thanne I lernede A and B, / and other lettris by her names...[20]

The pupils progressed from the alphabet to the basic prayers of the church; Chaucer's 'clergeon' in The Prioress' Tale, presumably near the beginning of his formal education, had progressed sufficiently to be able to recite the Ave Maria when he saw a statue of the Virgin.[21]

As Carleton Brown points out, with the advent of printing the didactic material, often prefaced to Primers and constituting a kind of primitive pastoral handbook comparable to the simpler formulations of the basic syllabus found in clerical miscellanies, was published on a single sheet, usually headed by the alphabet and frequently referred to in printer's inventories as ABC's.[22] At least two examples of this didactic material circulating in manuscript apart from a primer and headed by such an alphabet have been preserved. B.L. Add. MS. 60577, the recently purchased Winchester miscellany, contains a section (folio 120 recto - 146 recto) of more extended primary catechetic instruction including the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed, Commandments, Works of Mercy,

Bodily and Ghostly Wits, Deadly Sins, the Virtues, the Gifts of the Spirit, the Sacraments, the Articles of Faith, Eight Tokens of Meekness and the final chapter of Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection as well as extracts from the Speculum Ecclesie of St Edmund of Abingdon.[23] This constitutes a standard short pastoral manual, but is prefaced by a cross row and is carefully and clearly written only on alternate lines of the ruling, as if to facilitate use by or perhaps even copying by children. Similarly JRL Eng. MS. 85 has a section containing:

> The abice, and next pater noster ave maria and crede and next the heestis and other thingis shortli to be touchid to helpe every persoone that thinkith to be saved.

The reference to 'every persoone' in the Rylands manuscript suggests the freedom of movement enjoyed by this material and the absence of rigid divisions between children's catachesis and that of the adult laity.

The importance of this initial instruction at primary level is stressed by Bishop Grandisson, writing to the teachers in the diocese of Exeter in 1357, who complained that the pupils were being allowed to progress on to higher studies without having grasped the fundamentals, and stressed the importance of a solid grounding in the rudiments of the faith:

> Injungimus et mandamus, quatinus pueros, quos recipiunt in Gramaticalibus imbuendos, non tantum legere aut discere literaliter, ut hactenus, set, aliis omnibus omissis, construere et intelligere faciant Oracionem Dominicam, cum Salutacione Angelica, Symbolum, et Matutinas, ac Horas de Beata Virgine et diccliones ibi declinare ac respondere de partibus earundem, antequam eosdem ad alios libros transire permittant.[24]

A very similar attitude is displayed by Bishop Alcock's remarks in the 1490's. Children, he said, were taught to serve God,

to help the priest to sing, and to say 'Our Lady Mattins'.[25]

Grandisson's injunction that the pupils should not only learn the basic prayers but should also be able to construe them demonstrates how inextricably linked religious instruction had become with the first steps in the appreciation of the intricacies of Latin and how the pupils were introduced to the study of verse through the sacred Scripture, particularly the Psalms contained in their Primers. His insistence on a firm foundation in the rudiments was pedagogically and spiritually sound. Alcock's comment that an important part of the primary education was helping the priest to sing reminds us that the primary function of the Primer was to enable the laity to contribute to the Opus Dei and to the Church's constant song of praise to God. In this respect the Psalms had a central part to play. As Nicholas of Lyra (ob. 1340) wrote in his commentary on the Psalms, which was eventually incorporated into the Glossa Ordinaria, the forma tractandi of the Psalter emphasises that the work was designed to praise God:

> Laus vero divina oratio est, seu species orationis.[26]

But the commentators also emphasised that the Psalms were particularly valuable as a compact formulation of useful and necessary doctrine:

> Liber autem psalterium continet totam sacram scripturam per modum laudis, ideo est toti ecclesiae valde utilis ad spem et ad consecutionem futurae beatitudinis.[27]

The singing of Psalms practised in song schools not only praised God, but also assisted the correct formation and pronunciation of the Latin words.[28] In addition the compact restatement of doctrine they contained made them suitable for lengthier

exposition to supplement the rudimentary didactic material often found in the Primers. This notion of a verse text as the compact vehicle for teaching which could later be expounded at greater length is of course central to the school curriculum in the Middle Ages. The verse format made memorisation easier, providing a mnemonic peg for more detailed exposition. In addition, as the commentators on the Psalter also realised, the verse form was affective:

> Intendit enim propheta non solum de christo quae proponit docere, uerum etiam docendo affectum carnalium hominum ad eandem laudem trahere. Unde etiam metrice scripsit et diuersis loquendi generibus opus ornauit. [29]

The recognition accorded to verse texts in the school curriculum apart from shaping the expectations and experience of most of the clergy also made it inevitable that the same techniques would be employed in other didactic contexts.

Thus, the importance attached to song in primary education is reflected in a body of texts frequently circulating with the verse reading texts used in the teaching of Latin grammar. The generic term for these texts is Expositio Hymnorum or Expositio Sequentiarum and they consist of an explanation of and brief commentary on Office hymns and sequences.[30] As Pafart suggests, these works would have been particularly useful as reading texts in song schools or cathedral grammar schools where the pupils would learn to construe the hymns they used in celebrating the Divine Office, with the changing liturgical requirements of the services providing a constantly rotating set of texts for reading and construing.[31] The manuscript contexts in which these Expositiones have survived suggest their use as a school text as does an account of a school curriculum in Toulouse in 1328;

lectures in the morning were to consist of Priscian and the Doctrinale:

> And after dinner ... the said masters in grammar shall be required in winter time at nones to lecture on Ebrardus, the story of Alexander and Hymns and Metrification.[32]

In England, the Expositio collection seems to date at least from the twelfth century when a manuscript containing early Middle English glosses to the hymns and a prologue defining and describing them in terms reminiscent of Psalter commentaries of the period was at Rochester.[33] The prologue to one collection begins by discussing the authorship of the hymns, discussing the contributions of David and other prophets as well as more recent Doctors of the Church such as Hilarius and Ambrosius. It claims that the song sung by the children in the 'burning fiery furnace' was a hymn, and the purpose of this retrospective generic classification is clear: the author wishes to illustrate the authoritative nature of the Office hymns and the fundamental similarity of their modus agendi to that practised by the poetic writers in Scripture, above all David, who was treated in the Middle Ages as the prototype Christian poet and was frequently called upon to justify Christian literary activity.[34] It is not surprising, therefore, to discover similarities between this discussion of hymnology and commentaries on the Bible's own liber hymnorum, the Psalter.

Thus David assumes central importance in both genres; as author or compiler of the Psalms and as the first author of hymns:

> Hymnos primum David prophetam condidisse ac cecinisse manifestum est.[35]

Similarly both genres are seen as being the product of a combination of divine inspiration and human workmanship:

> Sunt autem divini ymni, sunt et ingenio humano compositi.[36]

Nicholas of Lyra, applying the Aristotelian four causes to his analysis of the Psalter overcomes the sticky problem of authority and authorship by describing God as the principal efficient cause and David as the instrumental efficient cause to whom:

> Omnia contenta in hoc libro fuerunt revelata et ab eo descripta.[37]

Both genres emphasise the central function of praising God. Lyra, as we have seen, claimed that the Psalter operated 'per modum laudis' and claimed 'laus vero divina oratio est'. Gilbert de la Porrée goes further than this. Using the accessus heading of titulus libri, he describes the Psalter as liber hymnorum and goes on to describe his meaning of the term:

> Hymnus est laus dei cum cantico. Canticum uero est mentis exultatio habita de aeternis prorumpens in uocem.[38]

Judged by these criteria, he says, the Psalter may well be described as a liber hymnorum. An early Expositio discusses the Office hymns in similar terms. All songs (carmina) sung in praise of God may be called hymns:

> Carmina autem quecumque in laude dei canuntur, ymni vocantur. Item ymnus est canticum laudantium ...; proprie autem ymni sunt continentes laudem dei.[39]

The three crucial elements of a hymn are that it should praise, that it should praise God and that it should praise God by singing. These elements are seen as mutually dependent:

> Si ergo sit laus et non sit dei, non est ymnus. Si sit laus et dei laus et non cantetur, non est ymnus. Si ergo et in laudem dei dicitur et cantatur, tuno est ymnus.[40]

This process of definition was also used to define generically the work of earlier authors. In the Dialogus super Auctores of Conrad of Hirsau, the accessus Super Prudentium opens with a list of his works which includes the entry:

> Scripsit in laudem Christi et martirum eius diverso metro librum qui intitulatur Liber ymnorum, ubi etiam tardae penitentiae suae meminit et cum aliis se in laudem divinitatis accendit.[41]

Prudentius was regarded as a major author of hymns as the common Sarum commentary discussed below illustrates.

It might be argued that the views of university commentators on the Psalms have little relevance for either the elementary education of children or for the form of the English pastoral manual. However the presence of these concepts in the widely circulating accessus literature suggests the range of their dissemination. And the emphasis they place on the importance of laus dei is consistently reflected by the texts in clerical miscellanies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which exhort the clergy to say and sing the Office correctly and with care. For example the text De Horis Canonicis, circulating widely on its own and as part of a sequence of texts called in one manuscript a 'tabula laus christo', strongly emphasises the meaning and purpose of the Office:

> Hore enim canonice propter laudem humanam et vanam gloriam non sunt dicende seu cantande, sed ad dei gloriam et laudem...[42]

The Expositiones Hymnorum, therefore can be seen as part of a much wider concern that the Divine Office should be properly executed and that its significance should be understood. Their influence on the future priests and their teachers lies in this

sphere, and their discussion of the nature of Christian literary activity, although a pale reflection of the wider debate, may have had some influence on the production of didactic and devotional works in verse, both in Latin and the vernacular.[43]

Although various commentaries to the Hymns and later to the Sequences were composed, the most stable and frequently recurring commentary is attached to the hymns of the Sarum rite. It is found in manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards and was the first Expositio to be printed. It contains a detailed prologue which uses the accessus ad auctores headings.[44] The main authors of the hymns, it says, were Gregory , Prudentius, Ambrosius and Sedulius. Hilarius is credited with the compilation of the present collection and his motivation and modus agendi are briefly discussed:

> Sed quidam vir prudens nomine Hilarius videns illos sic multos hymnos composuisse, dignum duxit placuit~que quosdam in unum colligere compendiose et unum brevem et utilem tractatum componere in quo hymni omnes continentur.[45]

Brevity, utility and compactness; these concerns mark out Hilarius, in the view of the commentator, as a proto-compilator, and they are concerns which are echoed many times in pastoral aids in the period.[46] Hilarius in collecting together these hymns has not only facilitated the proper execution of the Divine Office, but has created a collection of texts which, like the Primer, was capable of use in different, non-liturgical functions. The commentary stresses that the hymns can be used in instruction in the mysteries of the faith:

> quia eo perfecto et bene intellecto cognitionem habere possumus unitatis et trinitatis omni potentis dei. Supponitur autem theorice id est divine contemplationi.[47]

The teaching <u>auctoritas</u> of the hymns is great because their authors were Fathers of the Church.[48]

The commentary proper usually breaks the hymns up into two-line sections and construes them in simpler Latin (reminding us of its place in the schoolroom) while also explaining difficult theological passages where necessary. Each commentary begins with a discussion of the <u>materia</u> of the hymn. Thus, to take the first hymn in the Sarum collection, <u>Conditor alme siderum</u>, the exposition begins:

> Materia huius hymni est de adventu christi et incarnatione eiusdem.

Each line is construed:

> O alme conditor id est sancte creator; siderum, id est stellarum.[49]

Frequently the exposition also identifies the metre of the hymn. Thus the <u>Expositiones</u> could fulfil a wide range of functions. They could assist in explaining the Office hymns to those of limited latinity (and surely this would not have been limited to those receiving formal education), they could teach points of doctrine and they could be construed and examined for their literary worth. All these functions were supplied by the commentaries accompanying the hymns. The actual presentation of the text was similar to the standard format of the glossed book with the text written in such a way as to allow interlinear and marginal glossing although some commentaries merely have <u>lemmata</u> from the hymns and would have been used in conjunction with an unglossed hymnal.

The evidence of the manuscript circulation of these texts suggests that they circulated with other verse texts which were

glossed and commented on in a similar fashion: that they blended into their scholastic environment easily.[50] David Thomson's catalogue of vernacular grammatical texts, all from the later medieval period, includes two manuscripts containing Expositiones and others containing rearrangements of the words of hymns and prayers to facilitate understanding.[51] Dom Aelred Watkin discusses a Downside manuscript which he calls an instruction book for novices.[52] This also includes an exposition of difficult scriptural phrases and elementary aids in Latin such as a list of Latin proper names with their vernacular equivalents, a list of adverbs and adjectives and an extensive Latin dictionary. The instruction is geared, as Dom Aelred points out, to 'the singing of the Divine Office - the sine qua non of the monastic life which the novice had begun to lead.'[53] Although few of the manuscripts can be positively ascribed to a particular institution it seems probable that they would have been used in grammar and song schools attached to cathedrals and colleges. The bequest of William de Ravenstone, who was master and almoner of the almonry school (the choir school of St Paul's) included two books one of which was certainly an Exposition of the hymns and sequences, the other containing not only a Liber Accentuarium but also copies of Alexander's Doctrinale and Everard's Graecismus.[54]

Discussions of the primary education system in England inevitably refer at some point to Chaucer's presentation of school life in The Prioress' Tale. Carleton Brown, for example, gave a thorough exposition of the basic syllabus, as well as taking Skeat to task for his interpretation of the nature of

the school.[55] It has not been generally noticed, however, that, whatever the type of school the clergeon attends, the treatment of the curriculum suggests that Chaucer was familiar with the procedures employed in Expositiones Hymnorum.[56] As we have seen, the basic syllabus of the primary and song school was rather limited:

> Swich manere doctrine as men used there,
> This is to seyn, to syngen and to rede,
> As smale children doon in hire childhede. (VII, 11.499-501)

Although it was not usual for much formal instruction in grammar to be given at this level, it often happened that pupils of different levels of attainment would have occupied the same building, so that the usual association of the Expositiones with grammar texts need not mean that children at a lower level would not have come into contact with them.[57] In any case they may have been used differently in the song school than in the grammar school. As we have seen they are remarkably versatile collections.

The little clergeon in Chaucer's story, having mastered his Ave Maria, is sitting 'his litel book lernynge' when he hears the antiphon Alma redemptoris being sung. He cannot understand the Latin, but manages to learn the first line ('vers') by rote and, using the correct technical term, asks a fellow student to 'expounden hym this song in his langage/ Or telle hym why this song was in usage.'[58] The exposition which follows employs the technical language and modus agendi of the Expositio. Although the clergeon's story is traditional, this exchange with the fellow pupil is Chaucer's invention, necessitated by his reduction of the clergeon's age so that,

whereas in some versions he sings the antiphon himself in choir, here having just embarked on his primary education he has not yet reached this stage. (The traditional version of him singing in choir is, incidentally, evidence to support Skeat's assertion that the school is a choir school or attached to a cathedral, against Brown's assertion that it is a village school. Also in favour of Skeat is the clergeon's question as to why the antiphon is in 'usage', which seems to imply some liturgical function. In the Roman rite the Alma redemptoris is used from Advent to the Purification, which might explain why he is trying to learn it before Christmas.[59]) Chaucer's alteration of the source means that the use of the techniques of the Expositio is his own. The fellow student does his best but he is hampered by a lack of technical training:

> I kan namoore expounde in this mateere;
> I lerne song, I kan but smal grammeere. (VII, ll. 535-6)

This precisely made distinction suggests that what the 'felaw' goes on to tell the clergeon is in fact his recollection of a magisterial exposition. In fact he acknowledges this in his first comment:

> This song, I have herd seye...

The clergeon's request is also precise in its terminology. He wants the text 'expounded' and asks his 'felaw' to 'construe' and 'declare'. However, the exposition given of the Alma Redemptoris could not have come from an existing commentary (as a votive antiphon) as the Alma Redemptoris does not fall within the scope of the Expositiones.[60] Yet the words of the 'felaw' have a professional ring:

> ... This song, I have herd seye,
> Was maked of our blisful Lady free,
> Hire to salue, and eek hire for to preye
> To been oure help and socour whan we deye.
> (VII, ll. 531-3)

The emphasis on praise is, of course, identical with that in the Expositiones. The child is so enthralled by the account that he decides to learn the Antiphon before Christmas:

> Though that I for my prymer shal be shent. (VII, l. 541)

The clergeon is in fact in danger of committing the offence that Bishop Grandisson warned against; leaving the primary material (which he is still learning in his book) and going on to more advanced material.

The Primer and the Expositiones suggest how deeply imbued with verse, and more importantly with scriptural and specifically Christian verse, the pupils would become in the elementary stages of their education. These works would still be valuable to those who went on to join the ranks of the priesthood.[62] The Expositiones, and in particular their format, with the hymns treated both as texts to be construed and appreciated as well as repositories of information on the faith, introduced the student to a type of text with which they would become increasingly familiar as they progressed through the syllabus of the grammar schools.

III

Collections of verse reading texts

The use of verse in the elementary stages of instruction in the medieval school is further illustrated and illuminated by a group of texts in metrical form which (with developments

and modifications) are found together frequently in manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards. As early as the ninth century, the Disticha Catonis are frequently to be found in manuscripts also containing the Fabulae Aviani. In the tenth century these texts are joined by the Homerus Latinus and the Ecloga Theodolus, followed by the Elegiae Maximiani. The Homer largely disappears from manuscripts containing the other works during the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century this fairly stable grouping of texts was expanded by the addition of Statius' Achilleid and Claudian's De Raptu Proserpinae.[63] The overwhelming weight of manuscript evidence is in favour of seeing these texts as a collection of works which, whether deliberately assembled or not, appear to have achieved a composite popularity.[64]

It is generally assumed that these texts were used in grammar schools to enable the pupils to gain experience in reading and construing. Hamilton, for example, refers to Theodolus as 'a medieval textbook'.[65] Many of the manuscripts containing all or a majority of the texts are heavily glossed and annotated, and they are frequently preceded by an accessus style prologue.

Unlike the texts in the Primer, which were often learned by heart (as Grandisson complained) without pupils knowing or understanding how to construe anything or decline words or parse them, these verse texts were meant to be read with understanding and to be analysed grammatically. This emphasis on reading and understanding is illustrated by the 'little Cato' attached to the version of the Disticha Catonis in Bodleian MS. Rawl. G.60:

> Igitur mea precepta ita legito ut intelligas.
> Legere et non intelligere est neeglegere. (folio 2 verso)

This manuscript dates from early in the fifteenth century and early in its life passed into the hands of a Magister Willelmus Smyth. Further evidence of their educational popularity is provided by the general approval given to them in the pseudonymous third book of Eberhard's verse grammar Laborintus:

> Viribus apta suis pueris ut lectio detur,
> Auctores tenero fac ut ab ore legas.[66]

Jacques de Vitry recommended that the Augustinian doctrine of spoliatio Egyptorum should be exercised on these texts because they have some moral worth and are therefore more useful than many pagan authors. They are listed in Hugh of Trimberg's Registrum (as, indeed, is the Summula Raymundi).[67] Because of the gregariousness which the texts displayed in their transmission, they are referred to collectively as the Sex Auctores.

The works were known and used in English schools, as is shown by their presence among the books bequeathed by the schoolmaster William de Ravenstone to St Paul's School in 1358. Item 7 in the inventory of the bequest lists the Sex Auctores and the Parvum Doctrinale ascribed to Alan of Lille 'in uno volumine'.[68]

The use of these texts in schools inevitably generated commentaries and glosses. Theodulus, for example, was commented on by Bernard of Utrecht and Conrad of Hirsau.[69] Alexander Neckham (ob.1217), who wrote school books himself, has had a commentary on the text ascribed to him, and in the late fourteenth century the Carmelite Stephen Partington, bishop of St David's, is also reputed to have commented on it.[70] The Disticha Catonis were also widely glossed and commented upon.[71]

The development of the accessus ad auctores has been fully chronicled.[72] Following Quain's suggestion that the accessus was widely used by commentators on rhetoric, dialectic and law, further research has shown that the schemata used widely in commentaries on the verse reading texts were also applied to scripture by commentators.[73] The only theoretical discussion of the technique of the accessus occurs in Conrad of Hirsau's Dialogus super Auctores. Conrad's indebtedness to Bernard of Utrecht's commentary on Theodolus has been emphasised by Huygens, but his discussion of the purpose and procedure of the schematic introductions appears to be original, despite the similarity of some of the ideas expressed to those found in the works of Quintilian, Gregory and others. Conrad stresses that the schemata serve merely as introductions to the understanding of the authors, and warns, through the persona of the magister instructing his pupil, against the dangers of secular writers for immature intellects. The pupil, in justifying his desire for knowledge of such writers emphasises the elementary nature of the information contained in the accessus:

> quero enim a te non ut totius domus apertae suppellectilem scruteris, sed clausis claves adhibeas ostiis, non auctorum quero lectionem vel expositionem, sed ex principio eorum, id est materia vel intentione, colligere mediatatem et finem.[74]

The glosses and commentaries on the verse reading texts examined here rarely supply more than this bare minimum of information, and maintain a consistent emphasis on the utilitas of the works they introduce to enable the reader to 'understand' the text correctly.

Many copies of the Sex Auctores have some glosses in them even when there is no other apparatus. The glosses are usually restricted to the explanation of difficult words and constructions, suggesting that the texts were usually used by an audience with a limited acquaintance with and fluency in the syntax and vocabulary of classical verse. Some of these glosses also explain the meaning of difficult or unusual concepts, as in B.L. Additional MS. 10089 which explains the term vates.[75]

Commentaries of a didactic nature, although less common than with the later collection of texts, are sometimes found. In B.L. Royal MS. 15 A. VII, dating from the middle of the thirteenth century and containing the Sex Auctores and other verse reading texts, each text is described in a title or colophon either as a 'liber de moribus' or as a 'liber ethicorum', and the collection is seen as being cohesive and progressive, with a number being ascribed to each text. The prologue to the Disticha Catonis, long valued as an ethical work, which appears first in this manuscript sets the tone of the collection:

> Materia istius libri sunt quatuor cardinales virtutes. ... Intentio auctoris est dare precepta et documenta moralia quibus auditor animum suum potest illustrare ut iusticiis propulsis vitam eternam valeat adipisci.... Intentio huius auctoris sunt boni mores et collectio preceptorem....[76]

This last comment on the author - that he writes to inform morals and collect precepts - might serve as a comment on the whole collection. This manuscript also contains the Liber Penitentialis or Peniteas Cito (discussed below) and four verses on the Commandments which, although in a different hand from the main body of the texts, suggests that the didactic bias

evident in later collections of reading texts was beginning to make itself felt in thirteenth-century copies of the Sex Auctores.[77] There is no evidence that the works were used exclusively as school texts. They were clearly valued as poetry in their own right. Thus, in B.L. Additional MS. 21213, a thirteenth-century manuscript containing the Auctores and works by Anselm and Prosper, the layout, which is in double columns, differs from the single column of text usually found in manuscripts intended for glossing.[78] Despite this, a later hand has glossed the Disticha Catonis, not without some difficulty, and added a prologue in the bottom margin. Here perhaps is an example of a private copy of the texts which has, in a later period, been pressed into school use. Wherever, and however the books were used, it is significant that such a collection of metrical texts should have achieved such a wide circulation.[79]

Sometime around 1300, however, a new collection of verse texts seems to have taken shape. Like the Sex Auctores, these eight texts achieved a popularity which is attested not only by the large number of surviving manuscript copies but also by their early appearance in print under the blanket title Octo Auctores.[80] Although the services of Cato and Theodolus were retained in the new collection, probably because of their overtly moral tone and perhaps because of their particular popularity as reading texts, the other texts in the original collection were replaced by works of a more clearly Christian and didactic nature. This narrowing of literary horizons can only have been for the sake of greater catechetic efficiency.

R.W. Hunt has written of the failure of the classical humanism of the twelfth-century to develop and flourish in subsequent centuries. In a telling account of the use of classical authors in the thirteenth century he states that 'they came to be read rather for the information they contained than as models to imitate.'[81] This contention is borne out by the tendency of the commentaries to explicate the contents rather than analyse the style.[82] This pragmatic inclination to treat them as 'quarries for useful sayings and stories suitable for inclusion in collections of exempla' is clearly reflected in the vogue for metrical contractions of long works which could be supplied with a commentary to expound difficult or complex ideas, thus combining the compactness and memorability of verse with supplementary information attached to some convenient memory tag. Hunt suggests that the later moralisations of classical texts result from this tendency to regard the texts as mnemonic encyclopaediae.[83]

The educational treatise De Commendatione Cleri, which is preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript, was probably written sometime between 1347 and 1365. Although primarily concerned with education in universities, it charts the progress of a medieval education, seeing it primarily as a preparation for the priesthood:

> [S]cholastic discipline is, as it were, the nurse of the church militant and can be called the offspring of the dove, since it nourishes the young in the church to become pastors of God.

Having discussed the initial training of seven year olds in the alphabet and the rudiments of writing, the treatise recommends

the works suitable for slightly more advanced students:

> Texts of a moral character and of poetical deduction (poetice deductionis) should be combined, in which is acquired both fruit of virtues and fertility of good morals, while traces of rhetorical polish are found in the same.[84]

Moral poetry with a rhetorical flourish not only confirms the bias suggested in Hunt's analysis of the qualities valued in Latin verse texts, but also provides an apt description of the characteristics of the new collection of reading texts known as the Octo Auctores.[85]

The new group of texts all share a common theme of contemptus mundi, clearly deriving from and catering for the taste created by such works as the De Miseria Condicionis Humane of Lotario Dei Segni (Pope Innocent III).[86] The universal commonplace nature of the sentiments expressed, for example, by the poem Cartula (also known as De Contemptu Mundi) is immediately apparent:

> Pauper amabilis et venerabilis est benedictus;
> Dives inutilis insatiabilis est maledictus.[87]

Indeed the poems in the new collection seem positively to exploit conventional ideas and commonplace aphorisms, preferring a simple statement of indubitable moral truth to more complex teachings which would be unsuitable both for the intended audience and the literary form itself. The ideas in the Cartula fall naturally into easily memorable couplets or striking single lines and the overall mnemonic framework is reinforced by a tendency to anaphora. Thus the concept of life as peregrinatio uses rhyme, repetition and biblical allusion to attract the reader's attention:

Qua gaudere potest peregrinus homo ratione
Dum vagus incertus procul exulat a regione
Dum captivatur miser in misera babylone.[88]

Similarly the poem's description of Christ achieves a remarkable combination of concentrated doctrine and poetic effect in a single couplet:

Verus homo verusque deus, pius et miserator
Verus salvator, nostreque salutis amator.[89]

As Orme says, the poem has an 'ornamental style with both internal and end rhymes', but this style is subordinated to a didactic message.

Many of the ideas are repeated in the Facetus (Est nihil utilius). Although this work was used widely in schools and was presumably read by prospective priests and other clergy in these contexts, it is a handbook of etiquette and moral behaviour aimed specifically at the laity. Here again concise expression is consciously cultivated and the poem is a compilation of commonplaces. Many of the couplets are little more than verse tags which would be equally at home in sermon collections and commonplace books and express fundamental doctrine in a manner also widely cultivated in the vernacular lyrics:

Quid sis: quid fueris: quid eris semper memor eris
Sic minus atque minus peccatis sublicieris.[90]

The opening of the poem recapitulates the fundamental teachings of the church by paraphrasing several of the Commandments:

Solum crede deum,quem credis semper adora
Et quicquid facias quod ad ipsum spectat honora.[91]

These paraphrases and encapsulations of moral dogma can be compared with the material often found in the manuals and miscellanies designed to assist the lesser clergy with their pastoral instruction.[92] The same pedagogic fundamentalism is

common to school and church, and it should be remembered that the clergy were exhorted by their bishops to gather together the young for small group instruction in the meaning of the faith. Indeed the Facetus reveals signs of an informing clerical presence motivated partly by self interest. Thus the laity are instructed how to receive a sermon:

> Sis celer ad quemvis sermonem percipiendum
> Sis piger ad quevis verba relata loquendum.[93]

In the printed edition of the Octo Auctores of 1489, this impression is reinforced by the accompanying commentary. On the line 'Sedulius in studio, puer in templo pius esto' the commentary remarks:

> Quando tu es in ecclesia tu non debes dicere verba vana: sed continue laudare deum audiendo divinum officium et dicendo horas tuas.[94]

Clearly this teaching could be applied to the clergy as well as the laity. Certainly that audience envisaged by the poem is literate as it contains several references to study and reading.

The Liber Parabolarum is a collection of proverbs. Proverbial matter was particularly popular in the schools as a kind of easily portable wisdom. Apart from the ubiquity of proverbial works ascribed to Cato in all contexts, including the vernacular, proverbs were frequently used as the raw material for exercises in composition undertaken by students in Grammar. Thus the statutes of St Alban's school, dating from 1309, make the following provision for advancement to the spurious bachelor's degree:

> If anyone desires to rise to the dignity of bachelor he shall get a proverb from the master then in office and shall compose 'versus, litteras, rithmum' on the same.[95]

Fitzstephen's account of the public disputations of twelfth-century schoolboys in London churches in his A Description of London, written before 1183, describes how some scholars 'employ the old wit of the cross-roads in epigrams, rhymes and metre.'[96] Such was the popularity of this 'old wit' that it remained a fundamental and didactically valuable constituent of moral teaching throughout the Middle Ages. Proverbs are widely used, for example in the vernacular lyrics, and Langland in Piers Plowman actually quotes from the Liber Parabolarum.[97] This cultivation of the commonplace, perhaps because of the greater immediacy of 'homespun' philosophy, varies from the overt morality of the Disticha Catonis to the more enigmatic statements of the Liber Parabolarum. This text is widely referred to in the manuscripts as the Parvum Doctrinale.[98] As the commentary in the 1489 print points out, any work which provides doctrine can rightly be called a Doctrinale, but the description is clearly meant to distinguish it from Alexander de Villa Dei's grammatical treatise Doctrinale which was the first verse grammar and was influential in the use and development of verse manuals in schools.[99] The Parvum Doctrinale is in six books and in each book the basic verse unit is two lines longer than in the book preceding, starting with couplets in book one and ending in book six with twelve-line stanzas.

The Thobiadis, the life of Tobit, also begins to appear in manuscripts from the late thirteenth century. In his discussion of these texts, Orme suggests that the Thobiadis did not circulate in England. The existence of at least one manuscript of the work in England suggests that its hagiographic morality may in fact have had some popularity, although clearly it does not

circulate as widely as the other texts.[100] The change of emphasis between the two collections is clear. While still retaining the interest provided by classical metre and elaborate stylistic traits, the new collection required no justification on moral grounds about the suitability of its constituent texts for study. Like their predecessors they employed hexameters or other formal metres which could be analysed and appreciated, and like their predecessors they were ethical and morally uplifting. But unlike the earlier texts their morality was obvious without an explanatory commentary.

However, the new collection was glossed and expounded, although perhaps less frequently than the earlier texts. Although accessus-style prologues are still provided these are merely a conventional part of the apparatus of study as there is no need to justify or explain the value of the texts. Thus in Bodleian MS. Auct. F. V.6, a manuscript written in England late in the thirteenth century, the accessus to Thobiadis is stating the obvious in its account of the text:

> Materia huius libri est istoria de vita et sanctitate Thobie. Intencio autoris est nobis proponere religiosam vitam ipsius ad informacionem morum nostrorum.[101]

The Liber Cartula does not require even this modest introduction - its intentions are spelt out within the first few lines of the text

> Vox divina sonat quod nemo spem sibi ponat
> In rebus mundi que causam dant pereundi.
> Si quis amat christum mundum non diligit istum
> Sed quasi fetorem spernens illius amorem.[102]

In England the moral force of these texts was reinforced by the frequent presence in the manuscripts of several other

verse didactic treatises. The Liber Urbanitatis, perhaps better known by its first line 'Stans puer ad mensam', is now generally agreed to be the work of Robert Grosseteste who was bishop of Lincoln from 1235.[103] This work deals with the rules of politeness, although many of his other writings show a lively concern for training the clergy for their pastoral ministry.[104] The other common work is the Peniteas Cito which is discussed in detail below.

The frequent occurrence of these texts together has led to suggestions that they form part of a grammar school curriculum and fulfilled the role of 'set texts'. Like the Sex Auctores, there is evidence to suggest that they were used in schools, but it is equally possible that they could have been treated as a collection of moral texts in verse for private reading and personal meditation, presenting the 'flowers' of moral wisdom in a conveniently accessible form and expressing them in an equally memorable fashion. The potential ambiguity in their use once again draws attention to the vagueness of the distinctions dividing texts used in school from those used in the daily devotions of the laity. The popularity of these compilations of moral texts illustrates the popularity of verse as a didactic medium and suggests that the works encountered by a student at the grammar school or elsewhere in his primary education would remain part of the repertoire of works available to him later in life to assist in his spiritual and moral development.[105] The works which provided fundamental instruction in morals as well as metres at school would remain valuable repositories of easily accessible learning.

To return to the use of these works in schools, Bro. Bonaventure has drawn attention to several manuscript collections which he feels were probably associated with specific educational establishments. In particular, he singles out Cambridge, Trinity College MS. O.5.4, a handsome presentation volume of the early fifteenth century, probably linked with Battlefield College, and B.L. Additional MS. 37075 which he says was associated with a London school of the late fifteenth century.[106] C.U.L. Additional MS. 2830 includes works by Master John Drury (fl. c. 1434), probably composed while he was teaching in the grammar school at Beccles. It also contains the Facetus and the Liber Parabolarum which were used to expound grammatical rules by means of a detailed commentary on the texts. This manuscript also contains the Peniteas cito with an interlinear gloss.[107] Drury and this manuscript are remarkable because they provide concrete evidence for the moral and didactic tenor of much grammar-school teaching in the period, which, as I have suggested earlier is implicit in the use of the Primer, and also underlies the development of the Octo Auctores. The manuscript contains a copy of Drury's Tractatus de modo confitendi in English with a partial Latin translation. His comments on this treatise imply that this is the culmination and fruition of a course of instruction undertaken throughout the period leading up to Lent and Easter:

> And þus,child, be þese materis qwyche j, simple and onworthy Iohn Drury þy mayster at þis tyme, haue 3eve þe þis lent on'here in Becclis schole.[108]

The treatise contains summaries of the Commandments and has all the usual signs of a small pastoral manual. It even

contains mnemonic verses in Latin, a feature characteristic of many formal pastoral manuals as well as being fundamental to early educational theory.[109]

The Liber Floretus, contained in the continental collections of the Octo Auctores also has the hallmarks of a small pastoral manual in verse. The distinctio in the early printed editions gives an accurate impression of the book's scope:

> ¶Distinctio huius libri per sex capitula.
> Dogma sacre fidei ponit prius ordo libelli.
> Postea precepta ponuntur parte secunda.
> Tercia pars vere monstrat peccata cavere.
> Inde docet quarta pars ecclesie sacramenta.
> Virtutes quinta mores notat et documenta.
> Concludit sexta de morte suaque sequela.[110]

The fact that such material was either used itself as a verse reading text in grammar schools, or else present in collections containing texts that were is clearly significant for the role of verse in pastoral instruction. The use of verse manuals in primary education must be partially responsible for (or a direct function of) their popularity, even if only at the level of creating the taste by which they were appreciated.

Religious instruction is further confirmed as a fundamental feature of the medieval education by the presence in manuscripts associated with schools of works which expound difficult portions of Scripture and give instruction in how to construe such texts. One such work was, not surprisingly, included in a manual of instruction for novices. This manuscript, now at Downside Abbey, is dated c. 1400. It includes a grammatical treatise on figures of speech and an Expositio Hymnorum, in addition to the passages from Scripture.[111] Another example of this occurs

in Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson G.60. This volume, dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, is a composite book made up of six manuscripts. Apart from several of the usual verse texts (Stans puer, Cato, Facetus, Cartula, Parabolarum) the manuscript contains the Synonyma of John of Garland, an Ars Dictaminis and a grammatical treatise using Latin verse mnemonics. Interestingly, a later hand/that responsible for most of the text has added the Peniteas Cito (unglossed) on one of the front flyleaves.[112] Perhaps he felt that the collection was deficient without this text and supplied it from another source - possible testimony to the cohesiveness of the works. The alphabetical exposition of biblical sentences is in the last manuscript of the book. Its procedure is illustrated by the first sentence expounded:

> Ab inicio et ante secula creata sum.
> Iste clausula debet sic exponi. Ego sapiencia...
> (folio 109 recto)

With true didactic economy, the work combines grammatical analysis with religious edification and instruction. In fact, it concludes with an exposition of these things 'qui simplici pertinent sacerdoti'. Not surprisingly they turn out to be the Articles of Faith, the Decalogue, the Deadly Sins, the Senses, and the Works of Mercy, all of which are listed and encapsulated in mnemonic verses, many of which occur in other manuscripts and in other didactic contexts.[113]

Against such a background of didactic activity in manuscripts probably associated with schools and/or used in primary education, it is possible to see Arundel's decree of 1408 in its proper perspective:

> Similiter, quia id quod capit nova testa inveterata sapit, statuimus et ordinamus, quod magistri sive quicunque docentes in artibus, aut grammatica, pueros, seu alios quescunque in primitivis (scientiis instruentes, de fide catholica, sacramento altaris, seu aliis sacramentis ecclesiae, aut materia aliqua theologica, contra determinata per ecclesiam, se nullatenus intromittant instruendo eosdem; nec de expositione sacrae scripturae, nisi in exponendo textum, prout antiquitus fieri consuevit. (cap. 5)[114]

Arundel's constitution was undoubtedly motivated by fear of Wycliffite or Lollard contamination in school instruction, but it adds its voice to the chorus of manuscript evidence which suggests that the widespread tuition in the rudiments of the faith given in the elementary stages of instruction in grammar or song schools is comparable to that found in pastoral manuals for both priests and laity. In particular the didactic techniques employed are strikingly similar, particularly the widespread use of schematic representation of material and the equally ubiquitous use of mnemonic verse. Indeed so similar are the techniques employed that it is valid to argue that the developing field of <u>pastoralia</u> (both Latin and vernacular) drew from the established techniques of the educationalists in the formulation of an appropriate <u>modus agendi</u> for the specifically religious and moral material dealt with in their compilations.[115]

The <u>Peniteas Cito</u>, mentioned briefly above as an occasional (and by no means infrequent) travelling partner of the <u>Sex Auctores</u> and the later didactic collection of reading texts, effectively illustrates the similarities between the verse reading text and the verse pastoral manual. The popularity of this text is well attested - it seems to have been one of the most widely copied didactic poems of the Middle Ages. In fact,

its popularity may have been rivalled only by the Liber Floretus, another of the reading texts. Its authorship is unknown, but Father Hugh Mackinnon has argued that the work may be by William de Montibus.[116] If he is not the author, he certainly knew and used it as he quotes from the work in his own Versarius. William's importance in the development of pastoral aids for the clergy, in the use of verse in didactic contexts, and in pioneering in-service training for the clergy at his cathedral is considerable.[117] The Peniteas, whether or not it is his work, reflects his pragmatic approach to pastoral problems. Dating probably from the early years of the thirteenth century the work is remarkable for its time because, unlike most penitential literature of the period, it aims to prepare the penitent for confession rather than to provide a list of circumstances and appropriate penances. Like so many of the manuals found in the clerical miscellanies, this is clearly intended to be a working text, a practical aid. There are no theoretical discussions of the nature of the sacrament and its function. It is short enough to be valuable as a mnemonic (107 lines in the version printed by Migne, 117 elsewhere) and long enough to be worth using as a reading text in school manuscripts.[118] Its verse form is characteristic of such texts, being in hexameters, although it is unusual in starting with two elegiac couplets. The work is little more than an artful synthesis of the sort of mnemonic verses frequently found in the margins and added at the end of devotional and didactic texts, and often found in pastoral manuals of all sizes, even in those written in the vernacular. But its virtue lies in the way these different verse tags are

fused together and related to the central concept of Penance.

For example, the Works of Mercy are introduced with the comment:

> Haec quae confessis sunt injungenda notabis.

and their formulation in the text (Vestio, poto, cibo, tectum do, visito, solvo) can be widely paralleled as in MS. Rawl. G.60:

> Vestio poto cibo tectum do visito solvo
> Quo defunctus eget ne tua cina neget. (folio 130 verso)

Similarly it lists the conditions for a good confession in a way which was often to be repeated:

> Vera sit, integra sit, et sit confessio munda,
> Sit cita,firma,frequens,humilis,spontanea,nuda,
> Propria, discreta, lacrymosa, morosa, fidelis.

These similarities in the presentation of profoundly commonplace material are not in themselves significant or surprising. More important is the indication they give of the audience for which the Peniteas was designed. Avoiding complexity of idea or syntax, the work immediately states its terms of reference, providing an immediate numerical key to the structure:

> Poeniteas cito, peccator, cum sit miserator
> Judex; et sunt haec quinque notanda tibi.
> Spes veniae, cor contritum, confessio culpae,
> Poena satisfaciens,et fuga nequitiae.

Its mnemonic affinities are emphasised by the brevity of the sense units and sentences. It provides a useful formulation of doctrine and is passive in the sense that it makes no attempt at persuasion:

> Sperne voluptates, lusus, spectacula mundi;
> Desere consortem pravum populique tumultum:
> Secretasque preces et opus pietatis amato.

It occurs in 7 of the 25 manuscripts used as a sample by

Brother Bonaventure in his study of school manuscripts. Indeed, as Father Mackinnon points out, most copies of the poem are glossed in some detail.[119] Yet the work is found as widely in devotional contexts. For example B.L. MS. Cotton Vespasian D. XIII, a thirteenth-century manuscript with one of the two attributions of the work to William de Montibus, contains a known work by William (the Speculum Penitentis) and Innocent III's De Miseria Condicionis Humana.[120]

That the Peniteas should achieve such a huge circulation and such apparent popularity is clearly significant. It was presumably valued for its compact and simple exposition of the principles of the sacrament. Its verse format and the fact that the work fitted into school and religious contexts so easily perhaps suggests an identity of taste but also an early example of cross-fertilisation between these closely related fields. The elementary nature of the instruction it provides and the fact that it was in verse were probably salient features in its popularity - it was pithy, pleasant and profitable and these features would have commended it both to those charged with teaching the young, and to those eager to provide tools for the clergy of limited literacy, as well as appealing to those few members of the laity whose literacy would have been founded on texts strikingly similar in form and content, and whose tastes would no doubt have been shaped accordingly.

IV

The Summula Raymundi

In addition to the Peniteas Cito, other theological works were either composed in verse or converted into metrical form. Perhaps the most popular subjects for such treatment were the Sentences of Peter Lombard, a standard university text book which, in their metrical form, enabled the students to memorise the major points from the complete work. Similar treatment was accorded to Hugh of St Victor's De Sacramentis, although not, apparently, as frequently as with the Sentences.[121] Hinnebusch points out that the Rotulus Pugillaris of Augustine of Dacia (ob. 1283) recommends the use of verse as a memory aid, and he suggests that the text may have been used by confessors preparing for an examination.[122] This may have been one of the uses to which it was put, although the prologue to the work as printed by Walz suggests a wider range of possible uses:

> Ad laudem Iesu Christi pro instructione iuvenum fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum et aliorum qui pro tempore ob salutem animarum praedicationi et confessionum auditioni sunt exponendi ea quae communia sunt et in sacra theologia magis necessaria simplicibus ad sciendum in unum quasi rotulum puggillarem breviter collecti redegi.[123]

The text itself makes a wide use of the mnemonic lists of the rudiments, many of which appear to have been drawn from the major Dominican contribution to the summa literature, the great work of Raymond of Pennaforte, which had been completed by about 1225.[124]

Enough has been written about Raymond's Summa for its influence and importance to need no emphasis here.[125] The work initially had a division into three books covering sins against

God, sins against our neighbour and finally the sacrament of Order and the duties and functions of priests. A fourth book was added sometime after 1234 dealing with Matrimony. As Michaud-Quantin points out, the long final section of the third book on Penance sums up the concerns and teachings of most of the earlier manualists and canonists, while the work as a whole closely parallels the Decretals which Raymond himself was involved in editing. The work soon became the backbone of penitential casuistry, acquiring an explanatory gloss by William of Rennes in the 1240's and undergoing a more rigorous reorganisation at the hands of John of Freiburg who, in addition to adding and synthesising from other manualists, provided a more elaborate apparatus to make the work easier to handle.

It is not surprising that this enormously popular and influential work should have attracted the same treatment as the Lombard's Sentences and Hugh's De Sacramentis. A verse abridgement (which also involved some selection and rearrangement of the original material) was produced in the mid thirteenth century by Adam, a Cistercian monk in the Abbey of Aldersbach in Bavaria.[126] The earliest attribution of the work to Adam comes from a thirteenth-century Douai manuscript, where it occurs in an epigraph preceding the text itself. The exact date of composition is uncertain, but it must have been written and disseminated between 1235, when the fourth book was probably added to the Summa, and 1272 when Berthold of Ratisbon used two lines from the metrical version (it is not really close to the original to call it a paraphrase) in a sermon.[127] The titles

ascribed to the text vary, but it is now generally referred to as the Summula. Adam was not alone in his enterprise. Arnulph of Louvain apparently composed a verse résumé of the Summa around the middle of the century, although no trace of this work has survived.[128]

We have seen how the curricula of primary and grammar schools were dominated by works in verse, and the contributions of teachers such as William de Montibus emphasise the community of interest which existed between the theologian and the schoolteacher. Adam makes it clear that his work lies in the mainstream of thought on the subject in his opening lines where he describes the nature of the undertaking and the audience he was envisaged when preparing the work:

> Summula de summa raymundi prodiit ista.
> Non ex subtili sed vili scribimus ista
> Eloquio placet hec sociis quia magna studendi
> Cura sibi non est modus his valet ergo loquendi.
> Inter doctores hunc nolumus ire libellum
> Parvis et rudibus quem tradimus esse legendum,[129]
> Invenient in eo quid quod iuvat utilitatis...

Although such protestation that the work is intended for the poor and the simple abound in summas throughout the period and are usually little more than a modesty topos, the very form adopted by Adam in his work supports his contention that the utilitas has been his guiding motivation. It is his regard for the utilitas of the work that has prompted him to put it into verse:

> Quedam longavi non inscius et breviavi
> Ut melius metro sensus tibi luceat isto.[130]

Adam's version of the full Summa does not follow the order of his original, and is characterised by a consistent emphasis on the

practical forms to be carried out by the priest in the performance of his duties. Thus, the work opens with a discussion of the Sacraments and when dealing with the Eucharist contains detailed instructions on the preparation for Mass and the manner of saying it:

> Canonis eloquia recites nec precipitantur
> Nec fureris ea, quia crimen grande creares.
> Hinc tibi nec nimium recitando moreris in illis
> Murmura non facias in canone dum legis illum.[131]

Although much of this material has its origins in canon law and the Decretals it is presented in such a way that it becomes an aid to the priest rather than merely legislation which he is expected to observe. This practical trend is apparent in the disposition of the material. Books one and two cover the Sacraments (Book two dealing with Matrimony, originally the added fourth part of the Summa and here integrated more fully into the body of the work). The third book is described as De vita et honestate clericorum (corresponding with book three of the Summa) and like the original it includes a lengthy discussion of the sacrament of Penance including compact definitions of the ideal confessor and the ideal confession.

Throughout the work, Adam's intention is to provide the heart of Raymund's teaching in a compact and memorable way. His modus agendi can be exemplified in the section on a good confession which he describes thus:

> Dum tua peccata dicis confessio que sit
> Integra consulimus festina frequens et amara...[132]
> Accusans munda directa sit et manifesta
> Et sit secreta discernens pura morosa.
> Sit simplex humilis confessio plena fidelis.[133]

What he has done in this section is to extract from each paragraph or subsection of the larger summa the key concept which

he has then linked together to form a mnemonic listing, where, surprisingly considering Raymond's use of mnemonic verse elsewhere, there is none in the original.[134] The concision of the metrical form enables him to make his points in a forceful and memorable way:

> Non informator vicii sis sed speculator.
> Egros tu sanes, sanos occidere noli,[135]

he writes, warning the confessor to be careful in his questioning of the penitent. The work clearly has a pragmatic intent. It provides not only a summary of the larger work (although not a key to it) but also an independent treatise with sufficient detail to enable the user to administer the Sacraments efficiently and efficaciously as well as dealing with other problems of the _cura animarum_, not least of which is the need for excellence in the personal life of the priest himself. The work concludes with a list of the scriptural books to be read at various times of the year/is included for the sake of completeness, but which highlights the work's practical orientation.[136]

Like so many of the verse texts we have examined in this chapter, the _Summula Raymundi_ acquired a gloss and commentary. The most widespread commentary is that which is found in the early printed texts, although another, much later commentary is provided by Jean Chappuis.[137] The fact that the work should have attracted a commentary at all is a tribute not only to its popularity (and to the enthusiasm for commenting on verse texts) but also to the work's independence. The commentary most widely found does not refer to the _Summa_ itself or its later elaborations to elucidate the verse text, but uses it as a basis for its own exposition and expansion of the material. The

earliest dated manuscript of this commentary, according to Taberner, is 1383. He provides a list of the authors cited in this commentary and points out that the most modern theologian cited is Aquinas (ob. 1274), the most modern moralist is John of Freiburg (ob. 1314) and the most modern jurist is Jean André (ob. s. xiv med.).

The commentary itself opens with a prologue analysing the text in terms of the Aristotelian four causes.[138] It discusses the transcendent authority of the Bible and analyses the knowledge required of a priest. As much of this chapter has been concerned with showing how the works encountered by prospective priests as pupils and actual priests as teachers would have influenced their tastes and expectations, as well as their intellectual development, this statement of the clerical ideal, which can be paralleled from many other sources, provides an opportunity to examine how the books we have examined would have fitted a man for the clerical life.[139]

According to the prologue, three things are required of a priest: Knowledge (scientia), eloquence and a good life. The Scientia is divided into four parts: scientia grammaticalis, which will enable the priest to interpret Scripture accurately and to propagate it 'in propriis sensibus'; musica, so that the priest can sing 'ad laudem dei'; compotus, 'ad distinctionem temporum faciendam' and ius canonicum, which is necessary for the good and reasonable instruction of those under the care of the priest.[140]

It is interesting to note that this list of requirements is catered for not only in the school and university syllabi but, more specifically, by works in verse. The grammar is

provided by texts such as the Doctrinale and Graecismus and by reading and construing the texts such as the Sex and Octo Auctores, while the need to be able to expound and propagate Scripture is catered for by the many texts in grammatical manuscripts where portions of Scripture are parsed and rearranged to facilitate understanding, and by the same exercise carried out in the Expositiones Hymnorum. The song schools would have trained the voice not only in clear pronunciation but also in the hymns of the Divine Office, and again the Expositiones would have been invaluable. The compotus was often encapsulated in mnemonic verses, and canon law could be studied in works such as the Summula itself, or the earlier versification of Gratian. Eloquence, the second requirement, would have been fostered by the study of rhetorical treatises and the reading of rhetorical texts, while the need for a good life was constantly emphasised by the moral texts which comprised the Octo Auctores volume.

These modest requirements do not demand a high educational standard. Enough canon law is required to enable the priest to carry out the cura animarum: 'quia illa est necessaria ad subditos bene et rationabiliter regendos et informandos'. Adam's emphasis in the text that the work is aimed at a less sophisticated audience than the main summa is also developed in the commentary:

> Intendit ergo dicere hec summula procedit de summa prosaica Raymundi et scripta est cum verbis facillimis et leviter intelligentibus.[141]

Although in one sense the Summula Raymundi belongs to the tradition of school texts which we have examined in this chapter,

in another sense, its desire to present material simply and compactly places it in the tradition of simple pastoral manuals, and it is to that tradition that we must now turn.

Chapter 3. Presentation: The Tradition of Pastoral Aids

I

In his Summa de Casibus Conscientiae (1338), Bartholomaeus de San Concordio, quoting Aquinas, draws a striking analogy between the work involved in building a house and that involved in constructing and strengthening the spiritual edifice of the Church. Under the heading Scientia, he discusses the knowledge required by priests to exercise their duties. He distinguishes between the knowledge required of a prelate and that needed by a priest with the cure of souls. (Incidentally paralleling the requirements listed in the commentary on the Summula Raymundi discussed above.) The priest with cure of souls needs grammatical training to enable him properly to say his office, he needs knowledge of liturgy and rites to enable him to minister the sacraments, and in his capacity as 'doctor' he needs to know 'saltem rudimenta et articulos fidei pro dilectionem operantis...'. His building analogy comes in answer to the questio 'Sed utrum magis expediat insistere scientie theologie vel intendere saluti animarum':

> Unde in edificiis construendis maiori mercede conducitur qui de edificio disponit quamvis manibus nihil operetur quam manuales artifices qui dolant ligna et incidunt lapides. In edificio autem spirituali sunt quasi manuales operarii, qui particulariter insistunt cure animarum publice, sacramenta ministrando, vel aliquid huiusmodi particulariter agendo.[1]

He goes on to show that bishops are the 'principales artifices' who superintend the work of these labourers on the spiritual edifice.

The awareness of a hierarchy in kinds of teaching and of a distinction between the ecclesiastical architects who teach, design and formulate policy on the one hand, and the contractors and labourers who realise these plans and are the practical side of the team is an important preliminary stage in the examination of pastoral aids for the parish priest and their development. As in Bartholomaeus' celestial construction company, there are different levels of material circulating throughout the medieval period, and it is important to realise that many of the summas and manuals that have received most attention from writers on this literature are far removed from the needs of the humble parish priest whose knowledge as a teacher is so simply described by Bartholomaeus: 'saltem rudimenta et articulos fidei'.[2] The large canonical summas and detailed penitential compilations although often claiming to be intended for the use of 'simple' and unlearned priests, in practice found their way into such hands rarely, not only because of the expense of owning such large books but also because the vast majority of the clergy involved in the cure of souls would probably have lacked the intellectual equipment to enable them to make effective use of such tools.[3] Even a work as popular as the Oculus Sacerdotis with its wide circulation which seems to suggest that it filled a need felt by the pastoral clergy, in fact probably appealed more to the graduate classes among them. Pagula was after all a canonist and, as Ball has shown, his work found a responsive audience among the increasing numbers of university graduates who felt called to parish work in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth

centuries.[4] The influence of the work on other pastoral aids is not just evidence of its absolute worth as a compilation but also suggests the way in which it was assimilated by the 'principales artifices' and used by them in their preparation of a pastoral policy. The contexts in which the Oculus circulated are revealing on this point. Although Boyle claims that 'as a rule the Oculus is accompanied by other works of pastoral theology', it is noticeable that these works tend to be of a size and scope that puts them beyond the pocket and probably the comprehension of the average priest.[5] Many of the manuscripts contain Provincial and Legatine constitutions (i.e. national rather than local legislation, likely to be of limited relevance to the average parish priest).[6] The most common manuals are summas such as those by Chobham and Hugh of Strasbourg, although there are also several copies of Wetheringsett's more practically oriented manual. Only one copy of the Oculus occurs in the same manuscript as a copy of the Speculum Christiani, arguably the most popular of the simpler manuals, and even in this single case the manuscript (B.L. MS. Harley 2379) also contains a copy of the Cibus Anime, the summa which provides most of the Speculum's Latin auctoritates.

The aim of this chapter, then, is to examine some of the tools developed to assist the 'manuales operarii' in the implementation of policy as it was formulated by the 'principales artifices'. Michaud-Quantin has pointed out the gulf which separated most priests from the big compilations of the twelfth century, such as the works of Lombard and Gratian. He charts the development of a new penitential manual of modest proportions

which informed the priest of his duties and gave some practical advice as to how to carry them out.[7] It is this last aspect which is the most significant development in the thirteenth-century manuals he discusses; the awareness that priests needed to be given assistance in the execution of the grand pastoral design which followed in the wake of the various theological and doctrinal developments early in the century. The new eagerness in the schools to relate problems to pastoral contexts has been described elsewhere, and it is interesting to notice that the quodlibetic literature of the thirteenth century shows a particular interest in the relationship between the theoretical speculations of the schools and their implementation in the parish. As Boyle has shown in the case of St Thomas, quodlibets were sifted for material which could be of use in pastoral contexts, and indeed the architectural analogy from Bartholomaeus with which this chapter opened is itself drawn from one of Aquinas' quodlibets, illustrating the way in which the universities helped to fertilise the parishes. But the most striking example of this fertilisation in England was not so much through the direct application of school learning to pastoral contexts (although Pecham's quodlibets do seem to have been a popular source of pastoral material[8]) but rather through the inspiration and training of leaders in those schools who were able to revitalise the ars artium in England in the 75 years following the Lateran Council of 1215. The contribution of these bishops and their officers has been discussed elsewhere in this study, but it is worth emphasising here that the hallmark of the contribution of these reforming bishops is its simplicity and

its realistic appraisal of and legislation for the needs of the clergy. The evolution of separate handbooks, summulae and manuals out of their statutes and constitutions is a development of major importance in the history of the cure of souls because of the wide circulation accorded to them as part of legislation, while the various channels developed to facilitate their copying and circulation are equally significant in establishing means by which material of a pastoral nature might circulate within a diocese or province.[9] It is against this background of basic instruction developing into slightly more ambitious pastoral aids as the thirteenth century unfolded that the discussion of the manuals in this chapter should be seen.

II

So much has been written about penitential handbooks collectively and individually that it is unnecessary to duplicate these discussions here.[10] This chapter is not intended to be a comprehensive survey, but rather an analysis of certain significant books, with the intention of demonstrating how different techniques of presenting pastoral material in a didactically effective form developed.

During the early decades of the thirteenth century, the diocese of Salisbury was in the forefront of pastoral reform. Chobham's Summa Confessorum, which had probably been completed and begun circulation before 1216 when he was subdean of the cathedral, predates the arrival in 1217 of Richard Poore, first of the great English reformers. Chobham, like Poore, had been

in Paris where he studied theology and probably knew Peter Cantor. The editor of the Summa speaks of it as a 'great English contribution to penitential literature' and says it is typical of the practical application of English graduates on their return home from Paris.[11] Chobham's Summa is interesting not only for its presentation of its material, but also because its author seems to have had at best only a superficial knowledge of the decrees of the Lateran Council, so that his work cannot be said to be a response to the new impetus so frequently spoken of in relation to its pastoral and penitential legislation.[12] Theologically and doctrinally Chobham seems to have been conservative. He uses Bartholomew of Exeter's penitential and seems not to have consulted the new penitential compilations. Boyle's suggestion that the Summa is somehow related to Poore's statutes has been discounted by the work's editor, but his comment that the early Dominican summas were 'rivalled, perhaps even forestalled' by Thomas's work is confirmed by the earlier dating of around 1216.[13] Its scope is impressive; not merely a penitential handbook it covers all aspects of the pastoral care under the aegis of preparing the penitent for a good confession.[14] In excess of one hundred manuscripts survive, attesting to the popularity it enjoyed, not only in England, for the greatest concentration of copies is in fact in Germany.[15] Its editor claims that the work was in the possession of the lower clergy but it is noticeable that all the owners he cites by name are in fact magistri, and the work is found in all the larger libraries, so that its circulation was probably limited to the more sublime and literate elements of the clergy.[16]

However this probable limitation of its circulation is less important than the influential decision made by Chobham to broaden the scope of his work and to present it in a memorable and didactically effective manner. Thus although parts of his exposition, particularly the sections explaining the nature of sin and its various manifestations, are discursive and doctrinal, those which deal more closely with the basic beliefs of the Church employ a different method of presentation which is aimed at assisting the priest in his teaching of the penitent (and by easy extension of use, any of the faithful) and not just enabling him to diagnose and treat the spiritual ailment. For example, the presentation of the Decalogue is quite masterly in its use of the tabulated laws of the Church as a basis for a discussion of the other rudiments: as Chobham says at the outset of his analysis, 'in decalogo precipiuntur omnia que necessaria sunt ad salutem'.[17] Thus the Virtues are assigned to particular Commandments; Faith to the first, Prudence to honora patrem, Temperance to non mechaberis, Justice to non furtum facies, and Fortitude to non occides. Chobham presents a sequence of similar parallelisms: 'Item,dicunt sancti quod per decalogum prohibentur omnia mala, ergo prohibentur in decalogo septem criminalia vitia', and he stresses that his purpose in presenting these parallel formulations is to assist the priest: 'Item, ratione decalogi solent assignari decem plage Egypti quas utile est sacerdotibus scire in multis casibus confessionum'.[18] He increases the mnemonic value of these interlocking schemas by employing the Latin verses which are also commonly found in the larger summas.[19] He makes the link between the plagues and the Commandments clear in a later comment: 'Iste autem

plage que fiebant corporaliter in Egypto fiunt spiritualiter in mente hominis, unde ad remedium illarum decem plagarum dedit dominus postea decem precepta, id est decalogum.'[20]

The actual comparison between the plagues and the Decalogue is of course not original to Chobham and his exposition of them draws heavily on a long patristic tradition going back to Augustine and including Raban Maur and Peter Damian, who wrote a treatise specifically on this subject.[21] The significant feature of Chobham's use of this tradition is that he presents it in a context where it becomes immediately accessible and 'utile ad sacerdotibus'.

The next section in Chobham's manual (Questio XIa) discusses Beatitudes, the Gifts of the Spirit and the Petitions of the Pater Noster, and is preceded by a table indicating the relationship between these basic teachings of the Church. This table varies somewhat in the manuscript tradition but all copies agree in equating the Gifts of the Spirit with particular petitions of the Lord's Prayer.[22] The beginning of the questio again explains the way the table is to be used: 'Octo sunt beatitudines, quarum septem impetrantur per septem petitiones in oratione dominicali et per septem dona Spiritus Sancti, per quas petitiones vitantur septem vitia'.[23] Of course the Lord's Prayer was widely used throughout the medieval period as a schema for the presentation of pastoral material of a rudimentary nature and can be traced back in particular to the works of Hugh of St Victor (especially the Expositio in Abdiam and the more rigorously schematic De Quinque Septenis seu Septenariis), although the equation was available

widely due to its inclusion in the Glossa Ordinaria, and Chobham's editor points to the influence of the Glossa on the table which precedes this chapter.[24] Once again the importance of Chobham's use of this material lies in its overt exploitation for pragmatic and pastoral reasons. Thus although Chobham expends most of his energy on material of a penitential nature, and clearly envisages the confessional as a major teaching mode, his inclusion of other related topics all geared towards the avoidance of the Deadly Sins is the first example in England of a technique of schematic presentation which was to dominate the most popular manuals produced in this country until the end of the medieval period. The fact that the manual was still being copied in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is a tribute to the pastoral commitment of its author.[25] As Boyle puts it, for Chobham, confession is 'not just a tribunal, but also a seat of counsel, a means of instruction, an opportunity for exhortation to courage and virtue.'[26] The fact that the text is curative rather than diagnostic and that it clearly appreciates the value of simple and clear presentation of material ensured its success.

But Chobham's Summa was not merely successful in its own right. It was enormously influential on the next generation of English manuals of a popular nature. While the Dominican masters and doctors perfected the large canonical summas and the developing sophistication of apparatus found in aids to preachers encouraged the compilation of more and more elaborate alphabetical dictionaries of materia predicabilis, at a more humble level the pastoral manual proper was beginning to emerge from the shadow of the penitential.[27]

Richard of Wetheringsett's manual Qui bene praesunt, used by Pagula as an example of a typical manual for simple priests, does not purport to be a penitential. Rather it concerns itself with those who labour 'in verbo et doctrina', taking its opening words from the first Epistle to Timothy.[28] Wetheringsett is concerned with the whole duty of the priest, indeed with the nature of priesthood itself and, in a manner which becomes conventional in later manuals, he opens with an examination of the priest's calling by providing 'etymologies' for the word Presbyter (later accounts, such as Bromyard's also include Sacerdos in this analysis): 'Presbyter grece senex dicitur latine'. Old men are characterised by two things, sapientia and continentia, but 'Maior ergo commendabilia sunt in presbitero continencia et sapiencia ut per sapienciam verbo instruant nescientes et per continenciam ergo informet ad mores ut per sapientiam spiritus illuminetur et per continenciam corpus refrenetur'.[29] Doctrine instructs in matters of faith but the Word instructs in matters of morals. Although Chobham had devoted a section of his work to the knowledge necessary for priests to have, he is merely repeating the standard canonical injunctions and the list of books 'que ipsis sacerdotibus necessarie sunt ad discendum', and he stresses the apostolic nature of the priestly calling.[30] He is much less concerned with the theory of the calling than with its practical implementation. Wetheringsett, by contrast, has a slightly different conception of the 'manual labour' to be done by the priest. Chobham's list of books, repeated so many times in similar contexts, is based on a division of the priestly office similar to that found in Bartholomaeus and cited at the beginning

cf this chapter. The priest is an executive; he must continue the opus dei, he must perform the liturgy to a sufficiently high standard of accuracy to ensure the validity of the sacrament, and he must teach. In all these aspects he is little more than a cog in the works and he is told how to do it rather than why.[31] Wetheringsett's prologue, although in no way a sophisticated piece, at least goes some way to explaining that the priest is not only an instrument through which grace can be dispensed, but is also a crucial means by which the salvation of souls can be furthered. He has an active view of the priesthood. Faith and Morals are more important in his work than the detection, punishment and absolution of sins. As he puts it at the end of the prologue: 'In fide enim et moribus consistit summa christiane religionis'.[32]

The first section of Qui bene praesunt presents an ideal preaching syllabus which parallels that being established in the contemporary episcopal decrees. This syllabus is summarised by six lines of verse:

> Hec sunt precipue sermonibus insinuanda:
> Bis sex articuli fidei septemque petenda
> Donaque virtutes presertim crimina septem
> Septem sacramenta duo domini mandata decemque
> Legis iustorum merces pene[illegible]et malorum
> In quibus erratur quid vitandum quid agendum.

This verse itself enjoyed considerable popularity as a valuable encapsulation of the rudimenta which formed the basis of the Church's preaching and teaching. Apart from its inclusion in some copies of the Templum Domini, it survives on its own in at least seven manuscripts, most dating from the fifteenth century.[33]

Wetheringsett's treatment of his material is discursive and doctrinal. He covers the rudiments in more detail than

Chobham, but the orientation is always pastoral rather than canonical. The practical design of the work is suggested by the citation in the discussion of the Creed of William de Montibus's Numerale, one of the pioneering English works aimed at the parish clergy.[34] Although he does not use tabular presentation, he is interested in the schematic listings which were such a valuable teaching aid. Thus the Pater Noster is described as 'brevitate sermonis ... que continet utriusque vite necessaria', thus encouraging the use of the prayer as a small manual in itself. He says that three petitions refer to the life to come, while three refer to life now, and, alternatively, that three serve 'ad impetracionem bonorum' and three 'ad remissionem malorum'.[35] Like the later compiler of the Speculum Christiani, Wetheringsett uses mnemonic verse at the beginning of sections rather than as summaries at the end of expositions so that they become the foundation for his teaching and in a way landmarks to guide the user through the text, which has no apparatus and is not divided into chapters or clear sections.

One interesting feature of his exposition of the sevens usually grouped together in discussions of the Pater Noster is his statement that there are a range of mnemonic groupings to which the Gifts of the Spirit can be assigned. Earlier he has likened them to the seven sons of Job in a quotation from Gregory.[36] Now he says that they can also be linked with the seven 'boves crassas' or the seven 'spicas plenas atque formosas' or the seven 'mulieres apprehentes' or the seven 'oculi'. By listing these alternative schemas Wetheringsett is providing the user of his manual with a range of possible approaches to the teaching

of the Gifts, enabling the priest to choose which he considers to be the most didactically effective in a given situation.[38] Thus he is making the step away from books of instruction aimed at priests to combat their ignorance (the ignorance traditionally lamented by many bishops and manualists and described by Chobham as 'turpius') towards books designed to assist priests in their own war against ignorance among the faithful, and this move is entirely in accord with the conception of the priesthood expressed in his prologue.

The section on the Sacraments uses mnemonic verses and in one case (the Eucharist) the same verse is found in the Speculum Christiani, although such verses were the stock-in-trade of manualists of this period.[39] The discussion of Holy Orders includes a popular verse listing the qualifications to be looked for in someone wishing to be ordained but as this sacrament did not lie within the powers of the parish clergy, it seems probable that it has been included partly for completeness and partly to remind those already ordained of what was still required of them.[40] This is confirmed by a later section stressing the differences between clergy and laity:

> Sobrius et prudens noto sine crimine vivens
> Doctus et ornatus verbo moribusque modestus (sic for moribusque)
> Hospes non cupidus sit presbiter atque pudicus
> Predicet aut celebret leget solvat ligat oret...[41]

The exposition of the Decalogue again lists mnemonic groupings useful in preaching about or teaching the Commandments to give a structure to the exposition, and the tens listed (the ten strings of the psaltery and the ten plagues of Egypt, supported by the same verses used by Chobham) are commonplaces of catechetic

technique.[42]

In his discussion of this manual Boyle makes the point that the 56 extant manuscripts of this work outnumber those of any of the four Dominican manualists with the exception of Raymund of Pennaforte, and it is clear that its simple compact expositions of the rudiments of the faith and its valuable discussion of the nature of the operation being undertaken in the parishes made it a more valuable aid to those of limited literacy and canonical knowledge with the cure of souls than any of the larger summas could have been.[43] By the standard of later expositions of the priestly office it is not a sophisticated work, but in its tentative suggestions about how material could be presented in didactic situations it marks a significant step forward. It is perhaps not surprising that the work was sometimes attributed to William de Montibus, whose contribution to the in-service training of clergy was considerable and who was the acknowledged master of aids to the pastoral care in the early thirteenth century.[44]

William de Montibus had been Chancellor of the Cathedral at Lincoln until 1213. Robert Grosseteste became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235. The contribution of these two men to aids for the parish priest was enormous and leads Michaud-Quantin to speak of the great increase in the number of manuals produced in the thirteenth century as having a Paris/Lincoln axis.[45] Grosseteste's Templum Domini was probably produced around the middle of the 1240's and complements the pragmatic simplicity of his episcopal statutes and his many pastoral letters.[46] Developing the schematisation of Chobham a stage further,

Grosseteste elevates the tables and diagrams to the level of a structural principle. All the information in the work is contained in such tables and schemata, and the prose paragraphs which the work also contains serve merely to reiterate or emphasise the more visually striking presentations of the material. Using the basic technique of an allegorical edifice (and one is reminded of the Aquinas quodlibet used by Bartholomaeus, and its architectural analogy), Grosseteste divided the Templum Domini into its corporal and spiritual manifestations. The various parts of the building are enumerated.[47] Temperance is the fundamentum of the corporal temple, the foundations of the spiritual temple are Faith, and this allows him to provide a schema of the Articles of Faith contained in the Creed. The spiritual roof is Love, which he divides into dilecio, caritas and amor. Under the heading Diligere he discusses the Decalogue, broken up to show the 'diligence' which is owed variously to God and our neighbour, while the Deadly Sins are presented as being 'contra caritatem'.[48]

Despite its schematic nature, the Templum Domini is not a superficial treatment of the rudiments of the faith. The tables devised by Grosseteste are ambitious in their attempt to show the interrelationships between various aspects of the Christian life. For example his use of the traditional groupings into sevens is altogether more inclusive and informative than most treatments of them.[49] The value of such a table lies in its flexibility. Read vertically in columns, it represents a simple listing of serious vices, the petitions of the Pater Noster and so on. These can be used independently.

Infirmitates	Planctus	Preparaciones	Medicina	Sanitas	Gaudium Intra	Gaudium Extra
Infidelitas	Sanctificetur	Pacificus	Humilitas	Fides	Iudicium	Filium Dei vocatur
Desperacio	Adveniat	Mundus Corde	Paciencia	Spes	Dominium	Deum videbunt
Odium	Fiat voluntas	Misericors	Obediencia	Caritas	Unitas	Misericordiam consequentur
Debilitas	Panem Nostrum	Esuriens iusticie	Bona Opera	Fortitudo	Incorruptas	Saturabuntur
Inprudencia	Dimitte nobis	Lugens	Penitentia	Prudencia	Claritas	Consolabuntur
Iniusticia	Ne nos inducas	Mitis	Confessio	Iusticia	Subtilitas	Possidebunt terram
Intemperancia	Libera nos a malo	Pauper Spiritu	Abstinencia	Temperancia	Agilitas	Ipsorum est regnum celi
Vicia	Peticiones	Mores	Habitus	Virtutes	Dotes	Beatitudines

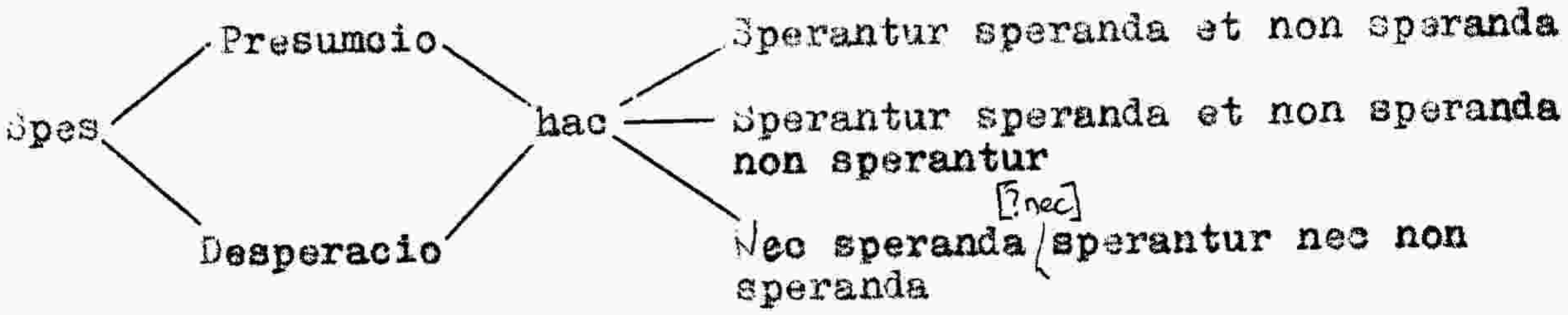
The rubric at the top seems to describe the symptoms of the particular states while that at the bottom gives them the appropriate ecclesiastical name, relating them to the teaching of the Church. Used horizontally however, the columns knit together to form a description of the journey towards holiness, or of the building of the Temple of the Lord. Again the top rubric describes external manifestations of the various states, while the bottom related this progression to the wider context of the salvific work of the Church. Individually each row represents a pilgrimage away from a particular vice and towards God, for example the transformation of Infidelitas to Fides and the final reward Filium Dei Vocatur.

It is following this particular table that the much quoted comment appears: 'In hac tabula est tota pastoralis officii cura'.[50] Grosseteste goes on to develop his favourite Gregorian analogy of the priest as doctor and surgeon seeking out and purging the disease of sin, and the following paragraphs develop the importance of the priest's confessional examination of the penitent. Thus Grosseteste envisages the preceding table as being useful to the priest in confession as a kind of diagnostic chart; first find out what the infirmity is, relate it to the appropriate petition of the Lord's Prayer, apply the appropriate medicine and expect an early return to health. But it is clear that 'tota pastoralis officii cura' does not rest merely in penitential proficiency or skill in wielding the spiritual scalpel, especially in the light of Grosseteste's injunctions elsewhere on the importance of preaching and teaching as pastoral activities.[51] It is therefore important

to realise that tables such as these could form the basis of a sermon or even of individual tuition.

The importance of learning is stressed in the very next section (headed Scientia in Bodleian MS. Bodley 631[52]) where the learning necessary to the laity is limited to the three basic prayers, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary, which according to the schema lead to faith, charity and hope respectively.[53] Obviously this is not a reduction of the syllabus he specifies in his episcopal decrees; rather he is exploiting the capacity of the Pater Noster to subsume within itself other aspects of the rudimentary teaching of the church which he has already demonstrated in the preceding table. The learning required by the clergy is embodied in the standard list of books, although he is more specific than, for example Chobham in suggesting the Homilies of Gregory or Bede as a valuable aid 'ut sciant exponere evangelium populo'.[54]

There is an unusual exposition of the Virtues against the Vices with striking word play in the comments:[55]



His discussion of the Sacraments is brief and practical. When dealing with Matrimony he devotes considerable space to listing the impediments to Matrimony and the prohibited degrees and sections of this discussion seem to have been used by the compiler of the Speculum Christiani, which demonstrates a similar concern for the practical needs of the parish priest.[56]

The rubric in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson A. 384 states that the Templum Domini was compiled by Grosseteste 'ad instruccionem sacerdotum et ad salutem animarum'.[57] The work seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity, and was translated into vernacular verse, although that translation eliminated the tabular structure thus weakening the essential ease of access to the information which was undoubtedly a major part of its success.[58] Its compactness, its schematic presentation and its practicality all set a pattern for later manuals, and its basic modus agendi was widely copied. In Oxford, Trinity College MS. 18, for example, after the end of the Templum Domini proper a later hand has extended the work with two further tables in the same style as the main work. One lists the books of the Bible and is headed 'Scriptura sancta dividitur' while the other lists the various orders of the Church and is titled 'VII gradus ecclesie'.[59] Similar schemas abound in clerical miscellanies in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. The Speculum Christiani uses this method not only in those passages apparently drawn from the Templum Domini but for several other listings.[60] The combination of architectural allegory and schematic presentation is of course found in the popular drawing known as the Turris Sapiencie and several de luxe psalters and books of hours preserve elaborate sets of didactic drawings which by the nature of the books they are contained in seem to have been designed as much for personal edification and instruction as for any more publically didactic context.[61]

Other methods of structuring what had become a standard syllabus and of presenting it in interesting, stimulating and above all accessible ways were tried throughout the thirteenth

century. One of the most popular structural principles was developed from a comment by St Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, 14.19:

> Sed in ecclesia volo quinque verba sensu meo loqui, ut et alios instruam: quam decem millia verborum in lingua.

This schema was widely used by writers of didactic texts. Martin of Cordoba includes it in his discussion of Sermo, and Thomas Brinton twice uses it as a basis for a discussion of the teaching syllabus in his sermons. It occurs in the Manipulus Curatorum of the fourteenth century and a simple listing of the rudiments in B.L. MS.Harley 237 also employs it.[62] Clearly it was seen as giving apostolic authority to a particular way of structuring a didactic discourse.

But the most popular and widespread of the interpretations of this Pauline text was the English text known variously as Quinque Verba or as the Directorium Simplicium Sacerdotum which survives in 12 manuscripts.[63] The prologue to this anonymous work states that 'volentes simplicium sacerdotum ignorancias subvenire', the author has collected from the Fathers of the Church teachings which will enable priests to preach and to administer the Sacraments. Moreover he has written the work 'sub rudibus et puerilibus verbis ne quis possit ab horum intelligencia se excusare'.[64] The five headings which form the basis of the work are those things which are to be credenda, diligenda, observanda, vitanda and sacerdotibus exercenda. Following on from the Templum Domini, the Quinque Verba under the heading Credenda states that Faith 'est tocius boni spiritualis fundamentum', and the work opens with a simple

clausal exposition of the Creed which merely explains in slightly greater detail than the Creed itself the significance of the various sections.[65] Under Diligenda, there are four subheadings. The first 'diligendus est deus' is self-explanatory, although it is here divorced from its usual context in such manuals which is the discussion of the Commandments. The second is unusual, commanding the Christian to look after himself and to love his soul 'ex caritate et non amore' and stating that this is achieved by yearning to achieve the Virtues. The third section deals with the second half of the divine injunction, loving our neighbour as ourselves. The final section exhorts the Christian to take care of his body because it is the vessel which holds his soul and which will be glorified with it in eternal life. Only at this point are the Virtues themselves listed in summary form.[66] The Commandments are to be Observanda 'et in opere tenenda quia Fides sine operibus mortua est et caritas vera ociosa non est', and are listed with comment of a very simple nature. The Deadly Sins are to be Vitanda 'sive cavenda tam in opere quam in voluntate et sermone'. Here the exposition is more detailed than in the other sections and the filie of the various sins are listed, although the complete section occupies only just over half a folio in B.L. Additional MS. 15237.[67] Que sunt sacerdotibus exercenda deals with the Sacraments 'que sunt animarum medicamenta a deo instructa ut destruantur peccata et gracie adgiuvantur'. The discussion of Penance is the most detailed, reflecting not only its importance in the life of the Church but also its relative complexity. In the administration of the Sacraments, it is in relation to Penance that the lower clergy were most likely to

fall into error, and in particular the list of reserved cases included here is a reminder that the clergy were constantly admonished to refer any dubious cases to higher authority.[68]

The brevity of this work may have been part of its appeal, in addition to the useful schema. It is valuable not as a means of instructing the clergy themselves; the material is too scanty and superficial for that. Rather its value lies in its presentation of commonplace material in an unusual and possibly more interesting form. The manuscripts which preserve it clearly do not consider it as a self-sufficient work in the way that, for example the Speculum Ecclesie or the Speculum Christiani are sometimes regarded. It survives in most cases in clerical miscellanies and is generally surrounded by similar material. Immediately after it in B.L. Add. MS. 15237 is another listing of the rudiments in English, which includes the Wits (omitted from Quinque Verba), and in T.C.D. MS. 351, the work has been extended by the addition of a section listing the parts of the Mass and explaining the importance of the various sections (there is an interesting exposition of the section from the Epistle to the Offertory which is called 'populi instructio').[69] Yet it clearly met a need and functioned perhaps as a supplementary aid in the growing range of pastoral material. Like Wetheringsett's offer of various allegorical sevens, the Quinque Verba recognised the need not only for the priests to be informed about what to teach, but also about how to teach it.

III

Cheney has pointed out that by the end of the thirteenth century the pace at which legislation was produced in the English dioceses pertaining to the pastoral care and the rudimentary instruction of the laity visibly slackened, although there are some notable exceptions in the fourteenth century, such as Thoresby's instructions for York.[70] Pecham's decree of 1281 was, as I have argued above, the culmination of the movement towards better pastoral legislation and was in a sense the recognition at provincial level of a situation that had long existed at local level. Boyle has complemented Cheney's comment by pointing out that the production of manuals also slackened after 1270, although it should be remembered that just as the episcopal legislation was still being modified and expanded so many of the manuals were undergoing expansion either by deliberate revision (as was the case in many of the larger summas) or by a process of gradual accretion of new material.[71] An examination of the clerical miscellanies of the two following centuries illustrates how widely the manuals of the thirteenth century were still circulating. The fifteenth century, however, saw the main pastoral impetus being channelled into works in the vernacular and saw the development of new genres in an attempt to widen the pedagogic arsenal of the teacher. Thus Mirk's Latin Manuale Sacerdotis is balanced by his vernacular verse Instructions for Parish Priests and the two are clearly not designed for use by the same audience. In a sense, then, the initiative in producing manuals of a simple type such as those hitherto examined in this chapter shifted from Latin to the

vernaculars in the course of the fourteenth century, although the beginnings of a vernacular literature of instruction can be traced back to the previous centuries.[72]

Yet Latin manuals were still produced in some quantity in the fourteenth century, perhaps the most influential being the Oculus Sacerdotis of William of Pagula and its various offshoots.[73] Few of these are sufficiently modest in their design or execution to have gained access to most clerical libraries (most frequently encompassed by the binding of a single book). The Manipulus Curatorum, written by Guido de Monte Rocher around 1333 in Spain seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity and was eventually printed.[74] As already mentioned, it uses the same Pauline schema as the Quinque Verba, and has a greatly expanded discussion of the Pater Noster which is similar in scope to the separately circulating commentaries on the prayer. Like them it stresses that the prayer surpasses all others because of its authority and brevity as well as its comprehensive coverage of everything that is needed not only for this life but also for the life to come. It also contains a fourfold division of the duties of the priest with the cure of souls based on four etymologies of the word Sacerdos:

> Officium autem sacerdotum maxime curatorum consistit in quattuor... quia sacerdotes sunt missarum celebratores ... [sacramentorum ministratores] ... confessionum auditores ... plebis doctores.[75]

It is interesting to note that the two major Sacraments, Penance and the Eucharist have been separated from the others as separate activities reflecting the emphasis on the confessional and the increasing interest in the Mass which as Ball has

suggested is a distinguishing feature of the fifteenth century but which clearly has its beginnings earlier.[76] The colophon to the Manipulus says that it was written 'ut simplices in aliquibus instruantur et magis provecti ad altiora investigenda laborent', a noble sentiment but one which was somewhat unrealistic even in the fourteenth century.[77]

Another very popular composition of the early fourteenth century was the Dieta Salutis, frequently attributed to St Bonaventure but in fact composed by William de Lanicia (ob. ante 1310).[78] This compendium may be indebted to Jean Rigaud's Compendio Sacre Theologiae Rauperis Fratris Minoris although the two are probably close in date, and perhaps to Hugh of Strasbourg's Compendium Theologicae Veritatis, a work much quarried by compilers of the fourteenth century including the author of the Cibus Anime. The Dieta Salutis is explicitly intended to aid preachers in the exposition of the basic teaching syllabus (unlike many of the encyclopaedic aids to preachers which were not so specifically focussed in their assistance):

> Officium enim praedicantis verbum Dei, est proprie errantes dirigere, et ad viam salutis revocare....[79]

The work is divided into ten sections which deal with the usual range of material ending with a section on the joys of heaven and the pains of hell. The fifteen signs before doomsday are the same conventional warnings as found in the Cibus Anime and the texts circulating with some copies of the Speculum Christiani.[80] Many copies of the work include an appendix which takes a point from the treatise and develops it with reference to one of the readings for each Sunday and Feast Day

of the liturgical year. As one commentator says of it, 'Si l'oeuvre paraît assez banale dans l'ensemble elle forme cependant, une sorte d'aide mémoire au développement logique.'[81] At least two English manuscripts contain a further sophistication of the work which demonstrates the tendency to reduce pastoral material to its most easily accessible form. In B.L. MS. Harley 2250 and B.L. MS. Harley 2379 (both copies of the Speculum Christiani, the latter also containing the Cibus Anime) is preserved an epitome of the Dieta Salutis, a kind of analytical table of contents which is so detailed that it is usable in its own right as a tabula of the rudiments of the faith. In B.L. MS. Harley 2250 in particular the material is arranged in schematic form so that the material looks like a copy of the Templum Domini. Thus Sin is divided into three headings: deformitas, iniquitas and infirmitas, each of which is given a brief explanatory note. This distinctio-like treatment of the material makes it visually appealing and increases the ease of use of the text.[82] At the end of the copy in Harley 2250 is appended a list of the rudiments which is then summarised in the verse on preaching found in Qui bene praesunt and some copies of the Templum Domini.[83] In Harley 2379, where the work is referred to as an 'epitome' of the complete text, each section (corresponding to a division of the original) is referred to as a tabula.[84] In the light of texts such as these, the loose-limbed articulation of the Speculum Christiani into apparently unrelated tabulae appears less strange.

Another tabula, although not presented schematically is the Tabula Fidei Christiane 'in quo continentur sub brevibus'

twenty one headings dealing with the usual mnemonic sevens and various other basic teaching materials all listed briefly and without elaboration.[85] The term tabula is often used for an elaborate index or table of contents giving access to another larger work, as with Kilwardby's work on the patristic texts.[86] This is clearly the sense in which the word is used in the epitome of the Dieta Salutis in Harley 2379. But it would appear that the term was extended to include any brief listing of material in an accessible form. Thus the same manuscript which preserves this last Tabula on the rudiments also includes a brief commentary on the Pater Noster with the same title. The prose exposition, which praises the prayer for its dignity (because of its author), for its brevity, and for its utility, because it contains all that is necessary for this life and eternal life, is followed by schematic representations of the teaching expanding the cryptic formulations of the petitions. Bodleian MS. Bodley 631 consists entirely of tabulae of this sort; a Summa de Modo Praedicandi, which tabulates eight ways of making a good sermon, a Concordancie Bibliothece and a beautifully executed copy of the Templum Domini. There are also examples of vernacular texts circulating together and being treated as tabulae.[87]

These brief formulations of material useful to the teacher were still popular in the fifteenth century. In Harley 237, a book which was at Mountgrace Charterhouse, is a short sequence of texts on the rudiments which uses the Pauline schema found in Quinque Verba.[88] The text consists of a listing of the Commandments, the Creed (Ista sunt credenda),

the Virtues (Ista sunt fortiter servanda), the Works of Mercy (Ista sunt hillariter facienda) supported by the usual Latin verse, [89] the senses (Ista sunt prudenter custodienda) and the Deadly Sins (Ista sunt omnino cavenda). What is particularly interesting about this otherwise unremarkable listing is that each of the headings is supported by patristic and biblical quotations apparently drawn from the Cibus Anime (which also occurs in the same manuscript).[90] Thus the compiler seems to have used a traditional summa to provide supporting quotations for a much simpler manual, reflecting the way the same technique was employed in the composition of the Speculum Christiani, and apparently suggesting that even by the middle of the fifteenth century such formulations were still thought to have some value.

Although the episcopal legislation invariably insists that the education of the laity should take place 'in lingua materna' the majority of manuals record the teaching in Latin, reflecting the standard practice of the time in sermons as well as in manuals. Several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuals reflect the changing status of the vernacular by preserving the actual instruction in the vernacular, often prefacing it with a Latin introduction explaining to the priest his didactic responsibility and the scope of the treatise. Thus in B.L. Additional MS. 6716 there occurs a text with the title Regimen Animarum (a different text from that discussed by Boyle under the same title which, not surprisingly, enjoyed wide circulation).[91]

The Regimen Animarum prefaces its vernacular account of the rudiments with a short but hard hitting assertion of the

importance and value of the <u>cura animarum</u>:

> Inter omnes labores , ocupaciones et officia in hoc mundo, regimen animarum maxime placet deo.

Each statement is supported by proof (a) from authority (in this case the authority of Christ, the apostles and their pastoral example) and (b) from Scripture, particularly from the book of Ezechiel. Thus we are told that of all occupations in the world, the cure of souls is 'magis periculosa', and that the curate has a solemn responsibility to instruct his parishioners which he neglects at his peril. All that it is necessary for priests to teach their laity 'ad sufficientem exoneracionem suam' has been collected together 'a sanctis patribus in quadam magna constitucione quam intendo vobis demonstrare'.[92]

Using the divine inspiration accorded to the prophet Ezechiel, and the words spoken to him by God, calling him to his duty, the prologue applies the biblical text to the station of the curate, likening him to Ezechiel responding to the call. Thus the voice speaking to Ezechiel can be understood as the bishops and their superiors 'qui nomine tocius ecclesie loquuntur ad curatos quasi ad subditos'. The volume or scroll which Ezechiel eats is to be understood as 'quandam constitucionem per generale consilium prelatorum et cleri perinde factam et collectam', and also as the current work. The work is prdered ('ordinatur') so that curates can understand it and also 'ut quilibet christianus eam audiens possit clare intelligere'.[93] This last intention may explain the composition and preservation of the exposition in the vernacular. Works such as these, explicitly designed to encourage lay understanding also paved the way for lay ownership of primary material. McFarlane wrote

of the laity taking the clergy's words out of their mouths, and it is in works such as this that the two worlds come closest to touching.[94]

The exposition itself is unremarkable, and certainly fails to live up to the expectations aroused by the unusual prologue. It is divided into five sections which coincide with the five-fold division of the syllabus found in Quinque Verba. The schema is not, however, systematically executed. The third section of the work is headed 'Quedam sunt custodienda ut decem precepta et quinque sensus', and the fifth section expounding the Virtues is headed 'Quoddam sunt exercenda', thus indicating the text's indebtedness to some earlier treatment similar to Quinque Verba. The other sections bear no Latin heading, although the third section on the Deadly Sins appears to preserve a translation of some such Latin rubric: 'In the thyrd part it is to knaw þat sum thyngs must be flede and refusyd...'.[95] It would appear therefore that the exposition is a reworking and translation of some earlier version of the syllabus, with the intention of presenting it in a more accessible form.

In B.L. MS. Royal 8 F.VII, there is preserved another unusual manual. The Baculus Viatoris is cast in the form of a dialogue between the master or teacher and the student. The teacher is called Clericulus (perhaps a reference to his youth or inferior station) and the pupil is called Bubulcus (ploughman).[96] Ploughmen, with the honourable exception of Langland's Piers, seem to have been particularly hard to instruct, as the poem on how the ploughman learned his Pater Noster suggests.[97]

The title of the work reflects the interests and professions of both characters. A baculus could be a plough beam, while a baculus pastoralis was a crozier and a baculus peregrinationis (perhaps closest to the title's Baculus Viatoris) was a pilgrim's staff.[98] The work is designed to be a staff to support the ploughman in his pilgrimage through life. Once again the contents of the text are conventional and commonplace. The interest of the work lies in the way it attempts to present the standard syllabus in a new way. The novelty of this text is that although the exposition by the clerk is in Latin, the ploughman's recapitulation of it is in the vernacular and often uses verse to formulate the lesson more memorably. The verses are apparently unique but represent part of the natural tendency to place in verse form material to be memorised and meditated upon.[99] It is of course to this mnemonic tradition that the compiler of the Speculum Christiani looked when he prefaced his own account of the rudiments with similar short verses. Indeed the text preserves both mnemonic traditions as the clerk's exposition also uses the traditional Latin tags for the Works of Mercy.[100] Apart from providing an interesting illustration of small group teaching being employed in catechetic contexts, the formulations of the ploughman offer a didactic paradigm a suggestion as to how this important material might effectively be communicated.

Another brief manual in the same volume (a mid fifteenth-century East Anglian clerical miscellany which also contains a popular tract on the Canonical Hours, several Latin manuals and part of the Oculus Sacerdotis[101]) is also designed to assist in

the formal exposition and teaching of the faith.[102] Once again it is concerned with how (quomodo) to expound rather than what to expound, and because the exposition is in the vernacular, the work becomes more of a model sermon than a true manual, which legislates for mode of address ('Dere frendys'), how to introduce the subject ('ofte ȝe have me bysoȝt þat I ȝow wolde teche wherby ȝe mow have ȝowr synnes in mynde...') and what emphasis to place on the various aspects of the syllabus. Here, as the opening implies, the concern is primarily with the Deadly Sins which are dealt with in more detail (but hardly extensively) than the Decalogue and the Articles of Faith. The other members of the syllabus are not treated at all. The discursiveness of tone in this text is unusual in the shorter Latin manuals which have been the subject of this chapter so far, but is much more characteristic of the vernacular manuals and its reflection can be seen in several sections of the Speculum Christiani.[103] Many of the longer and more detailed Latin manuals adopt a fraternal tone towards their exclusively clerical audience and some (like the Speculum Sacerdotis) concern themselves exclusively with exhortations to the clergy.[104] It may be that the wider potential audience for vernacular texts and the wider range of uses a text might be put to (vide Gaytryge's manual) encouraged writers to be more discursive about the range and function of their works.

The Manuale Sacerdotum Parochialium, written probably between 1380 and 1400, is less adventurous in its use of the vernacular, perhaps because of its earlier date.[105] Although the exposition of the elements is in the vernacular, the

apparatus is exclusively in Latin. It opens with a formal statement of priestly responsibility:

> [S]acerdos parochialis tenetur per canones docere et predicare in lingua materna quatuor in anno...[106]

and lists the usual syllabus with the addition of detailed excommunications. The expositions are noticeable for their pragmatism. Thus in the account of the Commandments, the author spends little time on the first table of Commandments pertaining to God and concentrates on the practical implications of the remainder, forbidding 'al wrong purchasyng' and 'disheretyng of eiris' (folio 157 recto). The discussion of the Deadly Sins also includes a good deal of practical advice and attempts to implement canon law.[107] Thus in the discussion of Luxuria is included the Church's injunction that children, servants or any other men should not be allowed to lie together in bed after the age of seven 'for perel of synne'.[108] The Commandments expound the importance of mutual aid between Christians; the practical implementation of the second Gospel precept.[109] The Sacraments are explained in some detail. The laity are to be instructed in the form of Baptism to be administered in an emergency, the sponsors at Confirmation (which is to be administered around the age of five) are instructed on the new relationship between them and the confirmed child and in the discussion of the Eucharist the faithful are reminded that the drink they receive after the Body of Christ is only a mouth-wash to assist them to swallow the host and does not constitute part of the Sacrament. In its detailed attention to these aspects of the Sacraments and the concern shown about the practical realisation of the Church's teachings, this text is

similar to Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests.[110] Like Mirk's manual, it contains practical information for the priest about the administration of the Sacraments and is clearly more comprehensive in its treatment of the cura animarum than many of its earlier manuals we have examined, although not noticeably longer than them. Perhaps the major difference between this text and the earlier manuals, a difference which Ball sees as symptomatic of changing pastoral interests in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, is the increasing importance of the Mass and the decreasing emphasis on the penitential aspects of the work.[111] Thus at the end of the Manuale is a section headed 'Preces Dominicales ad Missam', which instructs the laity on how to behave during the Mass:

> 3e schul knele adoun and bidde 3owre bedis for
> þe stat of holichirche and for þe pees of þe lond,[112]

and suggests topics for prayer and people to pray for, such as the Pope, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Cardinals of the Church. This exhortation is presumably written to be read to the laity although again its formulation and address make lay ownership or consultation of the work possible.

The intended readership or audience of another late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century manual is similarly unclear. The manual is preserved in only two manuscripts, both of which are clearly clerical books. Bodleian MS. Bodley 54 also includes the Speculum Ecclesie, Rolle's De Emendatione Peccatoris and the hymn O quam dulcis Jesu memoria, all works conceivably of interest to the highly literate layman. But the other contents include a confessional treatise headed 'Qualiter sacerdos debet instruere laicum in confessione' and an

extract from the Dextera Pars of the Oculus Sacerdotis on the ideal priest as well as a poem on the priesthood (which is included in the Speculum Christiani).[113] B.L. MS. Royal 5 A.VI is an extensive compilation of clerical material (including the tract on priestly duties apparently drawn on by the compiler of the Speculum in the eighth tabula).[114]

The manual opens on a strikingly personal note:

> Bene et breviter in hoc libello ex sacris scripturis composito tanquam in speculo spiritualiter potestis inspicere quales estis sive bone sive mali sive iusti sive iniusti; quid formosum, quid deforme sit in animo; quid scire, quid credere; quid vitare, quid observare ex lege divina debetis.[115]

This opening might be expected to lead to an examination of conscience or a series of moral or penitential exhortations. However instead the manual embarks on an exposition of the usual teaching syllabus, including verse mnemonics.[116] This is made more puzzling by a rubric introducing the discussion of the Eucharist among the Sacraments which reads 'Quomodo sacerdotes debent instruere parochianos suos', which suggests a distinction between knowledge required by the priest and that required by the laity.[117] Were it not for the prologue the work would appear to be a perfectly ordinary treatment of the rudiments. It seems unlikely that the treatise is intended to exhort the priest himself because of the elementary nature of the teaching which follows, yet it does seem to envisage the user of the work applying its teaching to his own personal situation. Perhaps the prologue is intended to be an example of how a priest in confession might encourage his faithful to use the rudiments in the development of their spiritual life. Certainly in Bodley 54, the manual is surrounded by material

of a penitential nature and the immediately following text on how to instruct the laity in confession begins in a similar fashion: 'Frater noli erubescere confiteri peccata tua ne timeas de me'.[118] The manual itself spends a considerable proportion of its space on the Deadly Sins, on the circumstances of sin and on the remedies to be applied. It includes a tabular presentation of the Deadly Sins broken up into three groups; sins of the spirit, the flesh and the world, which are counterbalanced by neutralising remedies.[119]

If this manual reflects the tendency to give assistance in the presentation of material, it also reflects the way in which manuals could become accessible to those who were literate but not in orders. Although there is no evidence of this work having any lay circulation, this is less important than the general observation that developments in the presentation of the rudiments in manuals ostensibly for the clergy paved the way for lay interest in and access to those manuals.

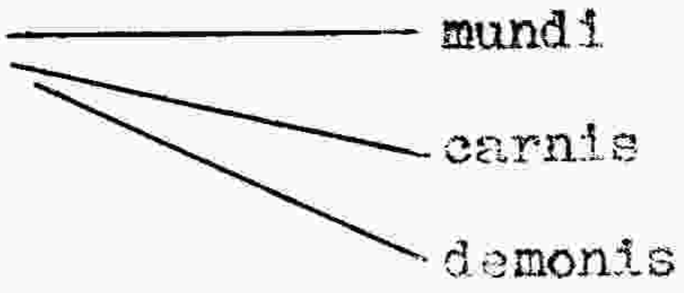
IV

Passing mention has been made above of the inclusion in many later manuals of expositions of the Pater Noster. It is increasingly common in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to find complete treatises of varying lengths devoted to this prayer and forming part of larger sequences of material covering the basic syllabus, as well as the inclusion in vernacular treatises of sections dealing specifically with the prayer and its particular value. As Hussey and Aarts point out, the division of the Pater Noster into a series of petitions

and the linking of them with the Beatitudes and the Gifts of the Spirit have their origin in patristic writings and are well attested in pastoral literature in England from the Anglo-Saxon period.[120] But there can be little doubt that the inclusion of the prayer in the ecclesiastical legislation of the thirteenth century gave a tremendous impetus to the study of the pastoral potential it contained. This study may itself have been assisted by works emanating from the Paris schools, in particular the writings of Hugh of St Victor.

Many of the commentaries contained in these pastoral miscellanies are relatively simple affairs. The Tabula de Utilitate Oracione Dominicae preserved in at least five manuscripts, for example, although using the usual interlocking sevens breaks the teaching up into clear subdivisions.[121] First the prayer is praised for its dignity (because it was first spoken by Christ himself), for its brevity (because it was composed in few words) and for its utility (for it contains all that is necessary in this life and for the seeking of the next). Developing the second of these attributes, the prayer's brevity, it established a series of paradoxes to emphasise the greatness of its simplicity: 'Est in verbis brevissima ... Est in sentencia longa... Est facilis dicenda... Est subtilis intelligenda'.[122] The desire for simple exposition is clear throughout. The basic interrelation of the sevens (perhaps the prayer's greatest catechetic value) is re-introduced in a Recapitulatio (as it is called in a marginal rubric).[123] The work is followed in B.L. Additional MS. 15237 by a tabloid presentation of the teaching explaining the meaning of the

petitions:[124]



An even briefer exposition based upon a series of distinctiones on the key words of each petition is found in Bodleian, MS. Eng. theol. e.16 and in the first printed edition of the Speculum Christiani:

> Qui es in celis: per illuminantem graciam, per gubernantem potenciam...,
>
> Panem Nostrum: scilicet panem humane necessitatis, panem doctrine et veritatis et panem hostie salutaris et panem eterne s[o]cietatis.[125]

A vernacular exposition in Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS. 55 praises the poem in traditional terms for its 'price' and its 'profit'; the former because Christ was the author, the latter because 'shortly in fewe wordis it askith of god al þat is nedful to us bodily and gostly'.[126]

Perhaps because of its place in the basic syllabus or because it was found to be a valuable teaching aid, the Pater Noster became an indispensable part of the pastoral manual. Works which had not originally included it in their account of the rudiments (such as Gaytryge's translation of Thoresby's instructions) had new sections added.[127] Works which did include it (notably the Speculum Ecclesie) were quarried and the section on the Pater Noster from the Speculum is found circulating independently of the main text.[128] In the Pore Caitif the prayer occupies an integral part in the linked scheme of instruction which makes up the first section of the standard

text. The purpose of the text, the prologue tells us, is that it should:

> teche symple men and wymmen of good wil þe
> riȝt wei to hevene if þei wolen bisie hem to
> have it in mynde and worche þerafter withouten
> multiplicacioun of manye bookis.[129]

The text aspires to be self sufficient. Like the Vernon manuscript it intends to contain all that is necessary to 'sowlehele'. As a child wishing to become a clerk starts at the bottom, the prologue continues, with his abc, so the Christian man must start at 'þe ground of heelþe' which is the Creed. And because faith is not sufficient but also requires good works, men should know the Commandments, 'in whiche þe charitable werkis ben conteyned þat longun to bileve.' As it is impossible to receive answers to our prayers until we believe and act according to his laws, so it is at this stage that the Lord's own prayer is to be taught. Thus the opening sections of the Pore Caitif provide a primer, teaching man to believe, to act well and to pray.[130] Some copies complete the sequence by including a section on the Ave Maria. The Pore Caitif sees man's spiritual development through these stages as a progressive ascent:

> For þus it behoveþ to stie up as by a laddre
> of dyverse roungis: fro þe ground of bileve
> into þe kepinge of goddis heestis and so up
> fro vertu into vertu til to he se god....[131]

The Pater Noster, we learn at the outset of its exposition, is the starting point in the development of the technique of prayer, and the author discusses in detail the nature of true prayer and its signs. Yet the initial discipline is an essential part of the process:

> Whanne a child is sett first to scole me techiþ hym his pater noster and þerfor who þat wol lerne þis clergie bicome he meke as a child and wiþoute malice.[132]

Given the attention paid to the Pater Noster in these teaching contexts it is perhaps not surprising that the most ambitious of all the vernacular manuals, almost aspiring to the condition of a summa, should have been structured around the prayer. The Speculum Vitae, dating from the late fourteenth century has never been treated with the respect it deserves. The little evidence concerning authorship suggests that it may have been the work of William of Nassington whose probable connection with the Archbishop's court in York provides a very plausible milieu for the production of such a work.[133]

Given the size of the work and the effort involved in copying it, not to mention the concomitant expense, it is surprising that there are so many copies of it still surviving. Many have undergone mutilation or suffered damage but enough survive in good condition for us to get a good idea of the usual presentation of the text. The Speculum is a grand commentary on the Pater Noster. Reduced to a summary its contents appear like those of any of the commentaries we have already discussed: a eulogy of the prayer leads into an exposition of the petitions which are linked with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, a longer account linking them with the Gifts, the Deadly Sins, the Virtues, the Beatitudes and the Rewards and a further version paying greater attention to the Sins and the Virtues.[134] But the scale of the undertaking is enormous and the most immediate problem for the author must have been to create a structure which would allow the various sections

of the text to be accessible to the casual reader as well as forming part of the overall articulation of the argument.[135] Although, as Doyle claims, the poem may have been intended for 'delivery to audiences of mixed character and education' and may well have been 'framed verbally and structurally to be recited aloud',[136] it is clear from the apparatus provided by several manuscripts that the work could be used as a reference book or as a source for some more specific piece of instruction, and there are references in the text inviting later perusal:

> His commandementis wha so wille loke,
> He may fynde þaim after in þis boke.[137]

The apparatus in Bodleian MS. Bodley 446, for example, shows all the signs that the scribe was preparing from the outset to include an elaborate series of running titles and marginal comments to assist the reader in navigating the text. In this manuscript the ruling has been very carefully executed so that the written space is situated not in the middle of the page but over towards the centre of the opening. In addition to the usual external margin there is a second vertical ruling which creates a column of free space for his marginal apparatus, and the carefully prepared ruling suggests that this was an integral part of the text and not an ad hoc accretion of comments developed through use.[138] In some sections of the text the marginal annotation becomes so thick that it functions like a simple listing of the interrelated sevens which the main text glosses and expands.

Similar care in the presentation of the text is found in Bodleian MS. Lyell 28. The Latin lemmata (i.e. the clauses of the Creed and the petitions of the Pater Noster) are written

in capitals and placed in rubric boxes. The running titles, especially in the most complicated section of text where five of the traditional groupings of sevens are being discussed simultaneously, run right across the top margin of a complete opening:

De superbia	Sed libera / nos a malo	Donum timoris domini	De superbia
	(verso)		(recto)

Not all manuscripts of the work have such detailed apparatus, but nearly all have some system of running titles and marginal comment to guide the user of the text. The very fact that there are three distinct and to some extent overlapping accounts of the petitions and their related listings, added to the slightly different emphasis detectable in each of them suggests that the work was not regarded as a unity but rather as a series of related treatments of similar topics. Thus the earlier exposition of the petitions concentrates on the traditional blending of the rudimentary material whereas the final section concentrates more on the penitential aspects and the branches and degrees of the Sins are discussed in some detail.

Doyle has pointed out the strong Northern affiliations of the text as well as the presence of the work in several northern monastic houses and the use of material from the poem in the Desert of Religion, associated in one manuscript with a northern Charterhouse and dealing with the ascetic and eremitical life.[140] Brief verses from the poem also occur in one manuscript of the Gibus Anime (Cambridge, Trinity Hall, No. 16) and another manuscript containing material closely associated with the Speculum Christiani (B.L. MS. Royal 5 A.VI).

Both these works have strong Northern affiliations and may well derive from Yorkshire.[141] The Cambridge examination certificate included in three manuscripts of the work which tells of the work's rigorous examination and the final decision that it was 'de sacris legibus et libris divinis bene et subtiliter tractatam' is also interesting considering the strong link between Yorkshire, Lincoln and Cambridge at the end of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the fifteenth.[142] The certificate also illustrates that the work had attracted attention in the academic centres, although it is possible that the interest shown in the work by the Chancellor may have also been stirred up by his commitment to improving and disseminating tools for the pastoral care for, as Allen points out, at the time of the examination he would have been John de Burgh who became Chancellor in 1384, two years before this examination of the Speculum Vitae. Perhaps he was struck by the unusual presentation of the material: his own major contribution to the manual tradition was the Pupilla Oculi which re-arranged Pagula's Oculus until it was 'doctrinaliter ordinatus' in the apparent belief that this would make it easier to use.[143]

The text of the Speculum Vitae opens with a prologue in which the intention of the author and the scope of the work is mapped out. There is an early reference to a listening audience ' to zowe þat me heres' and a passing reference to a continuing dilemma:

> For alle if I be of ille maners
> Þe wordes I rede ere never þe wers.[144]

This fits in with the various exhortations to priests that they should teach by example as well as by word of mouth, as well as

introducing a crude form of modesty topos. Works of this kind were, after all, intended to help those who most needed it and the danger of an ironic contrast between precept and practice was probably widely appreciated. In a more acute form, the problem resurfaces in the Canterbury Tales where our knowledge of the pilgrims is a factor in the validation and assessment of their tales. The problem of authority and experiance in this respect is well expressed by the Pardoner in his prologue in terms which are strikingly similar to those found in the Speculum Vitae:

> For though myself be a ful vicious man,
> A moral tale yet I yow telle kan.[145]

The Speculum Vitae then stresses the seriousness of its intent dissociating itself from the world of 'mynstrales and geatours', perhaps a distinction necessary because the work was in verse.[146] The prologue promises that all those who listen well will learn to rule their life and to govern well their five senses. Thus it is presented at the outset as a work of general relevance to the Christian life. At the end of the text, the work is again praised for its completeness as a guide:

> Itt es na vertu unnethes ne synne
> Ðat he ne salle fynde itt wrytten þare inne...
> Ðare fore lewde mene has grete nede
> Ðis boke ofte to here or rede.[148]

The work is called a mirror because mankind can examine itself in it, see whether it is clean or ill and act accordingly. In this respect, the work appears to be cast in a penitential mould, but the scope of the material is so wide and capable of so many different applications that this is an unwarranted limitation of its versatility.[149]

The prologue also discusses the fact that the work is in the vernacular, clearly considering it worthy of comment. The terms of the discussion recall Doyle's comment about the 'increasing body of the clergy to whom [the vernacular] was preferable',[150] for the reasons given for deciding against using Latin would seem to be directed at an audience who could have understood the author had he chosen to do so:

> Na latyne wille I speke na waste
> Bote inglysche þat mene uses maste
> For þat is yowre kynde langayge
> Ðat ȝhe have maste of here usayge.
> Ðat kane ilke mane understande
> Ðat es born in Ingelande.
> For þat langage es maste scheuwede
> Als wele omange lerde als lewede.[151]

The accessibility of the text to the laity seems to be almost less significant than the fact that in reality most literate people use the vernacular as a matter of course. The prologue continues by claiming that of the three languages current in England (Latin, French and English), English is the linguistic common denominator spoken by everyone. A reappraisal of the function of the vernacular in teaching contexts may have been underway, although of course material in the vernacular had long been available.[152]

The text proper opens with a discussion of the prayer itself using the popular paradoxes we have seen in other commentaries:

> Ðis prayer es schorte in worde wroghte
> Itt es en sentence langar in thoghte
> Itt es lyght to saye prayande
> Itt es sotelle to understande.[153]

It is of course just these features which qualify it so completely as a teaching aid. Its brevity encourages memorisation (and

all Christians are required to know it) but the sententia of any given section is more wide ranging. It can be used as a prayer, or as the basis for a series of more intellectual analyses:

> Sotyll tille understande es itte
> Fore mene sulde mare sette þaire witte
> On þe sentence of itt namely
> Thurgh grete besynes and study.[154]

The first exposition of the Pater Noster introduces a series of related topics under the heading of the various clauses. Pater Noster includes a discussion of the brotherhood of mankind (because God is our Father not my Father), Qui es discusses God's dual nature as God and Man and refers to God's appearance to Moses with the words 'I am þat I ame', and also discusses the Church as our Mother, her two breasts sending forth ten streams from one (the Commandments) and twelve from the other (the Articles of Faith), which streams nourish all Christians while they are spiritually unweaned. In caelis emphasises the highness of God and invites man to think upon his lowness, leading into an account of the Deadly Sins and the Virtues. The treatment of the Virtues is a good example of the didactic technique of the work. They are explained in some detail, then this explanation is summarised, exploiting the couplet form to its full mnemonic advantage, and a further explanation embarked upon. Similarly after Pater Noster qui es in caelis has been expounded, there is a summary of the teaching built around this part of the prayer which in fact encompasses the bulk of the basic syllabus with the exception of the Gifts of the Spirit.[155] These Gifts, however, form the structural basis of the next exposition of the prayer, which is considerably more detailed

and perhaps refers to a more advanced spiritual stage. The opening exposition establishes the rudiments and their significance, relating them to the overall salvific function of the Church and reminding us of God's relationship with his church. As in the Pore Caitif, the groundwork has to be covered before more ambitious steps can be taken. Thus the later repetition of the Deadly Sins in a much more detailed analysis of their species does not indicate a failure to organise the text properly but rather indicated the progressive nature of the teaching.[156] The account of the Gifts of the Spirit is closer to the 'grete busynes and study' which is spoken of in the initial account of the prayer than the more mundane analysis of the rudiments in the opening section. The progress is well described in the discussion of the Gift of Understanding which leads on to a discussion of devotion and the love of God. An elaborate allegory of the lily flower (the 'floure of maydenhede') establishes that it has six leaves and three 'graynes' in the flower itself.[157] There are three manners of loving God:

> ...wyth alle thyne understandyng
> Wyth outen erroure of knawyng

with all your will and with all your mind.

> In þis maner als clerkes shewe kanne
> Es goddes ymage sette in manne ...
> Ðat es to say mynde thurghe skille
> And understandyng wyth wille.

Just as clerks have to learn the abc, so Christians have to learn the rudiments.[158] Despite the complexity of its presentation the Speculum Vitae has its roots in the mundane soil of catechesis.

V

The Speculum Vitae is a remarkable example of the agility and versatility of vernacular verse in the fourteenth century. Its couplets have a range of tone which is impressive. The verse can move from a workmanlike exposition and simple paratactic sentences to more condensed couplet formulations of particular teachings and even on occasions to passages of real lyric intensity, displaying a curious 'ponding' effect characteristic of the best narrative verse at the period.[159]

Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests, dating from early in the fifteenth century, although not as ambitious as the Speculum has a similarly fluid verse movement and an urbanity which makes the conventional nature of his teaching seem less important.[160] In his Manuale Sacerdotis, Mirk contributed significantly to the developing literature devoted to the priestly life.[161] His Instructions are more pragmatic in their intention and fulfil the same function as many of the simple Latin manuals already discussed. The debt he owed to the works of Pagula is well known and is recognised in the colophons to several manuscripts. B.L. MS. Royal 17 C.XVII refers to the work as 'Oculus Sacerdotis in lingua materna' (folio 68 recto) and B.L. MS. Cotton Claudius A.II, also containing the Festial, ascribes the work to Mirk calling it 'pars oculi de latino in anglicum translatus' (folio 154 verso).[162] The Instructions are a popularisation of Pagula's more canonically based teachings on the cura animarum.[163] Mirk is aiming to reach the lowest levels of the parish clergy:

> 3ef thow be not grete clerk,
> Loke thow mosts on thys werk; (ll. 13-14)[164]

and clearly envisages a situation in which his work will be the only guide to which they will have access:

> Hyt ys I-made hem to schowne
> Þat haue no bokes of here owne. (ll. 1923-4)

Thus Mirk stands in a similar relationship to Pagula's works as the verse renderings and epitomes of the earlier summas do to their sources, for example the Summula Raymundi to the Pennaforte Summa. Both have the intention of making the material more easily accessible to 'simple' priests and perhaps most significantly, both are in verse. The Summula Raymundi is closely associated with the tradition of verse reading texts which formed the basis of the grammar school curriculum.[165] Several manuscripts of the Instructions reveal that they also circulated with material related to the grammar schools. Such grammatical/pastoral miscellanies are widely found in England. Bodleian MS. Douce 103 contains, in addition to the Instructions, an English grammar the Accedence (an English adaptation of Donatus), a text which rearranges the words of Latin hymns to assist in their translation (clearly designed to help either a beginner or someone whose command of Latin was not very great), a Latin Rules for Prosody and notes on Psalms and canticles also for a beginner in Latin, including the Athanasian Creed. The manuscript was compiled by a priest of the diocese of Hereford who perhaps belonged to the parish of Pencod near Hereford near the end of the fifteenth century (1492-4).[166] Following the Instructions he has added the popular poem on the ideal priest 'Sacerdos debet esse', also found in the Speculum Christiani.[167] Royal 17 C.XVII also contains Latin grammatical material; a Verbale and Nominalia, prose and verse rules

governing concord in Latin and a table of synonymous Latin adjectives with English equivalents. The manuscript also contains part of The Prick of Conscience, a meditation on the Pater Noster and other devotional material.[168]

The Instructions themselves are divided into three sections. The first is devoted to the priest himself and touches on the clerical ideal and the need for scientia among those involved in the cura animarum.[169] Mirk establishes the three areas with which the text will be concerned:

> How thow schalt thy paresche preche,
> And what þe nedeth hem to teche,
> And whyche þou moste þyself be. (ll. 17-19)

Mirk recognises the distinction between preaching and teaching as well as the importance of a good example. What seems to be implied in the following section 'Quid et quomodo predicare debet parochianos suos' is that the pulpit is not the place for basic catechesis which should be undertaken either in small group teaching or through the medium of the confessional (ll. 805-972), and he also stresses the responsibility of the parents and god-parents of children to teach their charges the rudiments of the faith.[170] His own model sermons preserved in the Festial support this as, although many of them refer to and list elements of the basic syllabus, very few dwell on them in any detail.[171]

In the Instructions, his exposition of the things that should be preached to the parish covers much of the syllabus but it is covered almost in passing. His main concern is with the pragmatic application of the teachings of the Church in the parochial context and the implementation of doctrine. Far from

rigorously grinding his way through the various headings, his teaching has an associative movement. Each point appears to have been spontaneously suggested by the preceding one, although the overall movement is clear enough. Thus Baptism leads to a discussion of lay Baptism in an emergency and of the importance and responsibility of godparents in the religious education of the child. This leads to the topic of 'cosynage' through baptism and confirmation which placed sponsors and godparents among the prohibited degrees, which are themselves then covered. This leads to marriage, marriage to lust and lust to children. Children lead to the ruling that those over seven should not sleep together for fear of unnatural acts, which brings the discussion back to lust, and the priest is warned not to preach about incest or unnatural acts.[172] The pragmatic turn of this teaching is clear. The Church's doctrine is constantly being related to everyday conditions. He stresses that it is important that there should be mutual consent between husband and wife before either undertakes penance, chastity or pilgrimage.[173]

Also part of the preaching programme is instruction of the laity in how to behave when they meet a priest carrying a Host and how they should behave in church during Mass.[174] As in the Latin manual discussed above which provided a list of topics which the laity might pray about during Mass, so Mirk declares that the priest should teach his laity a prayer to be said at the Levation (this at least has the virtue of being related to the proceedings). He quotes the popular lyric:

> Ihesu, lord, welcome þow be,
> In forme of bred as I þe se; (ll. 290-1)[175]

although his comment makes it clear that this is not meant to be

a definitive choice but rather an example of the genre:

> Teche hem þus, oþer sum oþere þynge,
> To say at the holy sakerynge. (ll. 302-3)

On the subject of tithes (also discussed in the Speculum Christiani) he remarks sarcastically that he has no need to speak on the subject as the most foolish priest knows how to ask for them.[176]

The third section is specifically concerned with the Sacraments, having ended the second with a brief account of the Pater Noster and the Creed which he says should be preached two or three times a year (the rest of the syllabus is not mentioned in this context).[177] He repeats much of his earlier discussion of Baptism but makes no apology for it, saying that it can easily be 'i-schent'. As Confirmation can only be conferred by a bishop, his account of it is very short; its relevance to parish priest and laity alike being limited.[178]

His account of the Great Sentence of Excommunication (not in all manuscripts)[179] shows a remarkable awareness of the theatrical potential of the ceremony:

> Then þou thi candelle shalt cast to grounde
> And spet therto þe same stounde
> And lete also the belles knylle,
> To make here hertes the more grille. (ll. 81-4)

His account of the Sacrament of Penance is not intended to be a complete guide to this most complicated area:

> But myche more þau moste wyten,
> Ðenne þou fyndest here I-wryten, (ll. 679-80)

although he displays a humanity in his realisation that many of the penances contained in the laws are too severe (ll. 687-8) and a concern with the practical aspects of the sacrament's workings, warning the priest 'And kepe þe welle þat þou ne spytte' (l. 778) when speaking to the penitent. He provides

a paradigm for the words to be said by the priest and the penitent when absolution is to be administered. Such texts are not infrequently found in the miscellanies. Bodleian MS. Douce 60, for example, is a copy of the Instructions which also has such a formulary headed 'Hic est forma confessionis...' This text gives details of what the priest should say (in Latin) and what the penitent should say (in the vernacular).[180] Like Mirk, and as instructed by several episcopal decrees, the confession consists in part of an examination of the penitent's religious knowledge.

The canon law which Mirk chooses to deal with is all of a severely practical nature. He lists the reserved cases in confession and gives brief instruction on what to do when accidents (such as spillages of wine) occur during the Mass. At the end he pleads that the work should not be hidden away in 'hodymoke' but should be frequently read and made available to others, those that have no books of their own:

> And oþer þat beth of mene lore,
> Þat wolde fayn conne more. (ll. 1925-6)[181]

This might seem to open the work to the laity although the practical aspects of the teaching, particularly concerning the administration of the Sacraments makes the work less attractive, and there is no evidence from the surviving manuscripts that it was in lay hands at an early date.

The activity of a regular Augustinian canon in the field of pastoral literature forms part of the overall pattern of activity in this area detectable in many monastic communities. Doyle has pointed out the degree of monastic interest 'whether self centred or missionary' in books dealing with the cura animarum,

and recent studies of monastic libraries have revealed surprising holdings of texts such as Qui bene praesunt.[182] In addition closed orders, notably the Carthusians,seem to have been active in the dissemination (if not the production) of handbooks of pastoral theology in addition to their activities in more contemplative spheres.[183] Several copies of the Speculum Christiani and one of the Cibus Anime were certainly in Carthusian ownership at some stage in their history, and one copy of the Speculum seems to have belonged to a London Augustinian house.[184]

Of all the orders the Augustinians perhaps had the best reason to become involved in the pastoral care as they had long enjoyed the right to exercise the cure of souls themselves, although there is some debate about whether this right was ever widely exercised in this country.[185] However even if most of their churches were staffed by vicars, it is not unlikely that this close involvement with parish affairs could lead to a parallel involvement with pastoral aids.

Mirk's Instructions are an attempt to render sub brevibus the essence of the episcopal legislation pertaining to the pastoral care. They combine pragmatism and humanity in a surprisingly successful way considering their roots in the tradition of the Oculus Sacerdotis. Mirk seems to have realised the inaccessibility of such works to the average parish priest. It is perhaps a fitting tribute to him that extracts from his work (significantly covering the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed and Articles of the Faith) are preserved in one manuscript (Trinity College Dublin MS. 211) alongside the Pupilla Oculi and Pecham's Ignorantia Sacerdotum.

The continuing popularity of the Templum Domini as well as the broadening audience for such works of basic instruction is illustrated by the fifteenth-century translation (or given the schematic nature of the original, perhaps 'realisation' might be a better word) of the text which survives in only one manuscript and has been printed by Roberta Cornelius in her study of allegorical edifices.[187] Although following the outline of Christian teaching provided by Grosseteste, the author has inevitably been forced to expand and elaborate in his own text which is written in eight line stanzas with a regular abababab rhyme scheme. Grosseteste's work had been aimed at the parish clergy; the manuscripts claim that it contains 'tota pastoralis officium cura'.[188] The vernacular translation deliberately refuses to limit its audience in this way:

> Ðis mater þat I will shewe here
> Take hede þere-to both gret and small
> For leue it wele þat þis matere
> Longes to cristyn peple alle
> Bot for to seke þe grounde most clere
> To prestes will it best befalle
> For þaire bodys with outen were
> Goddis temple men it calle. (ll. 9-17)

At the end of the work the peroration is similarly clear that its audience is all-embracing:

> Lerde and lewe seclere and clerke
> I rede ȝhe sett ȝoure hertes entere
> And in ȝoure mynde þes wordes ȝe marke
> Ðat ȝhe may be gods chyldre dere
> For by þis lore in worde and warke
> To make gods temple may ȝhe lere
> To somme men is þis mater merke
> And to summe it is full clere. (ll. 769-77)

Like the original, the Temple is divided into its spiritual and physical manifestations and the author follows the schemas closely, expanding and explaining as he progresses, perhaps

with reference to other works on the rudiments for in discussing the joint kingship and priesthood of Christ he says he will explain the dualism 'Als I in diuerse bokis see' (l. 352).[189]

The complexity of the allegory despite its relative brevity (784 lines) makes it unlikely that the work would have been suitable for formal aural exposition and indeed the author encourages his audience to 'Rede it ofte', although as ever this is an ambiguous invitation. As a work of reference it is of limited value as the interrelation of the parts in the allegory make a prior knowledge of the text necessary, although this is clearly not an insuperable problem. Perhaps its survival in only one manuscript suggests that compared with its much more economical and practical original it was found to be of only limited usefulness.

VI

Although Pecham's formulation of the basic syllabus may have been of less significance in the thirteenth century than has sometimes been suggested, there can be no doubt that his listing of the rudiments, carrying with it the authority of provincial legislation and the authorship of a noted religious educator, was of considerable assistance to compilers of manuals of pastoral instruction in the succeeding centuries.[190] By prefacing their work by all or part of Pecham's constitutions they could make a tacit appeal tp its authority and orthodoxy as validating their own endeavours in the field, especially following Arundel's stipulation that the preaching syllabus should be restricted to the items listed in Pecham's decree.[191]

Thus the Lambeth copy of the Cibus Anime is prefaced by the Pecham constitutions and the compiler makes it clear that the work has been annexed to them 'pro uberiori intellectu'.[192] Thus the Cibus Anime is seen as explicating the syllabus as laid down by Pecham, although of course its contents in no way match all the requirements of the episcopal listing, as there is no exposition of the Pater Noster or Ave Maria, nor is there any account of the Sacraments such as is often found in pastoral manuals. This deficiency is rectified by the next work in the volume, however, a tabula on the Sacraments.[193] The relationship between Pecham's work and the Cibus Anime in this manuscript is emphasised in a colophon at the end of the text, as is the omission of sacramental material:

> Explicit sana doctrina super illo capitulo ignorancia sacerdotum exeptus est sacramentis de quibus dicam infra.[194]

Similarly in Cambridge, Pembroke College MS. 285 the relevant capitula are used to preface a simple exposition in the vernacular of the syllabus with the clauses of the Pecham formulation used as a kind of primitive apparatus to indicate each phase of the work.[195] In addition to the complete citation at the opening of the work, the clauses are repeated in the body of the text and rubricated. Although almost certainly designed to assist priests (the manuscript may be associated with Osyth priory in Essex and also contains a copy of the Speculum Christiani, a sermon on keeping the Commandments which praises the office of preaching and teaching God's word and a treatise on the Deadly Sins) the exposition refers in the course of its discussion of Baptism to the importance of

the godparents in the religious education of the children they act for:

> Þei ben yholde to teche her godchildren to love ryghtfulnes, to holde charite, to kepe hem in chastite, to teche hem goddis hestis, to keepe hem fram sinne deedly and also specially to teche hem her bileve.[196]

This serves to remind us that the teaching of the rudiments was never intended to be the sole responsibility of the clergy. The Pecham syllabus is followed in the manuscript by an explanation of the articles of excommunication and an exposition of the Pater Noster (not included in the main work although the Ave Maria is translated at the opening of that work and is followed by a list of indulgences attached to venerating the Name of Jesus by various Popes). The three works taken together provide a compact listing of the syllabus and economical commentaries on it.

The Speculum Christiani itself closes its prologue with a brief citation of the Pecham syllabus, and is preceded by considerable numbers of patristic authorities stressing the responsibility of priests to preach and teach and emphasising the urgent need to combat ignorance.[197] Although its contents do overlap with Pecham they do not coincide exactly either in extent or in order. The work's editor suggests that Pecham was used as the structural basis of the Speculum, but this may be doubted on the grounds that the Speculum is far more ambitious and wide ranging in its content. It is suggested below in the detailed discussion of the Speculum that the inclusion of the Pecham syllabus by the work's compiler may have been a way of fulfilling the various fifteenth-century requirements

that priests should possess a copy of the decree. It may also have been fashionable to include it in manuals for the clergy and certainly the presence of the Pecham decree is one of the distinguishing features of texts designed primarily for clerical rather than lay use.

Thus when an unknown compiler began to rework material from the fifteenth-century treatise Disce Mori into another work intended for the use of priests, he prefaced this new work with Pecham's Ignorantia Sacerdotum.[198] Disce Mori opens with a verse prologue dedicating the work to 'my best beloved suster dame Alice' who has forsaken the world, the flesh and the devil and inviting her to look into the treatise 'ofte and with glad herte'.[199] It is essentially a handbook of Vices and Virtues and as such lies outside the scope of this study as it is concerned with individual progress in the spiritual life of a more advanced kind than that catered for in the average pastoral manual. Its address to an individual and the invitation to casual perusal also set it apart. It is, however, worth remembering that many of the penitential and contemplative texts of the Latin and the vernacular traditions contained much catechetic material, and the Disce Mori uses the traditional heptamerology in its account of the Pater Noster.[200] Perhaps even more surprising is that it uses the even more traditional Latin rhyme tags in its fourth section which deals with Penance. When discussing the ideal confession, reference is made to the verses beginning 'Sit simplex humilis confessio pura fidelis' which are followed by a vernacular exposition explaining the 'intellect' of the verses.[201] Similarly when listing the

reserved cases in confession, the compiler offers one verse and immediately follows it with an alternative formulation commenting 'Or elles thus aftír somemen'. These verses are probably acquired from the sources used by the compiler, but it is interesting to see them in such a context being recommended for use by a woman albeit under professional guidance.[202]

The revision of material from Disce Mori for A Discourse upon be Constitution (Bodleian MS. Eng. theol. c.57) illustrates the fact that despite the proliferation of manuals of wider devotional and contemplative material which the rise of the newly literate laity and of the vernacular itself encouraged, there was still a taste for more traditional formulations of the teaching syllabus. Disce Mori certainly preceded the commentary on Ignorantia Sacerdotum rather than vice versa. This is shown by the consistent tone of address throughout and the constant references to 'sister' as well as by the progression of the argument. In the copy preserved in Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 99 there is an analytical table of contents preceding the text, which has been added in a later hand on paper. This divides the text into parts, chapters and subheadings which are lettered a, b, c etc. This alphabetical subdivision corresponds with letters placed in the margins of the text proper. This system of subdividing the material was of course common in preachers aids by the end of the thirteenth century.[203] The fact that the apparatus is a later addition to the text might suggest that it was being used by someone other than its dedicatee and in a way other than that envisaged by its author;

that is, less as a book to be read and perused casually and meditatively and more as a work of reference. Certainly the apparatus would have assisted the compiler of the Discourse in his task of quarrying material for a new compilation.

The Discourse opens with an authorial prologue explaining the intentio auctoris and the modus agendi. Having consulted Lyndwood's gloss on Pecham's decree, he had found it 'diffuse intricat with lawe and hard of intellecte', and conceived the desire:

> to drawe out of the seid glose and other werkes of hooli doctours this ensuyng rude werk made in oure modre tunge for diverse causes that moved me bi whiche I entende after suche auctours as I have seen to distribute forth to symple curates curales or upplandisshe hou thei shal have hem afore god and man in their demenyng ayenst hem self as wel in ward as outward. And also hou thei shal declare unto theire parisshens the matieres conteyned in the seid constitucioun.[204]

The twofold aim of the work is an interesting combination of the two major concerns we have seen exhibited in the clerical miscellanies examined above: concern for the correct education of the laity, and concern for the moral and spiritual well being of the priest.

The clerical orientation of the work is clear from the opening section which deals with the priestly ideal. The section begins with several patristic citations in Latin (including quotes attributed to Augustine and Ambrose) and proceeds to vernacular discussion of how a priest should talk. (His words should be 'trewe honest clene softe mesurable and precious not in eloquence but in sadnesse and good avisenesse'.) and what he ought to avoid becoming ('Be ware also þat wraþþe

kyndel not in youre hertes and make hem to brenne in malice and so to caste out sparkeles of bitter speche').[205] The exposition of the Pecham syllabus opens with a discussion of the Creed taken from chapter 13 of part four of Disce Mori, where the rudiments are tucked away at the end of the chapters on satisfaction, Penance, contrition, reserved cases and impediments to prayer.[206] In Disce Mori this section is headed 'A compendious recitation' but is clearly subject to and intended to assist the penitential thrust of the section as a whole. The Pecham exposition rearranges this so that the rudiments precede any discussion of penitential procedures. The account of the Creed brings with it from Disce Mori the affective concentration on the bloodsheddings of Christ and the meditative treatment of the Passion as covered by the Creed's clauses; and, although it is unusual to find this kind of exposition in teaching contexts, this is not merely a case of the compiler slavishly incorporating material from his source for the seven bloodsheddings introduced here are employed again later in the text as part of the general discussion of the Remedia against sin. Their repetition has the effect of drawing together the credal formulations and the fight against sin and emphasising their common place in the search for salvation, as well as stressing the centrality and contemporary importance of Christ's sacrifice.[207] As is frequently the case the clauses of the Creed are assigned to the Apostles popularly attributed with their authorship.[208]

The Works of Mercy and the Commandments are followed by a lengthy discussion of the Deadly Sins opening with a section

which also circulated independently.[209] There are, according to this section, two roots (charitas and cupiditas) which give rise to two trees (of life and death). The modus agendi of this section is described by reference to this commonplace of pastoral theology: 'Of þise 2 trees ... I schal shewe þee þe greete bowes and þe smale braunches and also þe vertue þe nature and þe fruyt þat comeþ of hem.'[210] Also used is the allegorical idea of the castle of man's heart. It is clear that the primary influence throughout this section is the Somme le Roi. As in Disce Mori, the Deadly Sins are followed by a model formulaic confession providing a paradigm for the recognition and confession of sin and this is itself followed by the text on How to Make Thy Bed.[211] In Disce Mori this section, which also circulated independently, is part of the Exhortations which, according to the table of contents in Laud Misc. 99, follow the end of Disce Mori proper. In the Discourse its position immediately following on a discussion of confession is clearly highly appropriate and marks a logical progression in spiritual development: having cleansed the chamber, learn how to array it for the visit of Christ and also how to keep it clean. The work ends with a section on perseverance.

Hodgson pointed out that the exposition of the rudiments made use of Lyndwood and that its treatment of the themes was conventional though much more detailed than in other works of this type.[212] The text is certainly better organised than Disce Mori (which abounds in awkward repetitions) and its progression more logical. This clarity is almost certainly that of a later work improving on an earlier work's confusion, although the Discourse has the benefit of a clear framework upon

which to build. Although more detailed than many simple manuals, the use it makes of patristic authorities to support its argument and the listing of these authorities with only minimal attempt made to link them into coherent prose can be paralleled in the Speculum Christiani's use of Latin authorities. By the nature of its source, the Discourse is unable to present a balanced account of the rudiments and is seriously overloaded with regard to the Deadly Sins. Perhaps more surprising is that it does not appear to make any use of Disce Mori's quite lengthy exposition of the Pater Noster which in addition to linking together the usual sevens also has an interesting discussion of the profundity of the philosophy contained in the prayer and of the progressive revelation of its depths.[213] It may be that Pecham's failure to specify the prayer led to its omission here. Whatever the shortcomings of the text, it remains as an example of the way that compilers continued to respond to the needs of 'symple curates curales or upplandisshe' in traditional ways, even using as source material more sophisticated and advanced texts. The use made of the Disce Mori by the compiler of the Discourses may be compared with the use made of the Cibus Anime by the compiler of the Speculum Christiani.[214]

Perhaps the last traditional manual to appear and to use Pecham's decree as a starting point was the Exornatorium Curatorum which was re-published in 1519.[215] The decision to preface an exposition of the basic syllabus by Pecham's venerable piece of legislation may have been influenced by the fact that Cardinal Wolsey re-issued Pecham's statutes in 1518,

as well as by the popularity of other texts which opened in a similar way.[216] The exposition itself is unremarkable and commonplace, although there seems a certain ambiguity about the audience which is being addressed. We have seen above that by the end of the fourteenth century manuals were passing into lay hands and that lay interest was occasionally being recognised in the manuals themselves.[217] By the early sixteenth century this lay interest had become institutionalised. In the words of Louis B. Wright, 'Thanks to countless manuals, the private citizen had become articulate in the presence of the deity.' Although his work is specifically concerned with Tudor books of devotion, his comment is easily applied to the manuals of earlier the same century.[218] The Exornatorium Curatorum seems to be, as its title suggests intended for those with the cure of souls. Yet its author, possibly realising that the market for such texts was by no means limited to the clergy (as is suggested by the surprising popularity of the Speculum Christiani in early printings), includes passages of explanation and exhortation which are presented in such a way that they can be either used by the priest in his own teaching or read by the layman. For example the discussion of the Sacraments and in particular of the Eucharist reveals this double focus. Citing Pecham, the text reminds 'ye that be laye people' that the wine and water given in the chalice after receiving the host is not a sacrament, but merely a drink 'to cause the holy sacrament to goo to his place more redely'. We have seen this teaching repeated in several earlier manuals, but the width of implied audience is greater than before.[219] The work's peroration explicitly invokes this

wider audience:

> Therefore whether ye be clerke or laye man have yet your fayth stedfastly roted in the fayth of holy chyrche....

But this is only the recognition of a situation which had pertained for over a century.[220]

For example, the Memoriale Credencium is a fifteenth-century treatise covering the rudiments of the faith which is explicitly designed for use by the laity:

> This tretys is y made to ensaumple of þe commune puple þat can nouȝt vnderstonde latyn ne frensh and for cristen men þat leueþ in god! shuld haue þyngus þat here beþ y wrytt ofte yn mynde. [221]

The colophon at the opening of the work says that it is 'ydrawe oute of holy wrytt and þe techyng of holy doctours to fore þis tyme' and the scriptural bias of the compiler is noticeable throughout. The ten plagues of Ægypt preface the discussion of the Commandments and the Deadly Sins which are listed with their branches are also provided with biblical examples. Thus Lot's wife is cited as the example of 'unbuxomness' and, more traditionally, Nebuchadnezzar is the example of 'avaunting in dede' because of his proud behaviour in Babylon.[222] The Sins are all discussed in the same way. A general analysis of the sin (pride is...) is followed by its branches which are analysed with examples (inobedience, avaunting, Lot, Nebuchadnezzar), general conclusions are drawn and the opposed Virtues are analysed (meekness in heart, speech and deed; meekness likened to the moon). The popular tone of the work is indicated by the large number of exemplary stories included mainly from Scripture but also from popular mythology.[223] In discussing

mercy, the author of the text uses a technique also found in several manuals discussed above. He provides three distinct sets of comparisons. First Mercy is likened to a tree; the root is compassion and the fruits are the Works of Mercy. Secondly, Mercy 'may be tokened by' Jacob's ladder. The two uprights are compassion of heart and almsgiving, the rungs are the Works of Mercy and so on. Ladders, and in particular Jacob's ladder, were a popular subject in didactic literature whether presented in visual schematic (as in the ladders in the Speculum Christiani) or as sequences of texts (as in the sequence called Scala Celi in B.L. MS. Harley 1706).[224] The third account of Mercy likens it to a well of oil. These different presentations of the same basic material (with the Works of Mercy at the heart) seem to be designed to be imaginatively stimulating.

All the Sins are treated with the same imaginative flair; the slothful man is seen as being out of harmony with the rest of Nature (i.e. unnatural) because he is still while the rest of creation is in constant movement. Those who vow themselves to chastity hallow a temple to god, which is man's soul. 'In þulke temple schul be ȳ peynte þe ymages of holy seyntus to ensaumple of Ms. þe buxsumnesse of aungelis ... þe gode feþe of patriarkes. þe stedfastnes of prophetis...'[225] The appeal is throughout to the visual imagination. The fullness of the discussion of the Sins is not sustained. Although unusually full in the range of material it covers (including discussions of fearing and loving the lord and of tribulation), many of the headings are quite simple expositions. Thus the account of the Pater Noster gives each clause in Latin (written in Textura to

set it apart) translates and analyses it and lists the related Deadly Sins and opposed Gift of the Spirit.[226]

The final section of the work is in fact a translation of and selection from a Latin text of the Speculum Ecclesie belonging to what Forshaw calls the 'shorter' recension.[227] Of course the Speculum itself covers much of the basic syllabus in its discussion of the second type of contemplation, of God in his 'wryttis'. This explains some of the omissions in the first half of the Memoriale Credencium. Material drawn from the Speculum includes the Sacraments, the Gifts of the Spirit (listed in the account of the Pater Noster but not fully discussed), and the Works of Mercy (discussed in passing under Mercy but not expounded in any detail).[228]

Although the choice of the Speculum Ecclesie may seem odd as a source for a text which overtly aims to assist the lewd and the illiterate, it is worth remembering that the second degree of contemplation in the Speculum opens with an appeal to the unlearned reminding them that all that is written can be spoken and that if they can't read they should listen and learn.[229] This sentiment is, of course, entirely in sympathy with those expressed by the author of the Memoriale at the beginning and the end of his work, and he picks up the comment in the Speculum in his own work:

> Whan þu huryst eny þing of holy writte in commune sermoun oþer in priuey collacion . take hede beselich yf þu eny þing herist þat may help þe to edificacion to þi soule...[230]

The presence of large sections of material from the Speculum Ecclesie does not mean that the Memoriale Credencium was intended as a contemplative primer. The contemplative material occupies

some thirteen folios out of a total of one hundred and six in Bodleian MS. Tanner 201. As Goymer has pointed out, the Speculum in its various Latin and vernacular manifestations enjoyed considerable popularity throughout the later medieval period. Goymer claims that the 'blending in its subject matter of instruction and devotional matter made it an excellent lay manual.'[231] Perhaps more significant than the popularity which the text as a whole enjoyed was the consistent quarrying of the whole for use in other manuals, and the independent circulation of portions of the text usually from the more practical instructions contained in the first two grades of contemplation. The most popular items for extraction are those dealing with the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments, although the sections on the Works of Mercy, the Deadly Sins and the Cardinal Virtues are also found independently, usually in collections of material brought together to form ad hoc pastoral manuals.[232] In addition there is also the version preserved in the Vernon manuscript of the first two stages of contemplation from the Speculum, under the title Hou a man schal lyve parfytly.[233] The title illustrates that the extract is less interested in contemplative progress than in encouraging a good Christian life which, although the first stage in all contemplative programmes, can rarely have been achieved easily.

The Memoriale Credencium is similarly concerned more with the good life than with the higher planes of spiritual ascent. It opens with this invitation:

> Man and woman þat wilneþ to fle synne and lede clene lyfe taketh hede to þis litul tretys....[234]

In Tanner 201 the Memoriale Credencium is preceded by another

manual, a short listing of the rudiments prefaced by a poem and ending with a fluid meditative and devotional discussion of the mercy and kindness of God contrasted with man's unworthiness which perhaps relates to the extensive discussion of Mercy in the Memoriale Credencium itself. It seems probable that this short manual was written for use by women, for the final section includes the comment 'by the assension thou hast hablid me and made me worthy to be a pryncesse of the highe blysse of hevyn'.[235] But of course there is ample evidence that texts produced for a lay audience were either transmitted to them by the clergy, or were owned by the clergy for their own edification. As Doyle puts it, these manuals were useful;

> not only for the new number of lay people competent only in the vernacular, but also for the increasing body of the clergy to whom it was preferable, like those in all classes having some knowledge of other languages, yet limited to matters of routine.[236]

VII

The popularity of works such as the Speculum Ecclesie and more ambitious works like the Form of Living is testimony to an extension of the range of material included in spiritual handbooks. Doyle's explanation of this is that: 'The longer works are naturally most appreciated by persons already adequately instructed in the bare outlines of doctrine but desiring more systematic explanation, amplification and application of what they already knew in terms of their present and potential social and spiritual life.'[237] The expansion of the manuals to include other related spiritual topics does not

indicate that with the advent of lay literacy and the increasing lay ownership of such books there was a sudden improvement in the spiritual advancement of the laity. Doyle's studies of various representative manuscripts, and the general tenor of his doctoral survey emphasise that the social band having access to this material was always a relatively narrow one; initially the nobility and increasingly in the fifteenth century the wealthier merchant classes. Middle class access to this kind of material on the page rather than aurally belongs as a widespread phenomenon to the sixteenth century.[238] Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Latin formulations discussed above were being copied and new Latin manuals dealing specifically with the elementary religious education of the laity were being produced. Indeed the typical clerical miscellany of these centuries is likely to contain more Latin material than vernacular. Although texts such as the Pore Caitif contain some rudimentary instruction (significantly at the beginning of the standard text), the most common use of the vernacular in the dissemination of the basic syllabus was not in complete manuals but rather in shorter extracts from those manuals relating specifically to the rudiments (such as those from the Speculum Ecclesie mentioned above) or in independent poems and verses treating the rudiments in simple and memorable ways, or in short prose accounts of specific pastoral and spiritual problems.

Doyle speaks of a number of manuscripts where several of these short texts have been brought together to form what he calls 'nonce collections' and what I shall refer to as ad hoc

manuals. He discusses in particular six of related contents all made in or around London in the second half of the fifteenth century 'for priests, religious and lay people.'[239] One of the common texts A Schort Declaracioun of Bileve in General indicates the dual audience that the manuscripts were meant to serve. The text states that there are three kinds of belief; to believe 'in to God', to believe God, and to believe 'to God'. and goes on to discuss the Commandments.[240] The text directs itself specifically to two sections of society, the priests and the knights. It speaks directly to the clergy, exhorting them to 'fulfille þou þi mynisteri mynistering þe sevene sacramentis' and then moves on to address the knights using the structural framework of an allegorical edifice.[241] In a manner reminiscent of Piers Plowman, Christendom is likened to a city attacked by a king (the Devil). The city is defended by walls and towers. The walls are the priests and the towers are the knights. It is perhaps not surprising that Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 23 was 'probably made for a priest and was later in lay hands.' The text is very conscious of order and degree, even speaking of the order to be observed in loving.[242]

Another good example of an ad hoc manual is provided by the last section of Harley 1706. The early part of this book and the closely related contents of Bodleian MS. Douce 322 have been studied by Doyle who links them with the Vere family and Barking Abbey.[243] In the folios following fol. 205, there is a sequence of poems and some prose notes. The poems, mentioned in passing by Doyle, cover all the usual elements of the teaching syllabus; the Decalogue, the Deadly Sins, the

Virtues against the Vices, the Works of Mercy, the five Senses (corporal and spiritual), the Cardinal and Theological Virtues and the Beatitudes. Although there is a certain overlap between several manuscripts, no other manuscript has all of the poems in the same order.[244] It would appear that they have been brought together from a variety of sources deliberately to cover the rudiments, and that they are meant to stand together as a sequence. In addition to the poems on the rudiments is another poem headed in the manuscript 'Thyss lesson a vertuose chylde schulde often say to hys soverynes', and this is followed by a rubric Explicit scala celi and the verses:

> Þis ys lader of heven blys
> Clyme þeron while þou may
> And he schalle lede þe y wys
> To þat joye þat lasteþ aye
> A-M-E-N[245]

The association of rudimentary material with verses for children is understandable considering the didactic use made of primers, and several of these nonce collections or ad hoc manuals contain material similar to that found in primers used in schools. Thus the heading in JRL. MS. Eng. 85 lists the contents as follows:

> The abice, and next pater noster ave maria and crede and next the heestis and other thingis shortli to be touchid to helpe of every persoone that thinkith to be saved.[246]

The presence of the abice or cross row might suggest that this was intended as a children's primer, although it explicitly states that the work is intended to assist 'every persoone'.

Similarly in B.L. Additional MS. 60577 (the recently purchased Winchester miscellany) a sequence of prose texts, all apparently independent, is introduced by a cross and alphabet.

Even the appearance of the manuscript which is carefully ruled, and clearly written only on alternate lines might suggest it as a schoolbook if it were not for the presence of more advanced spiritual material, including the last chapter of Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection, headed in the manuscript as 'a treyts nedefull and necessary for all men and women...'.[247]

C.U.L. MS. Ff.2.38 has a similar collection of verse texts which form an ad hoc manual. The contents include the Works of Mercy (bodily and spiritual), the five Wits (bodily and 'goostly'), the Deadly Sins, the seven contrary Virtues, the (twelve) Articles of the Faith and the Sacraments. The verses on the Works of Mercy and the Senses are the same as those found in Harley 1706.[248] Although the manuscript contains much else of general didactic nature, it is interesting to note that these verses are not scattered throughout the manuscript but are grouped together.[249] Although this may say something about the way in which the manuscript was copied, it may also suggest that they were intended to function as a sequence. The verses on the Works of Mercy and the Senses are also found together in B.L. MS. Harley 2339, another manuscript which Doyle suspects is of metropolitan execution. This manuscript has five of its seven poems on the rudiments in common with Harley 1706. The two unusual ones are a lyric on the Virtues against the Deadly Sins, where Christ relates one of his bloodlettings at the passion to one of the Sins in the manner of several popular lyrics, and a verse listing of the Sacraments.[250]

At the end of Harley 1706 there occurs a note on reading and the use of books, printed by Doyle and more recently cited

by Hirsh in his study of Bodleian MS. Bodley 789. The 'ende' and 'entente' of using books, says the note, parodying the style of the accessus ad auctores is 'for formys of preysynge and preyynge'. This distinction between praising and praying is further developed. The 'preysynge' leads to 'vnderstondynge of god of hys benyfetys of hys lawe...or sume orþer goodly and gostely trowþis'. The 'praying' is necessary so that 'we myȝte have good affeccyon toward god and hys seyntes and hys seruyce to be gendryd and geten'.[251] The note seems to distinguish between the affective function of prayer and meditation in creating a desire and love for God (which many of the texts in the early part of Harley 1706 might be said to encourage)[252] and the more fundamental learning process envisaged in the reading and use of books. It is to this latter activity that these groups of poems, and indeed all the manuals discussed here belong: preparing the ground for a developing understanding of God's law without which it is impossible to love Him.

Not surprisingly, attempts were made to blend the two activities. The poem in Harley 2339, for example, where Christ presents his own sufferings to mankind and relates them to the Deadly Sins combines a certain affective force with a didactic element. Several other poems on the Sins adopt the same technique:

> Rise up, unlust, out of thy bedde! ACCIDIA
> Think on my feet that are for-bledde
> And harde nailed upon a tree:
> Think theron, man; this was for thee.[253]

This uses the technique frequently employed in meditations on the Passion; the direct mode of address, the contrast between

man's behaviour and Christ's, the physical suffering, the invitation to meditate and the stress on God's sacrifice. But there is a new element introduced here by the presence of the rubric Accidia which relates the situation to a specific moral act and thus attempts to teach as well as move.[254] Another approach is to make the reader or speaker of the verse appeal to Christ invoking his suffering as a kind of charm against a particular sin:

> Jesu for thi blode þou bleddest
> And in the firste tyme þu sheddest
> In thy membre pryve,
> Clense me oute of lecherye,
> And oute of all Maner folye,
> And haue Mercy on me.[255]

Carleton Brown prints a lyric which verges on the borders between penitential and pastoral literature. He entitles it Medicines to Cure the Deadly Sins and it develops the common-place idea of the priest in confession being like a doctor who must search the wounds of his patients and apply the appropriate cure. The lyric is cast in the form of a chanson d'aventure and the protagonist comes upon the lamenting sinner while out walking 'To take the aere off feld and flowre'. The sinner complains of his many wounds and is specific about who must treat them:

> Hitt must be a curate, a crownyd wyght,
> Ðatt knew the querely off bene and pese;
> And els thes medicynys haue no myght
> To geve vs lycense to lyve yn ese. (11.21-4)[256]

He proceeds to list each of his 'wounds' and to ask for the application of various herbs and remedies which are opposed to the wounds/sins. In addition to the contrary Virtues, he lists three extra herbs which are of particular power: operis

<u>contricio</u>, <u>oris confessio</u> and <u>operis satisfacio</u>.[257] It is interesting to see the Latin terms used in the vernacular context, perhaps showing the influence of catechism formulations. The lyric has the effect of teaching the Virtues and Vices and emphasising the importance of the sacrament of Penance by using a conventional theological idea in an imaginative way.

Confessional contexts are also used for poems on the Decalogue, probably arising in response to the examination of the penitent's knowledge of the rudiments in confession which was a standard feature of penitential practice, although the Decalogue also provides a useful starting point for the examination of conscience which should precede confession.[258] These often take the form of model confessions:

> The ten comawndementis I haue broke
> Many a tyme with wickede skylle,[259]

and in the Vernon manuscript there is a series of linked prayers opening with a request for the Gifts of the Spirit and continuing with a confession of negligence in the Deeds of Mercy, a prayer for 'sauynge of þe fyue wyttes' and a prayer for forgiveness after breaking the Commandments.[260] These prayers serve as paradigms for personal use, but could easily be taught by the clergy as part of formal catechetical training. The Vernon manuscript also preserves a longer lyric which encourages the observance of the Commandments and which stresses the need for constant reference to God's laws in a tone of solemn admonition, which assumes a teaching authority:

> I warne √che leod þat liueþ in londe,
> And do hem dredles out of were,
> Ðat þei most studie and vnderstonde
> Ðe lawe of crist to loue and lere. (ll. 1-4)[261]

There follows an exposition of the Decalogue which is carefully designed to facilitate memorising. Each Commandment is treated in a complete stanza and each line is end stopped while the style is deliberately paratactic. Although this leads to some rambling clauses, the didactic intent of the poem is clear; it is a lesson to be learnt:

> Vche mon þat wol þis lessun lere
> And loueþ a laweful lyf to lede,
> He may not misse on none manere
> Þe merþe of heuene to his mede. (ll. 97-100)

This same structure of a listing followed by an exhortation and promise of heavenly reward is found in thirteenth-century lyrics:

> Þis beit godis bodis ten
> Þe sulen kepen alle men.
> Hoe þat nullit hem y-kepen
> He sulen in-to helle depe;
> Hoe þat kepit hem arist
> He sulen in-to heuene brit. (ll. 11-16)[262]

Here the double-handed promise is presented in a repeated structure which imparts to it almost proverbial force, and such proverbs are also found:

> Kepe well ten and flee from seven;
> Rule well five and come to heven.[263]

Verse treatment of the rudiments was not limited to such short lyrical or proverbial accounts. In addition to verse manuals such as the Speculum Vitae, verse renderings of other texts such as the partial translation of the Speculum Ecclesie in Vernon headed Hou a man schal lyve parfytly and the versified account of the Form of Living, there are other verse presentations of the material. The poems of William of Shoreham, for example on the Sacraments, the Decalogue and the Deadly Sins are preserved in a manuscript which also contains the Athanasian Creed in Latin and English.[264] His skilful use of different

stanzaic forms raises the poems above the level of didactic doggerel, although it is clear that the intended audience (if not the intended readership) is clearly lay. In his poem on the Sacraments, he goes to some lengths to explain their role in the salvation of the world, and uses the popular image of Jacob's ladder (which he explains as Charity) to explain their function. Like many of the authors we have considered, William is constantly searching for visual analogies to bring home more forcefully his teachings. The Sacraments are likened to the seven seals on the book seen by St John in Revelation, while in his poem on the Decalogue he stresses the need for constant rehearsal of the teaching to avoid failure and recommends the use of fingers and toes as mnemonic aids or imagines agentes.[265] Like the poet of the Vernon lyric, he claims that knowing the teachings is insufficient; we must also act on them.

In expounding the Deadly Sins, he stresses the need for instruction among the laity (echoing the perennial plea of manualists and legislators that priests should carry out their teaching responsibilities):

> For feawe of ham [the laity] conne þe skele
> How senne a-boute comeþ;
> And þat a-combreþ swyþe fele
> Ðat none kepe nomeþ.
>
> Ðerfore þys tale rymeþ
> Hou men in senne beþ,
> And hou senne by-lymeþ
> Man þat to senne hym deþ. (ll. 69-76)[266]

This is an interesting example of the tendency among pastoral writers in the vernacular to talk at the laity and about them simultaneously.

W.L. Braekman has recently published two poems (with the promise of a third) from a sequence on the Virtues opposed to the Vices, the Works of Mercy and the Sacraments. These are for the most part conventional expositions of the material except for the introduction of narraciones to exemplify the points made. This is only an extension of the technique of relating each sin to a biblical figure or providing other mnemonic aids to assist in the retention of the teaching, although it does have the added advantage (long appreciated by preachers) of providing a narrative context in which to place the teaching. A surprisingly large number of the sinners are in orders![267]

The provision of narrative context is taken a stage further in the Speculum Misericordie, described by Robbins rather unkindly as 'a tissue of fifteenth-century doctrinal commonplaces bound together by a rather prosaic allegory.'[268] The conventional May morning opening finds the narrator taking the air on account of some illness which has left him weakened and conveniently incapable of assisting when a young knight rides by singing a love song (perhaps meant to indicate his sinful state) and dressed in 'goode atyre' which is detailed presumably to illustrate the pride the knight takes in his appearance. On the tried and trusted principle that Pride comes before a fall, the knight spurs his horse on too fast and falls, sustaining terrible injuries which are detailed with true fifteenth-century relish:

> In to his brayn a man myghtte see
> His necke was lopen owt offe lyht. (ll. 45-6)

Conveniently recovering from his injuries sufficiently to enable him to speak, he laments his lot in a series of conventional topoi

> Lytell supposede I in serteyne
> That deeht hadde been so nere to mes... (ll. 61-2)
>
> All is but veyne and vanitee
> This worlde is but a cherie feyre. (ll. 71-2)
>
> But deeht me dooht now greet wronge
> I schall be graven or that I growe. (ll. 83-4)

Although the narrator is unable to comfort the proverbially inclined knight in his last moments, he is aware of the approach of 'A louely lady as whyte as a swan' and seven attendant maidens. The lady is Discrecio (? Prudence) and the maidens are the seven antithetical Virtues usually opposed to the Deadly Sins. The pattern of the rest of the poem is that the knight laments his failings, referring to a particular Sin, and is comforted by the maiden of the opposed Virtue who reminds him of men from Scripture who had typified that sin and had been saved by God's mercy. The maidens relentlessly refuse the knight the self-indulgence of despair or presumption and eventually he makes a formal confession and plea for mercy. It is clear that the poem embodies many of the characteristics found in shorter treatments of these elements of the basic syllabus; the use of biblical exempla, the chanson d'aventure opening and even the general confessional context. It has subsumed all these aspects to produce a kind of moral romance. It was conventional for didactic poems to emphasise that they would contain no romance material, and it is unusual to find the battle being taken to the enemy's doorstep in this way.[269] Although Robbins saw no need to 'postulate prototypes' for the

text because of its date, it is clear that it is in the mainstream of the kind of didactic verse frequently associated with the teaching of the rudiments of the faith.

Another example of the romance mode being used in this way is provided by the Speculum Gy de Warewyke, which almost certainly 'gains by association with the greater romance' associated with that name.[270] Perhaps because of the track record of the eponymous hero, the protagonist is placed in less dire and final straits than the hero of the Speculum Misericordie. Here Gy renounces the world and requests 'Alquin'

> Make me a god sarmoun
> And don hit write in lesczoun... (ll. 57-8)
>
> Þer-of I wole consail take
> Hu i mihte þe world forsake. (ll. 63-4)

The 'sarmoun' is in fact an exposition of the basic syllabus and soon loses sight of the persona of Gy to whom it is supposed to be addressed. By the time the discussion of Charity is reached the poem invokes a much wider audience:

> Herkne nu alle to me. (ll. 323)

It is probable that the audience was a restricted one both because of the nature of the allusion to the dynastic romance and also because of the demands made upon it by the 'sarmoun':

> Þu most ben ofte in orisoun
> And in reding of lesczoun. (ll. 499-500)

It also seems probable that it is designed to help those who, to return to Doyle's formulation, desired 'more systematic explanation, amplification and application of what they knew in terms of their present and potential social and spiritual potential.'[271] Yet it is clearly related to the didactic procedures we have observed in the manuals and in the teaching lyrics.

VIII

One of the most imaginative attempts to present the basic teachings of the Church in a strikingly memorable manner is the Visio of Piers Plowman. In particular, Passus V of the B text illustrates the vivid way Langland can exploit the conventional material of fundamental catechetics to create a new synthesis of these materials which places them in a stimulating new relationship to each other.[272]

At the beginning of the passus, the King and Court celebrate Matins and Mass to mark the resolution of the Lady Meed episode and to signify formally the beginning of the rule of Conscience and Reason. This ends the first dream and the dreamer awakes. The first movement of the poem has been completed - the ethical perspective of the fair field has been established and the dreamer has had enlightening and instructive encounters with the authority figure Holy Church who has established the somewhat naïve and idealistic moral absolutes for the poem, and he has seen the working out of the complex and morally ambiguous problem of the role of Meed in society. Passus IV ends with Reason's prophetic, almost apocalyptic, vision of an improved society which he makes a condition of pitying Meed's corruption. The passage is also a fulfilment as well as a prophecy, for it recalls Conscience's words in Passus III, ll. 283/about the coming rule of Reason and Truth, couched in terms of biblical paradigms. Both passages serve to establish secular or societal ideals to parallel the spiritual ideals of Holy Church (although the secular/spiritual distinction is misleadingly severe, the two

ff.

worlds are partially interdependent and the ideals of both certainly overlap).

What the dreamer has experienced in his first dream is basically a profession of faith in the perfectibility of Man's spiritual and social nature despite the corruption to be found in the fair field. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that in his brief waking moments he turns to prayer and in particular to the Creed and the prayers of the Rosary, (Ave Maria, Pater Noster, Gloria Patri):

> And sat softly adown and seide my bileue,
> And so I babeled on my bedes, þei brouȝte me aslepe.
> (V. 7-8)[273]

The contrasts with his first sleep are deliberate. The 'heremite unholy of werkes' of the Prologue is sent to sleep by the babbling of a brook. Here, having completed the first stage of his regeneration he turns naturally to the fundamental prayers of the Church. The religious knowledge he displays at this point corresponds closely with that taught in primary or song schools in the fourteenth century. Bishop Grandisson writing to the teachers in the diocese of Exeter in 1357 had stressed the importance of this basic syllabus and emphasised that scholars should be fully conversant with it before being allowed to proceed to more sophisticated studies. It is not enough, he claims, for them to be able to read and recite 'literaliter'. It is more important for them to be able to construe and understand the prayers. Episcopal constitutions also required priests and parents to ensure that those in their care know these basic prayers.[274]

The dreamer in his first dream is repeatedly attempting to understand what is going on. He laments to Holy Church his

lack of 'kynde knowing' (I. 136) and asks pragmatically where the faculty resides in his body. Holy Church's response accuses him of having wasted his time when young and having failed to apply himself to the study of grammar, in the course of which, according to the medieval syllabus, he would have learnt the Creed and other prayers (particularly the versatile Pater Noster and various psalms), and would have learnt how to understand and construe them:

> To litel Latyn þow lernedest, lede, in þi 3outhe;
> Heu michi, quod sterilem duxi vitam iuuenilem!
> (I. 139-9)

In learning Latin, as we have seen, he would also have learnt much of the ethical and religious basis of the Christian faith.[275] The implication is not that he has failed to learn the basis of his faith, but that he has failed to progress in his understanding of them and that his current level of awareness is in important respects 'sterile', lacking 'kynde knowing'. Holy Church helps the dreamer to embark on a process of re-discovery.[276]

It is interesting that only after his encounter with Holy Church does he feel capable of expanding on the meaning of the fair field in the Prologue. At the end of the Prologue he refuses to explicate his vision:

> What þis meteles bemeneth, 3e men þat be merye,
> Deuine 3e, for I ne dar, bi dere God in heuene.
> (Pr. 208-9)

Yet, a mere 30 lines later, he opens Passus I with assertive confidence:

> What this montaigne bymeneth and þe merke dale
> And þe felde ful of folke, I shal 3ow faire schewe.
> (I. 1-2)

The latter inversion (even using the same formulaic half line)

of his initial reluctance can only make sense if it is seen in context with his report of his encounter with the 'loveli ladi'. The authority figure of dream poetry in her manifestation as Holy Church has provided him with enough confidence to expound. She has in effect retaught him the 'ethical and religious absolutes' of his faith.[277]

This, then, is the situation at the beginning of Passus V. It is not surprising, given his progressively more enlightened state, that his perceptions of the fair field are heightened:

And þanne saw I moche more, þan I bifore tolde. (V. 9)

This leads into an account of the Confession of the Deadly Sins. On one level this episode must be seen as an allegory of the effect of Reason and Conscience in the world - the pragmatic exploitation of the idealism expressed at the end of Passus IV. On another level, however, the dreamer's experience in the passus continues the process of deepening his awareness and understanding of the rudimentary materials of the faith. The passus opens with Reason's ad status sermon exhorting the various estates to virtuous living. His words to the clergy are familiar from many manuals and episcopal decrees of the period - the importance of clerical example:

> Þat ȝe prechen to þe peple, preue it on ȝowreseluen,
> And doth it in dede; it shal drawe ȝow to good;
> If ȝe lyuen as ȝe leren vs we shal leue ȝow þe bettere!
> (V. 43-5)

Although this is clearly part of his continuing analysis of clerical degeneracy and of his continuous attempts to re-establish clerical idealism, it is particularly fitting that this passus should combine the contents of a typical simple pastoral manual with the typical criticisms of and exhortations

to the Church which traditionally opened such manuals or were found in the episcopal constitutions promulgating summulae and syllabuses to combat ignorancia sacerdotum.[278]

A typical example of the way Langland transmutes conventional ideas and commonplace themes is found in the account of the versatile and shape shifting Sloth. Two of Sloth's manifestations are directly concerned with culpable ignorance of religious knowledge. Despite Repentance's eager urgings to penance, Sloth provides a paradigm of lay indifference to the Church. His first failing is ignorance of the rudiments:

> I can nouȝte perfitly my pater-noster as þe prest it syngeth,
> But I can rymes of Robyn Hood and Randolf erle of Chestre.
> (V. 401-2)

As Bennett points out, and as we have seen in our discussion above, the preference of audiences for ballads and romances rather than pastoral or didactic material had become something of a topos in religious writing in the fourteenth century. Langland is allusively invoking one of the recurrent themes in pastoral literature. Sloth's whole story can be paralleled many times over from sermons and pastoral manuals of the period.[279] His non-observance of feasts and sluggardly performance of Sunday Mass duties make a sinful archetype, and he subsumes within his slothful exterior many of the other Deadly Sins.[280] Langland is demonstrating how Sloth in religious contexts leads inevitably to other serious sin because the sinner is deprived of the Church's assistance.

At line 423, the portrait of Sloth changes dramatically and moves from a presentation of lay religious indifference to a vivid creation of the same condition among the clergy.

Langland specifies that the persona adopted by Sloth is not merely a clerical one ('prest') but also that of a priest involved in the care of souls ('persoun') which means that his ignorance and indifference affect not only his own spiritual well being but also that of his parishioners. This is the aspect of clerical ignorance which was most alarming to legislators like Pecham who wrote 'the ignorance of priests precipitates the people into the pit of error: and the folly or boorishness of clerks, who are commanded to instruct the minds of the faithful...sometimes increases error rather than doctrine'.[281]

Langland's Sloth serves as an exemplum for this sententia. He, like the dreamer, is ignorant of some rudimentary elements of church education. He has no ability to sing (despite the fact that primary and song schools taught singing, not only to supply choristers for cathedral choirs, but also to develop clear and precise diction and pronunciation of Latin, and that increasing emphasis was placed on proper execution of the Offices)[282] and cannot read even a saint's life - one of the popular forms of edifying religious material in widespread use among the literate laity. Bennett's note points out the frequency with which clerical latinity was called into question, particularly their ability to construe and understand the service books they used. Sloth's inability to cope with the Legenda Sanctorum is on a par with this but is perhaps more alarming because of the popularity of the form (usually in translation, but Langland does not signify that it is in Latin) amongst the laity.[283]

His incapacity to construe clauses from the psalms again refers back to primary education where the Hours of the Virgin were used to help students to construe simple Latin phrases. Thus, as well as illustrating his personal spiritual decrepitude (the psalms provide paradigms for good behaviour), his ignorance suggests a failure to grasp the rudiments of literacy and of the faith.[284] Once again this is given a pastoral twist because his illiteracy prevents him from teaching his parishioners. Sloth's account of his misdeeds continues with a more secular list of sins caused by inertia. But he ends his account with a significant admission in the light of the foregoing discussion of his religious ignorance:

> I ran aboute in 3outhe and 3af me nou3te to lerne,
> And euere sith haue be beggere for my foule sleuthe;
> Heu michi, quod sterilem vitam duxi iuuenilem!
> (V. 446-8)

This quote is, of course, the same applied by Holy Church to the dreamer when he reveals his ignorance and lack of understanding to her. It is, however, interesting to note that lack of application in youth (when those fortunate enough to attend school encountered not only Latin but also the basic beliefs of the Church for the first time) is blamed in both cases for their failure to understand.[285]

Similar failures in comprehension are represented in several other Deadly Sins - notably in the portrait of Coueytise who mistakes the meaning of Repentance's enquiry about the restitution of money he had falsely acquired:

> 'I wende ryflynge were restitucioun,' quod he,
> 'for I lerned neuere rede on boke,
> And I can no Frenche in feith but of þe ferthest
> ende of Norfolke.' (V. 238-9)

The general air of confusion and misunderstanding suggests that ignorance plays an important part in creating the moral environment which allows Deadly Sins to flourish. A sharp contrast to this confusion is presented by the clear-headedness of the plowman, whom we meet for the first time at line 544. His clarity and understanding are important because they introduce the next stage in the dreamer's education about the fundamental issues of the faith and their function in society. The theory provided by Holy Church, and symbolised by the Creed the dreamer recites at the beginning of the passus, has been contrasted with the reality of a morally corrupt and ignorant society symbolised and represented by the Deadly Sins. Now Piers presents the means of correction and shows the way forward from moral confusion to the Wisdom of Truth. His credentials as a guide are established in his response to the enquiry from the folk about the whereabouts of Truth, his first words in the poem:

> I knowe hym as kyndely as clerke doþ his bokes;
> Conscience and Kynde Witte kenned me to his place.
> (V. 545-6)

This contrasts with the dreamer's complaint to Holy Church about his own lack of intuitive understanding: 'ȝet have I no kynde knowing', quod I, 'ȝet mute ȝe kenne me better', a failing emphasised by his own description of it as a 'craft', as if it could be learnt. Holy Church's response is once again significant in this context:

> 'It is a kynde knowyng,' quod she, "þat kenneth in þine herte
> For to louye þi Lorde leuer þan þiselue;
> No dedly synne to do, dey þouȝ þow sholdest.'
> (I. 140-2)

The implication of Holy Church's speech is that when intuitive understanding has been acquired, moral renovation follows automatically (and must at the same time precede it as a process of reformation and self discipline). A further example of the powers of Kynde Witte is provided by Conscience's prophetic speech in Passus III:

> I, Conscience, knowe þis, for Kynde Witt me it tauȝte,
> Þat Resoun shal regne and rewmes gouerne; (III. 282-3)

where Kynde Witte's function is to prompt Conscience to a vision of a reformed society expressed in biblical terms. As mentioned above, Reason's own speech in Passus IV reflects Conscience's words, but it is the plowman in Passus V, with the advantage of the tutelage of the idealistic Conscience and the intuitive Kynde Witte, who is able to offer a route map for the search for truth and presents a programme for the implementation of the ideals and goals listed by Reason. Not surprisingly, considering Langland's systematic use of 'rudiment' material, the way to Truth involves an understanding of the Commandments and a first hand encounter with the Virtues.

Piers's instructions do not include all the Commandments, but he opens with the generalised biblical exhortation, or Evangelical Commandments, invariably attached to the Decalogue in pastoral manuals and therefore presumably familiar to the laity from the exposition of the material in Church or casual reading:

> Þat ȝe louen owre Lorde God leuest of alle þinges;
> And þanne ȝowre neighbores nexte in non wise apeyre. (V. 572-3)

In fact only six are mentioned. Of the four omitted, the first ('thou shalt have none other gods but me') is presumably a self

evident truth to the audience of the poem, the second, concerning graven images, was a contentious issue and perhaps best avoided, especially considering Langland's own concern about images of a literary as well as a graven nature. Four, concerning Sunday observance, would appear to be relevant in the mercantile atmosphere of the fair field but perhaps contributes little directly to the search for Truth. Only the omission of the seventh commandment, forbidding adultery, seems difficult to explain. More positively, the six mentioned deal specifically with man in society and relate directly to the Utopian movement of the Visio.

Although Piers' account suggests a real journey, it becomes apparent in this passus (especially after the encounter with the real pilgrim who is ignorant of Truth) that the Pilgrimage for Truth is an internal one - this is presumably why Truth sends the note with the Pardon in Passus VII:

> And bad hym holde hym at home and eryen his leyes.
> (VII. 5)

Even so Piers is employing a venerable didactic tradition in the presentation of the Commandments. But he uses an even more popular tradition in his description of the Court of Truth - the allegorical edifice, which is found in many pastoral manuals, notably the Templum Domini, and in visual schematics such as the Turris Sapiencie and provides a valuable mnemonic framework for material of this type.[286]

Piers' description of the exterior of the Court is a visually striking summary of the function of the basic teachings of the Church:

> Þe mote is of Mercy þe manere aboute,
> And alle þe wallis ben of Witte to holden Wille oute,
> And kerneled with Crystendome, mankynde to saue,
> Boterased with Bileue-so-or-þow-beest-nouȝte-ysaued.
> (V. 595-8)

Added to this is a reaffirmation of the importance of penance and personal devotion:

> Eche piler is of penaunce, of preyeres to seyntes.
> (V. 602)

Indeed the whole edifice is based on simple spiritual institutions well within the grasp of the average layman and reiterating the ideal of Christian life. The password to gain admittance to the Court is similarly designed to indicate the importance of penance and contrition as a fundamental part of spiritual pilgrimage, yet is presented in a pragmatic and uncomplicated form - the password or 'tokene' ('I parfourmed þe penaunce þe preest me enioyned, / And am ful sori for my synnes' [V. 607-8a]) gains sesame-like entrance to the environs of Truth's palace. This simple yet effective view of the Sacrament of Penance avoids over-simplification and doctrinal travesty by being placed in conjunction with Amende-ȝow's power to open the gates closed by original sin, thus linking it with the general salvation of mankind. Characteristically, the simplicity of Langland's view of Penance is counteracted by the usage of doctrinal and biblical allusions of surprising intensity and suggestiveness with which he suggests the concept on in-dwelling Truth and Charity while remaining faithful to his didactic conception of allegorical court.

Piers' instructions to the Pilgrims conclude with his account of the Virtues, who take their place as 'porteres of þe posternes that to þe place longeth' (V. 628). They function

traditionally as antidotes to the Deadly Sins but this opposition is not made explicit by Langland or Piers - presumably because the relationship would be a religious commonplace to the audience. In addition to this, Piers has already made it clear that a renunciation of the Sins is a prerequisite for the start of the search for Truth and wishes to stress in this context the importance of the Virtues as qualifications for entry into Truth's presence, so that possession of them is meant to represent a more advanced level of spiritual development than mere abandonment of vice.

Langland also invokes the common ground of pastoral instructions in the crucial passage dealing with the interpretation of the pardon (Passus VII). This episode opens with the priest offering to explain the pardon in the manner many synodal constitutions encouraged for the teaching of rudiments:

> 'Pieres,' quod a prest þo, 'þi pardoun most I rede,
> For I wil construe eche clause and kenne it þe on Engliche.' (VII. 106-7)[287]

Piers' tearing of the Pardon and his appeal for Divine assistance and for the Gifts of Grace and Mercy lead him to re-affirm the teaching of Passus V and exemplify it in his own actions:

> Of preyers and of penaunce my plow shall ben herafter, (VII.119)

recalling the structure of Truth's court:

> Eche piler is of penaunce, of preyeres to seyntes. (V. 602)

This illustrates, in a manner characteristic of Langland, how the allegorical foundations of his didactic edifice can be translated into the actual foundations of a deeper spiritual life through self-discipline, abstinence and trust in God;

an example of how abstract notions can be related to real life problems. The movement of the poem from Passus V to the end of the Visio reveals the Dreamer's re-examination of the rudiments of his faith and his attempts to gain a more advanced understanding of their significance in the Christian life.[288]

It is, perhaps, fitting that this survey of the presentation of pastoral material in manuals and other aids should end with a discussion of the presentation of similar material in imaginative literature. Langland's familiarity with the length and breadth of the tradition of pastoral aids is apparent not only in his use of the basic syllabus but in the ways in which he gives the syllabus new meaning and relevance by the way in which he presents its teachings. Yet Langland is only one of the many medieval authors and compilers who attempted to ensure that the building of the spiritual edifice, (to use the metaphor employed by Bartholomaeus de San Concordio and implicit in Langland's own work), should be based on firm foundations. His imaginative deployment of the teachings of the Church is different only in degree and not in kind from the other attempts at structuring the material which have been the main concern of this chapter. Their attempts to present profoundly commonplace material in a stimulating and significant form are not primarily stylistic exercises; they derive their urgency from a deep conviction of the need of knowledge and understanding of the Church's teachings.

It is against this background of pastoral aids and with an awareness of their interest not only in the communication of teachings, but also in their effective presentation, that we can place the Speculum Christiani and examine in detail its

exploitation of the resources of its major Latin source. In particular it should now be possible to understand why the compiler of the Speculum adapted a radically different form for his work than that of the Cibus Anime, not least through his inclusion of vernacular verse and prose.

SECTION 2: THE EVOLUTION OF THE SPECULUM CHRISTIANI

Chapter 4. The Cibus Anime

I

In the introduction to his 1933 edition of the Speculum Christiani, Gustav Holmstedt wrote:

> It is very doubtful whether the author of the treatise composed any of the separate contents himself .... The compiler joined the materials together into a mosaic from different sources ....[1]

The aim of this section is to discuss what appears to have been the major source for the Latin theological quotations which form the bulk of the Speculum Christiani. This source work, far from being obscure and difficult to trace, is in fact part of a complex family of texts of which the Speculum appears to have been the most popular and widely circulated member. Manuscripts of this source work were known to Holmstedt and were described by him in his edition. However he seems to have held the conviction that the text of the Speculum sprang more or less fully formed from the mind of its compiler, with a little help from his 'mosaic' of sources. This belief that there was an original and absolute text of the Speculum and that that text was close to his own base manuscripts led him to strange attempts at explaining manuscripts apparently containing the Speculum which failed to fit in with his basic conception of the text's form. Most of these explanations adduce corruption or at least conflation with other texts. Had he been able to examine some of the manuscripts which were unknown to him (and indeed had he examined properly some of those he did know

instead of relying on librarians' accounts and partial rotographs) it would have become clear to him that this dogma of a normative text was untenable. Not only are there a considerable number of manuscripts of this major source text, but also there are several manuscripts which appear to preserve the Speculum perhaps in earlier stages of development before it reached the stage represented by his printed text. One manuscript appears to preserve similar material in a radically different ordinatio.

To begin with, an example of the confusion caused by his encountering a manuscript of the major source. His account of Balliol 239 indicates the way his editorial preconceptions blinkered his judgement.[2] He describes the structure of the text in this manuscript, saying that it is divided into books and chapters rather than tabulae. He realised that there was considerable agreement between this text and the Speculum although, as he put it, 'the different sections occur in quite a different order in BA^1 [his siglum for Balliol 239] and have a great many more quotations.' He accepts that it is 'quite out of the question that this agreement should be only an accidental one', but instead of pressing the logical implications of this statement and examining its meaning he was content to suggest that 'BA^1 is a conflation of at least two MSS.' Perhaps the presence of only one singular manuscript was insufficient to deter him from his chosen way. But had he examined another of his manuscripts in person, he would surely have realised that there was a significant similarity between the Balliol copy and JRL Lat. MS 341, which extended beyond the textual similarities

in the brief passages found in both manuscripts and in other copies of the Speculum Christiani which he charted in his textual analysis of the C_3 group.[3] His own description, which lists the work's division into books and chapters, should have alerted him to the way Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341 stood together against other copies of the text, not only in textual relationship but also in their presentation of the material and their general ordinatio.

In the years following the publication of Helmstedt's edition more copies of the Speculum came to light. By 1956 Leonard Boyle claimed to be able to add ten manuscripts of the work to the sixty-six listed by Holmstedt in his edition. In fact only six of these are new as the other four do appear in Holmstedt's list.[4] But an examination of these extra manuscripts suggests a reason for Holmstedt failing to identify them in his initial survey, for although Boyle calls them all copies of the Speculum, the text contained in four of them is significantly different from that printed by Holmstedt and is in fact fundamentally the same as the text found in Balliol and the more extensive copy in Rylands. Dr A.I. Doyle provided me with references to further copies of the Speculum.[5] It became clear from my own examination of these copies and others which came to light that far from being what Mynors cites Dr Doyle as calling a 'distinct recension' of the Speculum Christiani,[6] or, as Holmstedt suggests, an aberration from some theoretically normative text, these manuscripts preserved a distinct and significantly larger work which deserved consideration in its own right before its relationship to the Speculum could be

elucidated. For although this text differs from the Speculum in its comprehensiveness, its ordinatio, and probably in its function, the two are (as Holmstedt inadvertently documented) sufficiently close in textual readings to make it certain that the two stand in an important relationship to each other.

II

Title

At present there are fourteen known manuscripts of this larger work, all (with one possible exception) dating from the fifteenth century. A list of these is presented in Appendix 1. It is unclear what the title of the work ought to be as there is little agreement amongst the manuscripts on this point. In the Balliol catalogue Dr Doyle is quoted as saying that this other text is sometimes known as Cibus Anime.[7] In fact only three of the manuscripts echo this title in their initial colophons or titles. Trinity Hall 16 has a label reading Cibus Anime on the front pastedown where it appears to have been placed after removal from an old binding, where it presumably served as a title. Salt 47 has a rubric at the top of folio 1 recto which is unfortunately partly erased but which appears to read De ⟨.....⟩que vocatur cibus anime. Harley 2379 has an initial rubric which reads (folio 1 recto) Vinea dominum de cibis anime. Cibus Anime appears as a running title on the recto of folios 79, 80 and 81 in JRL Lat. 341, which ends on folio 82 recto with the colophon Explicit Cibus Anime, although this manuscript has a rubric at the beginning which reads Scriptum salutiferum de mandatis dei (folio 1 recto).

This, however, cannot be considered as a legitimate title for the work as it is merely drawn from the colophon found at the end of book 1 in most manuscripts and has been transferred from a descriptive role at the end of the book to a denotative role at the beginning. Lambeth 460, although omitting the division between books 1 and 2 prefaces the text proper (preceded in this copy by Pecham's Constitutions) with a similar rubric: Incipit quoddam scriptum salutiferum de dei mandatis breviter tractatum (folio 6 verso). In Balliol 239 the detailed table of contents which precedes the text (folio 27 recto - 28 recto) is headed Kalendarium speculi christiani. None of the other known manuscripts have titles attached to the work. It is difficult to decide which of these two titles should be regarded as authentic. The title Cibus Anime is an appropriate introduction to the first chapter of the text which is (according to the table of contents found in Balliol 239) entitled Contra ignorantes et verbi dei contemptores.[8] This chapter discusses the dangers of ignorance for man's spiritual welfare, the importance of the Scriptures in bringing enlightenment and the responsibility of those administering the Scriptures for fostering their understanding. The work opens with the combative assertion 'Deus in evangelio: Qui ex deo est, verba dei audit', and continues:

> Gregorius in Omelia: Cibus mentibus est sermo dei sicut enim ex carnibus escis aliter caro ita ex divinis verbis interior homo nutritur et pascitur.[9]

It is the perfect introduction for a work which relies so heavily on the wisdom of Scripture and the sayings of the Fathers and may well have suggested the title Cibus Anime to the compiler.[10]

It is more difficult to provide an explanation for the title Speculum Christiani found in the Balliol manuscript, unless it lies in the contemporary popularity of various types of 'Mirrors'.[12] To avoid confusion with the work edited by Holmstedt whose manuscripts overwhelmingly describe it as Speculum Christiani, I will refer to this longer text as the Cibus Anime.[13]

III

Format

The ordinatio of both texts reveals fundamental differences between them. The Speculum Christiani devotes its first four tabulae to the Articles of the Faith, the Commandments, the Works of Mercy (corporal and spiritual) and the Deadly Sins. After this it moves away from the Pechamite syllabus to discuss material of a more generalised didactic and hortatory nature. This generalised purpose of edification is the main unifying force in the work, for after tabula 4 there is no clear sequential progression from tabula to tabula, nor does there seem to be any attempt to develop a systematic programme of instruction. Great emphasis appears to be placed on concision and economy of expression, which leads to a streamlining effect. In each of the tabulae the bare minimum of information is included under each heading and supported by a few authorities; although the eighth tabula is something of a catch-all for information which could not be fitted in elsewhere, but which the compiler clearly thought worthy of inclusion. (One exception to this is the set of sacerdotal instructions discussed below, which appear to have

been deliberately placed apart from the main doctrinal instruction.) The lack of homogeneity in the eighth tabula is apparent from one glance at the list of rubrics to its sections. The Speculum's apparent desire for economy of expression is further exemplified by its use of English verse. The Commandments are summarised and the Deadly Sins characterised in verse quatrains, which present the essential points in a memorable way. The seventh tabula, which is entirely in verse, manages to blend commonplace moral exhortation with a complete résumé of the rudimentary instructions on the faith contained in the first four tabulae.[14]

By contrast with the tabular format of the Speculum, Cibus Anime usually adopts a framework of chapters and books which is more suitable for a work of its size, and more usual for such works of reference and larger manuals of doctrinal or penitential instruction.

The Cibus Anime is found in versions of two- and three-books. There are at present four manuscripts which preserve the two book version, six which preserve the three book version, and two which are incomplete and give no indication (by way of tables of contents or colophons) of their original extent.[15] One manuscript, Royal 5 A.VI appears to contain a version of the third book on its own, but this manuscript is important for other aspects of the evolution of the Speculum Christiani and will be discussed later.[16] I propose to give some account of these two versions of the Cibus Anime and to discuss which version has the better claim to be considered the original form of the text.

IV

The two-book version

All four manuscripts preserving the two-book form are handsome volumes, well produced and carefully executed. They are all larger than the average manuscript of the Speculum. The leaves of Balliol 239 measure approximately 285mm by 185mm, Trinity Hall 16 measures 265mm by 180mm, JRL Lat. 341 219mm by 143mm and Harley 2379, 225mm by 145mm. Attention has been paid both to the appearance of the text (through rubrication and the use of running titles) and to its accuracy. In JRL Lat. 341, for example, the text has been compared either with the exemplar or with another copy of the work and the errors and omissions have been carefully rectified.[17] All four manuscripts have been worked on by more than one contemporary scribe. Balliol 239, written throughout in double columns with a constant ruling preserves several hands in its miscellany of theological texts.[18] Trinity Hall 16 contains only the Cibus Anime and some short additional texts which occur in other manuscripts of the Speculum tradition. The Cibus Anime is written in one hand up to the second part of chapter 62 in book 2 (folio 86 verso). A second hand joins the first for some additional texts.[19] The return of the first hand after the second hand's stint in Trinity Hall 16 suggests that the second scribe's additions were made while the first scribe still had access to the book. In JRL Lat. 341, which contains the Cibus Anime and some additional texts, the text is in one hand throughout but a second hand, roughly contemporary with the main hand, adds marginal comments. These comments are unlikely

to be those of a later owner or reader as the same hand adds Cibus Anime as a running title on the recto pages of folios 79 to 81 and Explicit Cibus Anime at the end of the text on folio 82 recto. Harley 2379 is a composite volume with several hands recurring throughout. This fact alone suggests a corporate effort in its production. Within the body of the text of the Cibus Anime the hands change at the end of folio 24 verso with a new hand beginning at folio 25 recto. This happens to be the beginning of a new quire which suggests that the scribes were working formal stints on the book or possibly that the quires were being copied simultaneously from a similarly quired exemplar. Although space has been left for rubrication and coloured initials these have never been executed nor has the book been divided into books and chapters. This is unusual among manuscripts of the Cibus Anime which often provide some sort of apparatus for the assistance of the readers even if this has in some cases been added or extended after the book was first written.[20] Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341 are prefaced by tables of contents which list the chapter headings found in the text and divide them into books, but even those manuscripts which do not have an index or table of contents often have some internal apparatus. Trinity Hall 16, for example, indicates in rubrics the chapter number and title of each section of the work and sometimes provides further assistance within sections. Thus chapter 48 of book 1 is headed Contra eos qui dicunt mandata dei esse gravia (in which it agrees with the tables of contents in other manuscripts) yet within the body of this chapter is the rubric Idem capitulum. De bona voluntate.[21] All the manuscripts of this group apart from Harley 2379 mark the division between books one and two by colophons. The usual

colophon at the end of book one is:

> Explicit quoddam scriptum salutiferum de dei mandatis breviter tractatum,[22]

which, as already mentioned, is probably the source for the title given to the work in JRL Lat. 341. The colophon at the beginning of book 2 (which is frequently written as one with that at the end of book 1) usually reads

> Incipit quedam exortacio bona quam timor et spes faciat pro salute humana.[23]

Taking its cue from this colophon, Trinity Hall 16 has Timor and Spes as running titles for a large portion of the second book. Timor is shown in both upper margins from the beginning of the book up to the end of chapter 32. This portion of the book deals with the Deadly Sins, the fires and torments of hell, the last judgement, the signs before doomsday and other similarly apocalyptic material. At the beginning of chapter 33 (De gaudiis celi) the running title changes to Spes. A similar division is preserved in Rawl. C.19, which is not divided into chapters and reads as a continuous text.[24]

The incomplete manuscript of the Cibus Anime in the possession of Dr Salt of Cambridge, which has no table of contents, preserves the running titles as they occur in Trinity Hall, with the division also coming at chapter 33, but here the Spes running title ends at chapter 46 (De paciencia).[25] A marginal rubric reading Timor occurs in the course of the first chapter of book 2 in Trinity Hall 16 (folio 35 recto). At this point the text reads 'Si tunc queris a Timor de qua regione ipse adveniit....' The same marginal rubric is found at the same point in Harley 407 and Salt 47, which were both written by the

same scribe.[26] At folio 50 verso of Harley 407, Spes occurs in the margin at the point where the text reads '...qui dicitur spes de qua regione et ipse advenit et qualis populus illam inhabitat....' This occurs about halfway through chapter 32 (or at the beginning of chapter 33 in some manuscripts), i.e. at roughly the same point that the running titles change in Trinity Hall 16 and Salt 47. The rubrics indicating this division into Timor and Spes thus relate directly to the text at these points and are not arbitrarily imposed on the material. In Harley 237 where the division into chapters is in the margins and the text is continuous, the division into chapters and the compilation of the table of contents appear to have been executed shortly after the book was first written. The point in chapter 32 of book 2 where the Spes rubric is found in other manuscripts is highlighted by a two-line initial so that it stands out as a structural division.[27] Thus the division into chapters may postdate the division of book two into sections dealing with Timor and Spes. This division, although useful, provides a rather general description of the material in the book and it is not surprising that manuscripts with the greater sophistication of an analytical table of contents should preserve the marginal rubrics only as residual evidence of what was possibly an earlier apparatus. The suggestion that these titles predate the table of contents and division into chapters is supported by the composite nature of some of the chapter headings found in these tables which read as if the compiler has brought the main heading of a chapter with any subordinate headings or subsidiary rubrics found in the body

of that chapter to produce a composite chapter title. Thus chapter 19 of book one in the table of contents prefacing Balliol 239 is headed De reverencia prelatorum et contra eos qui sanctam ecclesiam inhonorant, whereas in Trinity Hall 16 (whose chapter numbering does not agree at this point with that found in most copies and which does not have a separate table of contents) chapter 20 has two separate headings, De reverentia prelatorum at the beginning of the chapter and, in the course of the chapter and following a rubric Idem capitulum, Contra eos qui inhonorant ecclesiam dei.[28] Although clearly not dependent on Trinity Hall, the compiler of the table for whichever manuscript first included a list of contents may well have drawn his titles from the headings found in the text itself, which (as Rawl. C.19 suggests) may themselves not be part of the original text but later, descriptive, developments.

This apparent evidence of attempts at providing a more efficient, rigorous and up to date apparatus for the work, suggests that at some point a conscious effort was made to equip it more fully for a role as a work of reference.[29]

In its form the Cibus Anime is related to the compendious treatises and summas which developed in the thirteenth century and in particular to the manuals which developed alongside the specifically penitential treatises as these became more specialised and canonical. It is fundamentally a work of reference - especially useful as such in those copies which have a detailed table of contents to allow ease of reference to specific points although it frequently adopts a tone of earnest exhortation which makes it more than a dry list of

theological and patristic authorities. The prologue to the Cibus Anime, in particular its first two chapters (Contra ignorantes et verbi dei contemptores and Differencia inter predicacionem et doctrinam), is concerned with theoretical discussions of the role and teaching potential of the Word of God and the enormous responsibility of the priest to dispel the ignorance not only of his people but also of himself. The first two auctoritates have already been quoted in the discussion of the text's name. The Gregorian assertion 'Cibus mentibus est sermo dei' is developed by the following quotations dealing with ignorance:

> Unde Salamon: Qui avertit aurem suam ne audiat legem execrabilis erit oracio eius ante deum. Dominus per Prophetam: Ignorantes me ignorabuntur id est qui volunt me ignorare ignorabo eos. ...Isaias: Propterea captivus ductus est populus meus quia non habuit scienciam. Paulus autem dicit: Nolite fieri imprudentes sed intelligentes que sit voluntas dei.[30]

Chapter two of the Cibus Anime contains the distinction between preaching and teaching with which most manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani begin, and which there precedes material in common with chapter 1 of the Cibus Anime.[31] The compiler of the Cibus Anime seems to have been content to make his work a repository of the Church's wisdom, leaving its implementation to those who would use the book. Hence the work is not didactic in the true sense of the word - the Church's teachings and moral imperatives are stated, but more to provide a framework for the presentation of the quotations which support those teachings than to impress the reader with their importance.[32] As the opening quotation of the work succinctly states it:

> Qui ex deo est, verba dei audit.

The compiler assumes that he is preaching to the converted. Thus although there are occasional passages of vocative appeal (of the 'Ecce, karissime' type) the tone of these is more fraternal than paternal and the work seems to provide <u>formulae</u> or exemplars for teaching.

A particularly good example of this fraternal tone is provided by chapter 62 of book two. The chapter is headed <u>De doctrina</u>. It is suggested below that this chapter may originally have marked the end of the text and it is clearly concerned with the nature of teaching and the most efficient way to teach in a pastoral context. Unlike most chapters of the work which consist of a brief introduction of the topic under consideration followed by a <u>catena</u> of quotations, this chapter has only a few quotations in its first half, which is occupied by an exposition of the <u>ad status</u> theory of teaching. Just as doctors apply different remedies to different ailments, so different remedies must be used for different types of moral ailment, and account should be taken of the status of the patient, allowance being made 'pro etate, pro sexu ac professione'.[33] There follows a restatement of the idea of 'multiplex modi', widely used in scriptural commentaries: 'Non est unus modus omnibus in predicacione habendus, alius mediocria, aliis alta predicanda sunt'. If the wrong mode is chosen for a particular audience, they will either misunderstand or lose interest completely:

> Prima igitur virtus prudencie est eam quam docere oportet estimare personam.

This opinion is supported by quotations from Paul:

> Non potui vobis loqui quasi spiritualibus et (sic for sed) quasi carnalibus. Tanquam parvulis in christo, lac vobis potum dedi non escam.[34]

The second half of the chapter is concerned with urging the implementation of the doctrine contained in the work, in much the same way as the Speculum Christiani at the end of the eighth tabula urges 'zelus animarum' and encourages copies to be made.[35] Returning once again to the central issues of the work's opening chapters, the problem of ignorance, and the importance of teaching this section opens with a quotation from Jerome: 'Beatus est qui divinas scripturas legens, verba vertit in opera', and continues with an appeal to the 'prudens lector' to 'cave semper supersticiosam intelligenciam'. The chapter concludes with a peroration. The latter part of this conveys the tone of gentle admonition so well that it is worth quoting at length. It appears to function as a kind of conclusion to the teaching of the second book, and perhaps to the work as a whole. In particular it seems to refer to the opposition between good and evil discussed in the section on the Deadly Sins and to the opposition between Timor and Spes which the running titles in some copies suggest was a structural principle of the second book.

> Ecce domine nunc habes ante te bonum et malum, lucem et tenebras, vitam et mortem. Potes eligere quod vis.... Et noli domine hanc monicionem salutiferam transcurrendo considerare aut legere sed cum studio et bona deliberacione quia, sicut thus non redolet nisi comburatur in igne, ita nulla sacre scripture sententia sapit nisi cocta sit in corde, et si aliquod verbum hic invenies quod te confortas in bono vel exitat a malo gracias multas in deo, agens deo a quo cuncta bona procedunt quod tibi concedat, qui est benedictus in seculorum secula. Amen.[36]

The work appears to have been written by a cleric for a clerical audience (the repeated address of 'domine' might suggest a graduate or perhaps monastic audience) and moreover for an

audience who would read the work ('prudens lector') and refer to it. In form it is close to the pastoral summas and in general approach is similar to the works, such as the Pupilla Oculi which Ball suggests was written for an audience which, if not academic, was probably graduate.[37] Indeed the affiliations of the Cibus Anime, and the sort of text alongside which it was designed to operate are suggested by a note at the end of book 1 chapter 26 (in all manuscripts except Trinity Hall 16) which reads: De scandalo require in pupilla oculi in quinta parte. The Pupilla Oculi was written in Cambridge between 1380 and 1385 and despite its rhetorical claim to be for 'simple priests', is written for an educated elite within the clergy.[38]

The first book of Cibus Anime contains 52 chapters and is mainly concerned with an exposition of the Commandments. The treatment of the Decalogue in the Cibus Anime is related to the Latin portions of the Secunda Tabula in the Speculum Christiani. Both texts introduce each commandment with a citation from Pecham's instructions with the exception of the ninth and tenth commandments, which are taken from book 4 of the Sentences of Peter Lombard.[39] The fact that both texts should depart from Pecham at the same time indicates the close relationship between them. Yet the differences are as significant as the similarities.

Cibus Anime makes no use of the vernacular verse résumés found in the Speculum, and cites a much more extensive array of authorities. A more significant difference in the texts' treatment of their material is revealed by Cibus Anime's treatment of related topics under the blanket title of a particular commandment. Under the discussion of the first commandment,

for example, are included chapters on the species of idolatry, and whether saints should be adored. The Speculum also discusses these subjects, but they are relegated to the eighth tabula, where they bear no relation to the material around them. (This removal of material from its natural context, and the conflation of these two chapters in the Speculum at H.187, is a strong argument for that text's derivative nature.)

Similarly, the discussion of the fourth commandment, where both texts talk about 'spiritual' fathers, is followed in Cibus Anime by a warning against tithe-dodging. Once again in the Speculum the logical development from a particular commandment to appropriate generalised teachings is disrupted by placing the section on tithes in the eighth tabula. It would seem that the Speculum is concerned primarily with the teaching itself, in its most rudimentary form. The Cibus Anime is operating at a slightly higher level of pastoral sophistication.

The material included in the discussion of the fourth commandment indicates the way in which the Cibus Anime collects material under suitable general headings. Thus after the initial discussion of honouring parents and the inevitable distinction between corporal and spiritual fatherhood (chapter 16), there follows a similarly rigid distinction between amor dei and amor carnalis which might seem to be better suited to the sixth or ninth commandment but is included probably because the subject of corporal and spiritual paternity has already been raised. This leads logically enough to a discussion of obedience and discipline (chapter 18) with particular reference to secular and domestic contexts, followed by a chapter on respect

for the clergy and the church (chapter 19) and this leads naturally to an admonition about the payment of tithes. Similarly the topics gathered together in the section dealing with the fifth commandment stem from the distinction between three different types of homicide made at the outset; mental, verbal and manual. This allows the compiler neatly to slot in brief discussion of detraction (chapter 26), hasty judgement (chapter 28), and the judicial system itself (chapter 29). In fact actual deprivation of life by violence occupies only one brief chapter (30) before the section is rounded off by a discussion of Subtractio vite anime et corporis.

After the discussion of the Commandments, the final few chapters discuss apostasy and various forms of spiritual illness based on rejection of the faith and minimal observance of its tenets. The book closes with a chapter on how creation teaches mankind to love God. Part of this chapter was in independent circulation in manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani under the title De tribus vocibus mundi.[40] The tenor of this chapter is similar to that found in St Edmund's Speculum Ecclesiae where contemplation of God through the earth and its creatures is one of the initial stages in the development of spiritual awareness. Typically the text relates the material of the chapter closely to the subjects of the book:

> Attendite, karissimi,et videte quam multipliciter creatoris facto instruunt nos deum amare et eius mandatis obedire.[41]

Book 2 has 64 or 65 chapters. It opens with a discussion of conscience and then proceeds to the Deadly Sins setting their remedia against them. Again much of the material present here

is represented in the Speculum in a truncated and garbled form. Chapters 33 and 34, for example, treat of the joys of heaven and what befalls the just man in extremis. The didactic force of such a juxtaposition is self evident, especially as it follows a description of the Last Judgment in chapter 28. Quotations from both the chapters are present in the Speculum, but they have been subject to a radical re-organisation, in the course of which they have become separated.[42]

The analysis of the Deadly Sins is more systematic and exhaustive than that found in the Speculum. In each instance the filie of the sin are listed at the beginning of the chapter, followed by the citation of sententiae and authorities and a general characterisation of the sin and its spiritual effects. As in its discussion of the Commandments, the Cibus Anime uses the particular sin as a basis for a discussion of related topics - it aims to be more encyclopaedic than the Speculum. Cibus Anime follows each discussion of a particular sin with a systematic treatment of the remedia, again drawn largely from biblical and patristic sources.

The rigorous subordination of material in the Cibus Anime suggests (and indeed recommends) its use as a work of reference, whereas the Speculum seems specifically to have been designed and compiled for the forceful communication of simple material. This would explain the introduction of vernacular sections and a deliberate simplification of the material as well as accounting for the new ordinatio. After the discussion of the Deadly Sins, Cibus Anime continues the penitential theme of the book with a collection of some of the fundamental thoughts of the Fathers

concerning Penance. Chapter 32, for example, is entitled Quod impossible est satisfacere de uno peccato mortali retento alio and other chapters warn against presumption, and despair and urge the importance of confession. Chapter 41 (Qualis debet esse confessio) opens with the popular Latin mnemonic:

> Sit simplex humilis confessio pura fidelis
> Frequens et nuda discreta libens verecunda.

The rest of the chapter is occupied by a word by word exposition of this verse which is clearly intended to function as a teaching aid.[43] Although the penitential teaching of Cibus Anime could in no way be called sophisticated (its quotations are more theological than canonical, so that it avoids the legalistic niceties and pre-occupation with circumstances which characterise the penitential handbooks) it is considerably more advanced than the crude sin-lists which occupy the fifth tabula of the Speculum, which far from discussing the theoretical value of the Sacrament of Penance, appears to assume that its importance is unquestionable. Once again the pragmatism of the compiler of the Speculum reveals itself in the way that material also found in Cibus Anime is employed to illustrate and emphasise. Thus at the end of the list of Sins of Deed which occurs in the vernacular in the Speculum, the final sin is:

> Not amendand vs of owre sinnes hastili but
> lyuande in þam presumptuosli in trust of merci,[44]

which is followed immediately by a section headed Contra presumpcionem which contains many of the quotations found in chapter 42 of Cibus Anime book 2.

The latter part of the second book appears to be less clearly organised. The long discussion of Penance is followed

by a chapter listing the seven uses of tribulation (a popular subject for discussion in works of spiritual guidance, as Jolliffe's handlist amply illustrates), a discussion of prayer, the Works of Mercy and other apparently unrelated chapters ending in most manuscripts with the Senses (chapter 64).[45] Three manuscripts (Harley 237, Harley 407 and Lambeth 460), all of which have the three book version of the text, have an additional chapter at the end of book two, headed Contra supersticiosam scripture intelligenciam in Harley 407.[46] This chapter is not a new addition to the work but is in fact formed from the second part of chapter 62, as recorded in the Balliol table of contents where that chapter's title is De doctrina et predicacione et contra supersticiosam intelligenciam. The chapter may have been subdivided at some point for the sake of greater ease of reference and clarity, but more probable is that the second part of chapter 62, containing the peroration already quoted, was moved in these manuscripts to restore it to its rightful place at the end of the work, following the addition of new material. It seems not unlikely that the second book originally concluded with chapter 62, for one manuscript, Harley 2379, does in fact end at this point and shows no signs of having lost material through damage or misbinding.

Balliol 239 has the usual 64 chapters followed by several folios of short notes and discussions which are also found in JRL Lat. 341 and the Speculum Christiani. After these, on folio 73 verso column b, there are five chapters which continue the chapter numbering of the Cibus Anime but which are found in no other manuscript of the text.[47] Although unique, these

chapters are constructed in the same way as the rest of the Cibus Anime - an initial assertion followed by a catena-like string of authorities drawn from the same biblical and patristic sources used elsewhere. If they were not compiled by the man responsible for the rest of the work, they were consciously written in the style of the Cibus Anime using a format which is unusual in works of this nature. This might be seen to support the suggestion that the work expanded from its original ending at the peroration which so neatly closes chapter 62 to include not only the two or three chapters found in most manuscripts but also the five additional chapters in the Balliol manuscript. Holmstedt suggests that with the expansion of the Speculum by the addition of non-canonical material scribes became confused about the end of the text and moved the colophon to accommodate the new material.[48] A similar process may have been employed in manuscripts of the Cibus Anime.

This flexibility over the ending of book 2 suggests that the work circulated in a two-book form for some time before the third book was appended. Holmstedt's experience with the Speculum and other scholars' accounts of medieval texts and their evolution suggest that it is not surprisingly the ending of a work which is most likely to be changed by the addition of additional information.[49] In a text like the Cibus Anime which seems to have had structural divisions of varying sophistication and complexity from early in its development this would be the easiest way of grafting extra materials on to the text. Extra chapters at the end could easily be added to the list of contents, where provided, without causing any disruption. Similarly if

a later editor wished to divide a chapter within the existing text it would be easier to place the newly formed chapter at the end (as in Harley 237 and others) than to dislocate the existing system of chapter numbering.

Thus the apparent evidence of growth at the end of book two supports the suggestion that in its original form the Cibus Anime had only two books.

There are some clear relationships between manuscripts of this group. Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341 for example, have one major agreement in error in that in both manuscripts the last two chapters of book two are inverted so that, instead of De septem virtutibus principalibus preceding De quinque sencibus, it in fact follows it and ends the work. In addition to this significant link between them they are closely related through sharing much of the additional material which follows the Cibus Anime proper. JRL Lat. 341, it is interesting to note, has Explicit Cibus Anime on folio 80 recto, that is after the additional material which has been appended. This might suggest that the scribe looked upon this 'additional' material as an integral part of the text. As so much of this material is also found in the Speculum Christiani the significance of this will be discussed below in connection with the development of that text.[50] On folio 77 recto of JRL Lat. 341 is found the shorter version of Peccata Britonum also found in Balliol 239 folio 70 recto. This shorter version corresponds with H.221.1-4. This is followed in the Rylands manuscript by the Sayings of the Philosophers and this same text is found in Balliol 239 at folio 70 verso. Both these versions agree with the version printed

in the Speculum Christiani, tabula six, as far as H.131.16. Here they part company and JRL and Balliol have three extra authorities. Next in both manuscripts (JRL folio 78 verso, Balliol folio 71 recto) is a series of texts aimed at instructing priests and also found in the eighth tabula of the Speculum Christiani as well as in a longer treatise on the same subject preserved in B.L. MS. Royal 5 A.VI (H.171.1-185.15).

Following the sacerdotal instructions in both manuscripts is a series of quotations which with one exception are preserved in the same order in both manuscripts. The first two, from Jerome and Seneca, are found together in the Speculum Christiani, but like all these quotations, probably derive ultimately from the Cibus Anime (H.185.19-25). Both quotations are found in similar circumstances in Royal 5 A.VI (folio 82 recto). The third is the quotation from Jerome which opens most manuscripts of the Speculum (H.3.1-3). The next quotation in JRL Lat. 341 (folio 82 recto) is not found in Balliol 239. It reads 'Ysidorus: Ignorancia mater errorum est ignorancia viciorum nutrix', and is found near the beginning of the Speculum (H.5.11). It is not found in chapter one of Cibus Anime (where the other quotations in the Speculum at this point are found), but replaces another, less direct quotation from Isidore in the Cibus Anime ('Ignorancia omnium viciorum nutrix est'). Perhaps its circulation in these contexts led to its incorporation into the Speculum. The next quotation is found in both manuscripts, in chapter one of Cibus Anime and in the Speculum (H.5.7-8). The following quotations from Bernard on the Cantiele and Gregory are also found in Royal 5 A.VI (folio 82 verso). The final

quotation is from the Gospels and its intermediate source has not yet been traced.

Thus it is evident not only that these manuscripts are intimately related but also that they are significant in the development of the Speculum Christiani, as they preserve what must be called an independent witness to the existence of the sacerdotal instructions found at the beginning of tabula 8 of the Speculum, outside manuscripts of that work. Their relationship to the important MS. Royal 5 A.VI, which is discussed below, further singles them out as representing important stages in the evolution of the text.

Trinity Hall 16, although lacking the weight of agreement found between Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341, does have several texts in common with the latter manuscript. These agreements, however, cannot be used to argue for a close relationship between them but may merely be used to illustrate that these texts were in circulation in manuscripts of the Cibus Anime. Thus on folio 91 verso of Trinity Hall 16 is found the shortened Peccata Britonum found both in JRL Lat. 341 and in Balliol 239. On folio 88 verso is found the vernacular text listing the 'gostely ryches and vertuse of þe soule' also found in JRL Lat. 341.[52] Like the other two manuscripts, Trinity Hall 16 has a series of short quotations from patristic sources but none of these are common.[53] Unlike the other two, it has chapters 64 and 65 of book two correctly placed in the text. To add to the considerable textual confusion Trinity Hall 16 also has several items in common with Royal 5 A.VI. These are the ladders to heaven and hell often found in copies of the Speculum Christiani and

a verse from the Speculum Vitae on the Pater Noster.[54] The other manuscript in this group, Harley 2379, is itself unusual in that it contains a shorter (perhaps original) Cibus Anime (ending at chapter 62 of book 2) and a series of texts which are found in the early tabulae of the Speculum.[55] In the absence of a full collation of the manuscripts, there is no apparent relationship between this and the other manuscripts of the group.

V

The three book version

Six manuscripts of Cibus Anime preserve an additional third book of the text. As already stated one further manuscript, Royal 5 A.VI, preserves the third book alone, along with other material related to the Speculum Christiani. Once again the manuscripts are surprisingly uniform in size and format considering the many variations found in fifteenth-century manuscripts. C.U.L. Add. 6315 (II) measures 290mm x 210mm and although the hand is not elegant, the book has been carefully rubricated and the chapter headings indicated in the margin, as far as chapter 45 of Book 1 (Testimonia scripture et mandata dei pertinencia) after which no more have been completed. Bound together with this manuscript (Add. 6315 (I)) is a copy of the summa of Raymund of Pennaforte, dating from the end of the thirteenth century, which gives a good indication of the likely owner of such a volume and the uses to which it would be put. The Cibus Anime is followed by a fragmentary exposition

of the Lord's Prayer (in the same hand) which is also found in Dd.14.26 (III), a strange hybrid manuscript of the Speculum Christiani tradition which is discussed below, and in Illinois (Urbana) MS. 4137, another copy of the Speculum.[56] It seems probable that this book was used in a clerical context and the presence of the Summa Raymundi suggests that the Cibus Anime may have been regarded as a similarly useful work of reference in pastoral matters - the theological counterpart to Raymund's canonical encylopaedia of penitential and matrimonial law. Harley 237 (another quite substantial book (215mm x 135mm)), is a clerical miscellany containing various pastoral texts of a very rudimentary nature (including the Speculum Lucidum and a simple tabula of the rudiments of the faith) some constitutions and a short treatise on the canonical hours (which also occurs in Harley 407 and Lambeth 460). The Cibus Anime is in one hand throughout, although several hands supply the rest of the texts. This is the only manuscript of the Cibus Anime of whose provenance we may be certain. Folio 3 recto bears a fifteenth-century inscription: liber domus montis gracie ordinis cartusiensis, and Ker assigns the book to the Charter-house of the Assumption of the B.V.M. and St Nicholas at Mount Grace in East Horsley, Yorkshire, although we cannot be certain whether the manuscript was compiled or written there or came into the house's possession at a later date.[57] In Harley 407 (212mm x 133mm) which contains only the Cibus Anime, although the text has been prepared for rubrication this has not been executed (space has been left in the table of contents for a six-line initial at book 1, a four-line initial at book 2, and

a three-line initial at book 3), although hands different from those in the text proper have provided chapter numbers and headings, as well as running titles as far as folio 13 recto, and have added an extra authority (on folio 12 recto) to chapter 19 of the first book. Various other running titles and chapter headings are supplied throughout. Lambeth 460 is prefaced by Pecham's decree Ignorantia sacerdotum. The compiler of the manuscript clearly felt that the Cibus Anime provided a valuable commentary on the pastoral constitutions of the Lambeth Council (as the colophon at the end of the work indicates) even though it says nothing about the Sacraments, an omission which, in Lambeth 460, is rectified in the following text, a tabula on the Sacraments:

> Explicit sana doctrina super illo capitulo ignorancia sacerdotum exeptus est sacramentis de quibus dicam infra.[58]

The manuscript, written by a scribe called Johannes Holme,[59] also includes part of Suso's Horologium and several pastoral and theological works which would require some degree of theological sophistication on the part of the reader. Indeed most copies of the Cibus Anime which contain other material (the exception being Harley 237) suggest from the nature and complexity of these texts that their readers would have had a considerable facility in Latin as well as a thorough grounding in canonical and theological debate. As we shall see the same cannot be said for the probable owners of manuscripts of the Speculum Christiani.

Of the six manuscripts preserving three books, four also have tables of contents. It is interesting to note that in all

these manuscripts (Lambeth 460, Univ. 60, Harley 237, Harley 407) the introductory colophon for book 3 occurs in the table of contents, even though for books 1 and 2 the colophons have not been recorded in the table of contents (they occur in the text). This shared feature in these manuscripts suggests that they may be more closely related than the other manuscripts of the group. Indeed this is supported by the fact that four of these manuscripts (Lambeth 460, Univ. 60, Harley 237, Harley 407) also agree in having 65 chapters in book two against the 64 chapters in the other copies. A further agreement between them is that all three contain an additional chapter at the end of book 3. In the tables of contents preceding Harley 407 and Lambeth 460 the book's usual seventeen chapters are listed followed without break or distinction by a chapter entitled De horis canonicis and in the text no distinction is made between the main text and this additional material. C.U.L. Add. 6315 (II) also appears to preserve this additional chapter but the beginning is lost and so its relationship to the main text must remain uncertain. However, in Harley 237, the chapter is not mentioned in the table of contents and the text of book 3 ends with chapter 17 (De rege valde felici) after which a different hand has written Deo gracias and Explicit. The next text in the compilation, which immediately follows the Cibus Anime, beginning on the same folio (folio 73 verso) though written in a different hand, is sometimes called De horis canonicis and is, in fact, the same text as that incorporated into Cibus Anime in Harley 407 and Lambeth 460. This suggests that both these manuscripts are descended from either Harley 237 itself or else

a manuscript copied from Harley 237, which ignored the division between Cibus Anime and this text and copied them as one work. Of course the amalgamation of texts may have been a deliberate act on the part of a later scribe or editor. The short treatise emphasises a fundamental point that the hours are performed not 'propter laudem humanam et vanam gloriam' but 'ad dei laudem et gloriam'. It includes a short exemplum where a lazy priest is rebuked by the Virgin for saying his Office corruptly. This text appears in other manuscripts associated with the development of the Speculum Christiani. Hatton 97 and Ff.1.14 both have a common series of three texts on prayer. In Ff.1.14, these texts are preceded by a rubric:

> Hic incipit tabula quedam devota et maxime necessaria pro oratione facienda,

and end with explicit tabula laus christi and the signature of the scribe Robert Wasselyn.[60] By describing these works as a tabula (an interesting parallel with the structure of the Speculum Christiani which is also divided into tabulae) Wasselyn implies a unity of purpose and similarity of subject matter. In fact the other two texts deal with the two kinds of prayer (public and private) and with the need for care and accuracy when repeating the Office.[61] The presence of these texts in manuscripts of this nature suggests a broadening of the scope of the instruction aimed at in manuals for the clergy beyond the narrow limits of the penitential and the equally circumscribed territory of pastoral manuals dealing specifically with the cure of souls, and reflect the change of emphasis which Bail has detected from penitentially orientated teaching in the fourteenth century to a greater emphasis on the Mass and personal

devotion in the fifteenth, and which is itself reflected in the various devotional movements of the fifteenth century and the increasing number of additions to the list of liturgical feasts.[62]

Book 3 of the Cibus Anime is markedly more contemplative and devotional than the more didactically organised other books. This is made clear by the colophon which precedes it in most tables of contents:

> Sequitur quedam exortacio bona de libris sanctis breviter tractata pro vere dei dilectoribus vitam perfectam habere desiderantibus.[63]

Incidentally, this also emphasises the eclectic nature of the work and the focussed nature of the eclecticism, with its emphasis on the Scriptures and patristic sources. The first chapter (De perfeccione) is found in two versions, a longer and a shorter, which allows a further subdivision to be made among the manuscripts. The longer version begins with a typical distinction between worldly and spiritual wellbeing, and worldly and spiritual poverty. It is more discursive than the earlier books and although using many quotations, uses them in harness with the hortatory quality of the writing:

> Multi enim sunt qui desiderant filios suos et amicos valere in seculo isto et non curant quid sint possessuri in alio. Provident autem illis hic divicias et honores; sed pauci provident illis deum et eorum animarum salutem. Si viderint illos ignorantes peccantes et dei precepta contempnentes non curant neq; tristantur. Unde Apostolus: Qui suorum et maxime domesticorum curam non habet fidem negat et est infideli deterior.[64]

In a way this passage, and the third book as a whole might be said to grow out of the teaching in the first two books, for without it a growth in contemplative awareness would be impossible.

The passage quoted, for example, relies for its effect partly on an awareness of the teaching of book 1 which opens with Contra ignorantes et verbi dei contemptores - an idea which appears to be recalled, or perhaps re-used in the reference to 'ignorantes peccantes et dei precepta contempnentes'. This longer version of chapter 1 is preserved in three copies which we have already seen in agreement against the others, Lambeth 460, Harley 237 and Harley 407, offering further confirmation of their status as a coherent group within the work's textual tradition.

In the three other manuscripts (Rawl. C.19, C.U.L. Add. 6315 (II) and Univ. 60), and in the version of book 3 preserved in Royal 5 A.VI, the book opens more assertively and didactically with a passage which occurs part way through the longer version, and is also found (in an abbreviated form) in the Speculum Christiani:

> Duo sunt necessaria ad salutem scilicet fides et bona opera et neutrum sine altero sufficit.[65]

This is followed by quotations stressing the need for faith and the importance of keeping the Commandments. This passage strengthens the links with the preceding books of the work as some of the material it contains is also found in chapters 4, 5 and 45 of book 1 of Cibus Anime, including the quotations from Jerome and Seneca found in the first tabula of the Speculum (H.11. 4-5) and a quotation from Jerome: 'Domine oculi tui respiciunt fidem. Nichil est bonum homini in mundo isto absque fide.' Worldly and spiritual values are again contrasted:

> Multi enim divicias relinqunt sed vicia non relinqunt.[66]

From the beginning of chapter two all manuscripts agree on the contents of the work. The contemplative tone of Book 3

is linked to a repeated emphasis on the value of poverty and self denial as a means of securing eternal life. Thus in chapter 1, poverty is referred to as a 'corona gloriosa et valuptoria' (folio 182 verso). Furthermore monastic life is repeatedly praised. Ambrose is cited ('Iusti sunt enim qui implent precepta sine querela') and two groups of people, 'monachi et virgines' are particularly praised (folio 182 recto). The third chapter attacks the mendicant life: 'Non enim licet homini sub specie (sic for spe) mendicandi contra apostolum omnia sua dare sed sub spe vivendi de corporali labore' (folio 183 verso). Chapter 4, as the extract in the Speculum shows (H 183.26ff.), discusses the contrary attractions of the cloister and the world and decides in favour of the spiritual life of the cloister. Chapter 6, headed De exemplis fidelis, speaks of the need to leave the world and to embark on a spiritual pilgrimage:

> Considera diligenter qualiter humilis et fidelis **peregrinus ad jerusalem tendens primo relinquit** post se terras et tenementa, uxorem et filios **et se pauperem facit et nudum ab omnibus que** habet ut expedite ire possit et sine impedimento **.... Sic et tu karissime si spiritualis** peregrinus volueris esse oportet teipsum ab **omnibus impedimentis nudum facere et mundi** amorem fideliter relinquere.[67]

The following exhortation to work towards the acquisition of virtue suggests an almost monastic freedom from the demands of the world. The seeker of virtue should work:

> non...per unum opus sed per varias operaciones **secundum varias hominum disposiciones ut nunc** orando nunc meditando nunc legendo nunc **aliquod bonum opus faciendo nunc semet ipsum** diversimodi exercendo.[68]

Other chapters discuss the three types of humility - again

these have a monastic ring - the first is 'subdere se maiori et se non preferre equali' (folio 187 recto) and, following an affective chapter on the wounds of Christ, there is a discussion of the three grades of love. It is perhaps indicative of the work's appeal that two chapters of it were included in Harley 3820, a volume owned by a recluse of Sheen.

It will be clear that this third book is very different from the other two. Whereas they are primarily concerned with providing instruction for people in the world, this series of exhortations, as the rubric calls them, seem most appropriate for the spiritual calm of a monastic cloister, although they might be valuable to worldly readers eager to progress in their spiritual awareness. The evidence of the two-book manuscripts and the other differences discussed above suggest that the third book was not part of the original design of the work, although it is possible that they draw on the same sources for the quotations which are common to them both, suggesting that they may both have originated from the same centre.

Although it seems likely, therefore, that the third book was added to the Cibus Anime sometime after the work was originally compiled, we have no information about its composition or its circulation before it fused with the Cibus Anime. It is, of course, possible that the work was composed and circulated as an independent treatise perhaps by the same compiler or in the same centre as the Cibus given the common material and the common and rather unusual listing of theological auctores. The only known extant case of the book circulating independently is in Royal 5 A.VI. It is, however, unlikely that this represents

true independence as much of the contents of this eclectic compilation derive from the textual tradition of the Cibus Anime and the Speculum Christiani. It may suggest that the third book was capable of (and may have been designed for) independent circulation. In addition to the third book, the manuscript includes a treatise on the priestly life which has material in common with (and may be the source of) the eighth tabula of the Speculum Christiani.[69] Also preserved are the vernacular text on the 'gostly richesses and vertuz of sole' (as in Trinity Hall 16 and JRL Lat. 341) the ladders and verse on the Pater Noster (as in Trinity Hall 16), the shorter Peccata Britonum (as in JRL Lat. 341 and Balliol 239, as well as the Speculum Christiani proper) the Sayings of the Philosophers (as in JRL Lat. 341, Balliol 239 and tabula 6 of the Speculum, although preserved here in a truncated form) and a selection of authorities from various parts of the Cibus Anime, in a similar order to that in which they are presented in the Speculum. This baffling range of textual affiliations suggests that the compiler of the Royal MS. had access to materials connected with the Cibus Anime family of texts, although none of the extant manuscripts of the Cibus Anime or the Speculum Christiani contain all the material included in this anthology.

This volume is clearly intended to encourage the clergy in the correct execution of their duty, that is it is aimed at the clergy rather than being a tool for the clergy; in addition to the Cibus-related material it includes the Regula Sancti Bernardi de Modo Psallendi et Cantandi in Ecclesia, a text headed Bernardus de Dignitate Sacerdotum and an extract from a

longer work headed Bartholomeus in suo Rosario dicit de Sacerdotibus. It is one of the few datable manuscripts in the Cibus-Speculum tradition, containing on folio 84 verso the date 1446 and the colophon Johannes Celston scripsit istud volumen.[70] This is patently untrue as a number of hands are at work in the book, but it may mark the date at which the work of compilation was completed and the list of contents for the whole volume on the same folio executed.

It would seem from the evidence of the manuscripts discussed in this section that apart from the variation found among copies of the Cibus Anime itself, extracts of varying lengths were in circulation. Further, the copies examined and discussed show that other texts began to accrete round the Cibus Anime, many of which perhaps found their way into the Speculum Christiani, either from manuscripts of the Cibus Anime or from some other (perhaps common) source. It may also be the case that Cibus Anime manuscripts contain extracts from the Speculum Christiani. Clearly the textual traditions of both works are closely related.

V

Sources

'It is evident that the whole of the Latin part is a compilation from various sources.'[71] This is Holmstedt's judgement on the Latin quotations which make up the bulk of the Speculum Christiani, and much the same can be said for the Cibus Anime which provided the bulk of those quotations for the Speculum's compiler. It has not been possible to undertake an extensive study of the sources of the Cibus Anime and future

research may reveal more details about the materials employed by its compiler. These comments are in the nature of a provisional account of the range of materials included in the work and are intended to illuminate the methods of the compiler and the kinds of sources he seems to have turned to.

It is probable that the major sources for the auctoritates cited in the Cibus Anime were other florilegia. As the recent study of the Manipulus Florum points out in its discussion of that work's sources:

> Florilegia such as the Manipulus Florum are a literary world apart. Their customary sources are earlier florilegia and their most frequent literary heirs subsequent florilegia.[72]

The fact that these florilegia are nowhere cited in a work does not mean, as Rouse has shown, that that work does not employ them.[73] The development of topical concordances and alphabetical aids primarily intended to assist the preacher and teacher also greatly simplified the task of compiling new works of reference and guidance, and the range of such works available to the compiler of the Cibus Anime working sometime late in the fourteenth century was formidable. One such work which he seems to have made use of was the Compendium Theologicae Veritatis of Hugh of Strasbourg (ob. c. 1268). This extremely popular work is explicitly cited in the Cibus Anime on a number of occasions. The discussion of the Commandments in book 1, for example invokes 'Thomas in veritatibus' in the course of the second (chapter 10), third (chapter 12), fifth (chapter 22) and sixth commandments (chapter 33) where, in each case, material is drawn from the Compendium. The incorrect ascription may derive partly from the fact that the Compendium was often ascribed to

Albertus Magnus, and may refer to his pupil Thomas Aquinas.[74] On other occasions, however, the compiler draws on the Compendium without acknowledgement. Thus the discussion of Conscience which opens the second book is drawn in part from book 2 chapter 52 of the Compendium, and the poem describing Confession (inc. Sit simplex humilis confessio pura fidelis) is cited by Hugh in book 6 chapter 25 of the Compendium, although the enormous popularity of this verse means that the compiler could have acquired it from a large number of different sources.[75]

Holmstedt printed a list of the authors cited in the Speculum Christiani. In addition to these writers, the following are cited in the Cibus Anime. In each case the chapter number given is that in which the author is cited for the first time:

Book 1

6. Willelmus in Glosa; Magister in historiis (Peter Comestor) [Balliol 239 only]

26. In vitas patrum

30. Decretum

50. Boniface

Book 2

37. Alexander Papa

38. Hillarius

39. Rabanus

49. Anselmus

51. Cesarius; Ciprianus

54. Remigius

61. Hugo de Sancto Victore

Book 3

2. Cato

11. In liber Clementis

12. Albertus

Given the very wide range of authorities cited in the work, it is unlikely that the compiler was able to consult the originalia, or even tabulae on the originalia for all of them. Certain authors, however, are cited more frequently and more consistently than others. These are Augustine, Bernard, Chrysostom (including the Opus Imperfectum),[76] Gregory, Jerome, Isidore and, of course, the Bible either by specific reference to books and authors or more loosely to Scripture or by formulae such as 'Deus in evangelio dicit'. It may be that the compiler had access to whole works or collections of works by these authors. Some chapters (e.g. 1.45) have long sequences of quotations from the same author linked by Idem, suggesting systematic consultation of collections of their sayings either in originalia or in florilegia. It is interesting to note that the compiler's taste is conservative and that he tends to prefer the antiqui to the moderni. This is consonant with the pastoral intent of the work as a whole. Even the more contemplative third book uses these basic authorities, with the addition of Richard Rolle. Indeed Rolle is striking for his modernity, which may suggest that the compiler had cause to be familiar with his works. He is cited in book 2 chapter 34 on death, book 2 chapter 51 on prayer, in book 3 chapter 11 on the name of Jesus, chapters 13 to 15 on the three grades of Love and in chapter 16 on contemplation.[77]

Both the Decretum and the Glossa Ordinaria may have provided more quotations for the work than are explicitly acknowledged as having their origin in those works; it is likely that the various Scriptural citations may have led the compiler to other discussions of the subject by means of the Gloss. It is an interesting feature of the use made of the Cibus Anime in the composition of the Speculum Christiani that the latter work seems to have avoided canonical material by omitting the citations of the Decretum and the Clementines, although there is a single reference at H. 73.13 to Canon. Also omitted by the Speculum are the references to Peter Lombard's Sentences, to Albertus Magnus and to Hugh of St Victor. Perhaps the Speculum's compiler was even more wary of moderni than the compiler of the Cibus Anime.

The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday listed in book 2 chapter 29 are identical with the version of this popular motif by Peter Comestor, although the widespread circulation of the idea in the Middle Ages and the existence of many similar listings in, for example, the works of Nicholas of Lyra and Vincent of Beauvais make any firm identification of a source impossible.[78]

Chapters 13 to 15 of the third book deal with three grades of love (amor insuperabilis, amor inseperabilis and amor singularis). This threefold schema is used several times by Richard Rolle in both his Latin and vernacular writings and given the familiarity the compiler of the work displays with his work elsewhere it may be that this is the immediate source. However the schema is also used by St Bernard and by Richard of

St Victor, both of whose works were widely known and read in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[79]

VII

Provenance

Given the close relationship which exists between the Cibus Anime and the Speculum Christiani (which is fully analysed in the following chapter) it seems appropriate to discuss the provenance of both works at this point so that the limited evidence available for each text can help to illuminate that available for the other.

There is no internal evidence to indicate the provenance of the Cibus Anime. The citation of Rolle and the fact that the circulation of the Cibus Anime seems to have been limited to Britain point to a British provenance. The copies of the Speculum Christiani which circulated abroad seem to have been seem to have been adapted for the purpose by the omission of the vernacular sections.[80] The English portions of two manuscripts containing the Cibus Anime have been examined by Dr M. Laing who places Harley 2379 in Norfolk and JRL Lat. 341 in Huntingdonshire, but her analysis of copies of the Speculum Christiani led her strongly to argue for a Lincolnshire dialectal provenance for that work.[81]

External evidence in the manuscripts would seem to suggest the possibility of organised copying of both works. Harley 2379 is a collaborative effort with scribal stints coinciding with the ends of quires. Harley 407 and Salt 47 are copies of the Cibus Anime which were written by the same scribe. Trinity

Hall's second hand copying folio 87 verso to folio 88 recto is the same as or very close indeed to the main hand in Dd. 14.26 (III). Among copies of the Speculum Christiani, B.L. Add. 10052, 21202 and Huntington HM. 124 were all written by the same scribe.[82]

Although the bulk of copies seem to have been produced by ad hoc copying, these manuscripts suggest that some attempt was made (perhaps in more than one centre and perhaps by a number of unconnected individual scribes) to produce multiple copies of both works. It is tempting to suggest that the centre which was capable of providing the resources necessary for the compilation of the texts was also the centre for their copying and distribution, but there is no firm evidence to indicate that this was the case. After an initial period, other centres might have produced multiple copies in response to the popularity of the Speculum Christiani (or indeed of the Cibus Anime). These centres need not be related to the place of original compilation. The evidence of organised copying is therefore of little use in establishing the provenance of the texts.

It would appear that the Cibus Anime and Speculum Christiani may have originated in a centre or centres in the East Midlands or Lincolnshire (or possibly Yorkshire) which were capable of providing the resources necessary for the compilation of the work. Some kind of corporate institution seems the obvious candidate. As discussed above, the third book of the Cibus Anime is markedly more contemplative than the first two and lays great emphasis on the importance of the

contemplative way of life as opposed to that practised by the mendicants. The stress in this book on becoming a 'verus contemplativus' and on withdrawal from the world argues against a secular origin for this part of the work at least and given the intimate links between the third book and the first two in terms of ordinatio and shared material it seems reasonable to accept that they all come from the same centre. It may be that that centre was in the house of a contemplative order, and perhaps an order with a particular interest in the works of Rolle given the anomalous nature of his inclusion as an authority.

Given that the copies of the Cibus Anime suggest that the apparatus of chapter headings and numbers may have been developed after the text was first written, reaching its most complete state in manuscripts such as Balliol 239, it is possible that the work was originally compiled in a non-practical context (for example a monastic house), achieved a certain (perhaps local) popularity and, as copies proliferated, was equipped more fully for a practical role as a work of reference, circulating perhaps among the secular clergy of some large institution. It is, though, also possible that the apparatus evolved through use in one centre.

The Speculum, compiled by somebody who (as the analysis in the next chapter suggests) was intimately acquainted with the Cibus Anime, and using other works also found in manuscripts of the Cibus Anime, may well have been compiled in the same centre that first produced the Cibus Anime, although it could equally well have been produced at another centre, perhaps where the

Cibus Anime was already being copied, or was valued as a pastoral aid, and where the practical problems of the cura animarum were acutely appreciated.

At this point the limited knowledge we have of early owners of copies of the Cibus Anime may usefully be deployed. At the beginning of the text proper (that is, following the tables of contents) in Harley 237 is the shelfmark liber domus montis gracie ordinis cartusiensis indicating that the book was at some time in the library of the Mount Grace Charterhouse, although not necessarily written there. Harley 3820, containing extracts from book 3, was owned by a recluse of Sheen Charterhouse.[83] The evidence of Carthusian ownership of and interest in the work perhaps strengthens the argument for a contemplative provenance for it. Indeed Mount Grace itself is a far from unattractive candidate for the position of home to the Cibus Anime.

Despite its contemplative nature, the Carthusian order assiduously 'cultivated letters as the most fitting form of labour for those who dwell apart in the desert: for although they lived and worked in strict solitude, they still spoke to the world through the books which they wrote, copied and transmitted.' As Michael Sargent points out in the article from which the above quotation is drawn, this attitude to letters is formulated at an early stage of the order's development by Prior Guigo I in his Consuetudines.[84] In his 28th chapter, Guigo talks about the furnishings of the cell and in particular about the writing utensils that are to be provided, given that it is unusual for the monks to be engaged in another activity. He goes on to talk about the importance of books to

the order's pastoral function:

> Adhuc etiam libros ad legendum de armario accipit duos, quibus omnem diligentiam curamque praebere jubetur, ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alia qualibet sorde maculentur. Libros quippe tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum cautissime custodiri, et studiosissime volumus fieri, ut, quia ore non possumus, Dei verbum manibus praedicemus.[85]

As Sargent points out, this important passage is repeated by the English Carthusian Adam of Dryburgh (ob. 1212) in his On the Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell.[86] Of course the literary activities of the Carthusians in general, and of the Mount Grace house in particular have been known and widely discussed for some time, especially the work of Nicholas Love and Richard Methley at various points in the fifteenth century. But this discussion has tended to centre in the translation and dissemination of works of a spiritual and contemplative nature. In particular the role of the Carthusians in the circulation of works by Rolle and Hilton can be added to the Love translation of the pseudo-Bonaventure's Meditationes Vitae Christi and Methley's work on The Cloud of Unknowing and The Mirror of Simple Souls.[87] Their interest in Rolle is shared by the compiler of the Cibus Anime.

Significant as this activity may have been in fostering personal piety and encouraging the development of contemplative prayer and affective meditation, this work of translation and dissemination, although fulfilling the order's obligations to make and circulate books, is hardly an obvious way to preach the Word of God through the hands of the monks. Rather it is the extension of works basic to their own way of life and of prayer to an interested and involved audience of fellow travellers.

A more direct and substantial contribution to the preaching of the Word of God was made by the Augustinian order through the works of John Mirk, specifically designed to assist the parish priest in the execution of his duties.[88]

Given the known affiliation of the Cibus Anime with Mount Grace it is tempting to suggest that the work may have been composed in a Carthusian milieu with the intention of aiding the pastoral care through the provision of better tools for its execution. Indeed it may not be too fanciful to see in the work's title an echo of Prior Guigo's description of books as 'tanquam sempiternum animarum nostrarum cibum'. The association of the work with the Carthusians provides at once a philosophy for the work's composition, the context in which it could be composed with access to libraries, and the expertise with which it could be copied and disseminated.[89] Furthermore, the contemplative tone of the third book accords well with the basics of Carthusian spirituality.

There may be another reference to the Cibus Anime within the Carthusian order, contained in a memorandum of 1500 of books lent by the London house to a monk leaving for St Anne's Charterhouse in Coventry, probably, as Thompson puts it 'for the benefit of his hosts there.'[90] Among the fourteen books listed is the following:

Item Esca anime cujus 2m folium incipit daua.

Although there is no surviving copy of the Cibus Anime with that title or that secundum folium, it may be that it is the Cibus that is meant. It should, however, be noted that the idea of 'cibus anime' is widely found in a number of varying contexts,

and the title of this compilation cannot be regarded as in any way unconventional.[91]

When we turn to the Speculum Christiani, there is much firmer evidence of Carthusian involvement in the circulation of the text. B.L. Additional 22121 was copied by William Darker of Sheen Charterhouse and contains the following colophon:

> Liber domus Jesu de Bethleem ordinis cartusiensis iuxta Shene: quem scripsit Dominus Willelmus Darker monachus et professus eiusdem domus in remissionem peccatorum suorum.[92]

Darker died in 1512/13. Further, one of the continental copies of the text, which as Dr Doyle kindly pointed out to me, seem to have had Bruges as a copying centre, was executed by J. Raphorst of Utrecht, a professed Carthusian of Bruges and is now Utrecht University MS. 173. Raphorst returned to Utrecht in 1478 and apparently died there in 1493.[93]

Apart from the Mount Grace copy, the only other manuscript of the Cibus Anime at present known to include evidence for ownership or affiliation is Trinity Hall 16. This copy of the work includes on folio 91 verso a colophon which runs:

> Orate pro animabus)
> Roberti et Thome) Garton
> Et pro anima Henrici)

The third line of this colophon is probably a slightly later addition as the ink is a slightly different colour and the syntax suggests that it was added as an afterthought, although in the same hand as the original request for prayers.[94] Further, the placing of the surname Garton between the bracketed first two lines suggests that the bracket has been extended to accommodate the addition of Henry Garton.

It has proved impossible to positively identify all three members of the Garton family mentioned in this colophon, but it seems probable that they are part of the Yorkshire family which derived its name from a village in the East Riding Wolds.[95] The manuscript containing the colophon can be dated palaeographically to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, so at least the first two named members of the family would probably have been dead by c. 1425. A check through the volumes of Testamenta Eboracensia and the list of Wills in York Registry provide possible candidates for the first two names.

In the York Registry list there occurs a Robert de Garton, parson de Kyrtlyngton, whose will was granted probate on June 28 1400, and a Thomas de Garton who is described as parson of the Altar of St Thomas of Canterbury in the Cathedral church of York, whose will was entered on November 13 1419.[96] Although nothing further is known of Robert Garton, the Thomas whose will is here mentioned had had a considerably more distinguished career than the humble description of him as a chantry priest in the Cathedral might lead one to suspect. His life seems to have been much bound up with the church which he was serving in his last days and in which he was to be buried. He served as Chamberlain in the Cathedral and his accounts survive from Martinmas 1386 to Martinmas 1405. In October 1404 he was made Subtreasurer of the Cathedral and served in that office until his resignation in 1418.[97]

The position of Subtreasurer at York in the early years of the fifteenth century would have been one of considerable responsibility. As Edwards points out, the office carried the high salary of 50 marks a year which was also meant to provide for the maintenance of five other clerks in his service. The statutory

description of the office in the early fifteenth-century insertion into the statutes differs little from that of the Treasurer himself, although the Subtreasurer would have been responsible for the daily supervision of the church. The qualifications for the post are described as 'industria, fidelitas and experientia' and his jurisdiction included glaziers, carpenters and waxmakers, as well as sacrists and other more obviously ecclesiastical functionaries.[98] Thus the Treasury was responsible for the upkeep of the fabric of the church, and the role of Subtreasurer at a time when the Minster was undergoing considerable rebuilding, refurbishment and alteration would be crucial, especially as the position of Treasurer seems to have been 'one of the wealthiest benefices in England. No position in the church of York was more eagerly sought after, and none was a source of greater litigation.'[99] The wealth and dignity of the Treasurership makes it likely that much of the daily responsibility would necessarily have devolved on the Subtreasurer.

For this reason alone, Thomas de Garton may well be associated with the Thomas in Trinity Hall 16, as being of sufficient standing and presumably education (although his name does not appear in the registers of Oxford and Cambridge) to hold down such an onerous post, and as being of sufficient standing to own a well executed copy of a large work like the Libus Anime. But another circumstance enhances the possibilities that the two Thomases may be the same man. During much of his tenure of the Subtreasurership, Garton's superior was John de Newton, who held the treasurership from 1393 until the year of his death, 1414. A Cambridge man, Newton, a D.C.L. had had a varied career in high ecclesiastical

office; as Advocate of Ely in 1375, and as Vicar-General of Archbishop Scrope in 1398.[100] More significant than his Cambridge education however (and it should be remembered that Cambridge at the end of the fourteenth century was the scene of a remarkable increase in the practice of the pastoral care among graduates, and was, of course, the home of John de Burgh's revision of the Oculus Sacerdotis, the Pupilla Oculi), was Newton's reputation as a bibliophile and book collector. On his death he bequeathed 17 books to Peterhouse library, 35 to the Minster, and ordained that a further 35 law books were to be placed in a chest in the Minster vestry for the use of any of the sons of his brother Thomas who might happen to study law, thence to pass to the Minster library. In such a climate of book collecting and scholarship, it is not unlikely that the man appointed to serve as Newton's assistant would have been a man of some learning and might well have acquired some of his master's love of books.[101]

If the Thomas of the Trinity Hall manuscript is the York Minster Garton, the Northern provenance of the Cibus Anime is supported. The name Garton also occurs in a copy of the Speculum Christiani, Pembroke 285 in a colophon at the end of the orthodox text and before the additional texts

Explicit Speculum Christiani Garton (folio 46 verso)

although the absence of 'quod' makes it unclear whether the presence of the surname is intended as an indication of the scribe's identity, of the ownership of the work, or even of a presumed authorship. It does however serve as an interesting corroboration of the family's involvement with the textual family of the Cibus and the Speculum.

It is, of course, possible that the centre or one of the centres for producing and disseminating copies of these works was York itself, possibly at the Minster. Although little is known of the book trade in York or in the Cathedral itself, there would of course be the capacity to produce books, not only because of the resources of the Minster library, presumably augmented by the resources of individuals like Newton, but also because of the administrative organisation of the episcopal registry, and the large number of stationers and ancillary tradesmen known to have operated in the city.[102] In addition to the earlier use of archdeacons in the circulation of episcopal decrees in the thirteenth century, there is the particular example in York diocese of Thoresby's instructions and their translation into English by the monk of St Mary's Abbey, York, John Gaytryge, to suggest that the circulation of material designed to assist the priest in the cure of souls was not confined to the thirteenth century in the diocese. Ball, in his study of the education of the parish clergy, suggests that manuals circulated by bequest and by a process of unofficial copying by parish priests themselves in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this unofficial distribution replacing the formal methods used earlier.[103] Although the Speculum undoubtedly owes some of its wide circulation to such a process of dissemination, the evidence presented above suggests, at least initially a more formal centre of production and distribution. Ball's own studies of the circulation of the Pupilla Oculi identifies York as one of the three major centres of distribution, and points to the many owners of the work attached to York who were not graduates of Cambridge, the work's

home. As he points out, copies of the Pupilla circulated almost entirely among the 'sublime and literate', and in this respect contrasts with the universal popularity of the Speculum. Among the influential York ecclesiastics who owned copies of the Pupilla was John de Newton, who bequeathed his copy to the Steward.

If, as Ball suggests, York was a centre of interest in the pastoral care and in the new pastoral handbook the Pupilla Oculi which only saw the light of day in c. 1385, then it provides the right milieu for the circulation of the Cibus Anime and the popularisation of its sibling the Speculum. It is perhaps worth noting at this point that the most recent work of theology referred to in the Cibus Anime is in fact the Pupilla Oculi. At the end of the 26th chapter of book one is a rubric which reads:

De scandalo require in pupilla oculi in quinta parte

The nature of this rubric suggests that the writer expected anyone using the Cibus Anime to be familiar with and to have easy access to the Pupilla. Of the northern towns at this date, only York seems able to provide the ecclesiastical environment and personnel to make this familiarity and access possible.

It is indeed striking that among the few known owners of the Speculum, four are associated with York diocese. One of these, John Corve, a married clerk, left a copy to be chained in the choir of Wenlock Parish Church 'ad edificacionem animarum legencium' in 1437.[104] The other three are chantry priests in the Minster itself, Robert Est leaving a copy in 1474-5, Robert Lythe leaving a copy to a priest who would pray for him, in 1479 and Thomas Symson, 'persona in eccl. Ebor.', who left his 'librum

vocatum Speculum Christianorum' to 'Domino Johanni Couper, capellano'.[105] Thus even if the Minster was not the home of either text, it seems clear that it was the centre of considerable interest in them. Another copy of the work, Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 155, was owned by the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx in Yorkshire.[106]

Among the other owners of copies, two are from Lincolnshire. Thomas Prowet, vicar of Pinchbeck in Lincolnshire left a copy in 1476 to a dominus T. Kele,[107] and Arthur Ormsby of Ormesby, Lincs. left a copy also in 1476.[108] This York-Lincoln axis for early owners of the Speculum is interesting when compared with the evidence gathered by Dr Margaret Laing of the University of Edinburgh on the dialectal features of a number of Speculum manuscripts. Her findings suggest 'that the Speculum was almost exclusively a Midland text and circulated mainly in the East Midlands...' More specifically she argues that 'the English parts were almost certainly composed in the dialect of Lincolnshire. A Lincolnshire provenance for the whole text is suggested in the first place by the large number of copies which fit, linguistically in or around that county.'[109] Although at first sight this would seem to argue against York, or indeed Mount Grace as a likely centre of dissemination for the text, it should be remembered that the composition of the work 'in the dialect of Lincolnshire' does not necessarily mean that the work was composed in Lincolnshire itself, but merely by someone with those dialectal features in their spelling.[110] York remained the capital of the Northern province and for those in Northern Lincolnshire, where Dr Laing would want to see the Speculum as

originating dialectally, would be a strong attraction as a centre for employment for clergy and laity alike.

In a recent account of the York residentiary canons in the fifteenth century, Barrie Dobson makes the following observation:

> By the early fifteenth century the great and long lived clerical affinity from northern Lincolnshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire, which had done so much to staff the crown's administration between the reigns of Edward I and Edward III, was evidently drawing to a close; but it is noticeable that clerks from the county and diocese of Lincoln continued to be well represented among the York residentiaries....'[111]

This pattern of service is exemplified by one of the known owners of a copy of the Speculum, Robert Est. Although a chantry priest at the Minster, Est bequeathed his book to the church of Briggesley in Lincolnshire, which was his birthplace.[112]

An alternative centre to York for the two works might be Lincoln itself. In addition to the dialectal localisation of the Speculum to within the northern part of the diocese, Lincoln had a long and illustrious tradition of producing aids to preachers and teachers, from the pioneering verse texts of William de Montibus in the cathedral schools, through the pastoral teachings and manuals of Robert Grosseteste to the penitential writings of Robert Mannyng of Bourne. Further, at least one of Lincoln's bishops at this period seems to have taken an active part in promoting the education of the clergy. Philip Repingdon, whose reign (1405-19) almost exactly coincides with Garton's tenure of the Subtreasurership at York, was committed to the strengthening of the church by raising the standard of education among the clergy. He granted many licences for study at a studium generale at a time when, generally speaking, this system

was in decline. Most of these licences were for three years, which would allow only for further general education, not including theology, and would thus be unattractive to those hoping to avoid the cura animarum by gaining academic or administrative advancement.[113] Could Repingdon's activities have encouraged the development of a new manual?

One of the manuscripts which seems to represent an intermediate stage in the evolution of the Speculum from the Cibus Anime, B.L. Additional 15237 may perhaps add a little support to the case for a Lincolnshire provenance. (The contents of this strange hybrid text are discussed in detail elsewhere.[114]) Although the Speculum text ends abruptly, several other treatises in the volume, written in the same hand are signed 'Burbage'. Dr Laing's linguistic analysis of this manuscript places its dialect in the extreme south of the county. According to Le Neve, a certain John Burbage held the prebend of Gretton in Lincolnshire from 1395 to 1402. Gretton also is in the extreme south of the county.[115] While accepting that any such identification is at best tenuous, the fact that linguistically the manuscript fits, that the hand is from relatively early (although probably not as early as these dates) in the fifteenth century, and that the text it contains is experimental or transitional make such a localisation tempting, although it would do little to solve the question of a centre for the composition for the Cibus Anime or the Speculum Christiani. However there were many religious houses in the county (although only one of them, Axholme, was Carthusian) and there was 'a sound tradition of book-making and chronicle writing in a number of houses.'[116]

Nevertheless Lincolnshire does not seem to have the depth of resources and talent enjoyed by the York diocese at this period, and it seems unlikely that without further evidence coming to light it will be possible to be more specific about the geographical origins of the two works.

It is, however, possible even with the circumstantial and inferential evidence deployed in this section, firmly to cast doubt on the assertion made by Margaret Deanesly that the Speculum 'did for the south of England and the fifteenth century what Gaytrik's treatise had done for the north of England and the fourteenth century', at least as far as the work's origins are concerned.[117]

We are left with only two clear conclusions; first that the Carthusians seem to have had an interest in both texts and secondly that this interest was particularly shared by priests of York Minster and by parish priests in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, despite the nationwide popularity which the Speculum at least seems to have achieved.

VII

Date and Authorship

'Who was the author of the Speculum, and when was it composed? There is no definite evidence.'[118] Even with the emergence of the Cibus Anime as a distinct work, little has changed since Holmstedt opened his account of the date and authorship of the work in 1933, although rather more circumstantial evidence about the dating of the manuscripts has come to light, and the discussion of the provenance of the Cibus Anime

and the Speculum above has narrowed the field to a particular geographical region in the search for the author. The emergence of the Cibus Anime as a distinct work, circulating independently of the Speculum and probably preceding it in existence means, however, that Holmstedt's attempts at dating the Speculum need revision, although the criteria he used for dating were in any case largely unsatisfactory.

As mentioned above, the most recent work to be cited in the Cibus Anime is John de Burgh's Pupilla Oculi which first appeared in c. 1385, although the nature of the reference to it in the Cibus Anime, in a rubric at the end of a chapter means that it could easily have been added to it at some time after the work was first composed. However, its presence in all manuscripts except Trinity Hall 16 suggests its authenticity.[119] The next most contemporary author cited is Richard Rolle whose death in 1349 can be used as an approximate terminus a quo. Holmstedt stated that the presence of Rolle in the Speculum suggests that the work was not composed before 1350.[120] We can now modify that and say that the Cibus Anime was not composed before 1350, although the likely date of composition is probably somewhat later. If we accept the reference to the Pupilla Oculi as authentic and part of the original text, this brings the terminus a quo forward to possibly as late as 1389.

Certainly the palaeographical evidence of the apparently earliest surviving copies of the Cibus Anime suggests that they were written in the first decades of the fifteenth century, and there is perhaps only one surviving copy of the work which can tentatively be assigned to the fourteenth century.[121] It seems

reasonable to suppose that the Cibus Anime was composed and began circulating sometime in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, but it is impossible to be more precise than that.

There is no evidence for the authorship of the work beyond the general observations made above about the nature of the sources consulted in the compilation of the work and the more 'contemplative' character of the third book.[122] These point to someone with access to florilegia or to originalia of the major patristic writers and a small selection of more modern authors, and perhaps to the Pupilla Oculi. The author was perhaps a monk with an interest in supporting the contemplative orders against the mendicants and in providing the secular clergy with pastoral aids, but it is also possible that he was a secular priest perhaps attached to one of the large corporate institutions. The manuscripts themselves never attempt to ascribe the work to a particular author and in the absence of any specific information, it is perhaps best to respect their reticence.

Chapter 5. The Speculum Christiani

I

Passing reference has been made in the course of the discussion of the Cibus Anime in the previous chapter to the modifications and deliberate alterations made by the compiler of the Speculum Christiani. This chapter is intended to provide a more detailed analysis of the indebtedness of the Speculum to the Cibus Anime and to discuss the modus agendi of the compiler in the eight tabulae which comprise the work. The series of tables provided as appendices demonstrates the free-ranging nature of the exploitation of the parent text by the Speculum, and reference should be made to them and to Holmstedt's edition in conjunction with the general discussion of each tabula.[1] In addition to illuminating the nature of the relationship between the two texts, it is hoped that this detailed analysis will demonstrate the ways in which the Speculum Christiani represents an attempt to provide a practical working manual of pastoral care out of the resources of a traditionally constructed work of reference. In particular it is hoped to show how the Speculum Christiani is in the mainstream of the tradition of pastoral aids, not least in its use of verse as a didactic medium.

There can be no doubt that the Speculum Christiani (a title also given to the Cibus Anime in one manuscript) is a deliberate and highly self-conscious reworking of the material from the Cibus and other sources with the intention of producing a compact practical working manual. What is most surprising about this remodelling is the change of structure from the rigorously

subordinated framework of books and chapters with elaborate analytical tables of contents of the Cibus Anime to the loose-limbed and roughly articulated structure of the Speculum with no tables of contents or indices.[2] There is a rough list of contents at the beginning of the work, but this is vague and imprecise and indicates only the general contents of the tabulae, and is, in any case, tucked away between the prologue and the first tabula. Apparatus is minimal - usually only a running title indicating the tabula number.

The decision to use the tabula as the basic unit is hard to justify. It makes casual reference difficult unless the user is intimately acquainted with the text, and this in itself suggests a different intention to that behind the more conventional Cibus Anime. One possible explanation is that the work should not be regarded as an organic unity (either a commentary on Pecham or a preaching handbook) but as a series of loosely linked units having no causal relationship with each other - in effect a compendium of eight (or possibly more) quasi-independent texts, supported by auctoritates drawn from a common source, but designed to serve different aspects of the cura animarum; to provide a pastoral miscellany. It is interesting to note that as many as eleven manuscripts of the work contain no other text of any length, which supports the contention that the text was regarded as being self-sufficient.[3] By comparison with other clerical miscellanies, it is possible to see that the Speculum reflects the common concerns of pastoral manuals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Its opening tabulae deal with the basic teaching syllabus of the Church and the final tabula provides a

brief compendium of material to assist the priest in the effective execution of the cura animarum.

II

Prologue

The opening of the Speculum Christiani, and indeed the whole prologue to the tabulae (H. 3-7) demonstrates dramatically the difference in emphasis between this text and the Cibus Anime. The Speculum opens not with the disquisition against ignorance which forms the first chapter of the Cibus Anime, but with the distinction between preaching and teaching which is the complete second chapter of that work. This inversion of material found in the first two chapters of the Cibus Anime has the effect of making the opening of the Speculum more positive. This is natural in a text which appears to be closely concerned with the implementation of doctrine as well as its documentation. Although the Cibus Anime may well have been designed primarily for use as a homiletic reference work, the emphasis given to less formal teaching contexts at the very outset of the Speculum and the prominence bestowed upon it by the re-arrangement suggests that the compiler was at some pains to demonstrate the versatility of the work. With its verse quatrains and long verse passages, the Speculum, although clearly useful in homiletic contexts, does not appear to be designed exclusively for such use. The mnemonic quality of the verses (even the longer verse passages make frequent use of anaphora to facilitate remembrance) suggests the possibility of personal instruction, and the prayers (in English and Latin) at the beginning of the

eighth tabula in most manuscripts indicate that private or public devotion may also have been envisaged. It is therefore appropriate that the distinction between these different forms of instruction should be emphasised at the outset. Traditionally the distinction is based on the nature of the audience. Alan of Lille says:

> Preaching must be public because it is not done for the benefit of one but of many: if it were offered to one person only it would not be preaching but teaching...preaching is an instruction for many given openly to teach them about their way of life: teaching is offered to one person or a group for the purpose of adding to their knowledge.

Robert of Basevorn similarly distinguishes between teaching many (predicatio) and few (monitio/collatio).[4] The Cibus Anime maintains the distinction:

> Magna differencia est inter predicacionem et doctrinam. Predicacio est, vbi est convocacio siue populi inuitacio in diebus festiuis in ecclesiis seu in aliis certis locis et temporibus ad hoc deputatis, et pertinet ad eos,qui ordinati sunt ad hoc et iurisdictionem et auctoritatem habent, et non ad alios. Informare autem et docere potest vnusquisque fratrem suum in omni loco et tempore oportuno, si uideatur sibi expedire, quia hoc est elemosina, ad quam quilibet tenetur. (H. 3.4-11)

Perhaps the episcopal injunctions discussed earlier have here given new life to the distinction and have caused it to be modified slightly.[5] But in the context of the Cibus Anime, surrounded by quotations like the Gregorian 'Cibus mentibus est sermo dei' (omitted in the Speculum), the homiletic side of the equation is given greater emphasis. Whereas in the Cibus Anime the effect of this distinction is to emphasise the supreme teaching authority of the clergy, in the Speculum the emphasis is rather on the joint responsibility of people and clergy to

ensure that the Church's teaching is made known. To reinforce this the Speculum's compiler includes immediately after this a passage not found in the Cibus Anime (H. 3.14-21), which emphasises the obligation upon all Christian men to cry out against iniquity and all kinds of depravity as direct attacks on the fabric of the faith. This passage is the first of a series of equally vehement outbursts which punctuate the work and all of which appear not to have been drawn from the Cibus Anime. Although there is always the possibility of a source for these passages, it is tempting to see these passionate pleas as personal statements from the compiler, editorial comments by which he knits together the bare bones of his work and breathes life into it. At H. 5.14-18, there is a strong statement emphasising that in all walks of life, a minimum knowledge is required for efficient execution of one's role in life.

Similarly with the faith:

> Omnes enim tenentur communiter scire ea, que sunt fidei et naturalia iura, precepta.

These themes of Christian responsibility and the evil of culpable ignorance recur throughout the Speculum with the emphasis at various times on the clergy and on the laity. The opening chapter of the Cibus Anime is framed in the Speculum by authorities drawn from chapter 3 of the Cibus. References to preaching are omitted - the authorities cited concentrate more on ignorance and the need to conquer it. A quotation from Chrysostom stresses the power and above all the versatility of the Word of God:

> Uerbum dei docet ignorantes, terret contumaces, animat laborantes, confortat pusillanimes, deficit magnatos et sanat peccato uulneratos. (H. 3.26-8)

It seems to me that the rearrangement undertaken by the compiler of the Speculum alters the thrust of the distinction between preaching and teaching by removing the discussion from a context where homiletic intent was implied. The prologue ends with two further additions to the material taken from the Cibus Anime; a citation of Pecham's Ignorantia Sacerdotum listing the basic syllabus and a short series of quotations concerning corrupt priests. Although Pecham's decree is referred to at the end of book 1 chapter 44 of the Cibus Anime, it is not explicitly cited in that work. However Ignorantia Sacerdotum was associated with the Cibus Anime, as shown by Lambeth 460 which prefaces the Cibus Anime with a full citation of Pecham's decree. The popularity enjoyed by this formulation of the basic syllabus was so widespread that it is probably foolish to look for a specific source for the Speculum's use of the decree.[6]

This inclusion of Pecham's famous instruction has caused much confusion among commentators on the Speculum and, in particular, has encouraged the assumption that the work is intended to function primarily as a preaching manual. Pfander, for example, working from the Pechamite injunction to expound the syllabus four times yearly, claims that this indicates the way in which the book was designed to be used.[7] In fact he seems to have failed to recognise the extent and integrity of the quotation from Archbishop Pecham's decrees and assumes that it is part of the compiler's rubric on the use of the book. But this misunderstanding of the purpose of Pecham's citation is by no means uncommon among commentators on the text. The work's editor, Gustav Holmstedt, claimed that the first four tabulae were directly modelled on Pecham.[8] His examples are confined to the prologue and tabula 2. As in the Cibus Anime, the ninth and tenth commandments are not from Pecham but from Peter Lombard. This is hardly convincing. In the first four tabulae

the compiler covers the basic syllabus of religious knowledge (the Creed, the Decalogue, the Deadly Sins, the Works of Mercy and the Virtues) and inevitably parallels much existing writing on the same subject, but this is not enough to prove textual indebtedness.

Professor Boyle admits as much when he writes that 'The editor of the Speculum has not shown that it is really a commentary on Ignorantia Sacerdotum.' He claims that the work 'is simply an extension of the Pecham programme', which is perhaps no more than an admission that the work contains much more than the basic syllabus.[9] This is, of course, true, although it is worth pointing out that the Speculum contains no reference to the 'septem gracie sacramenta' required by Pecham. The citation of Pecham in the Speculum Christiani may suggest the original design of the Speculum, but as we shall see, its development soon left behind this putative framework. In fact it may be misleading to attribute too much importance to the presence of Pecham. His citation may be no more than a convenient way of fulfilling the various fourteenth and fifteenth-century requirements that priests should possess a copy of Pecham's decree.[10] It may have been included as part of the work's aim of providing a complete but compact manual for clerical use. In the light of this possibility, the quotations on clerical corruption have an admonitory function on the threshold of the work.

III

Octo Tabule

This outline of the contents of the eight tabulae is probably an editorial or compilatorial addition and was probably put together after the work had taken on something like its finished shape. It may even have been added to after the addition of new material in the compendious eighth tabula.[11] The list of contents (it cannot be considered as an index or even as an analytical table) seems to be have been made up by combining the rubrics of the main text or, where these are not available, by abstracting from the opening of each section the main point under consideration. The entry for the third tabula, for example, illustrates the stringing together of rubrics:

> Tercia tabula tractat de operibus misericordie et de septem uirtutibus principalibus et docet qualiter agitur ... cum impius in extremis agit, et de generali iudicio. (H. 9.6-9)

For the fifth tabula, the entry is similarly paratactic:

> Quinta tabula docet, quod tria sunt, qui coinquinant hominem. Et tria sunt, que mundant et lauant christianum ab omni peccato. Et sex sunt.... Item loquitur contra presumpcionem et contra desperacionem. Et tractat de gaudiis celi, de penis inferni et de consciencia. (H. 9.14-20)

These brief notices are of little value in attempting to locate material in the text, especially as there is never any attempt to link these descriptions to folio numbers to facilitate ease of access or reference. As already mentioned, the only consistently executed apparatus in the manuscripts is the running title indicating the tabula number, and although this does provide some guidance for the work's user, it remains difficult to locate precise passages. Indeed the list of contents

seems more suited to be a prospectus for or description of the main text than an aid to its effective use. The eighth tabula contains material of such diversity that the compiler of this list gives up the attempt to catalogue its contents with a despairing 'Item sequuntur plura alia notabilia bona'. The description of the eighth tabula contains a reminiscence of the colophons preceding book 3 in most manuscripts of the Cibus Anime. After describing the ladders, the list continues 'Sequitur quedam exhortacio bone que loquitur de subtractione uictus anime...', which is similar to the Cibus Anime's 'Sequitur quedam exortacio bona de libris sanctis...'.[12] Although the collocation is hardly sufficiently unusual to make this similarity necessarily significant, it is perhaps interesting to note that the eighth tabula does appear to have some limited borrowings from the third book of the Cibus Anime.

IV

Prima Tabula

The account of the Articles of Faith draws heavily on chapters four and five of Cibus Anime book one. The compiler does, however, make two additions to his borrowings - the Apostles' Creed with the clauses assigned to the relevant Apostles, and a peroration emphasising the need for loyalty to the faith. With the former, such formulations are common in pastoral manuals and the compiler of the Speculum may have wanted to conform to the usual practice.[13] The latter addition however, may be compared with the impassioned plea for Christian commitment found in the prologue, and may also represent editorial

comment. (The authorities supporting this plea are not found in Cibus Anime.) The vehemence of the call to loyalty may be an indication of the orthodoxy of the text in doctrinal matters.

V

Tabula Secunda

The Decalogue is exemplified by means of vernacular verses.[14] Holmstedt offers no suggestions as to the source of these verses. There is, indeed, little evidence of any independent circulation of the verses outside the Speculum, or of their provenance. In Bodleian MS. Ashmole 61, however, Rate copied a longer version of the Decalogue verses which prefaces the lines usually found in the Speculum with an additional four and follows them with a further dozen.[15] It is tempting to see this poem as representing the verses in their original state before their partial assumption into the Speculum. The 'additional' lines preserve the abab rhyme scheme of the verses found in tabula 2 (with the exception of the introductory couplet which is discussed below) and can be made to conform to their division into quatrains, although this distinction is mnemonic rather than literary or stylistic. Further they provide a framework for the formulations of the Commandments which is lacking in the Speculum, but which is unnecessary there because of the supporting Latin material.

The Ashmole 61 poem is perfectly self-sufficient and is strongly similar to the many other vernacular formulations of this rudimentary material.[16] In particular, the closing quatrain provides a typically encouraging conclusion, placing the observance of the Decalogue in a wider context:

All þei, that þes commandmentys kepe,
In heuen with god schall euer wonne:
3iff þat they wyll fro syn them kepe
They schall be bry3ter þan þe sonne.
'Amen', quod Rate.[17]

It is, of course, possible that these verses were added at some later date to give an independent viability to a formulation that had proved its worth through the popularity of the Speculum, but given the commonplace nature of the material and the many similar treatments of it, it seems unlikely that a writer would take the trouble of patching together a poem on such a subject and more particularly would bother to match the formal structure in his additions.

Furthermore, the opening of the poem 'Herkyns, serys, þat standys a-bowte...' suggests that it may have been used in oral instruction or at least written with such a use in mind, and this public quality is likely to have recommended it to the compiler of the Speculum, perhaps because it had already achieved a local popularity; the verses were also used in the Towneley Doctors' play.[18] Although it is possible that the Towneley compiler used a copy of the Speculum Christiani (this assumption is made by Cawley in his recent article) it is equally possible that both the Speculum and the play draw from an independent longer poem, which may be represented by the poem preserved in Ashmole 61.

As mentioned above, many of the copies of the Speculum preface the quatrain accounts of the Commandments with a couplet:

In heuene schal dwelle al cristin men
Þat knowe and kepe god is biddingis ten,

and Holmstedt seems to regard this as authentic, as he prints it without comment in his edition. However, seventeen manuscripts

omit this introductory couplet and because of the textual importance of these manuscripts there are grounds for suspicion that this couplet may not be part of the tabula as originally conceived but may in fact be a slightly later accretion to the text.[19] All the manuscripts omitting the couplet are part of or can be assigned to Holmstedt's textual group C with its subdivisions.[20] The significance of this group in the development of the text is discussed elsewhere, and it is sufficient to note here that the group C manuscripts perhaps preserve the text in its earliest and least stable state, and include several apparent attempts to ordinate the material which may originally predate the compilation of the Speculum.[21] In many textual features these manuscripts preserve confusingly varied contents, but in the matter of the couplet introducing tabula 2 they are unanimous: it has no place in their textual tradition.

There are other reasons for suspecting that it is a later addition; the very fact that it is a couplet and not a quatrain, for example, and its position right at the beginning of the tabula where it could be added to an existing copy of the text without disturbing it and thereafter be treated as part of the authentic text in subsequent copies made from the exemplar. The large number of copies containing the couplet suggests that for it to have achieved such widespread circulation. It is, however, interesting to note that none of the manuscripts which preserve the verses as an isolated extract from the main work include the couplet.[22]

Two manuscripts, Sidney Sussex 55 and the Ushaw MS. contain a totally different set of verses on the Decalogue in twelve

couplets, although the Ushaw MS. also has the usual verses.[23] These couplets were obviously popular and are found in several devotional and didactic miscellanies, notably C.U.L. MS. Ff.2.38 and B.L. MS. Harley 1706, as well as appearing in the idiosyncratic expanded version of the Gaytryge's instructions, an orthodox copy of which is found in Sidney Sussex 55. It is probably this popularity that led to their inclusion in these two copies although the absence of any significant dissemination of the variant verses within the textual tradition of the Speculum suggests that this was the result of personal preference which had no effect on the text's evolution. One copy, Greaves 54, in addition to the verses and Latin auctoritates, inserts a prose vernacular commentary on the Decalogue similar to that inserted into the Book of Vices and Virtues preserved in the Simeon Manuscript (B.L. Add. MS. 22283).[24]

This tabula demonstrates the compiler's skill in selecting and blending together material. With the whole of the first book of Cibus Anime at his disposal, he is able to present a useful and compendious account of the Commandments in little more than a dozen pages of the edition printed by Holmstedt and yet, despite the inevitable selectivity, material has been drawn from nearly every chapter of the source work. This process of selection was clearly not slavish or mechanical. The evidence presented in the table suggests that the compiler moved with ease through the book, referring backwards and forwards to chapters where he knew relevant material was to be found. The most notable example of his facility in selecting is the passage headed 'Multipliciter dicitur quis homicida' (H. 27.1) where he reduces

seven chapters of the original to 35 lines while still managing to cover practically the same ground. Throughout this tabula, and indeed throughout the Speculum, the compiler displays his concern to provide a work which is both orthodox and useful, striking a balance between the weight of patristic authority of a summa and the pedagogic immediacy of the vernacular summaries of the rudiments.

After a brief introduction reasserting the dangers of ignorance and the importance of obedience to the Commandments, the compiler follows much the same pattern for each of the Commandments. The discussion of each command is prefaced by the Commandment itself (in Latin) and the vernacular quatrain providing a mnemonic formulation of the teaching and a focal point for the following exposition. The Cibus Anime discusses a wide range of tangentially related topics under the umbrella of each of the Commandments.[25] The compiler of the Speculum Christiani, however, refuses to be deflected from his purpose and strictly limits the material to what is relevant to basic pastoral instruction. Matters of more general interest are relegated to the eighth tabula so that nothing may detract from the fundamental teachings of the Commandments, or unnecessarily complicate the basic ethical imperatives they contain. Probably for similar reasons the expositions are themselves notably economical.

At several points in the tabula material occurs which is not attributed to a patristic author and which does not appear to come from the relevant portion of the Cibus Anime. These passages, usually linking material from different chapters in the

source or commenting in the by now characteristically vehement tone of the prologue are most probably editorial in origin. For example, the link phrase 'Idem contra hoc preceptum peccant qui tacent ueritatem, vbi oportet ueritatem dici' (H. 35.3-4) is clearly no more than a mechanical device to preserve continuity. Other sections, however, appear to comment on or develop arguments from the authorities. Thus in the passage on the various types of manslaughter the following note occurs:

> Malificos autem non occidit homo, sed lex. Si autem minister legis aliquem occiderit secundum legem, sed pocius liuore uindicte quam zelo iusticie, grauiter peccat; sub trahens uictus corporis ab aliquo tempore necessitatis extreme, cui dare posset, homicida dicitur. (H. 27.24-8)

This appears to be a practical, if idiosyncratic, contribution from the compiler. However it should be remembered that a small percentage of the authorities cited by the compiler are not to be found (or have yet to be found) in the Cibus Anime so that the possibility of a further source having been used remains open. The compiler works steadily through the first book of the Cibus Anime, re-arranging the material so that the section ends with the two Evangelical Commandments rather than the general exhortations to obey which are found in Cibus Anime. Once again the compiler is concerned with pedagogic efficiency. He prefers to end on a strong note with a memorable encapsulation of the spirit of the law, thus further supporting the distinction between his practical view of the material and the more academic arrangement of it found in his source. In fact the tabula ends with the quotations from Chrysostom and Gregory (two particular favourites of the compiler) emphasising forcefully the importance of loving one's neighbour as well as God:

Gregorius: Nec deus sine proximo, nec proximus
were diligitur sine deo. (H. 39.29-30)

On this epigrammatic note, the tabula comes to an enigmatic end.

VI

Tercia Tabula

For his third tabula, the compiler turned to the end of the second book of the Cibus Anime. The organisation of the Speculum Christiani, probably influenced by other manuals of a similar nature, elevates this material to a level of importance which it does not enjoy in the source.[26] The form of the Speculum emphasises the primacy of the rudiments of the faith in any teaching scheme. The Cibus Anime, however, places much less store by the Works of Mercy and the Virtues. Indeed the chapter on the Virtues (cap. 63) may not even have been part of the work as originally produced for, as I have argued above, there is evidence to suggest that the work may originally have concluded at Chapter 62.[27] The compiler borrows heavily from the chapters on the Works of Mercy, placing particular emphasis on the spiritual works.

Moving on from the Virtues, he includes a discussion of what happens at the deaths of just and wicked men. As an encouragement to a good life this is pedagogically and didactically effective, particularly in the contrast between the two states. He is able to achieve this by juxtaposing three chapters from Cibus Anime book 2; chapters 34 (just men) and chapters 27 and 8 (wicked men) thus making manifest a parallel which was implicit but unstated in their original context. These considerations lead naturally to a discussion of the Last Judgement and of the

fate that awaits all mankind. The Last Judgement is presented in strongly visual terms. Particularly effective is a quotation from Chrysostom which moves from a narrative of events to a presentation of the highly personal pangs of conscience to be suffered:

> Nam uirtutes celi mouebuntur: a dextris erunt peccata accusancia, a sinistris infinita demonia, subtus chaos horrendum inferni, desuper iudex iratus, intus consciencia urens, ubi uix iustus saluabitur. (H. 55.2-5)

It is interesting to note that the compiler refrains from discussing the Joys of Heaven at this point, even though they would follow naturally on account of the just man's death and are in fact found in the adjacent chapter in Cibus Anime. The omission is almost certainly a deliberate one as the Joys of Heaven are used to exemplify the vernacular 'sermon' in tabula 5.

VII

Quarta Tabula

As in tabula 2, the Deadly Sins are each introduced by a vernacular quatrain.[28] There seems to be no evidence of independent circulation of these verses before their conclusion in the Speculum, although this does not, of course, mean that they were specially composed for the compilation.[29] The verses also survive in Richard Hill's commonplace book (Oxford, Balliol College MS. 354), but it is unclear whether they were extracted from a copy of the Speculum or are witness to independent circulation.[30] Hill's book is largely copied from other collections of material, so that he might have used the Speculum, but the absence of any accompanying material (such as a selection

of Latin authorities) often found in other excerpts from the Speculum makes it difficult to decide either way.[31]

This kind of formulation of the Deadly Sins was a commonplace of lyrical writing as we have seen in chapter 3. Given the popularity of such verses it is unlikely that a fully documentable history of these quatrains will be possible except within the context of their inclusion in the larger compilation.[32]

The authenticity of the initial couplet found in most manuscripts and printed by Holmstedt is uncertain. It does not appear in Balliol 354, nor in eight copies of the Speculum.[33] Although four of these occur in the C textual group, it is possible that the absence of the couplet in these manuscripts could be through omission, either accidental or deliberate. Unlike the couplet prefacing the Decalogue verses, this couplet is consistent with the form and rhyme scheme of the other verses (couplets grouped as quatrains) and serves to introduce and comment on the use of the first person pronoun:

> Ho-so wil haue helle
> Do as y him telle. (H. 59.2-3)

Each sin describes itself, but although a comparison with the personified sins in Piers Plowman has been suggested by commentators, there is really very little similarity between them. The quatrains serve to encapsulate basic modes of behaviour commonly associated with the sin and are largely mnemonic in purpose. The first person narration is less an attempt at dramatisation than at emphasising that all men are prone to their temptations. They are not so much personified as personalised with the intention of increasing the immediacy of their impact.

Unlike the Cibus Anime which has for each sin a chapter discussing the filie of each sin and its characteristic attributes followed by a chapter detailing the remedia for its various manifestations, the Speculum Christiani presents a single series of authorities. The 'editing' process in the Speculum extends to conflating material which Cibus Anime carefully segregates into categories 'De ...' and 'Contra ...'. Thus at H. 59.17 occurs a quotation from Augustine which is extracted from the list of remedia in Cibus Anime. In the Speculum it is sandwiched between two highly affective extracts from Bernard, while in many manuscripts several selections of remedia are unrubricated and lamely follow the discussion of tithes in tabula 8.[34] However, the compiler is not merely intent on simplifying and condensing his material. He also adds to his original source when relevant material is available from elsewhere in the Cibus Anime. The quatrain introducing Invidia mentions 'backbiting':

> I banne and bakbite wykkydli. (H. 61.10)

Although backbiting is mentioned in the Cibus Anime with reference to this sin, the fullest discussion of it in the work occurs in book one, chapter 26 (Contra detractores). Consequently it is to this chapter that the Speculum's compiler turns for the section headed Contra detractores. Under the heading Ira occurs what appears to be another editorial interpolation. Following comments on the moral danger of anger is the note:

> Homo ergo iratus fugiendus est sicut canis rabiosus uel leo excitatus. Sed nota hic, quod quando homo non vult facere malum,quod caro concupiscit, non delectatur in cogitacionibus peccati,set reluctatur eis detestando eas,tunc purgacio anime sunt et corona. (H. 63.14-18)

This even tempered gloss seems characteristic of the editor's compassionate approach to problems of this nature. Under Avaricia, he cites Robert Grosseteste in connection with evil doing. Although not in the Cibus Anime at this point, this auctor does appear in chapter 35 of book 1 (De dampnis periculis que homines falsi et iniusti incurrunt) which is not immediately relevant in this context. However as he also uses the same quotation in the seventh tabula (in context at that point) this may merely be an example of the literature of reminiscence. The compiler's humanity (and perhaps his sense of humour) are evident at the end of the tabula, where he rounds off his survey of the sins with quotations against despair and speaking in eager terms of God's inexhaustible mercy. Once again he finishes with an image of thought-provoking beauty: 'Sicut scintilla ignis in medio maris, sic omnis impietas uiri ad misericordiam dei' (H. 73.24-5).[35]

VIII

Quinta Tabula

The so-called vernacular 'prose sermon' which forms the basis of the fifth tabula has been shown by Miss Allen (following a suggestion by G.R. Owst) to be similar in structure to chapter 6 of Rolle's Form of Living, although the differences are such that neither text (as printed) can be derived from the other.[36] Holmstedt's note on the relationship with the Form of Living argues strongly against a direct relationship between the two texts because the sin lists in Speculum Christiani, although containing similar material to the Form, preserve it in a different

order.[37] It is perhaps significant that the metrical version of the Form attributed to Nassington is much closer to Rolle's text as printed by Allen than the Speculum Christiani, illustrating that text's dependence on the prose original, although it remains possible that the compiler of the Speculum used a corrupt or deviant copy of the Form, especially considering the popularity of the text.[38] Furthermore the sin lists are the part of the text most likely to be adapted and expanded to suit an original design or new context. Having chosen the basic schema for its mnemonic worth, the Speculum's compiler may have decided to alter some of its details. For example, the Speculum includes excessive eating and drinking under Peccata Oris which is consistent with his strong line on gluttony and self-indulgence displayed elsewhere in the text.[39] Despite the use made of the Compendium Theologicae Veritatis in Cibus Anime and reference to it elsewhere in the Speculum, the sin lists included there are not as closely related to those found in Speculum as they are to the Form.[40]

Holmstedt argues that the quotation from Ecclesiasticus 7 at H. 107.1 illustrates that the Rolle version cannot be a direct source because he cites it in English and the Speculum cites it in Latin.[41] This is a potent objection, although it should be remembered that the compiler's consistent policy is to cite all his quotations in Latin. More potent, however, is the fact that this quotation falls among several that have not been identified from the Cibus Anime, although one of these is from the same chapter of Ecclesiasticus, perhaps suggesting that the compiler went back to his Bible to turn the quotation into Latin

and found another suitable quotation in the same chapter although the phrase is such a commonplace of moral writing that he may well have been familiar with its Latin form. Further, as Holmstedt rightly points out, the deviations between Rolle and the Speculum in the third section (the things which keep a man clean from sin) are so wide that it appears impossible that one should be directly related to the other, although the first two sections are very similar. Whereas Rolle goes on to discuss abstinence and self denial, the Speculum has three extra subdivisions: 'onest occupacion and profitabil', 'bisynes to kepe þi fyue wittes fro alle wikkid þinge' and 'ofte and gladli to here and rede goddis wordis and holi scripture'. This last is, of course, a particular obsession of the Speculum's compiler and he backs it with the much quoted Gregorian text 'Cibus mentibus est sermo dei' (H. 109.11), while the second additional section allows the introduction of the five Wits, commonly found in elementary manuals and hitherto missing from the Speculum.[42] The most likely explanations for these combined differences and similarities (the fourth section is very close to Rolle) are either that both Rolle and the Speculum go back to a common source as yet unknown (as Allen and Holmstedt argue) in addition to the Compendium Theologicae Veritatis; or that the text preserved in the Speculum is a deliberate reworking of Rolle (possibly using other sources as well); or that the Speculum's compiler had access only to a corrupt copy of the Form which had itself been subject to revision.

The claims made by Pfander, Owst, Holmstedt and, more recently, Jeffrey that the work was designed for homiletic use

all place great emphasis on this tabula in their arguments. 'There can be no doubt that the fifth tabula is meant to be a sermon. The preacher begins by entreating his audience to listen attentively and consider well what he has to say to them and he addresses them directly' wrote Holmstedt.[43] Yet the parallel with Rolle's schema suggests that there is room for very considerable doubt over the use of the prose work. Thus, although, as Holmstedt points out, the tone of the address at the outset is plural, this is hardly firm or conclusive evidence that the work was designed for oral performance as it is hardly more than a rendering of the Latin formula 'Ecce Karissimi' widespread in epistolary use and found frequently in Cibus Anime, an example of which is transposed from that source to the end of this very section of the Speculum.[44] Furthermore, the subject matter discussed under the schematised headings, the concern with sin (including elaborate and lengthy sin lists) and the concentration on penitential cleansing, on despair and presumption and on the pains of hell and joys of heaven suggest that it is designed more for confessional use than for public exposition. Indeed the final exhortation, which Holmstedt claims 'might also very well suit a sermon', exemplifies the intimate tone which characterises the whole tabula:

> Ecce, karissime, nunc habes ante te bonum et malum, lucem et tenebras, diem et noctem, potes eligere, quod vis. (H. 123.11-12)

The compiler's choice of this vernacular text gives us further evidence of his eagerness to provide easily accessible tools for his audience. The basic schema is announced at the outset (much as the 'sex thinges' in Gaytryge's instructions are

enumerated at the beginning of that work). There are four main divisions of the text, three of which have three further subdivisions. The third main section is subdivided into six, thus establishing a tripartite division as the basic structural principle, a valuable mnemonic aid. As the table shows, each section of the vernacular text has been provided by the compiler with supporting authorities from the Cibus Anime. Unfortunately, because some sections have only one or two authorities, it has proved impossible to locate the source chapters for all the quotations but the majority have been identified. The anomalous D1.14.26 (III) which is either an independent reworking of material in the Cibus Anime manuscript tradition or a transitional stage between Cibus Anime and Speculum Christiani preserves the vernacular text without any of the Latin authorities, which may suggest the form in which it was assimilated into the textual family.[45]

The authorities he supplies in support of the list of Peccata Cordis are drawn from chapters of the Cibus Anime connected with the ninth commandment and in fact duplicate many of the quotations he uses in his discussion of it in tabula 2.[46] However, the compiler carefully provides a link between the vernacular and the Latin authorities which emphasises the particular relevance of the quotations at this point: 'De istis dicit dominus in euangelio' (H. 83.1). He is effectively extending the range of the authorities from their precise application to adultery in Cibus Anime and the second tabula, to all 'sins of heart'. The section on Peccata Oris predictably draws on the chapters concerned with 'manslaughter of the tongue'

in Cibus Anime. The compiler's treatment of the different types of manslaughter in tabula 2 is too cursory to allow for extensive citation of authorities and there is no duplication between the sections. The Peccata Operis ends with a criticism of those who do not repent their sins but live on in them 'presumptuosli in trust of merci' (H. 101.2). This encourages the compiler to include a section of authorities headed Contra presumpcionem.

The opening of the second section (Hec tria lauant christianum ab omni peccato), concerned with contrition, confession and satisfaction,is backed by three quotations, each drawn from a different chapter of the Cibus Anime and none of which occurs elsewhere in the Speculum. That the compiler should be able to assemble these texts from the chapters dealing with Penance is a tribute to his intimate acquaintance with the source.

The compiler's decision to use material from book 2 chapter 33 (De gaudiis celi) in this tabula rather than earlier in the Speculum has already been discussed, but it is worth noting how closely he relates his Latin authorities to the vernacular text. The fourth section, 'What urges a Man to Obey God' contains the instruction to 'ofte and ynderli þenke on the wondirful blisse of þe hye kyngdom of heuene and also on the dredeful and orible payne of þe depe pit of helle' (H. 115.16-18). The compiler follows this with the Joys of Heaven, and the Pains of Hell (drawn from book 2, chapters 33 and 25 respectively), bringing these two sections from Cibus Anime together for dramatic effect. Once again, as in previous sections, the compiler has a preference for quotations which appeal to the

visual awareness of his audience and the evocations of Heaven and Hell are remarkable for the way in which they assault the senses to create a vivid image of the two states.[47]

The section headed Contra desperacionem draws from the same chapter used by the compiler to discuss God's mercy at the end of the tabula on the Deadly Sins and there is some duplication of material, although it is interesting to note that two of the repeated authorities, from Augustine, likening wickedness to 'a sparke in the mydel of the see', and from Jerome, concerning Judas' suicide, are strongly visual images and as such are perhaps especially valued by the compiler for their didactic and affective force. Unlike the earlier duplication of material on the ninth commandment, the compiler here displays a wider use of the relevant chapters of his source. The effect of this compiler's work in this tabula is to transform a simple schema into a much richer and more versatile instrument of pastoral care, providing it with carefully selected authorities tailored to the sections of the vernacular work. Thus the vernacular text can be read on its own or with the assistance of the quotations to interpret it or to bring vividly to life its rather abstract treatment of the problems facing Christians in their attempts to live good lives.

Despite the apparently fragmentary nature of the quotations, he is characteristically careful to provide editorial link passages with comment on or highlight particular aspects of their teaching. Thus the section De consciencia, added by the compiler to the sections on Heaven and Hell, is not directly related to the vernacular text, but rather relates to the tabula's

general theme of penance and repentance. Essential to a cultivated conscience is self knowledge and the compiler therefore supplies a quotation from Bernard found in book 2 chapter 61 (De differencia inter sapienciam et scientiam) making its relevance apparent by the bridge phrase 'Multi querunt sciencia, pauci vero consciencia' (H. 123.6). This move from general to particular exhortation, from the universal church to the individual Christian, prepares for the intimacy of the peroration with which the tabula closes, and for its emphasis on individual choice and personal responsibility.

The compiler found this peroration at the end of chapter 62 of book 2 of Cibus Anime (or later in some manuscripts) where it probably marks the original end of that work's exposition of the basic truths of the faith.[48] Its position at this point in the Speculum is not only a reflection on the compendious quality of the fifth tabula, containing the recipe for a good life under four headings, but also suggests the end of a phase of the larger work. For if the peroration is seen as applying not only to its immediate context but also to the preceding tabulae, this point marks the end of the basic syllabus of instruction. If Pecham's decrees had any impact on the structure of the Speculum, it is this point, rather than the end of the fourth tabula as Holmstedt suggests, that marks the fulfilment of this basic design. The material which follows is either more general in its moral teaching (like the Four Philosophers) or more specific in its intended audience (like tabula 7 and the opening section of tabula 8, geared specifically for the instruction of the clergy). Some measure of the success of this tabula as a

vehicle for private devotion and self examination is its inclusion (along with the ladders usually found at the beginning of the eighth tabula) in a collection of private devotions in Latin and English now C.U.L. Add. 3042.[49] This manuscript, dating from early in the fifteenth century, was part of the Brent Fleigh collection of manuscripts. Like many of the Speculum manuscripts, the dialect forms suggest a provenance in East Central Lincolnshire.[50] The ladders and tabula have probably been excerpted from the Speculum (rather than being evidence of an independent separate circulation) because many (but not all) of the Latin authorities associated with the vernacular text in the Speculum are also present in this manuscript, although they have been translated into English. The translations are so literal and stilted that they seem to be little more than transliterations of the Latin. The collection also contains the Hours of the Spirit and Rolle's Meditation on the Passion.

IX

Sexta Tabula

Holmstedt expended considerable effort in attempting to trace the source of this strange collection of vernacular proverbs and Latin authorities, and his account of this tabula is the fullest part of his discussion of the work's contents.[51] He establishes the proverbial nature of the vernacular tags and discusses their use in satirical poems, arguing that the well-known satirical poem against Edward II is the probable source of the sayings in the Speculum. My own researches have not thrown any more light on this problem except to establish that

the Speculum's compiler did not have to look outside the manuscript tradition of the Cibus Anime to find the sayings, for they occur in two closely related manuscripts of that work, Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341.[52] Both these versions agree with the version printed in the Speculum Christiani as far as H. 131.16. Here they part company and the Cibus Anime manuscripts have three extra authorities while the compiler of the Speculum rounds off his tabula with a selection of material from book 2 chapter 31 of Cibus Anime (Quod bona opera in mortali peccato facta valent ad tria). One manuscript of the Speculum, Laud Misc. 513, provides marginal attempts to solve the riddling tags, supplied by a hand slightly later than that responsible for the main text. These solutions are similar to, but not the same as those provided in the poem printed by Holmstedt from the Auchinleck manuscript.[53]

What function this tabula was meant to serve in the compilation is not immediately apparent. The proverbial force of the vernacular tags provide a conveniently memorable and suitably elliptical vehicle for criticisms of contemporary society. Because of the immediacy of the criticisms made, it may be that the satirical/political associations of the verses were themselves an attraction. The didactic popularity of the schema is attested and perhaps explained by the inclusion of a version of it in the Gesta Romanorum.[54] The criticisms of society made in the version found in the Cibus Anime/Speculum Christiani tradition include restatements of many of the recurrent concerns of the Speculum's compiler. Thus under 'lyȝte is nyȝte' the authorities criticise the giving of bad example, especially

among prelates and priests (Gregorius in primo Pastorali : Tot mortibus digni sunt, quot ad subditos suos perdicionis exempla transmittunt. (H. 125-16-18)), and the paramount importance of loving one's neighbour. This covers much the same ground as the prologue to the Speculum. Indeed one of the 'unidentified' quotations which follow the extract from Ignorantia Sacerdotum in the prologue (Gregorius : Sacerdotes populorum iniquitate dampnantur, si eos aut ignorantes non erudiant aut peccantes non arguant. (H. 7.11-12)) is also found in this section (H. 127.4-5). Similarly, several of the sayings of the fourth philosopher (wil is rede, wit is qued) are followed by quotations lamenting the decay of wisdom and sound doctrine and the advance of ignorance, a few of which are found elsewhere in the Speculum. Part of the attraction of the sayings for the compiler may have been their economic rehearsal of teaching expressed more diffusely elsewhere in the work.

The presence of the Philosophers in manuscripts of the Gibus Anime does not solve the problem of their ultimate source. However it does seem likely that the Latin authorities which support the vernacular tags are themselves drawn from the Gibus Anime.[55] The borrowings are less systematic and more difficult to pin down than with the rest of the Speculum Christiani, and as, with the exception of the tailpiece from 2.31 of the Gibus Anime (H. 131.16-26), the selection of authorities was probably complete before the text was included in the Speculum, no attempt has been made systematically to identify the source chapters. The additional material at the end of the tabula develops the discussion of Deadly Sin found

in the exposition of the fourth philosopher's sayings. It is typical of the compiler that he should balance the pessimistic prognostications of the philosopher with more positive material. Thus while admitting that good works executed while in a state of mortal sin cannot avail him to obtain everlasting life, they can reduce suffering in hell, or lead to repentance or improve their life on earth. Finally he ends on a strongly optimistic note:

> Item credendum est, quod diabolus non habet in eis tantam potestatem, quantam haberet, si malum semper exercerent. (H. 131.26-8)

X

Septima Tabula

The key to this text's presence in the compilation lies in the fact that it provides an easily memorable summary of the contents of the rest of the compilation, including mnemonic listings of the Decalogue and the Deadly Sins.[56] In this case the poem operates like the verse reading-texts discussed earlier or like the Peniteas cito or Summula Raymundi, and the auctoritates can be compared with the glosses which often accompanied the verse texts.[57] The poem is explicitly aimed at priests with cure: 'He calles euery man a kyng / þat here has cure or gouerninge' (H. 133.8-9). It criticises them for not teaching and for vainglory. The poem also claims to be useful to all men:

> Þat schulde other rule teche or ken
> Opir bodili or gostli
> to þayme he spekis speciali. (H. 133.5-7)

The poet may be referring to lay teachers responsible for teaching the children of the parish the rudiments of the faith, and, because of the emphasis in the Speculum's prologue on the responsibility of every Christian to teach, and the distinction drawn between teaching and preaching, it may be that the compiler found that this admirably concise formulation of the basic syllabus served his pedagogic purpose well. In addition to listing the rudiments, the poem speaks out strongly against the temptations of the world, and in several manuscripts is headed by the descriptive rubric Mores mundiales.[58]

Holmstedt compares this section to tabula 5 and claims 'It is, without doubt, intended as an English sermon...' (p. cxc). Once again this seems unlikely given the vehement address to those who have cure of souls. The possibility of the text being a sermon originally preached to clergy can, I think, be safely discounted by the rudimentary and schematic listing of material which forms the bulk of the vernacular text.

We can be confident that the compiler, as in other sections of the Speculum, supplied the Latin authorities which are interspersed throughout the vernacular text although, once again, some of them have not yet been identified in the Cibus Anime. Two manuscripts preserve the tabula on its own, Dd.14.26 (III) (discussed in detail below) and Harley 2388, both of which belong to Holmstedt's textual grouping C_3 (which also contains two manuscripts of the Cibus Anime). This group is notable for the inclusion of an extra Exemplum printed by Holmstedt as an appendix.[59]

As already mentioned, the vernacular text opens with a discussion of the responsibility of men to teach and care for

those in their charge, and a denunciation of their common failings. Not surprisingly the authorities to support this are drawn from book 1 chapter 3 of the Cibus Anime (Tria sunt genera elemosinarum) also used by the compiler in the prologue to the Speculum. The quotation from Gregory used at this point (Nulla sacrificium ita deo placet sicut zelus animarum) also occurs in the prologue (H. 5.26-7) and as the final quotation of the whole compilation, rounding off the compiler's exhortation to work ceaselessly for the common good (H. 241.15-16). This triple appearance serves as a reminder that the work's 'sentence' remains constant even though its various sections approach the problem of pastoral care and religious education in different ways.

The compiler is more sparing in his use of quotations in this section than in many others, and he seems content to let the vernacular text do the bulk of the didactic work. Indeed many of the quotations do not (as in some other tabulae) expand upon the hints provided by the poem, or introduce ideas only tangentially related for the sake of completeness. Rather they content themselves with supporting or mirroring it, sometimes providing the source used by the author of the vernacular text:

> Who so þer for his frend wil be
> Enmy to god ful euene is he.
>
> Apostolus: Qui uult amicus esse huius seculi, inimicus dei constituitur. (H. 141.6-9)

As this is one of the unidentified authorities, it may be that the compiler supplied this from the Epistles because he recognised the poet's allusion.

His insertion of authorities is not an entirely random process and he displays some awareness of the poem's structure, which he highlights. Thus at H. 141.10, after the initial discussion of the world's temptations, the vernacular poet moves to a closer analysis of its dangers:

> þis world we may wel knowe and kenne
> be þe maner of worldli mene, (H. 141.10-11)

and lists the behavioural hallmarks of various types of worldly people. This listing is broken up into units by a rhetorical use of 'Cumme' and, alerted to this fact the compiler uses the natural breaks between these sections to include his authorities. Each section thus contains a balance of vernacular and Latin and is sufficiently self contained to be useful for meditation or informal instruction, while the overriding structure of the poem remains sufficiently clear to allow a complete reading. Once again the compiler has been careful to choose a text which is valuable in a number of pedagogic contexts.

The section on worldly wisdom (H. 143.7-14) is supported by two quotations from book 1 chapter 35 of Gibus Anime which are also used in tabula 2 in the discussion of the seventh commandment (H. 31.15-16, 31.21-33.2). The following section on the enjoyment of bodily delights (H. 145.1-13) uses materials from book 2 chapter 17 and only one of these quotations (from Jerome, H. 145.7-8) is used elsewhere in the Speculum (H. 29.3-5, H. 69.9-11). These passages illustrate the difficulty in pinning down the compiler's use of his source. The repetition of material might suggest a deliberate borrowing from other sections of the Speculum, while the use of new material argues for fresh consultation of the source which further suggests that

the repetitions may be accidental and that the repeated quotations may have been freshly chosen for each appearance. It is, however, unlikely that the compiler would have been at all concerned to eliminate such repetitions as his concern was primarily for efficacy rather than elegance. Moreover, as has been suggested above, although there are clear links between the various tabulae and certain recurrent ideas running throughout the work, it seems probable that the eight sections were potentially capable of operating independently of each other (as the separate circulation of several sections suggests), and in this case repetition of material from one section to another is clearly not important. The repetition of certain quotations does, however, offer us a glimpse of the compiler's taste which seems to have been either for strongly visual and dramatic statements or for forceful rhetorical denunciations.

Following the listings of worldly temptations the poem moves to their avoidance:

> He may be callid bope witti and wys
> þat worldeli maneris can wel despise, (H. 149.4-5)

and lists the evils which abound there. Although the wise men can keep God's law and abide by his biddings many are seduced by the superficial attraction of worldly delights. The poem's final phase opens in the contemptus mundi style beloved of the lyrics:

> In þe world what ellis se we
> but wrechidnesse and vanite. (H. 151.11-12)

It lists the characteristic failings of the world using an anaphorical structure. As the rubrics in most manuscripts point out, these sinful activities are deliberate inversions of

the Commandments and energetic fulfilments of the descriptions of the Deadly Sins.[60] The use of the Decalogue and the Sins here serves not only to illustrate their relative positions in the world (abused and obeyed) but also to present them in a slightly different context from their usual bald mnemonic listings. By illustrating the neglect of the Commandments and the prevalence of the Deadly Sins the poet provides a new perspective on the problem of living a good Christian life, one which is rarely presented in such manuals of instruction and one which clearly provides a number of didactic and pedagogic possibilities.

The poem and tabula end with a stern reminder of the transience of all earthly goods:

> For all þe riches . and welthe of þis land
> schal turne to erthe and muk stinkand. (H. 157.6-7)

The final authorities emphasise the importance of preparing for death as an antidote to worldly temptation:

> Fili, memorare nouissima tua,et in eternum non peccabis! (H. 159.5-6)

and in a (probably editorial) comment this famous quotation is further glossed to bring it in line with the teaching of this final section:

> Nouissima dicit pluraliter, id est memorare, quid erit de tuis rebus, de tuo corpore et de tua anima. (H. 159.6-7)

Octava Tabula

The final tabula is by far the most difficult section of the book for which to provide a satisfactory account of its development. Unlike most other tabulae it lacks any unity of

subject matter and appears disparate. More significantly it lacks the agreed contents characteristic of the rest of the work. The contents of the eighth tabula are particularly volatile at the end of the section, where many manuscripts contain much more than the text printed by Holmstedt.[61]

Holmstedt's explanation for this plethora of extra material was that the eighth tabula evolved gradually by a process of accretion and deliberate expansion by various scribes, each addition being eventually subsumed into the main text by the simple device of moving the explicit.[62] Although this may be true for the material which occurs after the printed ending of the text at H. 241.16, this explanation is less satisfactory for the bulk of the tabula which is not prone to such textual fluctuations. Holmstedt's suggestion that the tabula originally ended with the ladders to heaven and hell, on the evidence that the running titles usually end at this point is implausible for a number of reasons. First there is the absence of any copy of the work preserving this truncated form. Although not conclusive evidence against his proposition, this seems surprising if we are to accept his theory of gradual evolution of the work beyond this point, as a number of variably longer and shorter copies would probably have survived had this been the way in which the text had developed. Second, his claim (p. cxciii) that 'most of the Mss' indicate by running titles the number of the tabula up to the ladders 'but no further' is not borne out by my own examination of them. Thirdly, even if this rubricating policy had been consistently executed, this would not in itself support his contention as it would be capable of other interpretations; since the eighth tabula is the last in the work,

there is no need to distinguish it from succeeding sections (especially in the manuscripts which contain only the Speculum). Thus, once the running title has effectively indicated the change from the seventh tabula to the eighth it is redundant and can safely be discarded.

While accepting that the ladders would make an appropriate ending for the work with their helpfully visual and compactly schematic presentation of Virtues and Vices,[63] this terminal neatness belies the fact that the compiler's selective borrowings from Cibus Anime and in his care in linking them to vernacular texts earlier in the work has left him with a large number of important but unrelated subjects which must be included in the work if it is to fulfil its apparent purpose of providing sub brevibus material useful for those involved in preaching and teaching (particularly those with the cura animarum). The urge for completeness perhaps got the better of the desire for neatness in the eighth tabula; the description of the tabula in the introductory section Octo Tabule does not reflect, as Holmstedt suggests, the incremental expansion of the work described by various scribes. Rather, as I have suggested in discussing Octo Tabule, the description may have been influenced by the rubrica in Cibus Anime. Furthermore the entry 'Item sequuntur plura alia notabilia bona' is an improbably vague addition, and is far more likely to be scribal resignation in the face of the diverse and largely random material which makes up the bulk of the tabula.[64]

Many copies of the Speculum omit parts of the eighth tabula, but these omissions are never of significant or coherent

portions of it, which might encourage the belief in distinct stages of the section's development. Rather the omissions are of individual subsections and particularly prone to such omission are the various Latin and vernacular prayers and hymns, which by their very nature are susceptible to removal and replacement according to individual whim in a way that the rest of the material is not. The vernacular prayer to the Virgin found in most manuscripts invokes her assistance in living a good life, keeping the Commandments and avoiding the Deadly Sins and promising prayer to continue in this state.[65] Thus, it neatly coincides with the particularly interests of the compilation. The inclusion in the manuscripts of the C_3 group of the hymn Gaude flore virginali and two extra latin prayers exactly illustrates the potential flexibility of devotional material and the inevitable scribal tendency to add to it, or to substitute new material.[66]

The placing of the Latin hymns at the end of the main text in Ff.1.14 and Hatton 97, according to Holmstedt, 'may be taken to prove that the scribe was of the opinion that they were more suitable at the end of the treatise' (p. cxciv). In fact the dislocation of this material in both copies (which are derived 'from one manuscript' (H. p. cxlix)) is due to the insertion of new material. Thus the rubric for Hatton 97 at this point (folio 18 verso) reads Octava tabula quod duplex est oracio. The inserted material is a definition of two forms of prayer (public and private) drawn from a treatise on the Canonical Hours also in both manuscripts, and recurring elsewhere in the textual tradition. Indeed in Ff.1.14 the scribe has avoided

repetition of material by referring his readers to the main treatise in a rubric at the beginning of the tabula: Octava tabula De duabus orationibus require in fine libri et sequitur hic de duabus scalis (folio 48 recto).[67]

The ladders found at this point in most manuscripts are also found in one copy of the Gibus Anime. In Trinity Hall 16 they occur with the Peccata Britonum and occupy a full page (folio 93 recto). Holmstedt's account of the ladders (p. cxci) and his frontispiece from Parker's B.L. Add. 22121, showing the ladders, are misleading. The Trinity Hall ladders and most other copies have the uprights of the ladders labelled. In the case of the Scala Celi, they are called Fides and Spes (which appear as rungs in Holmstedt's account) and in the Scala Inferni they are labelled Superbia and Larga Conscientia. In addition the Trinity Hall copy contains descriptive rubrics introducing the ladders which are not found elsewhere. The Scala Celi is headed:

> Hec scala ducit homines ad celum
> Qui vivendo ascendunt palos eius.

The Scala Inferni is headed:

> Hec scala ducit homines ad infernum
> Si qui sint qui descendunt per palos eiusdem.

Each ladder has its ultimate destination indicated in red; Celum at the top of one and, Infernum, appropriately, at the bottom of the other. This might be described as the normal form of the ladders in Speculum manuscripts, although there are wide variations in the standard of execution and draughtsmanship between the most carefully drawn and rubricated copies (as in Hh.1.13) and the hastily drawn and scrappily presented versions

also found (as in T.C.D. 159). The more remote origins of the ladders have proved elusive. Their simple, strikingly visual presentation of the framework of a good life is unlike the more elaborate symbolic use of ladders in art and iconography where they usually appear in illustrations of Jacob's dream.[68] But, like so much of the Speculum's contents, their existence in a copy of the Cibus Anime suggests that the compiler did not need to venture far from his usual sources to encounter this unusual summary of his compilation's basic teaching. Indeed it probably appealed to him because, like the various vernacular pieces he included, it provided a vivid and memorable formulation of the progressive nature of Virtue and Vice. In particular it emphasises obedience to the Commandments (and its opposite) and the dangers of ignorance, as well as encouraging 'paciencia in adversis', all themes which frequently recur in the Speculum. Furthermore, one of the rungs on the ladder to hell is Ignorancia, to combat which is the avowed aim of the compilation.

It was presumably their schematic versatility which provoked the inclusion of the ladders in C.U.L. Add. 3042, a devotional miscellany which also includes an English translation of the fifth tabula.[69] Several copies reduce the ladders to simple schemata by the omission of the rungs and uprights, presenting the various stages in a simple list. In Pembroke, Cambridge 285, for example, only the first and last rung of each ladder is indicated (folio 27 verso) and both destinations are at the top of their respective lists (unlike Trinity Hall). In Sidney Sussex 55, no framework has been provided, although the lists are referred to as Scala in the rubric. Similarly the early

printed editions merely list the contents and dispense with the framework.[70] But the overwhelming evidence of the manuscripts is that the ladders were deliberately presented as such to provide simple visual mnemonic, and are omitted only in 3 manuscripts (excluding imperfect copies), two of which (Harley 6580 and Lansdowne 344) are the two closely related copied used by Holmstedt in his edition and the third (Harley 2250) which is defective in many other ways, suggesting that the omission of the ladders (and the Latin orisons, as well as the whole vernacular part of tabula 7) was probably not a deliberate or conscious editorial or scribal decision.

The eighth tabula contains the most extensive deviation from the compiler's usual procedure of drawing most of his Latin material from the Cibus Anime, notably in a series of instructions concerned specifically with the clergy and their duties. These instructions, which emphasise the qualities necessary for the priesthood and the significance of his sacramental duties, form a block of material immediately following the prayers and ladders which open the eighth tabula in most complete manuscripts of the Speculum (H. 171.1-185.15). We have seen above how the clerical miscellanies frequently include texts designed to educate the priest not merely for his role as teacher, but also in the importance of the example provided by his life and of the correct execution of his priestly responsibilities. In its most developed form, such information formed the basis of texts such as Mirk's Manuale Sacerdotis and the Speculum Sacerdotis, not to mention the Dextera Pars of the Oculus Sacerdotis.[71]

Not surprisingly the compiler does not seem to have strayed very far from texts intimately associated with the Cibus Anime

in his decision to include this pragmatic advice. The sacerdotal instructions are apparently drawn from longer treatise on the same subject preserved in that enigmatically significant manuscript Royal 5 A.VI which, as we have seen, apart from containing the complete third book of the Libus animæ also contains various extracts from the Speculum.[72] This tract on priestly duties is, however, not a selection of material from the Speculum. Nor is it a combination of that material with other quotations to form a new compilation. It seems unlikely that the treatise is a re-arrangement of material taken from the Speculum for a number of reasons. First the text of the treatise as found in the Royal manuscript has a clear sequential progression of chapters and a logical development of arguments. Thus although both texts have the chapters De claustralibus soli deo militantibus (cap. 17, ll. 183), in the Royal treatise it forms part of an extended discussion of poverty (starting in cap. 16 Quod tres sunt gradus paupertatis). It follows criticism of the friars (folio 12 recto Contra fratres) and is immediately followed by a return to the subject of poverty itself (folio 13 recto: Sed qui paupertatis miserias pacienter sustinet).[73] In the Speculum the discussion is sandwiched between praise of the effects of the Eucharist and various admonitions to flee vicious actions. There is no thematic relationship between these sections.

Similarly the opening six chapters of the treatise present a panoramic view of priestly duties, including a vitriolic attack on bad priests (cap. 3) which seeks to emphasise the damage done to the universal faith:

> Lincolniensis: Sicut boni pastores fuerunt per orbem causa dilatationis christiane fidei et religionis; sic mali pastores sunt causa minutionis eiusdem fidei et religionis. Mali pastores sunt mactatores.... (folio 3 recto)

This discussion of the spiritual effects of negligence leads naturally into a discussion of the worldly tendencies which are often a major cause of spiritual failure (cap 4: De mercenariis):

> Mercenarii sunt qui curam animarum suscipiunt non quia cupiunt regere et custodire ecclesiam dei in iusticia et sanctitate, sed quia volunt divites fieri et in altitudine mundana pre aliis honorari et ideo incidunt in laqueum et in temptationem diaboli. (folio 3 verso, cf. H. 171.25-8)

From here it moves to a more positive statement of things that are 'nedful to curates'.[74]

The Speculum conflates this carefully articulated argument by omitting the second and third capitula, which, although not damaging the overall sense of the argument, has the effect of emphasising the more pragmatic aspects of clerical corruption. Indeed, so akin are the first and fourth chapters that in most copies of the Speculum they are conflated into one section and De mercenariis is not considered worthy of a separate rubric.[75]

Moreover the process of conflation and selection dictates the omission from the Speculum of several other chapters. Chapters 12-14, for example, appear to have been omitted on the grounds that the material they contains is sufficiently fully treated elsewhere in the Speculum. Chapter 13 (De receptione elemosinarum) merely gives a more clerical bias to material discussed in the section Tria sunt genera elemosinarum at the opening of the Speculum (H. 5). Chapter 14, given a clerical twist in the index Quod ministri ecclesie debent omnino cavere

ne expendant bona ecclesie in usus superbie aut luxurie is announced in the textual rubric as simply Contra superbiam et luxuriam.[76] Although listing the types of pride into which priests are particularly likely to fall, its general teaching is conventional enough to be discarded in the Speculum without weakening the didactic impact of the work as a whole. It seems that only material of a specialised and highly pragmatic application is retained - general moral and mystical exhortations are jettisoned as otiose.

Secondly, the Royal treatise maintains a consistency of tone and address throughout. The imperative 'scitote carissimi' is used throughout the work, while in chapter 12 (De septem mortibus) there is an explicit reference to the manner in which the treatise was to be used:

> Legite nunc carissimi et recte intelligite qui comeditis.... (folio 7 verso)

This consistency of tone, the overt invitation to read and the very size of the work itself imply that it was intended for personal consultation, and almost certainly not for large scale public exposition (which would be unlikely anyway because of the subject matter). No less than eleven of the seventeen chapters are reproduced to some extent in the Speculum, and in eight cases they agree substantially with the text printed by Holmstedt. In the other three cases the Speculum has a shorter text than that found in this treatise.[77]

Even more significant is that, with only one exception, the order of the material common to both works is the same. The exception is caused by the insertion of chapter 6 from the Royal treatise between two parts of chapter 8 in the Speculum

(H. 171.11-20). To illustrate the links between these works I have included Holmstedt's page and line references in the list of the capitula printed in Appendix 5.

This remarkable similarity of order and material is in itself sufficient to link the treatise to the textual family of the Speculum. There are other interesting features of this text, however. Chapter 1 (De subtractione victus anime) is common to Cibus Anime and the Speculum. The problem of textual relationship is complicated in this instance by the fact that both major texts have two versions of this chapter. In the Speculum a shortened statement occurs as part of the discussion of the fifth commandment, and in particular as part of a definition of spiritual manslaughter.[78] A much extended version, which is substantially the same as that in the Royal treatise, occurs at H. 171.1-23, which is the beginning of the eighth tabula. It is followed immediately by the fourth chapter from the Royal treatise. Cibus Anime also cites a short version in its treatment of the fifth commandment (book 1, chapter 31) and a much more extensive treatment of the subject in chapter 63 of book 2 (Septem sunt virtutes principales). As in the Speculum this second appearance is close to that found in the Royal treatise.

It seems certain, therefore, that the sacerdotal instructions contained in tabula 8 of the Speculum Christiani have this treatise as their ultimate source. Furthermore, from what we have seen of the eclectic nature of the compilation in Royal 5 A.VI and the generous borrowings from the Cibus Anime, perhaps including the whole third book, it seems reasonable to suggest that the treatise may have been associated with the manuscript

of the Cibus Anime from which these portions of the Royal MS. were drawn.[79] Indeed the compiler of the treatise may himself have made use of the Cibus Anime in his own work. In addition to the two appearances of De subtractione victus anime discussed above, chapter 15 of the Royal treatise (Quod homo non debet formare se huic seculo) also occurs as chapter 51 of book one of Cibus nime. Chapters 16 and 17 (Quod tres sunt gradus paupertatis and De claustralibus soli deo militantibus) appear as chapters 2 and 3 of the third book of the Cibus Anime.[80] Furthermore most of the selections from the Royal treatise found in the Speculum also occur independently in two manuscripts of the Cibus Anime, Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341, beginning with the section headed Subtractio victus anime.[81] The texts here agree exactly with that printed at the beginning of tabula 8. The next seven sections all occur in exactly the same order as they are found in this tabula of the Speculum. The first of these is headed in JRL (folio 79 recto) and Balliol (folio 71 verso) De mercenario and corresponds to H. 171.23-173.8. Then comes Hec tria sunt pastoribus necessaria (JRL folio 79 verso, Balliol folio 71 verso) which agrees with H. 173.15 to 175.6.

After this is found Quatuor genera sacerdotum (JRL folio 79 verso, Balliol folio 72 recto) which corresponds to the lengthy section of the same title in the Speculum (H. 175.27-181.5). Then (JRL folio 80 verso, Balliol folio 72 verso) Qualiter vestes sacerdotales instruunt sacerdotes which again agrees with the same section of the Speculum (H. 181.6-31). The last three texts retain the parallel with tabula 8. Modus preparandi ad ministerium sacramenti (JRL folio 81 recto,

Balliol folio 73 recto) agrees with H. 183.1-13, Effectus sacramenti (ibid) with H. 181.15-25 and Forte dicit claustralis with H. 183.26-185.15. Although it might seem probable that the extracts in Balliol and JRL derive from the selection made in the Speculum from the longer treatise, at two points there are gaps in the Balliol and JRL text when compared with the Speculum. The first of these occurs at the end of the section headed De mercenario. Balliol and JRL end at H. 173.8, omitting the final auctor from Gregory and two other sentences. Similarly the end of Forte dicit claustralis in Balliol and Rylands is at H. 185.15, omitting a further eight authorities found in the Speculum. Although both these lacunae might be due to accidental or deliberate omission by the scribe, it is I think, significant that in both cases the text in Balliol and JRL breaks off at the end of a chapter of the treatise found in Royal 5 A.VI, in the first instance chapter 4 and in the second chapter 17.

This leaves open the possibility that the selection from the longer treatise found in Balliol and JRL represents a stage in its history before its assimilation into the Speculum Christiani and the addition of the extra authorities. As we have seen, the manuscripts of the Cibus Anime provide valuable witnesses to the existence of sections of the Speculum (notably the longer form of the Four Philosophers) outside the compilation, and may suggest that the texts used by the compiler of the Speculum in addition to the Cibus Anime were often circulating in association with the longer work before becoming part of its shorter offspring. It is of course possible, given the unusual

and strikingly similar modus agendi adopted by all three works (the Cibus Anime, Speculum and Royal treatise) and the apparent textual interpenetrations between them, that they are all the work of one man or one centre, but without further verification this must remain merely a tantalising possibility.

It may be that the Speculum's compiler was aware of the presence of material in the Royal tract from the Cibus Anime, for he follows the end of chapter 17 (H. 185.15, chapter 3 in book 3 of the Cibus Anime) with a quotation from Bernard on the psalm Qui habitat which is found in chapter 4 of book 3, which suggests that he may have turned to the Cibus Anime knowing of its inclusion of this material and hoping to find additional auctoritates to support the discussion.

The remainder of the eighth tabula consists largely of further borrowings from the Cibus Anime, although in the tabula as a whole the number of quotations not apparently drawn from this source is much greater than for any other section of the Speculum. It would appear that the compiler looked further afield, especially for some of the schematic lists. However these apparent additions from new sources are intermingled with and supported by material from the Cibus Anime which strongly suggests compilation by one hand rather than haphazard and occasional addition by several.

At H. 187.6 begins a selection of texts discussing different aspects of prayer and worship, bringing together analyses of Idolatry and the true veneration to be accorded to saints (drawn from the subdivision of the first commandment in book one of the Cibus Anime) with two linked chapters on prayer and its

impediments from book 2, supplemented by a few further quotations. Although this group of texts is homogeneous, and the new ordinatio of the material is in itself helpful, they bear no relation to preceding and following sections and illustrate the random organisation of much of the tabula. Only a user intimately acquainted with the Speculum's contents could be expected to move easily through this disorganised material, although perhaps the modest size of the work was meant to encourage just such intimacy.

Again, the next block of texts (from H. 193.25 to 201.2) on the theme of tribulation, are drawn from six consecutive chapters of the Cibus Anime with some minor re-arrangement of order and it might be argued that the following section (De paciencia) is a logical extension of this discussion, patience being a virtue to be much encouraged in those suffering tribulation. The first part of the De paciencia section is not found in the relevant sections of the Cibus Anime. It is a basic schema, 'Quinque sunt,in quibus paciencia probatur', which is supplied with Latin authorities by the compiler. Continuing the theme is the next section on diabolical temptation which, by a process of association, leads into the meditation on those damned souls who succumbed to the devil's promises and pursued the pleasures of the world and the flesh. Once again the next section, on the five things necessary 'quando aliquis recessurus est de hac vita', could be said to be a logical extension of the foregoing discussion, for which the compiler has introduced another schema not in the Cibus Anime.[82] It is debatable whether the instructions on how to prepare the dying for their death are used most effectively in this chain of

association, rather than in some more easily accessible part of the work, although their context in the tabula does stress the position of Christian death as part of the continuing struggle against sin and evil and towards eternal life.

The fifth requirement in this section is 'quod spem firmam habeat de misericordia dei' (H. 207.14-15), and forbids despair 'quia peior est omni peccato' (H. 207.27). The compiler takes this hint and follows with a discussion of the other most serious sin, presumption, pieced together from books 1 and 2 of the Cibus Anime, an analysis of the three types of apostasy, themselves intimately relating to the preceding discussion, and quotations stressing the importance of spiritual obedience and against spiritual self deception and hypocrisy. In Holmstedt's edition the passage from H. 209.30 to 215.12 is printed without rubrics or subdivisions. Analysis of the source chapters in Cibus Anime suggests that the illusion of unity this gives is deceptive, and indeed some manuscripts insert an extra rubric at H. 213.14 or slightly earlier.[83] The compiler creates in this passage an enormously skilful patchwork of authorities drawn from all over the Cibus Anime (as the low detection rate for the actual source chapters suggests) illustrating once again the ease with which he exploited his source and the confidence with which he drew upon its varied resources.

At H. 215.14 he employs a third schema, 'Septem modis laxantur peccata' and leads from that into two important manifestations of penance and penitence, fasting and tears. A discussion of the motivations that lead men to fast is expanded by the compiler. He adds to the existing reasons (sickness,

nsed, covetise, gluttony, desire for praise and true virtue) an extended monition against vainglory and against undertaking virtuous activities for the wrong reasons. He ends with another schema of the ideal balanced man, and his responsibilities as a Christian often laid out in tabular form in the manuscripts.[84] This section ends with the Peccata Britonum also found in the JRL, Balliol and Trinity Hall copies of the Cibus Anime.[85]

Although such close attention to the thematic development of this part of the tabula reveals a certain consistency and logic behind the contents, the development of the discussion seems to be almost intuitive and instinctive rather than systematic, although the various fragments which the compiler brings together from various parts of the Cibus Anime and other sources do build up into a discursive and quite wide ranging discussion. The authorities he has collected read like a commentary on an unknown text discussing sin, death and God's mercy.

The next block of texts begins with a discussion of tithes, an explanation of their purpose and a series of exhortations to comply with ecclesiastical law in their collection, presumably to aid the clerical user in persuading his flock to part with their offerings, ending with the ironic comment 'Quod non capit Christus capit fiscalis' (H. 223.1). Although these quotations are aimed at the laity, the following sections (again unrubricated in the printed text) dealing with remedies for cupidity, gambling and drunkenness, and lust are equally clearly aimed at the clergy. The compiler, drawing on the discussions of the sins in the second book of the Cibus Anime, has chosen to discuss at this

point the sins to which the clergy were considered to be particularly prone, and against which episcopal legislation had traditionally been most vehement in its opposition.[86] The *questio* on *luxuria* at H. 227.25, may well be an addition by the compiler as it is characteristic of the humane and reasonable tone found elsewhere in the work in passages that appear to be editorial comments.

The remainder of the eighth *tabula* as printed by Holmstedt is more fragmentary, although the sections all have a common interest in informing the priest about practical aspects of pastoral care. The first of these contains the reasons for and the impediments to marriage and is the nearest to canon law that the *Speculum* gets. A parallel list, and probable source is found in Grosseteste's *Templum Domini*.[87]

There follows a short group of quotations aimed specifically at the priest himself, and particularly at his behaviour in the church. Three authorities stress the need for respecful behaviour in God's temple, the last of which (*Apostolus*: Qui uiolauerit templum dei, disperdet illum dominus. (H. 229.30)) brings to mind the popular image of the priest as the *Templum Domini*. Indeed the following sequence of texts relate both to respect of church buildings and to self-respect and dignified behaviour among the clergy. The criticism of showy singing must be intended to relate to the priest's performance of the Divine Office and his singing of the Mass. Dd.4.51 heads this section *De superbia*, and it is clear that the texts are meant to emphasise the song rather than the singer. The contemporary concern with accurate and devout performance of the Office is

discussed elsewhere, but it is important to note that many synodal decrees and constitutions speak out against ingenious and theatrical additions to the performance of the Office.[88] Similarly, the vehement rejection of poetry and rhetorical elaborateness (Demonum cibus est carmina poetarum, secularis sapiencie vanitas, rhetoricorum pompa verborum (H. 231.4-6)) implicitly related to the concern expressed by bishops and others that preaching and instruction should be simple, straightforward and devoid of linguistic subtlety or otiose fabulae.[89]

This section on the importance of clerical self discipline and humility is concluded and indeed summarised by a Latin poem characterising the ideal priest and found in clerical miscellanies. As Haines, who prints this poem from another source, points out the poet's 'delineation of the true priest makes no mention of academic learning; it is moral worth rather than knowledge that he stresses.'[90]

The 'tokens of the love of God in man' present the positive virtues of a good Christian life and are presumably intended to enable the clerical user to spot these tokens in his flock, rather than to inspire him to achieve them himself, as several of the signs require particular modes of behaviour towards the clergy, in church, and in particular require an eagerness for and devoted application to the Word of God as preached and taught by the clergy. The ease with which virtue and vice can be made to appear the opposite of what they really are is stressed in the following text, serving as a reminder that appearances can be deceptive. Implicit in this, and in the next sections on flattery and correction (and indeed in the

slightly later passage concerning Justices) is the principle of even handed, perceptive and compassionate care which should be central to the cura animarum, and particularly in its penitential aspects. Thus although the priest should not be afraid of correcting his parishioners, he should avoid back-biting or detraction. Again the compiler of the Speculum introduces a new schema for the four 'species detractionis.' The final pages of the 'standard' text (as printed by Holmstedt) develop this theme of equity and justice and expand it from the clerical to the secular (with the role of the judicial system). Indeed the definition of a good man envisages him as a Christian knight (H. 237.29-30) and several quotations stress the responsibility of every Christian to teach and correct his fellow men, reverting to the principles stated at the very outset of the whole work in the initial distinction between preaching and teaching.

The final paragraph encourages and praises those 'qui scribit uel scribere facit doctrinam sanam ea intencione, ut ipse querat in ea, quomodo sancte uiuat, et ut alii eam habeant, ut per eam edificentur'.[91] Once again the compiler refers back to the beginning of the Speculum in his final authority: Gregorius: Nullum sacrificium ita placet deo sicut zelus animarum. (cf. H. 5.26-7) This deliberate rounding off of the work suggests the coherent nature of the compilation as well as the passionate commitment it has to improving the care of souls.

XII

In many manuscripts, the end of the text printed by Holmstedt does not in fact mark the end of the Speculum. In nearly 20 copies of the work it continues with one or more short Latin texts which may have started as additions to the orthodox Speculum but which were, in a few cases, assimilated into it in later copyings by the simple expedient of moving the final colophon.[92] The number and order in which these texts occur varies widely between the manuscripts although interestingly the order of their occurrence in manuscripts of Holmstedt's textual groupings tends to confirm the relationship between manuscripts of particular groups which he established by collation. A table of the order in which particular manuscripts preserve these texts is presented in Appendix 7, together with diplomatic editions of the texts. Several texts derive from the Cibus Anime, others appear to be sentences which may be found in the Cibus Anime or which may have come from some other florilegium. These additional texts, some of which are represented in anomalous manuscripts such as B.L. Add. 15237, must have been introduced into the manuscript tradition at an early stage of the text's development; i.e. at a point when their compiler still had access to a copy of the Cibus Anime, and may originally have been included in the manuscripts as manifestations of personal taste. In several manuscripts the additional material is interpolated into the standard text as well as following it, but given the finality of the standard text's peroration, it would seem unlikely that these additional texts formed part of the original conception of the Speculum (if such a thing existed), but rather that they

represent accretions. This is supported by the firm placing of the colophon between orthodox and additional texts in most copies.

XIII

In addition to the circulation of individual tabulae from the Speculum, discussed above, five other manuscripts contain complete tabulae and/or selections of quotations which are also found in the orthodox Speculum but which are preserved by them in unusual orders and with juxtaposition of material uncharacteristic of the usual full text. Four of these manuscripts (Harley 2379, JRL Lat. 201,/and Trinity Cambridge B.15.42) are part of Holmstedt's C_2 textual group, and the Douce 107 , Hereford Cathedral P.7. VII can confidently be added to it, although it was unknown to Holmstedt.[93]

By comparison with the usual full text Speculum, the most 'complete' of these copies is Douce 107. Although this manuscript was 'minutely examined' by Holmstedt, his account is incomplete and I append a full description of the extent of the 'Speculum' material.[94] The major omissions in the manuscript are the whole of the seventh tabula, the prayers, and various sections of the eighth tabula. As Holmstedt rightly points out the confusion of order cannot be explained by faulty binding. He explains the unusual arrangement by suggesting that 'the scribe has copied the different passages entirely at random, possibly at different times.' He points out that similar disruption is found in Harley 2379 and suggests that 'this inversion already existed in the common source of this

whole subdivision of MSS.'[95] In his account of the C_2 group he argues plausibly that Douce 107 is 'most like their common source' on the basis of errors in transcription.[96] This argument may be extended to include the fact that Douce 107 is the most extensive of the group, perhaps giving us a better idea of the size and comprehensiveness of the group's common ancestor.

Similar in contents to Douce 107 and perhaps more closely related to it than to any other manuscript in the group is Hereford Cathedral P.7.VII. As the catalogue description of item 6 (material from the Speculum tradition) is inadequate and incomplete, I append a complete account of this part of the manuscript.[97] It may be seen that Hereford follows the order of material in Douce with a few minor variations, and this, added to its use of the isolated verse paragraphs common on other manuscripts of the C_2 group argues strongly for its inclusion in that group.

Early owners of this manuscript included Richard Mayhew, Bishop of Hereford (1504-16) and William Webbe, Archdeacon of Salop 1503-11, and of Hereford until 1522, whence it passed to the Cathedral library.[98] The contents of the book reflect the elevated status and executive responsibilities of these owners, including two alphabetical calendars on constitutions, various collections of provincial and legatine constitutions, the Liber Benitencialis of John of God and William de Montibus' Sacramentale. As in Harley 2379, the material from the Speculum tradition looks oddly out of place in these surroundings, especially as it includes the only vernacular in the whole manuscript and appears more pragmatic and pastorally orientated than the other texts which display a strong legal bias.

Harley 2379, in addition to portions of the Speculum, includes a two-book version of the Cibus Anime and inevitably duplicates some material, although the similarity of the two texts which are adjacent in the manuscript is nowhere remarked upon - perhaps their relationship was perfectly clear to the book's compiler.[99] The volume itself is a literate miscellany also including Pagula's Pars Oculi, a Liber Decretorum, the Speculum Sacerdotis and the Dieta Salutis, texts in whose company the Cibus Anime seems more at home than the fragments of Speculum material. As the tabular analysis suggests, the Speculum material is present in an order which bears little relation to the normal shape of the complete text, and if drawn from a complete text gives evidence of a peculiarly random and unsystematic method of borrowing.[100] However, if removed from the shadow of the complete Speculum it is possible to see it as self sufficient and self contained, covering the basic syllabus and ending with the exhortation to choose between good and evil, and the ladders which provide a visual summary. The closing exhortation is particularly interesting since the version of the Cibus Anime in the manuscript is one of the copies which ends in chapter 62 with this same injunction. Also striking is the juxtaposition of the two passages headed Contra desperacionem and Contra presumpcionem which are quite separate in the complete Speculum, but which are drawn from a series of consecutive chapters in the Cibus Anime.[101]

Holmstedt's account of the C_2 group makes no mention of the close relationship which exists between Harley 2379 and JRL Lat. 201, perhaps because his knowledge of the Rylands manuscript was

based on 'rotographs of parts of the MS' and on notes from a librarian.[102] In fact Rylands contains most of the second tabula (up to H. 37.17, the same as in Harley 2379, both omitting the general exhortations to obey the Commandments), the two linked paragraphs against Despair and Presumption, the final exhortation and the few authorities from the Fourth Philosopher (H. 131.6-12). The selection clearly parallels that in Harley 2379, although it is not so extensive.[103] Its context in the manuscript clearly explains why the second tabula is chosen. It is preceded by a treatise (or possibly a sermon) on the Decalogue using the text 'Si vis ad vitam ingredi serva mandata', and is followed by a Sermo generalis de decem mandatis.[104] Once again the other works in the manuscripts suggest its use by a cleric with the cure of souls. In particular there are three treatises, on the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Symbol um Apostolorum ascribed to John Waldeby, an Augustinian Friar of York, while the flyleaf preserves one of the verses usually found in the Fasciculus Morum.[105] Also included is a Liber Exemplorum. Given the nature of its contents and their unorthodox order, it seems probable that the selection was made from a version of the text like that preserved in Harley 2379 rather than from a complete copy of the orthodox Speculum.

Despite the addition of the Hereford manuscript to this group, the peculiar order and contents of these manuscripts remain enigmatic, although their very strangeness and their agreement in oddity might be seen as evidence against them being descended from a deviant text of the Speculum. It is possible that their ancestor was a distinct and independent arrangement

of material which found its most permanent shape and articulation in the Speculum Christiani. Harley 2379, where the material is juxtaposed with the Cibus Anime, may be compared with other copies of the Cibus Anime such as Balliol 239 and JRL Lat. 341 where other sections of the Speculum appear to be present perhaps in an early stage of their assimilation into the textual tradition.[106]

It must be accepted, however, that the absence in these manuscripts of material not found in the Speculum but found in the Cibus Anime argues against the possibility of their being independent reworkings of the source material. Their common ancestor seems to have contained almost all the material found in the orthodox Speculum and it may be that they descend not from an original ordinatio of the common material but merely from an idiosyncratic use of the standard text.

Despite their textual similarities, all the manuscripts discussed here display a certain independence in their arrangement of common material, perhaps reflecting a dissatisfaction with the randomness of the texts or merely demonstrating a spirit of experimentation. The most successful of these independent arrangements is that found in Harley 2379 which manages to create a relatively self contained and coherent manual out of the limited materials at its disposal. Exactly why those materials were limited in such a way seems likely to remain a mystery.

XIV

The preceding analysis of the 'orthodox' text of the Speculum Christiani demonstrates the intimate links which exist between it and the Cibus Anime. It also demonstrates that the

compiler of the Speculum seems to have had a fairly clear idea of the kind of work he wanted to produce. By the insertion of vernacular verses and schematic listings he was able to transform the authoritative quotations of the Cibus Anime, which is essentially a work of reference, into a pastoral and pragmatic handbook of pastoral care covering the basic teaching syllabus of the Church and including other material that would have been useful to the priest with the cure of souls. That he succeeded is suggested by the immense popularity of the work and its early appearance in print.[107]

Yet there seems to be some evidence to suggest that the Speculum did not spring fully formed from the mind of its compiler, or that it was not the only attempt made at re-arranging material present in manuscripts of the Cibus Anime into a more practical and pastorally useful form. The textual group C_3 identified by Holmstedt contains manuscripts, which, although containing material also found in the Speculum, preserve that material in strikingly different ordinationes.[108] So different are these manuscripts that it is very difficult to describe them as being 'deviant' from the orthodox text of the Speculum; rather they seem to be witnesses to independent attempts at structuring common material. Like the Speculum these manuscripts are intimately related to the Cibus Anime, and it is possible that they were products of the same milieu, perhaps even the same centre as the Speculum. It is even possible that they, or the earlier work they may represent, are the work of the same man, although there can be no firm evidence of this.

One particularly significant feature of the C_3 group (to which may be added with some confidence Foyle and Dd.4.51) is

that in Holmstedt's description of it, it contains two closely related copies of the Cibus Anime (JRL Lat. 341 and Balliol 239) although of course not identified as such by him. Further, Dr M. Laing's linguistic analysis of copies of the Speculum Christiani has established that all but two of the members of this group which she examined derive linguistically from the East Midlands area, particularly Lincolnshire which, she argues, is the dialectal home of the text.[109] For these reasons, it is interesting to examine the texts preserved in these manuscripts to see if they shed any light on the evolution of the Speculum Christiani.

Dd.14.26 (III) serves as a further illustration of the limitations of Holmstedt's edition. As always, he explains away the considerable differences between this text and his base text of the Speculum by claiming that 'this MS. is apparently a conflation of the Speculum Christiani and some other MS' (p. cxv), yet he realised that the manuscript was significant because of its early date ('one of the oldest of those that contain the Speculum' (p. xcvi)), and therefore gave a detailed account of its contents.[110]

The manuscript is now unbound and probably incomplete. The text as we now have it is divided into chapers, beginning at chapter 21 on folio 1 verso (not chapter 22 as Holmstedt claims (p. xcvi)) and running to chapter 66 on folio 51 recto. The numbers may have been added shortly after the book was written, but the numeration respects the division of the text into discrete sections. This in itself is a significant deviation from the usual tabular structure of the Speculum and is, of course,

closer to the organisation of the Cibus Anime. A list of the chapter headings and numbers is provided by Holmstedt (pp. xcvi-xcviii), who also provides a checklist of passages to be found in the Speculum Christiani.[111] It will become apparent however that although the Speculum is unlikely to be the source of this manuscript because of the significant deviations from it and the considerable amount of material present which is never found in it, the Cibus Anime is a very probable source indeed. To begin with the first chapter now present, chapter 21 which is headed in the manuscript (folio 1 verso) De anima pulcra. The text begins 'Every clene crysten sowle is fulle fayre and lyke to ymage \of/ god', and continues with an account of how Christians may discover the state of their souls through examination of their consciences. The same text is also found in Trinity Hall 16 where it is prefaced by a Latin paragraph:

> 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 ...
> (folio 92 verso)

Given that the same scribe is active in both books it seems possible that when he came to write Dd.14.26 he incorporated the text either from Trinity Hall or from the same source which provided the text in Trinity Hall, paraphrasing the introductory passage as part of the editorial process of simplification. It is however also possible that the scribe or editor of the manuscript acquired the text from another source as three other manuscripts of the Speculum tradition contain related versions. Corpus Oxford 132, for example, which contains 'the complete fourth tabula with the introductory Latin passage found in all

Mss of this group [C_2]' (H. p. lxxxviii), (which is the discussion of the Deadly Sins) also has the text on examination of conscience in a fuller form than either Trinity Hall or Dd. In this manuscript it forms part of a series of three texts which are once again described as tabulae. The longer version is also preserved in B.L. Additional 15237. The Foyle manuscript also has the text (folio 45 recto) in a form similar to that preserved in Dd.[112] Thus although the exact history of the text is unclear, it circulated quite widely in copies of the Cibus Anime and versions of the Speculum Christiani. The nature of the vernacular paraphrase of the opening paragraph suggests that the Dd. version is derivative from a copy with a Latin opening.

Chapter 22, headed De consciencia, provides a useful example of the way the compiler of this manuscript has gone about his task. De consciencia is the first chapter of the second book of Cibus Anime leading into the discussion of the Deadly Sins, and its role there is to analyse the nature of conscience before beginning on a detailed analysis of individual sins. In Dd., it follows the vernacular treatise on examination of conscience, thus forming a natural progression. Not surprisingly the opening quotations of the chapter, drawn from Saint Paul, is also found in the corresponding chapter of Cibus Anime. The next quotation, the famous Bernardine aphorism 'Multi multa sciunt et se ipsos nesciunt', is not found at this point in the Cibus Anime but in chapter 61 of book two, a chapter headed De differencia inter sapienciam et scientiam, and the following quotations from Seneca, Hugh of St Victor and Bernard

again are also found in this chapter. This sudden change of focus is explained by a linking passage which follows the first quotation (also found in 2.61):

> Qui bonam habet consciencia audacter conspiciet in deum in die iudicii, qui vero illam non habet confusus cadet. Multi autem querunt scientiam pauci vero sapientiam et bonam conscientiam. \Unde/ Bernardus Multi multa.... (folio 2 recto)

Here the compiler, presumably conscious that the whole question of wisdom and self knowledge has been opened in the preceding chapter, moves smoothly from a brief comment on conscience to a discussion of the nature of wisdom. The ease with which he is able to draw on various chapters of the Cibus Anime suggests that this compilation is the product of a man well acquainted with the larger text. It would be otiose to study each chapter of this work in similar detail. What follows are comments on significant chapters which serve to illuminate the nature of the text. For the other chapters reference should be made to the tabular analysis. Chapter 25, Contra eos qui dicunt se non posse abstinere a peccato luxurie (folio 4 recto) does not occur in the Speculum but corresponds to book 2 chapter 24 of Cibus Anime. In that work it is usually headed Contra eos qui dicunt se non posse abstinere but as it follows a chapter on the Remedia contra luxuriam, the addition and clarification in Dd. is understandable. Chapter 33 (De paciencia) and chapter 34 (De perseverencia) also suggest reliance on the Cibus Anime rather than the Speculum. Although De paciencia does occur in tabula 8 (H. 201.11-18), De perseverencia does not. In the Cibus Anime, however, they are chapters 47 and 46 respectively of the second book. Similarly with chapters 36 and 37 (Species ydolatrie and

(qualiter sancti sunt adorandi) which are chapters seven and eight of book one of Cibus Anime. It must be admitted in this case that the material contained in these two chapters corresponds to that found in the printed Speculum from H. 187.6 to 191.3. However the division into two sections and the second rubric are not found in most manuscripts of the Speculum. The second rubric is found in the Speculum preserved in C.U.L. Add. 6150 and in the early English printed edition (Tp). Tp seems to have been based on a C_3 type manuscript.[113] Although the possibility remains that the compiler drew these chapters from a copy of the Speculum, the probability is that the material was selected from the Cibus Anime and the selection also used by the compiler of the Speculum.[114]

Further circumstantial evidence against the use of the Speculum as a main source is found in the next few chapters. Chapter 38 preserves a version of the Sayings of the Philosophers which is much longer than that printed by Holmstedt, having 'at least three times as many quotations as the Speculum.' We have seen that this text is found in copies of the Cibus Anime but because these versions agree substantially with that printed by Holmstedt, it must be assumed either that a longer version of these sayings was also in circulation or that the compiler of this manuscript chose to expand the available version by the addition of extra authorities.[115]

Chapter 39, headed Doctrina sana, is the vernacular text which forms tabula 5 of the Speculum but without the usual Latin authorities and written as prose, ending incomplete at H. 95.1. This again presents problems in interpreting its significance. Given the compiler's predilection for blending material and

probably for expanding material from other sources, it is possible that he chose to omit the auctores deliberately. However, this would seem to be contrary to his usual behaviour and another possible explanation of the state of this text would be that at the stage at which the compiler used it the text had not yet acquired the authorities which accompany it in the Speculum; that is that this manuscript preserves it at an early stage of its assimilation into the textual tradition of the Speculum family. Similarly, the next chapter, De libro sapiencie, which is tabula 7 with additional authorities at the end, is divided into two chapters at H. 141.10 where it becomes chapter 44 with the heading Mores mundiali. Once again this evidence is inconclusive about the provenance of these chapters. It might be argued that the division into chapters suggests that the compiler is not inhibited by the text being a complete tabula in the Speculum, which might suggest an independent existence. And indeed one copy, Harley 2388, does preserve the text on its own. Holmstedt assigns this manuscript to the C_3 group, which suggests that it is textually close to the other manuscripts, and in particular he claims that it preserves readings which relate it to Ad^1 and Ro^2, although from higher up the stemma than those manuscripts.[116] In Harley 2388 it is headed Mores mundiales, which is the same title given to chapter 44 of Dd.14.26 (III). In most manuscripts of the Speculum there is no title attached to tabula 7, although in Jesus 51, written early in the fifteenth century, the rubric reads Septima tabula tractat de moribus mundi et de libro sapiencie (folio 20 verso), and at the point of the break in Dd. (H. 141.10) there is in

Jesus the rubric De moribus mundi. Furthermore, in the introductory section Octo Tabule (H. 9.22-3), this tabula is introduced thus:

Septima tabula tractat de libro sapiencie et de moribus.

Thus the presence of similar rubrics in the Speculum and Dd. makes it difficult to assert precedence, although it may be that the compilers of the Speculum and Dd. independently used the text.

Chapter 48 (Octo modis oracio impeditur), as Holmstedt says, has some of the quotations found in the Speculum's Duobus modis oracio impeditur (H. 193.1) and Cibus Anime's 2.51, but it is otherwise not found in the Speculum or the Cibus Anime. However, it is found in Harley 237, the manuscript perhaps responsible for introducing the extra chapter on canonical hours to the third book of the Cibus Anime, immediately following that chapter (folio 75 verso).[117] It is also found in B.L. Add. 15237 (folio 42 verso) forming chapter 35 of the extended eighth tabula of that manuscript, thus illustrating that the text was in circulation even if it did not finally achieve total assimilation into the Speculum.[118]

Chapter 50, which Holmstedt says has no heading, opens 'Nota quod impossible est homines satisfacere de uno peccato mortali alio retento' (folio 30 recto), which corresponds with the opening of chapter 32 of book 2 of Cibus Anime, and has no counterpart in the Speculum. Similarly, chapter 53 (De doctrina) parallels book 1 chapter 52 and includes quotations also found in the text entitled Pax bona et pax mala found at the end of some Speculum manuscripts.[119]

Four chapters are also found in B.L. Add. 15237, Foyle and the early printed editions of the Speculum; chapter 54 (Nonem

filie diaboli), 58 which consists of the Latin orisons characteristic of the C_3 group and the vernacular Marian lyric (H. p. xcviii), chapter 64 (De antichristo) and chapter 65 (De xv signis ante die iudicii).[120] This serves to further support the agreement of the complete manuscripts of this group against the majority of the manuscripts of the Speculum. Chapter 65, it should be noted, is also found in Cibus Anime where it forms chapter 29 of book 2, and is followed in Cd. (chapter 66) by De generali iudicio which is chapter 28 of the same book of the Cibus Anime, another example of apparently slab-like borrowings by the compiler. The other chapter of major significance is 56 (headed Pater Noster) which, as Holmstedt rightly says, preserves a vernacular commentary on the Lord's Prayer similar to that found in the Ushaw manuscript (p. xcvii). However two other manuscripts, both unknown to him, also preserve this commentary. Illinois 4137, a copy of the Speculum, includes the exposition in the considerable additional material following the end of the text proper.[121] More significant than this, however, is C.U.L. Add. 6315 (II), a copy of the three-book version of the Cibus Anime, where the exposition immediately follows the text of the Cibus Anime providing, once again, evidence that the text was in circulation and in association with the Cibus Anime, as well as with the Speculum.[122]

Several chapters appear to have been drawn from sources not at present known to be associated in any way with the Cibus Anime or Speculum Christiani. Chapters 25 and 25 (De missa and De veste sacerdotali) provide a brief discussion of the Mass and of the symbolism of the vestments. The latter chapter is

also found in the treatise in Royal 5 A.VI, in the abridgement of that tract found in two Cibus Anime manuscripts, and in the Speculum itself.[123] The former chapter, however, appears to have no similar source. Similarly two vernacular texts which form chapters 60 and 61 do not appear elsewhere in the known manuscripts of the textual family (although this does not, of course, preclude their presence in one of the many copies which must have been lost). The first begins with the words of God 'to seynt mawde his blesseyd virgyne and holy spouse'.[124] The second is headed De nomen virtutibus quas docuit christus and expounds the Virtues in English supported by Latin quotations.[125] Chapter 59 is headed Confessio valde devota and is a very popular vernacular confessional formulary.[126] The presence of these vernacular texts suggests an attempt on the part of the compiler to 'popularise' his material either for greater didactic efficiency or to cater for the tastes of literate laymen, in a manner similar to that adopted by the compiler of the Speculum.

Several texts in Dd. 14.26 (III) are also found in the Speculum but not in the Cibus Anime or in manuscripts containing that work. These are chapters 29 and 30 on proper causes and impediments to marriage, chapters 46 and 47 (De signis divini amoris and Septem modis relaxantur peccata), chapter 49 on preparations for the death of a Christian, and, of course, the prayers in chapters 57 and 58. Although it might appear that these chapters suggested the influence of the Speculum in this compilation, this need not necessarily be the case. In fact the reverse could be true and these sections could easily have been adopted by the Speculum's compiler in his own attempt at

popularising the material. Equally plausible is the circulation of this kind of material in the milieu which produced both this text and the Speculum either in a separate compilation or even annexed to an unknown copy of the Cibus Animæ like so much of the vernacular material which is common to both compilations.

It would appear, then, that the compiler of this manuscript made a deliberate and conscious selection from materials either contained within the Cibus Animæ or associated with manuscripts of that text and from other sources (which perhaps included a copy of the Speculum). The selection, even in the truncated and incomplete form in which it is preserved today, can be seen to have a definite overall shape and cohesion. It is clear, for example, that the compiler has imposed an ordinatio on his material by dividing it into chapters (and perhaps by subdividing existing texts, as may have been the case with chapters 43 and 44). In addition to this he arranged the material so that there is a rough overall progression. The extant fragment starts with De anima pulcra on the examination of the individual conscience, proceeds to discuss conscience in general and the nature of the wisdom achieved through self examination. A discussion of the Mass and priestly vestments leads, without too much strain, to a discussion of tithes and mercantile activity. The bulk of the text covers in a summary form the basics of the Christian faith and the fundamentals of spirituality, although the extant portion contains no material on the usual rudiments, this material perhaps being contained in the missing chapters. Of course it may be that the material brought together by the compiler was meant to complement the usual handbook of pastoral instruction

by providing a strictly limited selection of theological quotations on topics relevant not only to the cure of souls, but also to the general spiritual formation of the individual Christian. The manuscript as it now stands rises to a suitably apocalyptic conclusion with chapters on the Antichrist, the signs before doomsday and the Last Judgement.

It is extremely difficult to see this manuscript as anything but an independent compilation using similar materials to, and perhaps designed to serve similar ends as the Speculum Christiani. Its independance seems guaranteed by its use of the Gibus Anime (whether or not a manuscript of some form of the Speculum was also consulted) and by its use of material not found elsewhere in the Speculum family. It perhaps preserves portions of the Speculum in an early stage of assimilation and may be seen as a text working in parallel with the Speculum in attempting to make the theological riches of the Gibus Anime available to a wider audience by a process of editing, and conflation with other vernacular materials to produce a manual of more popular appeal and less daunting erudition. It is impossible to say whether this work was produced at the same centre which produced the Gibus Anime and/or the Speculum, although the nature of the sources it uses might suggest that it was.

Of the remaining manuscripts of the δ_3 group (which preserve texts much closer to the 'orthodox' Speculum), the most influential is B.L. Add. 15237 which, with the closely related Royal 8 E.V preserves a greatly extended eighth tabula.[127] Add. 15237 is clearly intended for use by a priest with the cure of souls.

It contains the popular Latin manual usually known as Quinque verba which provides a résumé of the knowledge necessary for the exercise of priestly duties and was explicitly compiled

> volentes simplicium sacerdotum ignorantiis subvenire. (folio 5 verso)

It also contains schematic lists of the rudiments of the faith and a text known as Tabula Fidei Christiane which contains 21 items of primary instruction, listed without comment or expansion. Also contained are texts on Confession and the Deadly Sins and a Tabula de Utilitate Oracione Dominicae which expounds the prayer using the usual groupings into sevens, and is followed by a tabloid summary of the teaching of the prayer.[128] It is clear that the context in which such a book would be used is less literate and probably less theologically informed than that in which the Cibus Anime circulated. Royal 8 E.V contains only the Speculum Christiani. Both manuscripts agree substantially with the printed text of the Speculum up to the beginning of the eighth tabula.

Holmstedt claims that from this point the Additional MS. is divided into chapters, starting at chapter 9. In fact the whole Speculum has been so divided, each tabula being assigned a number. There is no chapter 8, and tabula 8 begins with chapter 9. As Holmstedt suggests, the hand that provided the prayers and ladders which are added later on an empty leaf at the beginning of the Speculum is responsible for this division into chapters.[129] In the eighth tabula this scribe divides the material into 45 chapters. The intensive care given to this division suggests that he was perhaps trying to impose order on material which he found to be too disparate. This would be an understandable

response to the superficial lack of homogeneity in the final tabula. As the material provided by this second scribe omits the Joys of the Virgin found in Royal 8.E.V and other manuscripts of the C_3 group, he was probably repairing the omission with a manuscript from another textual group. This reparation was made sometime after the book was copied and he may have been struck with the dissimilarity between the Additional text and that used to supply its defects. Thus the division into chapters might also be an attempt to clarify textual confusion.

Although Royal is incomplete it agrees with Add. 15237 in the contents of this final section.[130] Holmstedt (p. clxvii) illustrates how substantial the extra material in both manuscripts is. Many of these additional texts are ultimately derived from the Cibus Anime, as the table demonstrates.[131] It is possible to show that the Cibus Anime used must have been the three-book version (cf. Add. caps. 38, 37, 41) with the Multi enim sunt opening (Add. cap. 37).

The substantial additions which characterise these two manuscripts occur in the last 20 chapters of the Additional division beginning at chapter 33 (Consensus in illecebram duplex est). Effectively the compiler of this expanded version interspersed new material with sections also found in the orthodox final tabula of the Speculum. Chapter 35 (Octo modis oracio impeditur) is drawn from a longer treatise on the canonical hours and, as mentioned above, is also found in Dd. 14.26 (III) and Harley 237. Other chapters frequently recur in the additional texts annexed to the Speculum.in many manuscripts (chapters 39, 40, 41 a, d, k), while a small number recur in

manuscripts that appear to be influenced by this version of the text (chapter 41e, 43, 44, 46, 47, 49). The last five chapters (50-54) providing an analysis of the Deadly Sins in terms of their venial or mortal nature, appear to have been drawn from some longer penitential summa and deal with the material in much more detail than the rest of the compilation. The text ends abruptly during chapter 54 (De usura) so there is no way of knowing how much more extensive this final section might have been.

The distended quality of the final section in Add. 15237 and Royal 8 E.V does not mean that the additional material is loosely articulated. These two manuscripts preserve a version of the Speculum which is logical and self consistent and which shows signs of deliberate compilation and the definite ordering of material. In particular the final section reveals an interest in three subjects. The first is sin, and in particular circumstances and attitudes that lead to it. Thus the compiler adds in chapter 33 (Concensus in illecebram duplex est), a distinction between the two ways of succumbing to temptation, surrepcio, which is only a venial sin, and cum deliberacione which involves rational choice and which is a mortal sin. This canonical taste for distinctions between classes of sin, so uncharacteristic of the rest of the work, is continued in chapters 50 to 54 which analyse the Deadly Sins and advise on their degrees and the relative seriousness of their filie. The vernacular text De anime pulcra similarly classifies sins and discusses examination of conscience and chapter 46 (De diabolo et nonem filiabus eius) nominates common sins, assigns them to a particular

section of society and discusses their seriousness. This chapter is of particular interest. As we noticed above, several times in the course of the eighth tabula the compiler of the Speculum introduced schematic lists which he supported with quotations from the Cibus Anime. Similarly here the nine daughters of the devil and their various subdivisions are supported with quotations drawn from appropriate chapters of the Cibus Anime.[132] Related to this diabolical schema are several sections (chapter 41h and i on the resistance of evil to good, chapter 44 concerning excommunication, and chapter 40 (De servo diaboli)).

The second major concern is for obedience to the teachings of God and the Church, to counterbalance the power of evil. Thus chapter 37 (b) (Dex genera martirum) lists the types of martyrs who have suffered for their faith, chapter 41 (j-l) stresses the need for and the dangers of scientia and knowledge of the Scriptures, chapter 45 discusses how God supports and sustains those who trust in Him and chapter 43 (De timore dei) contains stern instructions on observing the Commandments.

The third recurring concern is for perseverance and patience amongst those who have a teaching responsibility, and on the responsibility of all Christians to correct their neighbour or to prevent his falling into error. This, of course, is a theme which recurs throughout the Speculum. Chapter 41 e-f is supported by chapters 40 and 41 a, the former (De consilio) being one of the most frequently recurring additional texts found appended to the 'orthodox' Speculum.[133] Chapter 42, which opens the peroration in most Speculum manuscripts, praises those 'qui scribit vel scribere facit doctrinam sanam'.

In a sense this analysis makes the final section appear more logical and consistent than it does on the page, although the recurring concerns are so interrelated and so repeatedly emphasised that there is little scope for actual confusion even without the division into chapters. Although discussion of this version necessarily speaks in terms of 'differences from Holmstedt's text', it is not meant to suggest by this that at the date that this compilation was made a normative form of the Speculum had been established from which this version consciously deviated. The close relationship between all D_3 manuscripts and copies of the Cibus Anime argues strongly for their occupying a significant role in the early development of the Speculum and this version of the text may be either an independent expansion of the normative text by someone with access to a copy of the Cibus Anime, or another intermediate stage in the work's evolution which, unlike that preserved in Dd.14.26 (III), had more success and greater influence on the final shape of the work.

Certainly its influence can be sharply discerned in several other copies and in the first printed edition of the Speculum. Foyle, for example, written about the same time as Add. 15237, preserves the orthodox text up to H. 239.21 and then includes many of the chapters also found in Add. 15237, mostly in the same order as found in that work. As the chapter numbers are not indicated in Foyle and it also includes the Latin prayers usually found in D_3 manuscripts but missing in Add. 15237, Foyle cannot be derived from it but is clearly very dependent upon an ordinatio of the material similar to that found in Add.

15237 and Royal 8 .V especially as this similarity in order is not restricted just to the widely circulating Additional texts.[134] Dd.4.51 is orthodox up to f. 239.30 and then includes additional material which, like Foyle, preserves substantially the same order as is found in Add. 15237, and, unlike Foyle, has no material not found in Add. 15237.[135]

The edition of the Speculum printed by Machlinia in c. 1484 (Sp) was clearly based in part on a manuscript of the G_3 group.[136] It includes the extra exemplum in tabula 7 and the Latin Joys of the Virgin at the beginning of tabula 8.[137] But more significant is the additional material it includes. At f. 239.30 it inserts chapter 41 (k-l) of Add. 15237 following it by the orthodox ending (chapter 42 in Add. 15237).[138] After the colophon is a lengthy series of additional texts which once again preserve the order of Add. 15237 up to chapter 49. (Chapter 50 in Add. 15237 is the extraneous text on the Deadly Sins).[139] As all the other printed editions reproduce the text of Sp, its conflation of material from the 'orthodox' and 'deviant' textual traditions of the Speculum is particularly important. The very fact that the printer apparently consulted two versions of the text suggests that he might have been aware of the existence of variant texts of the Speculum in addition to that preserved by the majority of the manuscripts.[140]

The manuscripts of the G_3 group suggest that in addition to the 'orthodox' text of the Speculum, some manuscripts preserved an inflated final tabula which, despite its greatly increased size, had a certain cohesion and consistency in its contents. In addition, Dd.14.26 (III) preserves a radically different ordinatio

of similar material to remind us that one of the recurring concerns of compilers of pastoral manuals seems to have been the effective presentation of their material.

XV

The date and probable provenance of the Cibus Anime have been discussed above.[141] Given the conclusions reached in the analysis of the Speculum Christiani presented here, it is clearly impossible that the earliest copy of the Speculum should predate the composition of the Cibus Anime which probably appeared in the last decades of the fourteenth century. Holmstedt comments that 'The earliest extant Mss. containing the Speculum or fragments of it date from the last decade of the fourteenth century.'[142] Although evidence of manuscripts containing only the Marian lyric should be discounted on the grounds of the strong probability of that text's independent circulation, it is obvious that this general dating to the end of the fourteenth century is highly plausible. Amongst the earliest surviving copies seems to be Dd.14.26 (III) which in addition to being early is a member of the C_3 textual group although there are strong and compelling arguments for not regarding this text as a 'version' of the Speculum, but rather as an independent pastoral aid using similar sources.[143] It may be that a very short space of time separates the appearance of the Cibus Anime and the first attempts to make its material available in a more convenient and compact form.

As for Holmstedt's comment that 'by about 1400 or a little later the Mss had become very numerous and widely spread', the

evidence of the manuscripts themselves suggests that this is not the case, as the vast majority of them can be dated palaeographically to the fifteenth century.[144] The few copies which can be dated by internal evidence support the conjecture that the boom years of copying the Speculum were in the second and third quarter of the century and this might explain why the work appeared in print so early, as a response to a demand which had lead to a significant proliferation of manuscript copies. Bodley 89, which Holmstedt dates to the last decade of the fourteenth century, but which may be rather later, has (on folio 49 recto) the date 1431, the name Harwod and at the bottom of the page 'Iste liber constat domino Thome Greybrygge'. The date clearly does not relate to the time at which the book was copied. Lansdowne 344 (Holmstedt's base Latin text) contains (folio 2 verso) tables for finding the dominical letter, bissextile and golden number for the year 1425 and appears to have been written about then. It is, therefore, the earliest manuscript datable with any precision.

The next copy datable on internal evidence is Oxford, Corpus 155 which bears the library mark of Rievaulx Abbey:

> Liber beate Marie de Rievalle ex procuracione domini Willelmi Spenser abbatis eiusdem. (folio 2 verso)

If the book was acquired during Spenser's abbacy then we have a terminus ad quem for its arrival at the abbey, as Spenser resigned the abbot's office in 1449.[145] Bodley 432 offers a more uncertain dating. The part of the composite volume which contains the Decalogue section from the Speculum was largely written by a certain John Appleton (although he was not responsible for the

extract itself). On folio 351 recto is a partly erased colophon which Dr Ker has managed to read with the aid of ultra-violet light:

> Isto liber constat Domino Johanni B... ecclesie beate marie Southwark.

Dr Ker suggests that this may be a new ownership ascription over an older owner's name. The church referred to is the Priory of Augustinian canons at St Mary Overy and the Johannis B. might be John Bottisham who was prior from 1453 until his resignation in 1462.[146] These dates may only serve as a rough indication of the period in which the book arrived at Southwark, and the erased inscription suggests that it may have been enjoyed a previous existence in other hands.

Harley 2250, despite Holmstedt's comment that 'the colophons of the MSS never say anything about the date', does perhaps give the date at which it was written in a final colophon:

> explicit Speculum Christiani Anno domino M°CCCC^mo^Lxxvii°
> (folio 64 verso)

suggesting that as late as 1477 there was still an audience for the work.[147]

Similarly the evidence of early owners bequeathing the book in wills supports the contention that the middle years of the fifteenth century saw its greatest popularity. The dates of bequests do not indicate anything about the age of the text itself, and of course wills say nothing about how long a book had been in the possession of the deceased, except in the rare case of a donor mentioning that he had received a particular work through a bequest from somebody else. However the fact that the earliest known bequest of a copy of the Speculum

Christiani was in 1437 might suggest that the work was not widely circulating before the end of the previous century. Four other dated bequests all come from the 1470's: ...st from 1474-5, Prowet and Ormsby from 1476, and Lythe from 1479.[148] It seems likely, therefore, that, although the Speculum may have been available in some form in the early years of the new century, not surprisingly it took longer for it to achieve widespread circulation.

As for the vexed question of the authorship of the Cibus Anime and the Speculum Christiani, the only new evidence to be added to that assembled by Holmstedt is the appearance of the Garton colophon in the Trinity Hall Cibus Anime to support the ascription to Garton in the Speculum of Pembroke 285.[149] However, in the absence of any more compelling evidence for authorship, it is best to avoid any further speculation about the actual identity of the author. I have argued that the man who compiled the Speculum was intimately acquainted with the contents of the Cibus Anime. Although it is tempting to see both works as the creation of one man, they can as usefully be regarded as the works of one centre, although it is equally possible that the Speculum was produced at a different centre, where the Cibus Anime had achieved a certain popularity and where the problems of cura animarum were particularly appreciated. Despite Holmstedt's ingenious if unconvincing argument, the compiler of the Speculum and his centre of activity are unlikely to have been Franciscan and as I have suggested above, the most plausible candidates are the Carthusians (possibly of Mount Grace) and/or the secular priests of York Minster.[150]

The majority of manuscripts of the Speculum suggest by the nature of the other texts they include that they were primarily designed for or written by clerics, whether secular parish clergy or various monastic orders who, as we have seen, seem to have had an interest in works concerned with pastoral care. The manuscript contexts of complete copies of the Speculum are predominantly Latin although there are several copies preserved in a predominantly vernacular context.[151] Yet it must have had an appeal for it to have achieved its substantial manuscript circulation and to have enjoyed several early printings.[152] One suspects that with the developing lay market for works of spiritual and self direction, the Speculum Christiani must have enjoyed a new lease of life in the final years of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth, not least in its continental circulation in print and manuscript (where it was shorn of its vernacular material).

Its success must have been due to its careful blending of pragmatism and authority, its practical concern for the problems of pastoral care and the dangers of ignorance and the skilful way in which it deployed vernacular texts as the focus for the Latin authorities and used those authorities to interpret, develop and apply the teachings of the vernacular texts. It is characteristic of its time and place in the cooperation it displays between the Latin teaching tradition and the vernacular tradition of didactic verse.