‘*Þys tale rymeth hou men in senne beþ*’: a Study of Vernacular Verse *Pastoralia* for the English Laity c.1240 - c.1330.

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ABSTRACT

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 promoted regular and effective religious instruction for the parish laity. This was facilitated by the development of preaching and instructional texts – works known as *pastoralia* – which proliferated throughout Europe. This dissertation explores the phenomenon of vernacular *pastoralia* written in rhymed verse, works intended for oral performance to a lay audience. My focus is on the work of four writers of sacramental instruction in Anglo-Norman and Middle English. The earliest text considered is the Anglo-Norman *Corset*, written *circa* 1240-50 by Robert the Chaplain. The other three authors were more or less contemporary, all writing in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth centuries. I examine three penitential poems by the Franciscan friar, Nicholas Bozon: *Pus ke homme deit morir*, *Tretys de la Passion* and *Le char d'Orgueil*, and then *Handlyng Synne* by the Gilbertine, Robert Mannyng. I finally consider the religious poems of William of Shoreham, a vicar in rural Kent, concentrating on *De septem sacramentis* and *On the Trinity, Creation, the Existence of Evil, Devils, Adam and Eve.*

While all these writers confronted the challenges of providing religious instruction for the laity, their efforts also reflected a concern with social issues and an awareness of the literary nature of their verse enterprises. The texts frequently employed poetic or fictive devices found in popular literary genres and, whilst these illuminated and entertained listeners, they sometimes rendered the teaching obscure. The meeting of sacramental exposition, social discourse and literary invention resulted in complex textual interplay and tension, as well as in memorable formulations of faith. This dissertation considers the content of verse *pastoralia* in their historical context and aims to assess how the texts may have been received and understood by parishioners in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England.

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Needless to say, I remain responsible for any infelicities and errors in this dissertation.

Family and friends have all endured my accounts of medieval life. My heartfelt thanks go to my husband, Peter, who has borne the major brunt of my endeavours, developing previously unknown domestic and culinary skills while I sat at my desk. Unsurprisingly, our grandchildren are not impressed that, after years of reading and study, I am still unable to tell them the date of birth of any of my medieval writers.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL NOTE

Accurate terms to describe the French language of medieval England are 'Insular French' or the 'French of England', which can be unwieldy. Scholars have more recently adopted the term 'Anglo-French'. I generally prefer 'Anglo-Norman', since it is an accepted convention for language and literature alike. Where there is no ambiguity, I occasionally use 'French' to contrast with 'English'.

Spellings throughout are retained from secondary sources cited.

All translations into English, bracketed or not, are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

Editorial insertions into quotations are indicated by a square bracket.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900*, Part 1, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922.
BL	London, British Library
BRC	A.B. Emden, *A Bibliographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
BRO	A.B. Emden, *A Bibliographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500,* 3 vols, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957-59.
CCA	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
CCL	*Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina. http://0clt.brepolis.net.
Chronicle	Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *The Chronicle*, ed. Idelle Sullens, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, Binghamton, N. Y.: Binghamton University, 1996

Contes moralisés.	Nicolas Bozon, *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, frère mineur: publiés d'après les manuscrits de Londres et de Cheltenham,* ed. L.Toulmin Smith and P. Meyer, Société des Anciens Textes Français, Paris: Didot, 1889.
Corset	Rober (sic) le Chapelain, *Corset, a Rhymed Commentary on the Seven Sacraments*, ed. K.L. Sinclair, London: Anglo-Norman Text Society (Vol. 52), 1995.
EETS	The Early English Text Society (1864-), o.s. Original Series (1864-), e.s. Extra Series (1867-1920), s.s. Supplementary Series (1970-).
Furnivall, *Handlyng Synne*	*Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng synne', A. D. 1303, with those parts of the Anglo- French treatise on which it was founded, William of Wadington's 'Manuel des Pechiez',* ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 119, 123, London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co,1901-3.
Gratian, *Decretum*	*Corpus Iuris Canonici editio Lipsiensis secunda*, ed. Emil von Friedberg, Vol. 1: *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*, Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879; repnt Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlags-anstalt, 1959.
Handlyng Synne	Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, Binghamton, N.Y.: State University of New York, 1983.
Harley Lyrics	*The Harley Lyrics: the Middle English Lyrics of MS Harley 2253*, ed. G.L. Brook, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1948.
LRRO	Leicester and Rutland Record Office
NCA	Nottinghamshire County Archives
Powicke, *Councils*, II	*Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, II, A.D. 1205-1313*, Part i 1205-1265, Part ii 1265-1313, ed. F.M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
Registrum Hamonis.	*Registrum Hamonis Hethe, Diocesis Roffensis*, ed. C. Johnson, Part 1, Canterbury and York Series, Oxford: Oxford University Press,1948.
Shoreham, *Poems*	William of Shoreham, *The Poems of William of Shoreham, about 1320 Vicar of Chart-Sutton*, ed. Mathias Konrath, EETS e.s. 86, London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co, 1902.
Tanner, *Decrees.*	*Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. and trans. Norman P. Tanner, Vol. 1, Nicaea I to Lateran V, London: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990.

TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*.
Vernon, Minor Poems.	*The Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript*, Part 1, ed. Carl Horstmann; annot. F. J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 98, 1892; Part 2, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS o.s.117, London: K. Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1901.

INTRODUCTION

Amongst the radical reforms and changes that took place in the Western Church in the thirteenth century, one development is particularly important since it touched the lives of many people and had far-reaching and long-lasting consequences. This was the Church's affirmation of the important role of instruction to the laity. Never before had the Church attempted to communicate so extensively with and take account of the laity. It placed fresh responsibilities on lay men and women; with wider sacramental duties they were required to make a greater contribution to the spiritual and temporal life of the Church. A better understanding of how this was achieved is the aim of my present enquiry.

The Church's undertaking required modification of many of its ideas and practices: in liturgy, preaching and canon law. It was crucial that lay people understood and carried out their Christian duties and, to that end, they needed instruction. Provision of instruction was, however, problematic, since medieval priests did not always possess the necessary skills or knowledge. To meet this need, thirteenth-century bishops codified instructional programmes for use with the laity. Learned writers, too, responded and produced an extensive body of instructional works – in Latin to support priests in their duties, and in the vernacular to provide instruction for the laity.[1] These texts, known as *pastoralia*, were composed throughout Western Europe and comprise an important corpus of works which reflects renewal and reform in the medieval Church. Works in the vernacular offer the modern historian access to instruction given to lay people at a time when the Church was endeavouring to shape and mould the laity as part of a united Christian community. They demonstrate the various ways in which the Church fashioned the *societas christiana*; indeed, they made an important contribution to the propagation of that vision.

Vernacular *pastoralia*, often written in verse, proliferated in all European countries, but they appear to have been especially numerous in England. This dissertation will explore the phenomenon through a consideration of works produced in England, concentrating on four English writers: Robert the Chaplain and Nicholas Bozon

[1] The long thirteenth century was called 'l'âge d'or' [the golden age] of religious didactic literature by E. J. Arnould, *Le manuel des péchés: étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande*, Paris, 1940, p. 28.

writing in Anglo-Norman; Robert Mannyng and William of Shoreham, in English. All these writers were learned clerics who composed works for oral performance to groups of lay men and women informally gathered together in a variety of settings. Their works were all written in verse, indicating that they were intended both to instruct and entertain their audiences. Early in my project it became clear that pastoral writers were especially interested in instructing the laity in the principles of the sacraments, the core of their pastoral programme. Each writer demonstrates a concern with the formation of the penitential subject which is articulated in his individual form and mode of verse composition. Three of the writers, Robert the Chaplain, Mannyng and Shoreham, wrote lengthy expositions of the seven sacraments, treating each sacrament in turn and generally following the conventional structure and guidance provided in episcopal statutes for priests who were charged with transmitting instruction to parishioners. Although written specifically for a clerical, not lay audience, these constitutions provide a background which informs our reading of vernacular *pastoralia*. My first chapter, therefore, considers the decrees of Bishop Peter Quivil of Exeter (1280-91), which exemplify what bishops believed to be the basic instruction necessary for the diocesan laity.

It would, however, be inaccurate to suggest that vernacular verse *pastoralia* were limited to lengthy treatises of religious instruction – they included poems which enhanced the devotional and penitential practices of the laity. Shorter works by Bozon and Shoreham demonstrate the same intent as longer *De sacramentis*, that is, they aim to make a sinner aware of his predicament and to effect contrition and repentance. The poems speak directly and personally to the individual Christian and guide him or her through religious duties in order to attain salvation, appealing often to his affectivity. I have, therefore, not limited my selection of pastoral texts to longer treatises, but have included shorter compositions in verse written for the same kind of lay audience. In this way I aim to reflect the diverse and rich vein of material contained in *pastoralia*, the varied modes of religious instruction provided for the laity, the versatility of the writers and the literary nature of their endeavours. Sacramental instruction thus forms the heart of my study, but I understand it in a broad sense as encompassing not only the codification and exposition of each sacrament, but also the enhancement of lay experience.

My principal method of analysis is a historically-minded, close reading of the texts and comparison of their instruction with mandates promulgated by the papacy and the English episcopate. *Pastoralia* provided forceful statements of Christian faith in their exposition of doctrine and insisted that their primary purpose was to teach lay men to recognise their sin and to seek redemption – 'þys tale rymeth hou men in senne beþ'.[2] Yet each text reveals its own idiosyncratic emphases in its instruction since many themes emanate not from accepted doctrine but from the author's perception of lay experience and needs.

My enquiry addresses questions not only about author and text, but also how verse *pastoralia* may have been received by the lay audience. Vernacular *pastoralia*, like other medieval texts, reflect what educated clerics believed was appropriate instructional material for the 'lewd' man. They do not tell us what lay folk of the Middle Ages believed or thought about their religion – this was probably as varied and disparate amongst different groups of men as at any other period. Yet they may offer us limited insights into medieval lay thinking through the process of their direct transmission to their audience. Unlike outlines or *reportationes* of sermons, for example, vernacular *pastoralia* were delivered as they were written to maintain the integrity and efficacy of verse and rhyme schemes – I leave the implications of textual *mouvance* for later discussion. These were not works designed for the pulpit, listeners chose to attend readings or performances. Given the willingness of lay groups to listen to and be entertained by the content of these works – and there is evidence, as we shall see, of their dissemination and popularity – then we might form an impression of the interests and concerns of that audience. Scholarship frequently depicts vernacular *pastoralia* as limited homiletic material but this dissertation aims to demonstrate the rich complexity of the texts and the high level of intellectual engagement they demanded of their audience The works I have considered bear witness to a spirit of independence and curiosity in members of their lay public – a far cry from the enduring depiction of medieval men and women as ignorant and in thrall to their religion.

[2] Shoreham, *Poems*, p.101: *De septem mortalibus peccatis*, ll.73-4.

Historiography and the genre of *pastoralia*

The obvious starting point for a discussion of *pastoralia* is the pioneering work of Fr. Leonard E. Boyle OP (1923-99). As Joseph Goering wrote:

> By inventing a name for this literature, *pastoralia*, and by mapping out its contours, he gave unity to the field that had largely escaped the attention of previous scholars.[3]

Boyle included:

> any and every manual, aid or technique, from an Episcopal directive to a mnemonic of the seven deadly sins, that would allow a priest the better to understand his office, to instruct his people, and to administer the sacraments, or, indeed, would in turn enable his people the readier to respond to his efforts on their behalf and to deepen their faith and practice.[4]

Fr. Boyle defined *pastoralia* very broadly as the 'literature of pastoral care' and this leads us to question whether *pastoralia* may be justifiably considered as a distinct genre. The differences between the texts are highlighted by the heterogeneous structures and forms of vernacular pastoral works – *exempla*, lyrical poems, encyclopaedic expositions and hagiographic narratives; they are written in prose or verse. Yet, as Alistair Fowler has argued, the concept of genre involves a fluctuating and flexible set of repertoires of structures and modes:

> Representatives of a genre may then be regarded as making up a family …related in various ways, without necessarily having any single feature shared in common by all.[5]

Hans Robert Jauss claims that all texts must belong to a genre, that is to say:

> for each work a pre-constituted horizon of expections must be ready at hand … to orient the reader's (public's) understanding and to enable a qualifying reception.[6]

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[3] Joseph Goering, 'Leonard E. Boyle and the Invention of *Pastoralia'* in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200-1500),* ed. Ronald J. Stansbury, Leiden, 2010, pp. 7-22 (p.7). Goering lists all Boyle's relevant articles and papers; Boyle wrote no monograph on the subject. A collection of Boyle's essays was published as *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400,* London, 1981.

[4] L.E. Boyle, 'The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179-1215 and the Beginnings of Pastoral Manuals' in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli, Papa Alessandro III*, ed. Filippo Liolta, Siena, 1986, pp. 43-56 (p. 46).

[5] Alistair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: an Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, Oxford, 1982, p. 41.

[6] Hans Robert Jauss, 'Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature', trans. Timothy Bahti, in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. and intro. David Duff, London, 2000, pp. 127-47 (p. 131).

All *pastoralia* have a horizon of expectations arising from their common primary function of instruction and common communicative goals. These shared aims and objectives may be said to unite the 'genre' or, as John Swales puts it:

> The principal criterial feature that turns a collection of communicative events into a genre is some shared set of communicative purposes.[7]

While the texts I have selected reveal a range of forms and treatments, indeed their disparity is remarkable, they all seek to impact on the belief and conduct of their lay audiences.

In his unpublished 1956 dissertation Boyle identified pastoral treatises and *summae* by 'once-obscure English authors of *pastoralia* such as William de Montibus, Robert of Flamborough, Thomas of Chobham, John of Kent, Richard of Wetheringsett, and Simon of Hinton'.[8] Boyle systematized the great corpus of instructional works in a seminal diagram according to the medieval scholastic technique of *distinctiones*.[9] The genre is divided into texts destined for priests or for the laity; those for priests are further sub-divided between those written for their own enlightenment or for that of the laity; more than forty different categories of *pastoralia* are defined.

Early interest in English vernacular *pastoralia* may be found in the work of European scholars, such as Paul Meyer (1840-1917), Matthias Konrath (1843-1925) and Johan Vising (1855-1942), and in the publication of many instructional texts from the nineteenth century onwards – for instance, by the Roxburghe Club, the Early English Text Society, Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages (the Rolls Series) and the Société des anciens textes français. Emphasis on the unitary importance of the genre was slowly promoted by a small group of eminent medieval historians, such as A.G. Little whose 1916 Ford Lectures described the works by John of Wales (died c.1285) and the collections of material for preachers compiled by English Franciscans, such as the *Fasciculus morum* (early fourteenth

[7] John M. Swales, *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 46.
[8] Goering, 'Leonard E. Boyle and the Invention of *Pastoralia'*, p. 19.
[9] See the diagram in Leonard Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology' in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan, Knoxville, 1985, pp. 30-43 (p. 38).

century).[10] H.G. Pfander also highlighted treatises that 'range in length from the technical works in Latin… to brief poetical renditions of the Points (i.e. of Archbishop Pecham's instructional programme)'.[11] William Pantin (1902-73), Leonard Boyle's doctoral supervisor at Oxford, devoted the final chapters of *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* to a discussion of pastoral and mystical texts produced in England.[12] In the ninth chapter of this book, 'Manuals of Instruction for Parish Priests', Pantin discussed the importance of texts such as Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* (or *Dei,* c. 1235) and William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* (1320-3) and its supplementary *Cilium oculi* (c.1330-40).[13] His appendix to the ninth chapter, which he attributed to Leonard Boyle, lists *summae* of the thirteenth century which were the forerunners of later instructional manuals.[14] Pantin's tenth chapter divided 'Religious and Moral Treatises in the Vernacular' into five groups according to the sources from which they derived.[15] The first group comprised texts based on Edmund Rich's *Miroir* (ante 1240)[16] ; the second, texts based on the *Manuel des péchés* (1260-70)[17] , and the third group was based on *Somme le Roi* (1280).[18] The rest of Pantin's schema was less convincing: his fourth

[10] A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, Manchester, 1917. See chapter 5: 'The Influence of the Franciscans in the Education of the Clergy'.
[11] H.G. Pfander, 'Some Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in England and Observations on Chaucer's *Parson's Tale'*, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 35 (1936): 243-58 (244).
[12] William A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1955. Boyle acknowledged his debt to Pantin; Boyle, *Pastoral Care*, p. i.
[13] Works later studied by Boyle and Goering.
[14] I have set against the writers listed by Pantin recent editions/studies by Goering and others, in order to illustrate the enduring nature of Pantin's (and Boyle's) influence:

- Robert of Flamborough. See J.J. Francis Firth, *'Liber poenitentialis': A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, Toronto, 1971.
- Thomas of Chobham. See *Thomas de Chobham. Summa de arte praedicandi*, ed. Franco Morenzoni, Turnhout, 1988.
- Richard Wetheringset. See Joseph Goering, 'The *Summa* '*Qui bene presunt'* and its Author' in *Literature and Religion in the Later Middle Ages: Philological Studies in Honor of Siegfried Wenzel*, ed. Richard G. Newhauser and John A. Alford, Binghampton, N.Y.,1995, pp. 143-59.
- Robert Grosseteste. See *Robert Grosseteste: Templum dei*, ed. J. Goering and F.A.C. Mantello, Toronto, 1984.
- Anonymous *summa.* See, Joseph Goering, 'An anonymous *Summa 'Speculum iuniorum'* (c. 1250-60)', in *Texts and Traditions of Medieval Pastoral Care: Essays in Honour of Bella Millett*, ed. Cate Gunn and Catherine Innes-Parker, Woodbridge, 2009, pp. 89-99.

Only '*Ad instructionem iuniorum'* of Simon of Hinton and *Summa* '*Animarum regimen'* remain unedited.
[15] Pantin, *The English Church*, pp. 220-43.
[16] *Mirour de seinte eglyse: St. Edmund of Abingdon's 'Speculum ecclesiae',* ed. A. D. Wilshere, London, 1982.
[17] Including Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne.*
[18] Including *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, written in a Kentish dialect in 1340 by the Benedictine monk, Michael of Northgate and surviving in a single copy: BL MS Arundel 57. See: *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, ed. Pamela Gradon, Oxford, 1979.

group was based on texts demonstrating 'an ingenious attempt to equate the various groups of 'sevens'';[19] the fifth group comprised a number of miscellaneous treatises, such as the poems of William of Shoreham and the *Prick of Conscience* (c.1350). Pantin stressed the generic inter-relationship between *pastoralia* and raised important issues about the nature of the texts, such as the reasons why verse form was adopted:

> as in contemporary courtesy books, household regulations and instructions for servants, to make it easier for the illiterate to learn at least the shorter works by heart….Verse treatises, especially the longer ones, were evidently intended as a substitute for and a pious counterfeit of the profane literature of the period - the romances.[20]

Joseph Goering continues in this distinguished line of scholars, his principal focus being pastoral works in Latin.[21]

It is almost inevitable that the use of different languages, Latin or vernacular, together with the fusion of religious and literary discourse in *pastoralia*, has encouraged academic fragmentation in the study of the genre, which tends to run along disciplinary lines of interest: historical, religious, literary and linguistic. Latin texts, for instance, tend to attract the interest of scholars of pastoral theology, such as Leonard Boyle. Anglo-Norman *pastoralia* have generally received only limited attention, with the exception of studies by scholars such as Amelia Klenke, Brian Levy and Dominica Legge.[22] More recently, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne has also made a valuable contribution to our understanding of Anglo-Norman pastoral texts.[23] Robert R. Raymo has provided scholars with a most useful resource in codifying instructional works in Middle English.[24] William Pantin commented that English *pastoralia* were more likely to figure as prescribed texts in a course of English literature than of

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[19] Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 227.
[20] Ibid., p. 221.
[21] See, for instance, Goering's seminal work, *William de Montibus (c.1140-1213): The Schools and Literature of Pastoral Care,* Toronto, 1992.
[22] For studies by Klenke and Levy, see Chapter 3. Legge includes religious literature in her survey of Anglo-Norman literature in *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, Oxford, 1963, pp.176-275. See, too, Ruth Dean and M.B.M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: a Guide to Texts and Manuscripts,* London, 2000, a major contribution to scholarship on Anglo-Norman literature.
[23] See: Nicholas Watson and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'The French of England: The *Compileison, Ancrene Wisse,* and the Idea of Anglo-Norman', *Journal of Romance Studies*, 4 (2004): 35-59. The first part outlines the limited number of studies of Anglo-Norman texts in England and France (35-40).
[24] Robert R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosphical Instruction' in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500*, ed. A. E. Hartung, New Haven CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986, Vol. 7, pp. 2255-378.

theology or history.[25] Whilst there is truth in Pantin's assertion, English works, such as *Handlyng Synne*, are often studied not for their individual interest but as forerunners of the Middle English literary canon of the late-fourteenth century. Thomas J. Heffernan deplores the 'acute focus' on study of the Chaucerian canon, at the expense of other Middle English texts which inhabit an 'aesthetic limbo'.[26] His findings are borne out by the limited research available on writers like William of Shoreham. Important studies by scholars like Siegfried Wenzel, Nicholas Watson and Bella Millett have contributed significant insights into the cultural and literary dynamics of *pastoralia.* Yet, in the main, divergence of scholarly interests has detracted from interest in the genre *per se.*

Use of the vernacular

Although the vernaculars were increasingly used in written documents throughout Europe, Latin remained the general language of record of the Church and state in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[27] There is evidence, too, that some laymen had knowledge of Latin.[28] The Anglo-Norman/English divide of the *pastoralia* studied in this dissertation reflects the two linguistic codes in everyday use in medieval English lay society. English predominated as the spoken language and Anglo-Norman as the textual language.[29] The later development of English as the principal literary language is presaged by the works of William of Shoreham and Robert Mannyng. The learned writers considered here have extensive linguistic skills in Latin, French and English which they deploy in their exploration of this complex linguistic nexus.

English and Anglo-Norman co-existed as the vernacular languages of England in this period. The term 'vernacular' is usually applied to a tongue which is 'a focus for the cultural and political aspirations of a people and their rulers, for underprivileged and

[25] Pantin, *The English Church*, p. 220.
[26] Thomas J. Heffernan ed., *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, Knoxville, 1985, pp. xxii, x.
[27] Michael Clanchy's description of the linguistic situation in England is a clear, sound exposition. See, in particular, the chapter on 'Languages of Record' in *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 197-223.
[28] See footnote 48, p.21.
[29] Andres M. Kristol, 'L'intellectuel "anglo-normand" face à la pluralité des langues: le témoignage implicite du MS Oxford, Magdalen Lat. 188' in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D. A.Trotter, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 37-52. Christopher Baswell speaks of 'the shifting negotiations of Latin, French and English during the first half of the fourteenth century'; Christopher Baswell, 'Multilingualism on the Page' in *Middle English*, ed. Paul Strohm, Oxford, 2007, pp. 38-50 (p. 46).

privileged alike'.[30] This is true of English, but not of Anglo-Norman. We may, however, use other criteria to define Anglo-Norman as a vernacular – the common tongue of a specific lay group in contrast to Latin which continued to be the language of the clergy.[31] In the period that followed the Conquest, the elite English laity spoke Anglo-Norman and, it has often been claimed, the language continued to be spoken extensively over a long period – a claim refuted by most modern scholars.[32] As early as the twelfth century, Anglo-Norman was in a state of decline as a spoken language; unlike English, it never developed into regional dialects but was maintained as an elite idiolect.[33] Ian Short, for instance, suggests that 'Anglo-Norman must have come to lose much more rapidly than has hitherto been appreciated the status of a true spoken vernacular'.[34] By the thirteenth century the language is more accurately described as an acquired second language, even for the elite, and it did not spread throughout the indigenous population.[35] It was considered 'more evidently a language of culture when its acquisition becomes a matter of study as well as of social milieu'.[36]

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[30] Fiona Somerset, *Clerical Discourse and Lay Audience in Late Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. ix, x. This definition is consistent with the portrayal of the English language by writers like Robert Mannyng. The population spoke English and was, in the main, monoglot.

[31] Ibid., p.x.

[32] The extensive use of Anglo-Norman by the English nobility was disputed as early as 1879 by T.F. Simmonds in Dan Jeremy, *The Lay Folk's Mass Book*, London, 1879, pp. li, lii. He pointed to: the weakening of links between English nobles and the Continent as early as 1204 with the loss of Normandy; the requirement by Louis IX in 1244 that subjects with land overseas were to choose allegiance to the French or English crown; the subsequent confiscation by Henry III of the English lands of aristocrats whose loyalty to him was not forthcoming. Simmonds suggested that within a few years the nobility spoke English, and he likened the situation in medieval England to that of eighteenth-century Germany, Russia and Poland, where French was artificially maintained as the language of the court. The subject has since been the attention of great debate, see: Ian Short, 'Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England', *Romance Philology*, 33 (1980): 467-79; William Rothwell, 'The Teaching of French in Medieval England', *The Modern Language Review*, 63 (1968): 37- 46; Rothwell, 'Stratford atte Bowe and Paris', *The Modern Language Review*, 80 (1985): 39-54. Rothwell, 'Playing "follow my leader" in Anglo-Norman Studies', *French Language Studies*, 6 (1996): 177-210. Some recent scholars prefer the term 'Anglo-French' to emphasise the continuing influence of Anglo-Norman on Continental French: Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War*, Oxford, 2009, esp. pp.11-7 and 317-28; and David Trotter, 'Not as Eccentric as it Looks: Anglo-French and French French', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 39 (2003): 427-38. Trotter argues that Anglo-Norman was not an offshore dialect but an essential link with continental French, citing evidence of contact long after the break with Normandy in 1204.

[33] A powerful indicator of a language that has become archaic. Comparisons may be drawn between literary Anglo-Saxon, Medieval Latin and Anglo-Norman as textual languages of report/authority that must be learned.

[34] Ian Short, 'Bilingualism': 468. William Rothwell argues that 'the mother tongue of the English nobility was already English by the latter part of the twelfth century', 'Stratford Atte Bowe': 49.

[35] Robert the Chaplain claims that he has written *Corset* in French so that Alan, his patron, may understand his religious instruction. Robert may also suggest that some members of Alan's retinue have only limited French, see discussion in Chapter 2.

[36] Susan Crane, 'Social Aspects of Bilingualism in the Thirteenth Century' in *Thirteenth-Century England, VI*, ed. Michael Prestwich, R.H. Britnell and Robin Frame, Woodbridge, 1997, pp. 103-16 (p. 105).

Scholarship has also refuted claims of the widespread presence of English-French bilingualism in medieval England, permeating even the lower strata of society.[37] Some individuals clearly had considerable ability in two or three languages, such as Abbot Samson (1135-1211) who was fluent in French and Latin, read English and preached in his native Norfolk dialect.[38] Yet Samson's linguistic ability is unsurprising in an important and successful abbot, just as it is in skilled writers of *pastoralia*. The majority of the population at all social levels spoke the same language – English.[39]

Modern scholarship has also challenged the claim that Anglo-Norman enjoyed great prestige. This is certainly true for the period following its establishment in England, but its status soon declined with the realisation of the divergence between the insular form of the language, and *Francien*, or Continental French.[40] In *Francien* texts, Englishmen speak execrable French with mistakes of grammar and pronunciation. For instance, humour in the *fabliau* '*Des deux anglois et de l'anel*' is created by the Englishmen's request for roast *agnel* (lamb) which is understood by the French as roast *asnel* (donkey).[41] Medieval writers of French in England also often show little respect for their own language which they treat as inferior to the Continental version. Walter Map (1140-c.1210), for example, mocks the incorrect French spoken by Geoffrey Plantagenet when relinquishing the see of Lincoln (c.1182). Map repeats the widespread belief that anyone who drank from a spring near Marlborough would

[37] Dominica Legge claims: 'most people, down to the very poorest, were bilingual' in twelfth-century England and cites Jocelin of Brakelond (fl. 1173-1215) who 'implies that by 1182 country folk almost invariably understood French', *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p. 4. Yet Legge's citations reveal nothing of the sort. For instance, Abbot Samson confirms the manor of Thorp to a deserving peasant who does not speak French in *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond,* ed. and trans. H.E. Butler, London, 1949**,** p. 33. This does not, however, imply farmers were usually francophone; Samson merely preferred to deal with men of modest backgrounds who were monoglot. For evidence that lends some support to Legge's claim, see footnote 48, p. 21.

[38] C*hronicle of Jocelin*, p. 40.

[39] See Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario: The Dialogue of the Exchequer*, ed. and trans. Emilie Amt, Oxford, 2007, p. 81: 'the two nations are so mixed that today (c.1179) one can scarcely distinguish who is English and who is Norman'.

[40] In 'Stratford Atte Bowe and Paris': 39-40, William Rothwell draws up a list of ways in which Anglo-Norman differed from Continental French, besides pronunciation and accent, for example: generalisation of all verbs to the first conjugation in -er (e.g. *morer* for *morir*); the use of a direct object with verbs of asking and entering; lack of agreement of adjectives with nouns. For the classic description of the language, see M.K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with especial consideration of Anglo-Norman Phonology and Morphology*, Manchester, 1952.

[41] Peter Rickard, *Britain in Medieval French Literature 1100-1500*, Cambridge, 1956, pp.170-8 (esp. pp. 170-2).

speak a barbarous form of French. As a result, any man who spoke poor French was said to speak 'Gallicum Merleburge' [the French of Marlborough].[42]

Despite this perception of the inferiority of the French of England, later writers of English, like Robert Mannyng, continued to claim that the language was held in high regard, in contrast to the lowly status of English. Their protestations stressed the universal plainness and intrinsic worth of the English language, at the expense of French, and asserted the cultural and political cohesion of English speakers. The anonymous writer of the *Speculum vitae* (mid-fourteenth century) claims that many people do not understand French or Latin, unless they have lived at court:

> Bot lered and lawed, alde and yhunge,
> Alle understands Inglische tunge.[43]

[But educated and uneducated, old and young, all undertand the English language] Through this self-authorisation and justification for writing in English, French was marginalised as a language which lacked currency in England.

Texts written in French were not, therefore, prestigious *per se*, nor were they necessarily destined for an elite audience.[44] Anglo-Norman was an acquired second language amongst all social groups and continued to be used as the authoritative language of record.[45] Recent evidence suggests French was used amongst a wide range of social groups; such as business people who were driven by practical, commercial imperatives to use French in both written and oral transactions.[46] Peter

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[42] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M.R. James; rev. C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1983, pp. 496-7. Years later, Chaucer's prioress is famously ridiculed for speaking French in the fashion of Stratford atte Bowe.

[43] Ralph Hanna ed., *Speculum vitae: a Reading Edition*, EETS o.s. 331, Oxford, 2008, Book 1, ll. 79-80.

[44] 'The perception that French and English were markers of social hierarchy has truth to it, but partly depends on too literal a reading of the self-representations of Anglo-Norman and Middle English texts': Nicholas Watson and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'The French of England: The *Compileison*': 35.

[45] Susan Crane, 'Social Aspects of Bilingualism', p.105: 'Curiously, as Anglo-Norman moved from being an elite vernacular to being a less naturally acquired language of culture, its domain of use expanded. Far from declining in importance after 1200, it became a language of law and government as well as of literature and the courts'. Walter of Bibbesworth's thirteenth-century *Tretiz de langage* helps Denise de Montchensi teach French vocabulary to her children, implying that French must be learnt; see Rothwell, 'The Teaching of French': 38. As Anglo-Norman was non-dialectal, unlike English, it was, paradoxically, intelligible to a wider audience.

[46] See: Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche Trewely: The French Language in England, 1000-1600: Its Status, Description and Instruction*, Amsterdam, 1991, p.40. Kibbee writes that French terms are found in records of the building trade, particularly from the southern part of England. See, too: Richard Britnell, 'Uses of French Language in Medieval English Towns' in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: the French of England, c.1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al*., Woodbridge, 2009, pp. 81-9.

Coss also notes that the London merchants who organized the *pui*, a literary and musical fraternity, promoted the composition of lyrics in French.[47] Michael Richter, too, demonstrates how a degree of practical English-French bilingualism existed amongst Anglo-Welsh groups linked by business interests.[48] It is perhaps less surprising that French appears to have been the language of choice in some houses of nuns.[49] Most wills were written in Latin, but Alison J. Spedding has noted the appearance of a very small number of late medieval wills in French, indicating facility in the language in communities that are leisured but not necessarily noble.[50] The predominance of French in the public domain does not signal that it was an elite vernacular but the acquired language of record and culture which was commonly used in commerce and administration. By the fourteenth century the literary culture of the English laity was expressed in either of the two vernaculars.

Development of rhyme and verse

The *pastoralia* treated in this dissertation were written in rhymed verse, as were many types of medieval text in Latin and the European vernaculars. In England, for instance, some of the earliest versified texts are Anglo-Norman treatises of the early twelfth-century, such as Philippe de Thaon's *Li Compoz*.[51] Even canonical texts in Latin prose were sometimes adapted into verse, such as the prose *Summa de poenitentia* (1235) of Raymond of Pennafort (1175-1275), which was versified as *Excerptum speculi caritatis* by Arnulf of Louvain (c.1200-1250). Like the choice of

[47] Peter Coss, 'Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England: The Early Romances, Local Society and Robin Hood', *Past and Present*, 108 (1985): 35-79 (40-1).

[48] Michael Richter, 'Collecting Miracles along the Anglo-Welsh Border in the Early Fourteenth Century' in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D.A. Trotter, 2000, pp. 53-61.The Vatican dossier, MS Vat. Lat. 4015 examined by Richter, is based on a papal delegation of 1307, which investigated two miracles in England and Wales. From his analysis of the responses of witnesses, Richter concludes that four languages were used in daily business: English, Welsh, French and Latin. In one of the cases the majority of the witnesses replied in French which, Richter claims, was not their mother tongue but the language of education and culture which indicated their higher social status (p. 58). Richter also finds unexplained weak levels of Latin amongst some clerical witnesses but, conversely, familiarity with Latin amongst some laymen. Richter warns against modern assumptions about greater medieval language competence amongst the urban laity compared with rural counterparts (p. 60).

[49] See David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries*, Kalamazoo, 1995, pp. 64-5 (68-71).

[50] See Alison J. Spedding, ''My testament in Englisshe tonge': a Study in the Use of the Vernacular in Medieval Wills', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, April 2010. The earliest French wills Spedding found was dated 1347, and the final example 1431. The earliest English will is that of Robert Corn, written in 1387.

[51] Phillippe de Thaon, *Comput (MS BL Cotton Nero A.V)*, ed. Ian Short, London, 1984 (written c.1119), which focuses on numbers in the calendar and in astronomy, as well as on those of religious or mystical significance. Phillippe's *Bestiaire* (post 1121) is also in verse.

vernacular, the decision to write in prose or verse appears to be a matter of personal preference for authors of pastoral texts. Robert Grosseteste (c.1170-1253), for example, worked mainly in prose but wrote the *Chasteau d'Amour* and other works in verse.[52] On the other hand, bishops' treatises and a number of important *pastoralia*, such as the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, were written in prose. The medium of prose became increasingly important during the fourteenth century and beyond .[53]

Despite the profusion of versified texts in the medieval period, accentual verse was a relatively new development in European poetry. In classical Latin and the early medieval vernaculars, prosody was not based on a system of stressed or unstressed syllables, nor was rhyme or syllable count a feature.[54] The earliest Christian writers in Latin imitated classical pagan models and used classical prosody.[55] Over the centuries, however, this was abandoned in the West in favour of accentual-syllabic verse which also involved the strophic grouping of lines with an equal number of syllables, divided by a fixed caesura, and constant or sporadic rhyme scheme.[56] The underlying reasons or influences behind this change remain unclear, although it has been widely – and most plausibly – suggested that the emergence of verse in Latin poetry was encouraged by liturgical music and hymnody.[57] The increasing

[52] An English translation of the work, *Castel of Love*, is found in *Vernon, Minor Poems*, p. 355.
[53] See H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle* Ages, Oxford, 1993. Spencer enumerates the advantages of prose: 'a more fitting, less distracting medium for imparting unvarnished truth, but in particular, when translating the Bible, more literal translation was possible'. She cites the example of Robert of Greatham's (that is, the Chaplain) verse *Miroir* (1250) which was translated into English prose as the *Mirror* in the fourteenth century (p. 154).
[54] The metre of classical Latin, for instance, is based on a series of feet in the line, a foot being composed of long or short syllables. The important dactylic hexameter, used by Virgil, is a line of six feet; typically, the first four feet are dactyls (a long syllable followed by two short), or spondees (two long syllables); the fifth syllable is generally a dactyl, and the sixth is a spondee or trochee (a long syllable followed by a short). Monotony was avoided by the changing distribution of dactyls and spondees in successive lines and by the varying positions of the caesura.
[55] That is, an irregular number of syllables to the line and no rhyme scheme. See, for instance, a hymn by Ambrose (340-97) which continued to be sung at Compline in the Roman Office, beginning 'Te lucis ante terminum' in F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry: from the beginnings to the close of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1953, p. 41.
[56] This development in medieval Latin poetry is exemplified in the octosyllabic verse of Alan of Lille (c.1128-1202). For an example, see Raby, *A History*, p. 302.
[57] Claims linking this with the influence of Semitic poetry and Syriac hymnology or the survival of an older, accented popular poetry in Latin are implausible. The development of verse is carefully described by Raby, who summarizes the rhymed characteristics of the regular liturgical sequence by the end of the twelfth century, *A History*, p. 348. See, too, Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, Paris, 1972, especially pp. 44-57; Mikhail Leonovich Gasparov, *A History of European Versification*, trans. G. S. Smith and Marina Tarlinskaja; ed. G.S. Smith with Leofranc Holford-Strevens, Oxford, 1996, tracing the development of Latin, Romance and German/English versification, especially pp. 88-92, 96-102, 119-21. Other factors, too, have been proposed, and rejected: e.g. that the process was promoted by the linguistic development of the stress placed at the end of a phrase in Old French.

importance of hymns in the office highlighted the rhythmic requirements of song, as did musical developments in the sequences of the mass.[58] From his examination of a large corpus of Latin songs with words, Christopher Page concludes that rhythmic prosody was attractive to those concerned with musico-poetic forms such as the *conductus* which was developed at Notre Dame in Paris (1160-1245).[59] Subsequently rhymed versification, firmly embedded in the poetics of medieval Latin, was transmitted by imitation to the religious and secular lyrics of the European languages which, in turn, influenced each other.[60] Rhyming verse developed in England, first in Anglo-Norman texts, then in English works, such as the twelfth-century *Ormulum* and *Poema Morale*. By the thirteen century rhyme had become an established feature of many works in Anglo-Norman and Middle English and provided rhythm, line-separation, pattern, and structure.[61] Despite the differences in their origins and their

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Possible Scandinavian, Welsh and Provençal influences are suggested in 'Rhyme: History' in *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Alex Preminger, Princeton, 1965, pp.708-9. *Langue d'oïl* poetry does not use rhyme although the French *Chanson de Roland* does in the early twelfth century; see *La chanson de Roland*, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford: Blackwell, 1962. All extant Anglo-Saxon poetry is based on alliteration, apart from an 87-line poem found in the tenth-century *Exeter Book*; see Ruth P. M. Lehmann, 'The Old English 'Riming Poem'': Interpretation, Text, and Translation', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 69 (1970): 437-49.

[58] Two chants occur between the epistle and the gospel readings: the gradual and the alleluia. It was customary to prolong the final 'a' of the alleluia in a complex and lengthy piece of singing, called the *Jubilus* which comprised the original sequence. Words were added, eventually creating a new form - a series of unrhythmic prose strophes and alternating antistrophes, often preceded by a brief proem of three or four words, and concluding with a matching coda. Over time, sequences were coupled with the verse of a psalm and developed into paired versicles, sung after the alleluia. The chapter 'Sequences' in David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 172-95, examines rhymed sequences including the eleventh-century Easter piece, *Victimae paschali laudes*, [Praises to the paschal victim]:'one of the earliest sequences to exploit rhyme' (p. 189). By the early to mid- twelfth century, the Victorine sequences of Adam of St Victor demonstrate greater complexity in the pattern of the length of the lines and the frequent use of strophic monorhyme, exemplified in the Easter sequence, *Zyma expurgetur vetus* [Let the old leaven be thrown away] in Raby, *A History*, pp. 353-4.

[59] See Christopher Page, *Latin Poetry and Conductus Rhythm in Medieval France*, London, 1997. A *conductus* text was a metrical Latin poem, sacred or secular, set to music in which voices moved within the same range, often crossing parts – the first polyphonic music not based on existing chant.

[60] The process is examined in song lyrics by Eric Dobson and Frank Harrison eds, *Medieval English Songs*, London, 1979. In the collaborative edition of the *Planctus ante nescia* [Mourning never known before] by Godefroy of St Victor, dated pre-1200, Eric Dobson compares the Latin version with the later French *Eyns ne soy ke pleynte fu* and the English *Ar ne kuth iche sorghe non*, dated post-1225 (pp.110-20). The latter are *contrafacta*, poems written to fit the music of a pre-existing song, with which metre and stanzaic form must match. Dobson comments: 'The primary object of the English text is to reproduce, line by line, the number of syllables used in the French' in order to fit the music, and there is a deliberate attempt to make the French and the English lines match in accentual rhythms' (p. 111). He concludes: 'The order seems clear: the Latin comes first, with its metrical regularity, then the French, and finally the English' (p.119).

[61] G. L. Brook writes: 'Unrhymed lines are so rare in Middle English lyrics that, when they occur only in one stanza, corruption is to be suspected', *Harley Lyrics*, p.20. The alliterative poetry of Old English was composed of a varied number of syllables to the line, but with a fixed number (generally four) of strong stresses and an important caesura. Alliterative poetry in later Middle English remained largely unrhymed (apart from Laȝamon).

traditions, Anglo-Norman and English textual cultures followed remarkably similar paths of development during the high Middle Ages and the poetics of both languages show a remarkable affinity.

Metrical works in the vernacular exploited the essentially aural qualities of rhyme and served an important role in spoken as well as musical performance, covering a wide spectrum of literary genres, including lyrics and popular romance. Just as Latin poetry had long served as a tool of oral communication and instruction in religious contexts, so versification in the vernaculars spread to sermonising, instruction and drama, such as the twelfth-century French *Grant mal fist Adam* [62] and Hélinand de Froidmont's *Vers de la mort* (composed 1194-7).[63] Verse clearly enhances the performance of the scop/jongleur and of the reader/preacher.[64] For the latter especially, the mnemonics inherent in rhymed verse faciliates the retention of instructional material by the student or audience.

Both Judaism and Christianity had long acknowledged that imagery and poetry played an essential function in the representation of the divine in Holy Scripture. Yet works such as the psalms and the Song of Songs often presented 'a formidable nexus of problems of interpretation'.[65] The use of poetic modes in religious exposition was often regarded with suspicion. Lady Philosophy, for instance, chides Boethius (d. 524) for receiving the Muses of Poetry, 'has scenicas meretriculas' [these hysterical sluts].[66] This poor opinion of poetry continued for many centuries; Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) called it 'the lowest of all methods of expression'.[67] Medieval

[62] For the play known variously as *Ordo representacionis Ade*, *Le jeu d'Adam* and *Le mystère d'Adam*, see *The Play of Adam*, ed. Carl J Odenkirchen, Brookline Mass., 1976; and *Le jeu d'Adam*, ed. Wolfgang van Emden, Edinburgh, 1996.
[63] *Hélinand of Froidmont* (c.1160-post 1229) had been a minstrel before becoming a monk at Froidmont. He wrote extensively: poems, sermons, and a *Chronicon*.
[64] Siegfried Wenzel has commented widely on the intercalation of vernacular lines into Latin sermons. See: *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, Princeton, 1986, pp. 3-20.
[65] Alastair Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, London, 1986, p. 42.
[66] Boethius, *The Theological Tractates and The Consolation of Philosophy*, rev. trans. H. F. Stewart, London, 1918, p. 132.
[67] 'Infima inter omnes doctrinas'; Thomas Aquinas, *Summae theologiae, prima pars*, q. 1, art. 9, arg.1. *CCL* [accessed 9/6/2012]. Aquinas goes on to defend the agency of poetry in scripture, dismissing the possibility of falsehood: 'Sed sacra doctrina utitur metaphoris propter necessitatem et utilitatem… radius divinae revelationis non destruitur propter figuras sensibiles quibus circumvelatur, ut dicit Dionysius, sed remanet in sua veritate; ut mentes quibus fit revelatio, non permittat in similitudinibus permanere, sed elevet eas ad cognitionem intelligibilium. [But holy scripture uses metaphor out of necessity and on account of its usefulness… the ray of divine revelation is not destroyed because of the

commentators throughout the early and high Middle Ages frequently drew attention to the potential for distortion and misunderstanding in the use of metaphor and image in general poetic practice, the subject of much scholarly discussion and study. These attacks met, however, with a strong defence and Latin poetry continued to flourish. In his influential *Anticlaudianus* (1181-4), Alan of Lille, for example, defended the relationship between poetry and divine truth in the allegorical struggle of Prudence to discover the science of the divine and the formation of the new Man:

> For in this work the sweetness of the literal sense will soothe young ears, the moral instruction will inspire the mind seeking perfection, the sharper subtlety of the allegory will whet the intellect of the advanced.[68]

Alan's poem thus has three functions: aesthetic, moral and intellectual – and he acknowledges the varying interpretative powers of his readers; even 'young ears' will benefit from his work. The lay public of vernacular verse *pastoralia* may similarly have limited experience of the metaphorical images and fictive ploys of poetry. To counter any charge of misleading his audience, the writer of instructional poetry must emphasise the agency of poetic expression in the dissemination of moral truth, as, for example Radolphe de Longchamps (d. 1200, friend and commentator of Alan of Lille) does in responding to the question: 'What might the nature of poetry be and how many kinds are there?'

> Poetics is thus a science hiding serious and important discourse in verse or prose. However, there are three types: history, tale and argument or drama. History is the telling of a true and seemingly true fact; a tale is the telling of a fact neither true nor appearing true; an argument is the telling of a fact which is not true but appears so. History comprises satire and tragedy. Satire is indeed fully given to the extirpation of vices and the instruction of virtues; all tragedy invites

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images we perceive veiling it on all sides, as Dionysius says, but it stands steadfast in its truth, just as it does not allow those minds, to whom revelation is made, to remain mired in fictive imagery, but raises them to knowledge of what may be understood]. Ibid., responsio ad argumentum: 1.

[68] 'In hoc etenim opere litteralis sensus suauitas puerile demulcebit auditum, moralis instructio perficientem imbuet sensum, acutior allegorie subtilitas proficientem acuet intellectum': R. Bossuard, ed., *Alain de Lille, Anticlaudianus, texte critique*, Paris, 1955, p. 56. See, too, *Anticlaudianus: or the Good and Perfect Man*; trans. James J. Sheridan, Toronto, 1973. See: James Simpson, *Sciences and the Self in Medieval Poetry, Alan of Lille's 'Anticlaudianus' and John Gower's 'Confessio amantis',* Cambridge, 1995, which points out the analogies between the journey of Fronesis (Prudence) in *Anticlaudianus* with that of Nature in Bernard Silvestris's *Cosmographia*, seeking the principle of man's celestial existence. Simpson concludes: 'The *Anticlaudianus*, then, makes a coherent case for the place and power of poetry in the hierarchy of the sciences. The explicit defence of pictures as poetry provides a model for reading the 'picture' of the poem as a whole, insofar as we are invited to move from the external surface of the picture ... to the idea behind it that makes sense of the surface image/s' (p. 252).

> contempt for fate. Although the narration of tale and argument is indeed held to be fictitious, both encourage man to despise vice and to seek virtue. Thus [poetry] expels vice and encourages virtue, sometimes through history, sometimes through tale and sometimes through argument.[69]

Yet Radolphe's *apologia* does not disprove the fact that poetic devices like allegory frequently create textual ambiguity and potential for moral confusion. Vernacular verse *pastoralia*, too, must constantly assert their high moral purpose.[70]

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the use of verse associated the vernacular text with the authority of Latin tradition. Authoritative chronicles and histories were often written in verse, such as *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (commissioned 1226-9). Verse also highlighted composition in a literary register and thereby aligned vernacular *pastoralia* with a flourishing secular culture which used verse extensively. The texts derived many of their themes and devices from a wide range of popular genres: histories, romance, chivalric tales, fables and fabliaux, lyrics, scientific manuals and books of courtesy. Writers of pastoral texts often intimated a desire to match the popularity of these secular works. Angier of St Frideswide, for example, wrote in 1212: 'The fables of Arthur of Brittany and the tales of Charlemagne are more valued and held in higher regard than the Gospels'.[71] Robert Mannyng aimed to bring religious instruction to men, 'who gladly listen to tales and verse' at feasts and in taverns, and he claimed the superiority of his *exempla* would ensure 'that they may spend their time profitably'.[72] Moreover, writers of vernacular verse *pastoralia* frequently called attention to their literary skills – delighting in wordplay, rhyme patterns and display of their craft as wordsmiths and versifiers. Versification thus

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[69] 'Quid sit Poesis et Quot Eius Species? Poësis igitur est scientia claudens in metro vel prosa orationem gravem et illustrem. Tres autem eius species : historia, fabula, argumentum seu commedia. Historia est narratio rei verae et verisimilis ; fabula vero est narratio rei nec verae nec verisimilis; argumentum est narratio rei non verae tamen verisimilis. Sub historia continetur [sic] satira et tragedia. Satira vero tota est in extirpandis vitiis et informandis virtutibus; tragedia tota est in contemptu fortunae. In fabula vero et argumento quamvis ficta habetur narratio hortantur tamen ad contemptum vitiorum et appetitum virtutem. Expellit itaque vitium et informat virtutem tum per historiam, tum, per fabulam, tum per argumentum'; Radolphe de Longchamps, *In Anticlaudianum Alani commentum*, ed. J. Sulowski, Wrocław, 1972, 'Capitula Distinctionis Primae', XXXV, p. 44.

[70] See *Corset*, ll. 9-12 and *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 121-8.

[71] 'Les fables d'Artur de Bretaigne/ E les chansons de Charlemaigne/ Plus sont cheries e meins viles/ Qe ne soient les Evangiles'; *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great translated into Anglo-Norman French by Angier*, ed. Timothy Cloran, Strasbourg, 1901, Book 1, 9c, p. 12, ll. 29-32.

[72] 'Þat talys & rymys wyle bleþly here'; 'Þat þey may weyl dyspende here tyme' (*Handlyng Synne*, ll. 46 and 52).

offered the writer the opportunity to parade his expertise and, at the same time, allowed him to introduce a sense of playfulness into the texts. This dissertation does not seek to address questions of the nature of poetry or the technical composition of the authors' verse, but it acknowledges the literary nature of the enterprise and explores the textual manipulation of *pastoralia* as effective rhetoric artefacts.[73]

Vernacular verse *pastoralia* were innovative works with few textual antecedents and no established audience. Information about the composition of the public targeted is often limited and inconsistent; for instance, texts often state that they are written for a lay audience, yet they may articulate topics of interest to the clergy. *Pastoralia* sometimes claim to address a specific group of male listeners but textual evidence may challenge the nature of the audience designated by the writer or intimate the presence of women. Despite these difficulties, it is crucial to investigate the identity and type of each audience because of the implications for the text.[74] The writer selects his choice of material for the intended audience and modifies it accordingly: he may connive or conflict with his listeners; he may distort or suppress information. Conversely, the reception of *pastoralia* by readers and listeners was informed by their horizons of expectation in spheres of religious and social interaction. The writer's 'artistic' contribution must interact with audience reception of the work – 'the aesthetic…the realization accomplished by the reader'.[75] These factors must be brought into any speculative reconstruction of the audience's reaction; when, for instance, the anticipated instructional discourse is replaced by idiosyncratic topics or priorities which, far from being appendages to moral directives, take centre stage. The audience must also engage in discerning contradictions and inconsistencies inherent in the texts – what Aaron Gurevich describes as 'the concepts of ambivalence and immanent dialogue' which permeate medieval literary culture.[76] Medieval dialectic plays a crucial role in *pastoralia* and the opacity of some textual material

[73] For an informative resource for medieval poetics, see: Rhiannon Purdie, *Anglicising Romance: Tail-Rhyme and Genre in Medieval English Literature*, Woodbridge, 2008. See Bozon (pp. 52-4) and Shoreham (pp. 57-8).
[74] See Paul Strohm's argument in 'Chaucer's Audience(s): Fictional, Implied, Intended, Actual', *The Chaucer Review,* Vol.18 (1983): 137-45.
[75] Wolfgang Iser, 'The Reading Process: a Phenomenological Approach', *New Literary History*, Vol. 3 (1972): 279-99 (279).
[76] Aaron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. Janos M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth, Cambridge, 1988, p.180.

requires careful analysis and discussion to extract its meaning.[77] I shall investigate not only the writer's contribution but also the medieval audience's response to the complexities and surprises of many *pastoralia*.

The main body of my dissertation begins with the historical context in which *pastoralia* were composed: the constitutions of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 which were consolidated by episcopal directives throughout Europe. By 1281 bishops had codified a syllabus for lay instruction, based on the elements of the faith and emphasising the importance of the Sacraments. The statutes and *Summula* of Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, provide an example of the systematic programme that was to be imparted to parishioners in the diocese. The emphasis on the *cura animarum* [78] resulted in the implementation of educational initiatives which allowed a greater number of secular priests to benefit from a university education. The writers studied in this dissertation, however, may well have belonged to orders of friars or canons whose provision of clerical education is well documented. The discussion of the historical background is followed by my readings of verse *pastoralia* written in Anglo-Norman and Middle English.[79] I explore the works of four English writers, each in a separate chapter. The earliest text is the Anglo-Norman *Corset*, an exposition of the sacraments, written *circa* 1240-50, by Robert the Chaplain. The other three authors were roughly contemporary, writing towards the end of the thirteenth or at the beginning of the fourteenth century. My third chapter examines penitential poems by Nicholas Bozon: *Pus ke homme deit morir*, *Tretys de la Passion* and *Le char d'Orgueil*. I then focus on *Handlyng Synne*, begun in 1303 by Robert Mannyng. Finally, I consider *De septem sacramentis*, *Pater Noster*, *The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary* and *On the Trinity, Creation, the Existence of Evil, Devils, Adam and Eve* by William of Shoreham.

[77] For a summary, see Tony Hunt, 'Aristotle, Dialectic, and Courtly Literature', *Viator*, 10 (1979): 95-130, which draws on a range of works from Aristotle to Abelard's *Sic et non*, and describes the constant questioning of the texts required of the reader/listener.
[78] 'In the Middle Ages… the mainstays of the *cura animarum* or pastoral care were the sacraments and preaching'; Leonard Boyle, 'The Inter-Conciliar Period', p. 45.
[79] The chronological listing of selected works places French works first and English second.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF *PASTORALIA*

The Fourth Lateran Council and English Statutes

Scholars have long acknowledged the importance and enduring influence of this great Council in the religious life of Western Europe. Robert Swanson, for instance, speaks of the 'change' and 'dynamism' initiated by Lateran IV, which reflected 'papal leadership and inspiration, a determination to overcome obstacles'.[1] Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) had convoked the assembly in response to a series of challenges and crises in Church government and leadership. To combat these threats, he aimed to reassert and reform the tenets and practices of the faith and to effect dynamic regeneration of the *societas christiana*.[2] The Council acknowledged the laity as an important, integral part of the Christian community, declaring : 'Not only virgins and the continent but also married persons find favour with God by right faith and good actions and deserve to attain to eternal blessedness'.[3] Lay men and women were charged with new duties, most famously expressed in the formal requirement of the twenty-first canon that all Christians, 'omnis utriusque sexus fidelis', should make private confession to their own priest at least once a year.[4] The outcomes of the Council demonstrated a 'heightening of interest in the care of souls' requiring the development of 'a better-educated clergy who would bring the laity to a reasonable understanding of the essentials of Christian belief and practice'.[5] Schools were to be established to teach scripture to priests and 'especially to instruct them in matters which are recognized as pertaining to the cure of souls'.[6] The responsibility of the priest was thus defined more explicitly than in the past.[7] The Lateran Council also

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[1] R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 2-3.
[2] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 230, Canon 1, *On the Catholic Faith*, reaffirms the Church's basic beliefs: the complex nature of the Trinity and of the person of Christ; the unique salvific function of the Catholic Church through the essential mediation of the priesthood; and the primacy of the sacraments of the eucharist, baptism and penance. For an assessment of Innocent's achievements and major innovations as judge and law-maker, see: Jane Sayers, *Innocent III: Leader of Europe 1198-1216*, London, 1994, pp. 94-124; and as pastoral reformer, pp.189-97.
[3] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 231.
[4] Ibid., p. 245.
[5] L.E. Boyle, 'The *Oculus sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula', *TRHS*, 5 (1955): 81-110 (81).
[6] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 240. Canon 11 refers to the lack of observance of Canon 18 of the Third Lateran Council which had ordered the establishment of cathedral schools.
[7] The duties of a priest had often been expressed as little more than a list. For instance, Gilbert of Limerick set out fourteen duties in *De statu ecclesiae*: 'praeesse, subesse, orare, offerre, praedicare, docere, baptizare, benedicere, excommunicare, reconciliare, ungere, communicare, commendare, sepelire' [to rule, support, pray, make offerings, preach, teach, baptize, bless, excommunicate,

addressed the issue of episcopal responsibility and strengthened the diocesan framework as bishops were formally required to reinforce and supervise their procedures and practices. Synods were to be held annually and the initiatives and directives they promulgated were to be disseminated through the conduit of diocesan communication and supervision.[8] In short, the Fourth Lateran Council aimed to strengthen diocesan administration, to improve the morals and education of the clergy and to instruct the laity in the faith.[9] The groundwork for spiritual reform was based on the reassertion of church doctrine through episcopal mandate and implemented by priests whose mediation as representatives of the Church was increasingly emphasised in the performance of sacraments such as marriage.

This traditional narrative of the impact of the Council has not, however, passed unchallenged. The date 1215 certainly marks a watershed but may have been overemphasised and become a cliché: '1215 and all that', as Peter Biller put it.[10] R. Emmet McLaughlin also commented on the 'mythic importance' of Pope Innocent and the Fourth Lateran Council.[11] Many of the issues considered at the Lateran Council had been referred to it by bishops, who had been canvassed beforehand to submit topics of concern in the dioceses for discussion at the meeting. Several constitutions thus reflect practices and procedures that may already have become customary.[12] It may also be argued that the Fourth Lateran Council did little more than articulate doctrines deriving from the great scholastic debates, and that it was the influence of the schools, rather than the Lateran decrees, which generated a culture of

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reconcile, anoint, sing mass, recommend, bury]; J. Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c.1070-1145): Architect of a Medieval Church*, Dublin, 2001, p. 154.

[8] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 236, Canon 6: *On Provincial Councils*. Bishops are to appoint suitable men to deputise for them in investigating malpractices in the dioceses and to report back to the diocesan council.

[9] E. J. Arnould suggests these were the aims of the Council but adds that lay instruction became the principal preoccupation of episcopal decision-making; *Manuel des péchés*, p.11. The Council laid out guidance for the priest's way of life; for the prohibitions on moral incontinence, drunkenness, inappropriate dress and gluttony of the clergy, see Tanner, *Decrees*, pp. 242-3, Canons 14-7.

[10] Introduction to *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis, Woodbridge, 1998, p. 30.

[11] R. Emmet McLaughlin, 'Truth, Tradition and History: the Historiography of High/ Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance' in *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, Leiden, 2008, pp.19-71 (p. 22).

[12] Cheney emphasises the continuity of ecclesiastical legislation throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: 'It was, of course, no new departure. Teaching on the sacraments entered into the law of the Anglo-Norman Church with the legatine canons of Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, at York in 1195 and his provincial canons of Westminster, 1200': C. R. Cheney, *Medieval Texts and Studies*, Oxford, 1973, p. 189.

reform that impacted on the development of the *cura animarum* and lay instruction.[13] The significance of the Council would thus derive not from its innovation, but from the codification of reforms and the development of administrative channels for ensuring implementation. Certainly the Council's affirmation of lay merit and importance served as a powerful stimulus for clerics and laymen alike. Throughout thirteenth-century Europe, active – and often effective – bishops took up the challenge of reform; their prolific legacy of statutes and treatises shaped the pastoral life of the medieval parish.[14]

The production of synodal statutes was well-established in England before the Fourth Lateran Council.[15] The process often involved replication of pre-existing documents and resulted in *synodalia* that were compilations and consolidations of earlier constitutions. This practice continued throughout the thirteenth century, especially in the circle of men around Robert Grosseteste.[16] The framework of diocesan administration facilitated and monitored the diffusion of episcopal mandates amongst the priesthood. Recognising the importance of the *cura animarum*, several bishops instructed priests in the basic information that should be given to the laity so that they might have better understanding of the Christian faith and its practices. Over a long period, a syllabus of lay instruction was drawn up and was most famously drafted in the ninth constitution of the Council of the Province of Canterbury at Lambeth in 1281 by Archbishop John Pecham.[17] This was based on the fourteen articles of faith, the Decalogue, the two evangelical precepts, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven virtues and the seven sacraments. Little of this was new but the

[13] See Wei's study of the University of Paris which suggests the importance of the schools in the formulation, implementation and diffusion of new rulings; for example, Chapter 5: 'Sex and Marriage' in Ian Wei, *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris*, Cambridge, pp. 247-92. For an interesting refutation of the influence of named individuals or institutions in the creation of large-scale social change, see Michael G. Sargent, 'Censorship or Cultural Change? Reformation and Renaissance in the Spirituality of Late-Medieval England' in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, Turnhout, 2011, pp. 55-72 (esp. p. 69).

[14] For an example of a dynamic French reformer, Bishop Eudes Rigaud, see the early article of Léopold Delisle, 'Le clergé normand au treizième siècle, d'après le journal des visites pastorales d'Eude Rigaud, Archevêque de Rouen (1248-1269)', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, (1846): 479- 99; also Adam J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat: Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-Century Normandy*, Ithaca, N.Y., 2006.

[15] C. R. Cheney, 'Introduction to the New Impression', *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, London, repnt 1968, p. vi.

[16] See the chapter 'Statute-making in the English Church in the Thirteenth Century' in Cheney, *Medieval Texts and Studies*, pp. 138-57 (especially 146 ff.).

[17] Powicke, *Councils*, II, pp. 900-5, beginning *Ignorantia sacerdotum* [The ignorance of priests].

programme was significant as the first statement of the elements of the Christian faith by an archbishop for lay instruction in the whole of the Southern Province. Pecham's syllabus was still held in high regard in the mid-fourteenth century when it was redacted by Archbishop Thoresby (d.1373) for the Northern Province.

The beliefs and practices required of the medieval laity do not appear to have been onerous but programmes such as Pecham's aimed also to instil knowledge and understanding of basic doctrine.[18] The statutes of Peter Quivil (also known as Quinel or Quivel) provided greater detail about what the priest should convey to his flock, particularly in regard to penitential practice. Quivil followed the precedent of a number of bishops who had, throughout the thirteenth century, 'supplemented their diocesan statutes with brief treatises designed to explain in more detail certain aspects of pastoral care'.[19] The treatises offered appropriate strategies and themes for diocesan priests to use in the *cura animarum*. Bishop Quivil wrote a short penitential guide, the *Summula*, to augment lay sacramental instruction prescribed in the first eight constitutions, or chapters, of the 1287 Exeter Statutes.[20] He also followed the episcopal custom of using predecessors' material since, as Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor have demonstrated, Quivil's treatise was a redaction of the *Omnis etas* of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester (1236/7-1266), promulgated in 1240.[21] Quivil's synodal statutes and *Summula* provided a substantial and systematic programme of sacramental exposition for the parish priest. The bishop ordered

[18] John van Engen has summarised these: baptism and last rites to secure salvation; rudimentary knowledge of the Apostles' creed and Lord's Prayer; rest on Sunday and holy days with attendance at mass; fasting at specified times; confession once a year (*post* 1215); communion at Easter; the payment of various fees and tithes; alms for the needy. See John van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *American Historical Review,* 91 (1986): 519-52 (546).

[19] Joseph Goering and Daniel S. Taylor, 'The *Summulae* of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinel (1287)', *Speculum,* 67 (1992): 576-94 (576). Leonard Boyle described these treatises as one of the important types of *pastoralia* developed during the thirteenth century. For other examples, see Powicke, *Councils*, II, Alexander of Stavensby, 'Quidam tractatus de vii criminalibus' (pp. 214-20) and 'Quidam tractatus de confessionibus' (pp. 220-6), accompanying the Statutes of Coventry (1224 x1237). These supplementary tracts appear to be peculiar to England; see Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au Moyen Age,* Louvain, 1962, p. 31. Jean-Charles Payen comments that most early penitential treatises in French (for example, *Lumiere as Lais*) were written in England; Jean-Charles Payen, *Le motif du repentir dans la littérature française médiévale, des origines à 1230*, Geneva, 1967, p. 563.

[20] The Exeter statutes appear in Powicke, *Councils*, II, pp. 982-1059; the *Summula* on pp. 1059-77. The *Summula* is intended 'ad utilitatem suam et confitentium' (p. 1062) [for the use of [the priest] and those confessing].

[21] See Goering and Taylor, 'The *Summulae*'. As Quivil chose to publish this tract in his name, I retain the authorship designated by Powicke. Cantilupe's *Summula* (1240) reflected rulings that were already established by the time *Corset* was written.

diocesan clergy to display a copy of the statutes and of the *Summula* in parish churches for the edification of other clerics and exposition to the laity.[22] Compliance was carefully monitored, as later visitations frequently checked on the availability of copies of appropriate statutes in parish churches.[23] It is, therefore, likely that the Exeter statutes and *Summula* were used as Quivil had intended.

The statutes and *Summula* of Bishop Peter Quivil

The bishop provides a summary of lay instruction, similar to Pecham's, in the penultimate chapter of his *Summula*, 'De articulis fidei'.[24] His list begins with the articles of faith such as the nature of the Trinity and the Ascension, then proceeds to a synopsis of the sacraments, the creed 'in lingua materna', the Paternoster, Ave Maria and concludes with the order that priests must remind parishioners that they must confess and receive penance from their own priest three times a year.[25] Quivil's emphasis on the creed in English may indicate that the bishop required lay understanding of the core belief, not mere recitation. The *Summula* consists of thirty-eight chapters, the first twenty of which present the Decalogue and the *septem mortalia peccata* as part of a strategic and systematic approach to be adopted by priests in order to clarify the nature of the sins committed. Quivil's statutes and *Summula* provide a programme of instruction for the laity which includes rote-learning, intellectual engagement and active participation in the sacraments – the focus of this dissertation.

His tone is practical and direct: the first commandment, for instance, requires the penitent to consider whether he has sinned by showing to demons or other creatures the devotion that is due to God alone, 'cultum soli deo debitum', or by making

[22] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 1059. Quivil's epilogue to the *Summula*, chapter 38 (p.1077) instructs priests to retain a copy of the tract in every church and parish. Any infringement of his instruction will incur a fine of one mark. Any archdeacons who are negligent in monitoring this will be fined two marks.

[23] Parish provision is monitored in *The Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1307-1326)*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, Exeter, 1892: 'una sinodus' [one copy of diocesan statutes] is noted by those making the visitation to Branscombe church, dated 11 July 1307 (p.194); the visitation to St Mary's Church, dated 4 July 1301, notes 'statutum synodale sufficiens' [adequate diocesan statute provision] (p. 337). Katherine French examines the bishops' supervision of conditions in the parishes through visitations and 'mechanisms of oversight'by archdeacons and rural deans. She also refers to the list of questions to be put to church wardens in the diocese of Bath and Wells. See Katherine L. French, *The People of the Parish: Community Life in a Late Medieval English Diocese*, Philadelphia, 2001(especially pp. 27-36).

[24] Powicke, *Councils*, II, Chapter 37, p. 1076.

[25] Ibid.

sacrifices to demons. Quivil's instructions concerning the second commandment warn against perjury and against swearing on the 'caput vel cetera menbra Christi' [head or other parts of Christ's body]. [26]

The first chapter of Quivil's statutes, *De sacramentis in genere* [Concerning the nature of the sacraments], affirms the importance of the sacraments to mankind: 'ecclesiastica sacramenta ad salutis remedia sunt divinitus instituta' [the sacraments of the Church were established as a remedy [for sin] by God for our salvation].[27] Quivil considers the qualities and relative importance of each sacrament: baptism and penance are necessary for the salvation of all men, whereas confirmation, the eucharist and extreme unction 'non ita sunt necessaria ut precedentia quoniam absque eis potest esse salus' [are not thus as necessary as the preceding sacraments, since they do not ensure salvation].[28] He reminds priests that 'horum autem septem sacramentorum quedam sunt irreiterabilia, ut baptismus, confirmatio, et ordo, que semel collate minime reiterantur' [a number of the seven sacraments are unrepeatable like baptism, confirmation and the orders, which, once bestowed, may not be repeated] [29] – the *character indelibilis* is an important issue in *pastoralia*. After these general comments, each sacrament is expounded in a dedicated chapter.

Quivil's second chapter treats the important issue of lay baptism: 'sacerdotes insuper suos instruant parochianos quod non solum sacerdotes verum etiam clerici et layci...suos parvulos valeant baptizare' [priests should, moreover, instruct their parishioners that not only priests but also clerks and laymen are able to baptize their children].[30] He emphasises that 'duo sunt necessaria in baptismo, verbum scilicet et elementum' [two things are necessary in baptism, namely, the words and the element [water]].[31] Parents should know the words of baptism and women must have water

[26] Ibid., p. 1063.
[27] Ibid., p. 985.
[28] Ibid., p. 986. They must, however, be observed and respected, he adds. Marriage and the taking of orders are unlike the other sacraments, being voluntary spiritual acts.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., p. 987. Canon 1 of the Fourth Lateran Council affirms that salvation is ensured when the sacrament is performed in the form laid down by the church by anyone: 'a quocunque'; Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 230.
[31] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 987. Anxiety about correct lay procedure is found in many commentataries; see, for example, Goering, 'The *Summa* "Qui bene presunt"': 151 (footnote 35).

close at hand during childbirth so that emergency baptism may be performed.[32] The priest must emphasise the responsibility of parents not to delay the baptism of a sick infant. Quivil acknowledges that lay baptism is problematic for the priest. He cannot be sure it has been correctly performed but, should this be the case, repetition of the rite is prohibited. The priest must circumvent this difficulty with the words: 'I do not intend to baptise you a second time, but if you are not yet baptised, I baptise you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit'.[33] Quivil itemises details of the arrangements to be made for a normal baptism, such as the number of god-parents. Should an older, illegitimate child be brought to baptism, Quivil orders the priest to question him so that the parents may be named and punished for their illegal relationship.[34]

Unlike baptism, the second sacrament, confirmation, has no precedent in the New Testament and its importance was debated by authorities like Thomas Aquinas.[35] Although the age of confirmation varied in different dioceses, Quivil is precise:

> We have strictly instructed parochial priests that they should tell their parishioners more frequently to give due attention to their children aged four years, so that they may be confirmed as quickly as possible.[36]

As a senior prelate, the bishop clearly envisaged an orderly line of command from the priesthood to the laity; the sacraments could be used as a disciplinary tool. Yet parishioners were probably aware of flexibility about the age of confirmation and the

[32] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 988. Quivil speaks to pregnant women: 'pregnantibus mulieribus' not midwives. Monica Green claims that Church authorities assumed that professional midwives did not always attend births: Monica Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine*, Oxford, 2008, p. 137. By the start of the fourteenth century, however, according to Green, the importance of midwives was recognised by Church authorities and they were scrutinized, although there are no records in England of ecclesiastical appointments of midwives until the sixteenth century. Writers of *pastoralia* generally address midwives, as well as mothers, reflecting the fact that most births were attended by women with practical skills.

[33] 'Non intendo te rebaptizare, sed si nondum es baptizatus ego baptizo te in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti'; Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 988.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Thomas Aquinas claimed: 'Videtur quod confirmatio non sit sacramentum, Sacramenta enim ex divina institutione efficaciam habent, sicut supra dictum est. Sed confirmatio non legitur a Christo instituta. Ergo non est sacramentum'.[It appears that confirmation is not a sacrament since the sacraments take their efficacy from divine institution, as I said before. But we do not read that confirmation was instituted by Christ. Therefore it is not a sacrament]; *Summae theologiae tertia pars*, q. 72, art.1, arg. 1, *CCL* [accessed 13/11/2011].

[36] 'sacerdotibus parochialibus districte precepimus ut parochianos suos sepius moneant quatinus parvulos suos… procurent quamcitius poterunt confirmari'; Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 989.

sporadic availability of the bishop.[37] In both *De baptismo* and *De confirmatione* Quivil reiterates the need for the maintenance of appropriate relationships amongst sponsors in light of the spiritual affinity created by the sacraments:

> Priests should instruct their parishioners that neither father nor mother, neither stepfather nor stepmother should sponsor their child at confirmation by the bishop. Neither should a man sponsor a woman, nor a woman a man, nor should anyone who has not already been confirmed …. On the one hand, those who are sponsoring children for confirmation, and on the other, the children themselves who have been confirmed and their parents, all contract a spiritual relationship with each other as they do at baptism. Because of this, marriage is forbidden between the former and the latter groups.[38]

Spiritual affinity thus created a complex web of relationships and prohibited marital relations within the spiritual family.[39] Yet the rules of consanguinity already made it difficult for the laity to avoid irregular relationships in small parish communities and the frequent reiteration of the constraints of spiritual affinity in *pastoralia* suggests a degree of lay resistance.

Lay men and women were formally required by the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council to attend the celebration of the eucharist at Easter. Despite the doctrinal centrality of the sacrament, there is good evidence of poor attendance at mass and of parishioners' lack of respect for the sacrament.[40] Until the eleventh century many basic eucharistic issues had been only loosely formulated.[41]. The late twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries had witnessed the development of a complex line of reasoning based on the Aristotelian philosophy of matter to explain the transformations

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[37] For the intermittent availability of the bishop, see Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children,* London, 2001, pp. 217-21.

[38] 'Sacerdotes autem suos instruant parochianos ne pater aut mater, vitricus vel noverca, puerum suum, nec vir feminam seu femina masculum aut qui confirmatus non fuerit, ad episcopum teneat confirmandum… Item quod inter tenentes pueros ad confirmandum ex parte una et ipsos confirmatos et parentes eorum ex altera, sicuti in baptismo, cognatio contrahitur spiritualis, propter quam adinvicem matrimonium contrahere prohibentur'; Powicke, *Councils,* II, p. 989.

[39] See Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, p. 59, no. 6, for a diagram of the prohibitions of 'Cognatio spiritualis' [spiritual relationship] contracted in three ways: through baptism, penance and confirmation.

[40] See Susan Reynolds, 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism', *TRHS*, 6 (1991): 21-41 (37). Miri Rubin also outlines the disrespectful behaviour of the laity during the Mass, *Corpus Christi*, pp.150-5. For a similar situation in France, see: Alexander Murray, 'Religion among the Poor in Thirteenth-Century France: the Testimony of Humbert de Romans', *Traditio*, 30 (1974): 285-324 (esp. 301-3). Lay non-attendance might have been due to a liberal interpretation of the licence granted by Lateran IV to individuals if 'they think, for a good reason and on the advice of their own priest that they should abstain from receiving it [the eucharist] for a time'; Tanner, *Decrees,* p. 245.

[41] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*: *the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture,* Cambridge, 1991, p.14.

effected.[42] Yet the first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council states simply that the eucharist is taken in 'the forms of bread and wine, the bread and wine having been changed in substance, by God's power, into his body and blood'.[43] Quivil's *De eucaristia* does not focus on sacramental exposition for the laity but offers practical advice to a priest who is preparing to perform the rituals. Quivil insists, for instance, on the simple ingredients of wheat and water to make the host; it is to be stored in such a way as to prevent fermentation or mould. He later adds that it must not be kept for more than a week. The chalice is to be filled with equal amounts of wine and water; the altar candles are to be made of pure wax.[44] Care must be taken that the host is not elevated before the sacramental words: 'Hoc est enim corpus meum' [for this is my body], to prevent the idolatrous worship of an object created by man alone. Quivil adds that, at this point, the laity is to kneel and adore the creator. The mystery is described briefly: 'panis transsubstantiatur in corpus' [the bread is transformed into the body (of Christ)]. Quivil recognises, however, the dramatic potency of the moment of elevation, as he lists the accompanying silver and ivory implements, candles and the ringing of the bell when the laity are to bow or kneel in adoration, 'for in this way the devotion of the faithful is aroused and promotes the greater virtue of the faith'.[45] Gary Macy has described the mass of the high medieval period as 'a spectacle perfomed by the priest for a laity whose participation in the sacrament took place through devotions other than those of the liturgy'.[46] Macy's view is reinforced by the bishop's emphasis on the sensory drama of the sacrament although he acknowledges that the laity may have difficulties in accepting the core doctrine. Quivil's advice, however, skirts around the question of exposition:

> Thus, lest any anxiety or doubt created by the devil should enter the minds of the laity about the body of Christ, before they take communion, they should be instructed by the priests that they are eating in the form of bread that which hung on the cross for the sake of their salvation; and they are drinking from the cup that which [i.e. the blood] flowed from the side of Christ. They should be taught all this

[42] See Gary Macy's thorough analysis of the long process in *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period*, Oxford, 1984.
[43] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 230. For early formulation of the process, see: J. Goering, 'The Invention of Transubstantiation', *Traditio*, 46 (1991): 147-170.
[44] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 990.
[45] 'per hoc etenim fidelium devotio excitatur et fidei meritum suscipit incrementum'; Ibid.
[46] Gary Macy, 'Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages' in *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ian Levy, Gary Macy and Kristen van Ausdall, Leiden, 2012, pp.365-98 (p.366).

> through exemplary tales, reasoning and miracles which have hitherto happened. [47]

Quivil thus leaves the clergy to decide on the manner of exposition to be adopted, although we note his endorsement of the use of narrative material which is extensively exploited by writers of *pastoralia* in their attempt to bring the laity to a greater understanding of the sacrament.

Evolving penitential practices of private confession placed, perhaps, some of the greatest demands on the priest, a fact reflected in the length of Quivil's fifth canon, *De penitentia*, and the supplementary *Summula.* [48] Unlike older public practices, private confession required parish priests to deal directly with the penitent, to determine penance and give absolution but also to attempt to reform the penitent, acting like a doctor.[49] The skill and role of the priest are crucial and he must ensure his own sins are appropriately confessed. In addition to certain practical arrangements for the sacrament, the constitution stipulates how priests should conduct themselves when hearing confession:

> They should listen to whatever is said, and should support penitents with a spirit of kindness; they should not vex them with their words or looks, but should show concern and encourage them carefully to confess their sins in full. [50]

The priest should keep his eyes downcast and not look around; he should look at the penitent's face only to see if confession has brought on a blush – an important indication of contrition, according to Quivil. Arrangements should be in place to make confession possible three or four times a year, 'ante Natale domini, Pascha, et Penthecosten, vel ad minus in Quadragesima' [before Christmas, Easter and

[47] 'Unde ne instigante diabolo ulla solicita dubitatio de corpore Christi mentes occupet laycorum priusquam communicent instruantur per sacerdotes quod illud accipiunt sub panis specie quod pro ipsorum salute pependit in cruce, hoc accipiunt in calice quod effusum est de Christi latere; et ad hoc inducantur per exempla, rationes, et miracula que hactenus evenerunt'; Ibid., p.991.
[48] For the background to the evolution of the sacrament see: Paul Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement de pénitence au XIIe siècle*, Louvain, 1949. Rob Meens has suggested that, even in the eighth and ninth centuries, individual penance was practised: Rob Meens,'The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance' in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis, Rochester, NY and Woodbridge,1998, pp. 35-62. See, too, Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900-1050,* Woodbridge, 2001, which demonstrates how forms of penance – public, private and mixed – coexisted from an early date.
[49] Powicke, *Councils,* II, p. 991. See Canon 21 of Lateran IV for the *topos* of the priest as doctor who administers an appropriate remedy, Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 245.
[50] 'Audiant quicquid dixerint, ac eos supportent in spiritu lenitatis; nec verbis exasperent nec aspectu, sed solicite inducant ut integre confiteantur'; Powicke, *Councils,* II, p. 992.

Pentecost, or at least in Lent]. Quivil threatens to excommunicate parishioners who fail to confess once a year.[51] The bishop's guidance demonstrates some sympathy and understanding of lay predicaments. For example, the priest should take care when setting penance not to cause suspicion and discord between married couples. Women are to confess in open view, not behind a curtain, as they must be seen but not heard by others. Moreover, the sick are reassured that confession may be deferred until they recover and that, should they die, the intention to confess will commute their time in purgatory.

Quivil's directives reflect the growing importance placed on the relativity of sin and penance in the pastoral theology of the thirteenth century.[52] For instance, the priest should assess the gravity of the sin when questioning an adulterous woman:

> He should ask her whether it was with a cleric or layman, with a man in orders or a secular, with a priest or with a deacon or subdeacon, with a married or unattached man, with a man related by blood or spiritual affinity.[53]

The *Summula* explores this doctrine further and orders greater precision:

> So we must find out who did what. He [the penitent] should not, however, just give his own name in full, but must declare his personal status, saying outright : I, the bishop; or I, the priest and so through the different orders; or I, the monk, of such and such an order; or I, a nun, or anchoress; because these states make the sin worse. For it is worse for a bishop to commit fornication than a lowly clerk; worse for a cleric than a layman; and worse for a monk than a secular cleric.[54]

Further guilt may be caused by involvement with certain groups of men:

> You should then see what support was lent to the action. If, for instance, a man killed another with the aid of clerics or monks whom

[51] Ibid. The laity may also have failed to go to confession. See: Alexander Murray, 'Confession before 1215, *TRHS*, 6 (1993): 51-81 (79).
[52] The relativity of sin had become an important issue in theoretical theology; see for example, Thomas Aquinas' discussion of the circumstances of human actions and the influence on sin in *Summae theologiae prima secundae*, q.7 and 73, *CCL* [accessed 4/6/2012].
[53] 'Querat ab ea utrum cum clerico vel layco, religioso vel seculari, sacerdote vel(im) dyacono vel subdiacono, coniugato vel solute, consanguineo vel affine'; Powicke, *Councils*, II , p. 993.
[54] 'Deinde videndum est, quis quid fecit. Non tamen ut nominet se proprio nomine, sed statum vel personatum suum exprimere debet, ita scilicet dicendo, ego episcopus, vel ego sacerdos: et sic de aliis ordinibus: vel ego monachus ordinis talis, vel ego monialis vel inclusa; quia istae proprietates aggravant peccatum. Peius est enim episcopum, quam simplicem clericum fornicari; peius clericum, quam laicum, peius religiosum, quam simplicem secularem'; *Summula*, *De circumstantiis peccatorum*, Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 1069-70.

> he took with him, he has sinned more than if he acted alone or even in the company of laymen.[55]

The circumstances surrounding sin create relative degrees of guilt which are to be factored into the enjoined penance.[56] Chapter twenty of the *Summula* ends with the well-known list of questions to be put to the penitent: 'Quis, quid, ubi, cum quo, quotiens, cur, quomodo, quando' [who, what, where, with what, how often, why, how, when]. Quivil explains the general principles of interrogation and takes the priest through each question, thus providing a more flexible instrument for analysing sin than the lists of sins in the older penitentials, and thereby creating, too, a model of the penitential subject.[57] The bishop's advice is sensitive and measured: indeed he is surprisingly reticent about what should be enjoined as penance. He lists fasting, pilgrimage and beating but the penance to be enjoined in each case is left to the priest's discretion.[58]

Quivil's rulings are, then, restrained and at odds with the claims of some scholars, such as Thomas Tentler, who assert that the Church sought to increase its control through penitential discipline and repression implemented by the priest as he elicited confession.[59] Pierre Payer has also emphasised the potentially repressive nature of confession and penance.[60] Unsurprisingly, Leonard Boyle completely rejected such assertions.[61] Recent studies present more moderate views of medieval confession and penance: Sarah Hamilton, for instance, writes of the diversity of penitential practices, which gradually placed less emphasis on the punitive nature of the sacrament.[62]

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[55] 'Ut si forte interfecerit quis hominem auxilio clericorum vel religiosorum, quos secum attraxit, plus peccat quam si solus hoc fecerit vel etiam cum laycis'; Ibid., p. 1070.
[56] The theory may have originated many years before, according to D. W. Robertson, Jr., 'A Note on the Classical Origin of "Circumstances" in the Medieval Confessional', *Studies in Philology*, 43 (1946): 6-14.
[57] Catherine Rider demonstrates the development of orderly confession through the use of questions found in confessional manuals; Catherine Rider, 'Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth Century England: the Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010): 327-40.
[58] Quivil concludes that the penance should be inspired by God and scripture; Powicke, *Councils*, II, *Summula, De penitentiis iniungendis*, pp. 1074-5.
[59] Thomas Tentler, 'The *Summa* for Confessors as an Instrument of Social Control' in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. Charles Trinkaus with Heiko A. Oberman, Leiden, 1974, pp. 103-25; and *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton, 1977.
[60] Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: the Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150*, Toronto, 1984, and *Sex and the New Medieval Literature of Confession, 1150-1300*, Toronto, 2009.
[61] L. E. Boyle, 'The *Summa* for Confessors as a Genre, and its Religious Intent' in the *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, pp. 126-30 – a response to Tentler's paper above.
[62] See, for instance, Hamilton, *The Practice*, p. 210.

Older, public penitential practices often depended on humiliation to punish the sinner – unlike private confession – but the laity continued to value them, as Mary Mansfield has demonstrated.[63] Quivil does not address the issue although *pastoralia* also suggest lay reluctance to give up older forms of penance

Quivil's sixth statute on extreme unction claims that the sacrament may actually help the sick recover their health, since it acts both 'ad alleviationem corporum remissionemque peccaminum' [to relieve the body and for the remission of sins].[64] He and writers of *pastoralia* attempt to overturn fears that unction is the inevitable herald of death. The sacrament may have been unpopular with both clergy and laity, since Quivil criticises the reluctance of priests to attend the dying and threatens to suspend those who fail to comply. He also warns priests that they must not accept money from a grateful sick parishioner. Quivil rebuts popular lay misunderstandings about the sacrament, such as the belief that men who recovered after receiving unction were no longer allowed : 'carnes commedere, nudis pedibus ambulare, et, si coniugati fuerint , uxores suas cognoscere ' [to eat meat, walk around with bare feet, or if they are married, have intercourse with their wives].[65]

The sacrament of matrimony had the greatest impact on the lives of the laity and required only the couple's words of mutual acceptance to complete the sacramental act. In the early medieval period, therefore, secular domestic arrangements for marriage had been considered adequate and the priest's mediation had not been required. From roughly the beginning of the twelfth century, however, the nature of the marriage contract had undergone radical change when the Church attempted to exert exclusive control of the procedures. The agency of the priest was now required but this remained a constant problem since it was not sacramentally essential. The liturgy was developed for the ceremony and additions were made to the laws on marriage, as discussed by the Lateran Council and completed by the decretals of Gregory IX in 1234.[66] Marriage became a complicated contractual agreement. The

[63] Mary Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France*, Ithaca and London, 1995.
[64] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 995.
[65] Ibid., p. 996.
[66] Modern commentaries on medieval marriage are extensive. Christopher Brooke, *The Medieval Idea of Marriage*, Oxford, 1989, remains a solid base for the study of the subject. David d'Avray writes on the role of preaching in disseminating the symbolism of the sacrament in 'The Gospel of the Marriage

long and arduous implementation of these changes resulted in many instances of confusion and non-compliance amongst the laity, as evidenced by the records of marital disputes in the ecclesiastical courts.[67]

In his introduction to the section *De matrimonio* Quivil defines marriage as an outlet for desire and does not mention its procreative function.[68] The creation of marriage 'per sponsalia de futuro initiatur, per mutuum consensum de presenti ratificatur, per carnalem copulam consummatur' [begins with words of betrothal for future marriage, is ratified with words of present mutual consent and is consummated through intercourse].[69] Quivil thus promotes the necessity of consummation for the completion of marriage, as opposed to an older theory that mutual consent is the sole requirement for validating a marriage.[70] The words of marriage should be in the present tense: 'Accipio te in meam, et: Ego te in meum' [I take you as my wife, and: I take you as my husband] and of betrothal, in the future tense: 'Accipiam, vel habebo,

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Feast of Cana and Marriage Preaching in France' in *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons*: *Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity*, ed. Nicole Bériou and D. L. d'Avray, Spoleto, 1994, pp. 135-53, and in *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society*, Oxford, 2005. For the development of matrimonial law, see: James Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe,* Chicago, 1987 and *Medieval Canon Law*, London, 1995. Richard Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*, London, 1974, examines the question of matrimonial disputes. Michael Sheehan's essays in *Marriage, Family and Law in Medieval Europe: Collected Studies,* ed. James K. Farge, intro. Joel T. Rosenthal, Toronto, 1996, treat the social and legal realities of medieval marriage, such as property and dower.

[67] Compliance was enforced by the extended powers of the church courts, established throughout Europe under the authority of bishops, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a universal system of canon law developed. The medieval Church held primary jurisdiction over the laws of domestic relations through the hierarchical system of the spiritual courts: from the archdeacons' and canons' courts through the consistory courts of the bishops and, eventually, to the papal curia. Bishops, or their officials, sat in judgement in marriage and probate disputes, and the legitimacy of the ecclesiastical system of marriage law was accepted and approved. Helmholz points out: 'there was never an English law of marriage apart from that administered by the Church courts'; *Marriage Litigation*, p. 118. It was not until 1857 that probate jurisdiction in England was transferred to common law by the Court of Probate Act, 20 and 21 Vict. C. 77; in the same year matrimonial jurisdiction was similarly transferred by the Matrimonial Causes Act 20 and 21 Vict. C. 85.

[68] As noted by Peter Biller, 'Birth-Control in the West in the Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries', *Past and Present*, No. 94 (1982): 3-26 (9).

[69] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 996.

[70] Gratian had written: 'Matrimonium enim non facit coitus, sed voluntas ... Coniugalis pactio, non virginitatis defloratio facit matrimonium' [Intercourse does not make marriage, assent does ... the contract of betrothal, not the deflowering of virginity, makes a marriage]; Gratian, *Decretum*, secunda pars, causa xxvii, quest. ii, c.v, p.1064. The doctrine of free consent as the effective cause of matrimony was promulgated by Peter Lombard (c.1100-60) and led to conflict between the French Church (words alone) and the Italian Church (consummation necessary). Official release from non-consummated *desponsatio de praesenti* could not be achieved without papal dispensation which was difficult to obtain, so that it was regarded as practically indissoluble. The basic question of whether or not consummation completed marriage was never addressed and the argument continued. The decree, *Licet praeter solitum*, of Pope Alexander III (1159-81) has prevailed to the present day: consent alone constitutes marriage and consummation is presumed to follow.

te in meam, et : Ego te in meum' [I shall take you, or will have you as my wife, and: I shall take you as my husband] or the equivalent.[71] Quivil emphasises conditions that ensure good order – the celebration is to take place 'palam et sobrie' [in public and with sobriety], not in inns or secret places. The insistence on open performance required the presence of a church rector or parish priest with three trustworthy witnesses to ensure the consent of the parties.[72]

De matrimonio reveals the bishop's displeasure at the frequency of matrimonial cases heard in his courts and he seeks speedier resolution through simplification and clarity in all processes. Quivil believes that correct observance of these rulings in the presence of witnesses will clarify issues that may be disputed later, as 'perplexitates inextricabiles in causis matrimonialibus sepius inducuntur' [unfathomable difficulties are often brought into marital disputes].[73] The priest's control of marriage arrangements is anchored in the calling of the banns at least a week before the wedding and instruction is given on how to deal with objections. Quivil threatens with punishment those who are disobedient to episcopal rulings and prevent a legitimate marriage, as well as those who disregard a real impediment to marriage.[74] Couples who contract a clandestine marriage are threatened with excommunication, and priests taking part were to be punished with three years' suspension.[75] These penalties reflect the many pressures surrounding marriages – not only lay resistance to ecclesiastical impositions but also the vulnerability of priests.

Quivil deals with other difficulties surrounding marriage such as conditional contracts, even providing an example of the words used: 'Ego exnunc accipio te in meam si decetero te carnaliter cognoscam' [I will take you as my wife, once I have had intercourse with you].[76] His particular concern is, however, with the problems of his diocesan court and he criticises the malicious dealings of certain lawyers and officials whom he suspends from duty. Quivil determines that, in future, divorce cases will go 'ad officialem nostrum' [to my deputy] for a canonical decision, as they did in

[71] Powicke, *Councils,* II, p. 998.
[72] Ibid., p. 997. The Canon 51 of the Lateran Council prohibits clandestine marriages, and requires the priest to call banns and to confirm the validity of the union.
[73] Ibid., p. 997.
[74] Ibid., pp. 997-8.
[75] Ibid., p. 999.
[76] Ibid.

the past. His impatience with lawyers is almost palpable by the end of the chapter and indicates how far ecclesiastical expectation was at variance with lay practice. Marriage was rapidly evolving into a public ritual governed by Church law but the laity continued to view it as an essentially private union between consenting partners. Visual representations of medieval marriage generally single out the joining of hands by the spouses, the secular symbol of the rite, rather than the blessing given by the priest. Similarly, the compromise of the ceremony performed at the church door points to the differing interpretations of the clergy and of the laity: to the former, the sacrament moves close to its natural home where it comes under the control of the clergy; to the latter, the introduction of gift-giving and dower to the ceremony underlines the social and financial importance of the event – as we shall see in *Corset*.

Quivil's final exposition of the sacraments treats the high standards required of men in holy orders who should be of good character and with no history of serious crime.[77] He warns against simoniac practices and the presentation of unsuitable men for positions as priests. Senior officials are to seek proof 'super natalibus et honesta conversatione' [about the birth and good conduct] of prospective ordinands who are to do a probationary year.[78] Quivil's insistence on proof of suitability goes so far as to bar priests ordained by other bishops from practising in the diocese of Exeter until they have provided appropriate references. Quivil's injunctions reflect firm management of his clergy and the implementation of good practice in the selection of priests.

Quivil's constitutions require the laity to understand and observe basic doctrine and rulings and also, at a practical level, to maintain the church and its accoutrements.[79] The bishop portrays his directives as absolute and mandatory, which is to be anticipated in a man of his status. Yet he also demonstrates understanding and concern for the difficulties that arise in lay experience and relationships. The dichotomy between discipline and flexibility exhibited by Quivil may also be discerned in the evolution of papal rulings, which had also become more pragmatic –

[77] Ibid., p. 1000. For the emphasis on the worthiness of the clergy, see R.N. Swanson, 'Pastoralia in Practice: Clergy and Ministry in pre-Reformation England' in *Pastor Bonus*, ed. Theo Clemens and Wim Janse, Leiden; Boston, 2004, pp. 104-27 (esp. pp. 108-13).
[78] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 1001.
[79] Ibid., p. 1003. Quivil's ninth statute sets out lay responsibilities for the upkeep of the fabric of the parish church.

the reduction of the degrees of consanguinity, for instance – so that it would be inaccurate to consider the paradigm of medieval canon law as an uncompromising, monolithic structure.[80] Nonetheless, compliance was required of laymen; provision for their religious instruction was delegated to men whose understanding of doctrine and law was often learned and subtle.

The education of priests

The works of all four writers considered in this dissertation attest to a high standard of education demonstrating linguistic expertise in several languages, knowledge of rhetoric and the language arts, and an understanding of canon law and theology. As far as we know, only William of Shoreham served as a parish priest, but it is likely that three of them, at least, belonged to orders of canons or friars whose involvement in religious instruction to the laity is well documented and understood. Especially noteworthy are the Franciscans and the Dominicans, who were later to dominate the writing of manuals of confession.[81] Testimony to the valued work of mendicants in preaching and confession was given by Robert Grosseteste who preached to the clergy, while friars preached to the people and heard confessions.[82] Being a secular priest was no bar to writing instructional works – William of Pagula (d.1332) for instance, served in a parish and wrote scholarly Latin *pastoralia*. Yet many writers of *pastoralia* were canons or friars which might suggest that time constraints or lack of education were factors that made it difficult for parish priests and clerics to write instructional works.

[80] See, R. H. Helmholz's comments on variation in marriage laws: 'Abduration *sub pena nubendi* in the Church Courts of Medieval England', *Jurist*, 32 (1972): 80-90 (80). He comments also on the tractability of baptismal law; Helmholz, *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law*, Athens GA, 1996, p. 206.

[81] As early as the 1220s, lay instruction had been undertaken by friars especially in towns: first, the Dominicans and Franciscans, and later, the Augustinians and other orders. The Dominicans were recognised by the papacy as the Order of Preachers-in-General in 1217 and commissioned as confessors at large, settling in Oxford in 1221. For the establishment of the Franciscans, see the background to Nicholas Bozon in Chapter 3. The schools of the friars also contributed to the theological education of the secular clergy. The Dominicans provided lectures from 1228; the Franciscans from about 1236; see Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: the Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209-1310*, Ithaca, 2012, p. 237. See my footnote 94, p. 48, for locations of the schools of England.

[82] See 'Propositio de visitatione diocesiae suae' in *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln: a Contribution to the Religious, Political and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. F. S. Stevenson, London, 1899, pp. 130-1.

There is a strong tradition of portraying medieval clerics as poorly educated, and of reiterating the inadequacies of their learning.[83] These failings were already highlighted by contemporary accounts, the most famous being Pecham's complaint: 'ignorantia sacerdotum populum precipitat in foveam erroris' [the priests' ignorance is hurling the people into the pit of error].[84] Robert Mannyng also claimed: 'lytel kan lasse þe lewed man/Þan some of þese prestes kan' [the uneducated man knows almost as much as some of these priests].[85] Many clerks moved through the undoubtedly rudimentary and piecemeal education system available in towns and villages to enter holy orders which served as an apprenticeship to the priesthood.[86] Few probably went on to attend university, let alone study theology which lay beyond the course in Arts, although, as Ian Wei has demonstrated in the case of Paris, the university was closely involved with the Church's pastoral mission.[87] Theological instruction was also available in cathedral schools but the system of provision was, in all probability, insufficient for the requirements of an increasingly professionalised priesthood in a growing population. The validity of these criticisms, however, has been challenged by commentators like Jeffrey Denton who argued that variety in the historical background, nature and size of the English parish, allied with our ignorance of the operation of clerical duties makes any conclusion impossible. Denton insisted that 'we can be sure, nonetheless, that the notion of clerical ignorance and lack of learning is a suspect construct'.[88]

Nonetheless, leaders of the medieval Church did not share this positive view of the priesthood but set out to rectify what they considered to be inadequate educational provision. Not all such initiatives were successful. The creation of the office of holy-water bearer, for instance, provided clerks in lesser orders with financial assistance for

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[83] J.H.R. Moorman, H.G. Richardson and C. R. Cheney all judged the educational standards of the medieval clergy as inadequate, claims Jeffrey H. Denton, 'The Competence of the Parish Clergy in Thirteenth-Century England' in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford, Donnington, 2002, pp. 273-85 (p. 273). See: R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 54: 'Not all the clergy were bad'.

[84] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 900. Pecham's assertion may reflect an attempt to wield discipline over his clergy, but he also articulates fears about the future of the English Church, see my footnote 93, p.47.

[85] *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 10973-4.

[86] R. N. Swanson has suggested that 'quite possibly most of the clergy received no structured training at all…the majority may have gained the required knowledge simply through a form of apprenticeship, by working with their local priest before and after ordination, and thereby picking up what was needed': *Religion and Devotion*, p. 56.

[87] Wei, *Intellectual Culture*. See Chapter 3, pp. 87-161 and p.169.

[88] Denton, 'The Competence', p. 285.

their education but Robert Mannyng complains: 'An holywater clerk of a toune/ Þat lytel haþ lerned yn hys lyue, / He ys ordeyned a prest to shryue' [A holy-water clerk of a town who has learned little in life is ordained priest and may give penance].[89] Mannyng's scorn may represent little more than a commonplace complaint about the evils of contemporary life but Peter Quivil also writes of abuse of the office.[90]

The underlying problem was the issue of financial support for men in higher orders during their studies. Despite their calls for reform, neither the Third (1179) nor Fourth Lateran Councils addressed the question of money.[91] The situation was made more difficult by the decree *Licet canon* (1274) of Gregory X (1271-6), which required the lower orders of the clergy to proceed to the priesthood within one year of their presentation to a living and to be resident in the parish at the time of their ordination into the priesthood.[92] The problems inherent in the decree were recognised by churchmen like Pecham:

> Since anyone who is ordained into the priesthood is unable to study the liberal arts, natural science, medicine or civil law in the proper way at university, it follows that such men remain unschooled for ever. And so in a short time the ministers of the English Church will be lacking in knowledge for the greater part and the understanding of divine law will come to an end amongst them.[93]

The constitution, *Cum ex eo* (1298) of Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303) eased the situation by addressing the difficulties associated with the release of secular clergy from their *cura animarum*. Bishops might grant leave of absence for study, provided students became subdeacons within a year of institution, or deacons or priests within a year of the termination of their licence to study. England was particularly rich in

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[89] *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 11598-600. The position benefitted 'pauperes clerici', attached to churches within ten miles' distance of towns. See: Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England*, London, 2006, p. 205.
[90] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 1026-7.
[91] Canon 18 of Lateran III requires a benefice for a teacher in every cathedral church to teach clerics and poor scholars; Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 220 (reiterated in canon 11 of Lateran IV, p. 240). Canon 27 of Lateran IV requires bishops to prepare men for the priesthood by instructing them themselves or using suitable teachers (p. 248).
[92] This offered the possibility of short periods of sanctioned absence; not long enough to complete a university course, however.
[93] 'Quique in presbiteros ordinantur cum nec artes liberales nec scientiam naturalem nec medicinam nec iura civilia convenienter possint in scolis audire, restat ut tales perpetuo remaneant inperfecti; sicque in brevi in ministris ecclesie Anglicane deficiet pro maiori parte scientia et legis divine in eis notitia subsistet'; Council of the Province of Canterbury at Reading (1279), Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 844.

schools of theology and students had a wide choice.[94] Suitable replacements – unbeneficed clerks – were to take over their role in the parish and student clerics were to be supported by an appropriate share of parish revenues.[95] This dispensation was open to simple rectors in a single living with *cura animarum*, but priests already ordained were not eligible. The effectiveness of the constitution was highlighted by Leonard Boyle: '*Cum ex eo* was meant to attract young and fresh clerics who were not yet subdeacons to the ranks of the parochial clergy' and he cited William of Pagula as an example of the success of the system.[96] On the other hand, Roy Haines challenged the efficacy of study licences in encouraging clerics to undertake a course of education.[97] Compelling evidence has been brought to this debate by John R. Shinners in his analysis of the licensing of clerks in the diocese of Norwich. He concludes that men did take advantage of educational opportunities and that they mainly abided by the terms of *Cum ex eo* or *Licet canon*, returning to their parishes at least marginally better equipped to cope with the demands of parish work.[98] Conversely, David d'Avray wonders:

> how many of those who trained in the Paris schools went on to a life of regular preaching. University clerics would tend to gravitate towards the higher echelons of ecclesiastical and secular administration. Educated and orthodox men devoted to pastoral work, below the episcopal level, remained in short supply.[99]

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[94] See the map of the many thirteenth-century English schools in Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, London, 1973, p.171. See, too, Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, p. 6, for Goering's list of thirteenth-century schools of learning, including the nascent universities of Oxford and Cambridge and centres of learning at Hereford, Reading, Northampton and Salisbury and Lincoln. Schools were established by both regulars and mendicants.

[95] A.K. McHardy, 'Careers and Disappointments in the late Medieval Church' in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, Studies in Church History Vol. 26, Oxford: Blackwell, 1989, pp. 111-30, focuses on the importance of unbeneficed clerks who 'bore the greatest share of the burden of pastoral care in late medieval England'. McHardy claims many self-help manuals were written to support their work (p.130).

[96] L. E. Boyle, 'The Constitution *Cum ex eo* of Boniface VIII', in *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law*, pp. 263-302 (p. 276).

[97] Roy M. Haines, 'The Education of the English Clergy during the Later Middle Ages: some Observations on the Operation of Pope Boniface VIII's Constitution *Cum ex eo* (1298)', *Canadian Journal of History*, 4 (1969):1-22.

[98] John R. Shinners Jnr., 'University Study, Licenses and Clerical Education in the Diocese of Norwich, 1325-35, *History of Educational Quarterly*, 28 (1988): 387- 410 (410).

[99] David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*, Oxford, 1985, p.28. A similar point is made in Chapter 9, 'The University Ladder' in Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978, pp. 213-33.

The record of study dispensations in the register of Hamo Hethe, Bishop of Rochester (1329-52), demonstrates that the system was effective and appropriately monitored. For example, in a note dated 27 February 1307, Henry of Groshurste was initially granted permission by Hamo's predecessor, Bishop Thomas Wouldham (1292-1319), to undertake four years' study.[100] A further dispensation of three years, dated 17 February 1312, defers Henry's ordination.[101] Thereafter, a letter of 21 December 1314 authorising Henry's ordination to the diaconate is sent to Paris for the attention of Gilbert, Bishop of Paris: having proved to be a serious scholar, Henry was evidently allowed to make arrangements to study in France. Similarly, in a letter dated 11 October 1320, Hamo grants two rectors, William Twidole and John de Westbroke, leave of absence to study in England, initially for one year.[102] Further dispensation is granted them on 29 November 1322.[103] On 28 November 1323 John de Westbroke is granted leave for a further two years of study, 'ubique in regno Anglie et Francie stadium viget generale, secundum tenorem constitucionis *Cum ex eo*' [anywhere in England or France where there is a flourishing university, according to the rule of the constitution *Cum ex eo*].[104] Further dispensation is granted him on 7 May 1325 to continue his studies, either in England or France.[105] This is followed by testimonials and correspondence about John's academic progress in two letters of 4 July and of 2 August 1325 addressed to Henry Gower, Chancellor of the University of Oxford (1322-4).

The licences granted in Hamo's *Registrum* are relatively few in number, although this does not necessarily indicate that no other licences were granted.[106] The dispensation system carefully monitored the progress of parish clergy who benefited from these educational opportunities but it took some time before its effects were widely felt.

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[100] *Dispensacio causa Studendi* in *Registrum Hamonis Hethe, diocesis Roffensis*, ed. C. Johnson, Part I, London, 1948, pp. 48-9.
[101] Ibid., p. 49.
[102] Ibid., p. 75.
[103] Ibid., p. 118.
[104] Ibid., p. 172.
[105] Ibid., p. 173.
[106] Swanson claims that licences were probably under-recorded in the period 1380-1430: R.N. Swanson 'Universities, Graduates and Benefices in Later Medieval England', *Past and Present*, 106 (1985): 28-61 (esp. 32-5). *The Registers of Bishop Henry Burghersh, 1320-1342*, ed. Nicholas Bennett, Vol. III, Woodbridge, 2011, pp. 3-62, lists 486 dispensations under the constitution *Cum ex eo*, an average of 24 per year, often specifying study in England or abroad (pp. xiii-xiv). Nicholas Orme cites the register of Walter Reynolds as listing 92 ordinations of men in higher orders, conditional on their attendance at school for a year or two; Orme, *English Schools*, p.16.

Provision for a priest's education in the thirteenth century was basically sound but limited to small numbers of the parish clergy; the question of financial support was never fully resolved. It is unsurprising that few named writers of *pastoralia* were secular priests.

We can only speculate on the nature of the education experienced by the four writers studied here. Robert the Chaplain, for example, prided himself on his fluency in various languages but how this was acquired is not known. It is generally assumed that Robert Mannyng and William of Shoreham received a university education, given their extensive grounding in rhetoric, theology and canon law.[107] There is, however, no firm evidence that any of them received a university education.[108] Robert Mannyng is listed as a student at Cambridge by Emden, but the entry is based solely on a comment made in the *Chronicle* and is not supported by other evidence.[109] We might, however, conclude that the level of their formal education is of less consequence than the context of the dynamic clerical culture in which they worked: wide-ranging and intellectual, based on the works of schoolmen and fuelled by an extensive corpus of sophisticated Latin treatises by such learned men as Raymond of Pennafort, Robert Grosseteste and William of Pagula, amongst many others.[110]

Diffusion of instruction

Bishops envisaged that religious instruction would be disseminated amongst the laity through the customary conduits of sermons, catechetical teaching and confession. Vincent Gillespie demonstrates how, by the mid-fourteenth century, most dioceses had developed networks for the distribution of legislation: archdeacons held exemplars, from which priests copied the decrees, and took the exemplars to

[107] For instance, Matthias Konrath describes Shoreham as 'a pious and learned theologian, well read in the writings of the ecclesiastical authors...well versed in canon law'; Shoreham, *Poems*, pp. xiv, xv.
[108] There are no references for Robert of Greatham, Nicholas Bozon, William of Shoreham/ Chart/ Chert in *AC*, *BRC* or *BRO*.
[109] *BRC*, p. 388. Robert Mannyng refers to his acquaintance in Cambridge with Robert of Bruce and his brothers, Thomas and Alexander: 'kyng Robyn… his broþer Tomlyn…& Sir Alisandere'; *Chronicle*, extracted from ll. 8225-39. Mannyng may have been a student in the Gilbertine house, St Edmund's. The Gilbertine Order promoted formal education in several schools of learning around England and the chief house at Sempringham was given papal licence in 1290 to appoint a teacher of theology to instruct the canons; see Orme, *English Schools*, p. 237.
[110] For a succinct, masterly history of these developments, see Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology' (pp. 34-5).

subsequent convocations for updating.[111] Quivil's statutes exemplify the type of material used and demonstrate how the episcopate monitored the availability of their decrees in the parish church. In addition, the production of preaching aids, model sermon collections and pentitential manuals – works such as the *Fasciculus morum* – supported the *cura animarum*. Priests themselves compiled predominantly English, 'ad hoc manuals of pastoral and catechetic material, similar in kind but somewhat narrower in focus than the Latin miscellanies'.[112]

Priests also anticipated that instruction would be given to children by family and god-parents. In many parish churches religious instruction was reinforced by paintings or sculptures which feature the principles of the Christian faith. Because of the small number of surviving examples, medieval church paintings on walls, altars and screens have received less attention in England than in Continental Europe.[113] Yet visual art was clearly as important to the fabric of medieval churches in England as elsewhere. Recent scholarship has focused on the interiors of churches which exemplify widespread and diverse uses of painting, stained glass, and sculpture in wood and stone.[114] As well as their instructional function, artistic representations were often used for devotional purposes and we may compare Shoreham's poem, *Five Joys of the Virgin*, with the stone carvings of the Joys on the font in St Matthew's Church, Ipswich.[115] In his study of the church at Radnage, Buckinghamshire, Richard Marks describes wall paintings and 'tables', hung on walls and often displaying texts. He argues cogently that word and image were brought into a dynamic interface of communication for the congregation.[116] Marks also argues that church images were the 'principal focus of affective piety' for all parishioners and that devotional images were not always expensive high-quality pieces owned by the elite.[117] In the late-

[111] Vincent Gillespie, 'Vernacular Books of Religion' in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 317-44.
[112] Ibid., p. 318.
[113] See examples of existing paintings, many on a large-scale, in Roger Rosewell, *Medieval Wall Paintings in English and Welsh Churches*, Woodbridge, 2008, pp. 1-30.
[114] Eamon Duffy, for example, has described the visual art of the churches in Ludham, Bramfield, Attleburgh and Ranworth. See the illustrative plates in Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars,* London, 2005.
[115] Duffy's plates nos. 102, 3.
[116] 'Picturing Word and Text in the Late-Medieval Parish Church' in Richard Marks, *Image, Text and Church, 1380-1600,* ed. Linda Clark, Maureen Jurkowski and Colin Richmond, Toronto, 2009, pp. 162-202.
[117] Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late-Medieval England,* Stroud, 2004, p. 16.

medieval parish the instructional function of pageants and dramatic sequences also became ever more important.[118]

There were, then, a number of channels for the communication of lay religious instruction within the structures and processes of the Church itself. Vernacular verse *pastoralia* studied in this dissertation are not part of that system nor, as far as we know, were they regulated by the writers' superiors. They are linked by their composition in verse which suggests that they were to some extent designed for oral performance. Verse also provides mnemonic support for a lay audience to retain instructional material. We have no evidence how frequently the works were performed nor can we gauge the precise level of popularity they enjoyed. Only rarely can we tease out information about the circulation of a text or manuscript, although we may assume that vernacular *pastoralia* were intended for performance in different locations since they are frequently found in small, portable handbooks typical of those used on mendicant preaching missions.[119] The material was obviously considered useful, since it was frequently redacted.

Despite the informal role played by vernacular verse *pastoralia* in the dissemination of instruction, our writers clearly saw their work as part of the Church's instructional mission, often referring to its authorisation of their texts.[120] They divided and codified the elements of instruction in schematic treatises, in the same way as other medieval writers including bishops like Quivil.[121] Three of the writers composed conventional *De septem sacramentis*, with individual chapters dedicated to a single sacrament but all four have an interest in sacramental instruction, in particular the preparation of the Christian for confession. Penitential instruction was frequently

[118] See: Pamela M. King, 'The York Cycle and Instruction on the Sacraments' in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Turnhout, 2003, pp. 155-78.
[119] David d'Avray describes *vade-mecum* handbooks in *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 57. He refers to his earlier article, 'Portable *Vademecum* books containing Franciscan and Dominican Texts', in *Manuscripts at Oxford. An Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt*, ed. A.C.de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield, Oxford, 1980, pp. 60-4. D'Avray notes that the books would measure no more than 18cm. in height and believes that 'larger manuscripts…smell of libraries rather than of the road': *Preaching*, p. 61. Good examples are BL MSS Harley 524 and 7322.
[120] Shoreham, for instance, refers to Church teaching in *De matrimonio*: three consecutive stanzas end 'Þat holy cherche festneþ' [that holy Church strengthens] (l. 1631), 'Holy cherche to teche' [holy Church teaches] (l.1638), 'By holy cherche leue' [by the law of holy Church] (l. 1645).
[121] 'Almost every Parisian master' of the twelfth century wrote a *Summa de sacramentis*; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 52.

augmented by treatises itemising the Ten Commandments and the Seven Vices and often the material was reformulated, as in Nicholas Bozon's verse.

The versified forms and internal cues of the texts attest to the primarily oral performance of vernacular *pastoralia*. Writers of pastoralia frequently call for the attention of their audience, as Robert the Chaplain does in summoning Alan at the beginning of *Corset*: 'Al franceis oÿre metez cure ...Bien est hor[e] pur vous aprendre' (ll.10,13) [listen carefully to the French....It is time now for your instruction]. We might imagine listeners gathered for a reading given by one literate reader to his 'textual community', followed by discussion of the material.[122] Brian Stock has described the evolution of 'micro-societies organized around the common understanding of a text', as a more literate society developed during the eleventh century. Listeners engaged in the study of texts to effect change in the behaviour of the individual or the group and Stock claims that:

> Such textual communities were not entirely composed of literates. The minimum requirement was just one literate, the *interpres*, who understood a set of texts and was able to pass his message on verbally to others.

In the main, vernacular verse *pastoralia* were not intended for private reading but for the communal enjoyment of a group who shared 'the medieval sense of literature's embeddedness within a community and a community of hearers'.[123] Textual references suggest the sociability that accompanied performance. Robert Mannyng, for instance, describes how a reading of his *Chronicle* will allow an audience to find 'solace and gamen in felawschip when þai sitt samen' (ll. 9-10) [solace and pleasure in fellowship when they gather together]. Passages in *pastoralia* evoke responses dependent on the communality of the audience, such as salacious jokes in *Corset* and the satire of *Pus ke homme deit morir* which reinforce group identity. In her study of the long history of *praelectio* (reading to others), Joyce Coleman demonstrates how

[122] Brian Stock, 'History, Literature, and Medieval Textuality', *Yale French Studies*, 70 (1986): 7-17 (12).

[123] Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge, 1996, p. 178. While Brian Stock claims the existence of textual communities demonstrates the prevalence of illiteracy, Joyce Coleman asserts that it implies no such deficiency; the courtly listeners she discusses were literate, in the main. However, they preferred the 'congenial atmosphere' of hearing books read aloud (p. 133). On the other hand, the audience's understanding of the language of delivery might have posed a real problem to writers of vernacular texts; see Robert the Chaplain's assertion that Alan does not understand Latin – not that he cannot read.

academic study may have given precedence to the orality of the text at the expense of the aurality of medieval society.[124] Mannyng's order to the audience of *Handlyng Synne* to 'lestene and lerne' (l.118) [listen and learn] reminds us of the importance all writers of *pastoralia* attach to aural reception of their teaching.

[124] See Coleman, *Public Reading*, p. 37, for the ambiguities raised by the two words.

CHAPTER 2: *CORSET* BY ROBERT THE CHAPLAIN

Corset was written by Robert the Chaplain to provide sacramental instruction for his patron, Alan and men of his household.[1] Evidence links the work with that of Robert of Greatham, the writer of the *Miroir ou les Evangiles des Domnées*, dedicated to Aline.[2] Keith Sinclair has made a convincing case to associate the names of Alan and Aline/Elena with Alan la Zouche (1205-70) and his wife, Elena de Quency (c. 1222-1296), although the name Aline, it has been suggested elsewhere, may be little more than the feminised form of a supposed husband called Alan.[3]

Robert's wide knowledge of the sacraments and liturgy suggests he was a priest or was employed as Alan's private chaplain.[4] The la Zouche family had strong connections with the Augustinian Abbey of Lilleshall in Shropshire, and, although the family's lands in Ashby were some fifty miles distant from the Abbey, evidence indicates the continuation of those links.[5] Interests in the house originally held by Philip of Belmeis (born c.1110) passed through his daughter, Alice, Alan's grandmother, to the la Zouche family who later held the advowson of the abbey. The canons of Lilleshall had for some time undertaken pastoral work in the secular

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[1] This chapter is based on the sole edition of the work: *Corset, a Rhymed Commentary on the Seven Sacraments*, ed. K.L. Sinclair, London, 1995. General studies: such as Johan Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, London, 1923, p. 63; M.D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters*, Edinburgh, 1950, pp. 103-4, and *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, pp. 212-3, have made reference to the work but academic interest has been limited.

[2] See the lexical analysis of the two texts by Linda Marshall, 'The Authorship of the Anglo-Norman Poem *Corset*', *Medium Aevum*, 42 (1973): 207-23; also Sinclair's introduction to *Corset* and article, 'The Anglo-Norman Patrons of Robert the Chaplain and Robert of Greatham', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 28 (1992): 193-208. For the *Miroir des Evangiles* and its later English version, see *The Middle English 'Mirror': Sermons from Advent to Sexagesima*, ed. Thomas G. Duncan and Margaret Connolly, Heidelberg, 2003.

[3] In *Étude sur Le miroir: ou, Les évangiles des domnées de Robert Gretham: suivie d'extraits inédits*, ed. Marion Y. H. Aitken, Paris, 1922, p.19.

[4] Given Alan's status, he may well have had his own chaplain. See the mid-twelfth century *Proverbes de Salomon* dedicated to Lady Alice de Cundé by her chaplain, Sansun de Nanteuil. For an example of the licence required to employ a domestic chaplain, see LRRO, Hazelrigg Collection, DG 21/1, granted c.1220 to William de Martiwast (or Martivall), knight, and his heirs. They may have masses celebrated and bells rung at the manor in Nosely, as agreed with the rector, Ralph de Linford. All revenues are to be given to the parish church (as was normally specified in a licence, since the existence of chapels in a locality was an obvious threat to the income of a parish church). For a discussion of these licences, see Nicholas Orme, 'The Other Parish Churches: Chapels' in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, Donington, 2006, pp. 78-94 (pp. 82-3). Chaplains like Robert were reliant on the patron for their livelihood and had no job security; see, for instance, the dismissal of the chaplain Robert de Wenham in 1298, described in Peter Coss, *The Foundations of Gentry Life: the Multons of Frampton and their World, 1270-1370*, Oxford, 2010, p.144.

[5] See 'Houses of Augustinian canons: Abbey of Lilleshall' in *A History of the County of Shropshire*, ed. A. T. Gaydon, R. B. Pugh et al., Vol. 2 (1973), pp. 70-80. (especially footnotes 24, 5 and 75-78). British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk [accessed 14/7/2010].

community so a link between Robert and Alan's household would not have been surprising. [6] The Augustinians' involvement in literature might also link Robert with the order. [7]

Manuscript

The text of *Corset* survives in a single manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 210, folios 22v-34v, written in two scribal hands of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, and is considered the earliest Anglo-Norman commentary on the sacraments in verse.[8] *Corset* appears in a collection of sixteen varied works, of both clerical and lay interest, written mainly in French, although some items are in Latin – three short religious poems (items 10-12), and a treatise on prognostication (item 15). Religious texts in the anthology include a rhymed sermon and a version of *Le miroir de seinte églyse* by Edmund Rich (1175-1240). Moral and ethical themes appear in an extract of the encyclopaedic *La petite philosophie* and in the allegorical poem *Lettre de l'Empereur Orgueil*, commonly misattributed to Nicholas Bozon. The collection also includes works which treat secular matters: the three estates of society in a rhymed allegory on the limbs of the body in the first item; knighthood in the *Chevaler Dé*; a conduct book, *Urbain le courtois* [9] and a tale against marriage in *Contre le marriage*.[10] It also contains figures of the zones of heat and of the planets (ff. 43-4). The anthology is thus based at the intersection of spiritual and temporal concerns, a

[6] See *Corset*, p.15-8 and *The Middle English 'Mirror',* p. lvi. The abbey was Arrouaisian, originally a branch of the Augustinians, but with a strict Cistercian-type discipline. English Arrouaisian canons refused some years later to take part in Augustinian meetings, claiming the order was too lax. For the history of the Arrouaisian Order, see Antoine Gosse, *Histoire de l'abbaye et de l'ancienne congrégation des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise,* Lille, 1786. Ludo Milis refers to the canons' work in the parish from the thirteenth century: 'leur activité générale et presque exclusive' [their principal and almost only activity], Milis, *L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise*, Bruges, 1969, p. 21. Lilleshall had been established by 1148 (p. 285).

[7] See Ralph Hanna,'Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature' in *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna, London, 2000, pp. 27-42 (p. 31).

[8] For a description of the manuscript, see *Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, IV, 1895-1953, p. 556; and Meyer, 'Notice'. The manuscript measures 293 mm. by 195 mm., larger than a mendicant handbook according to David d'Avray (my footnote 119, p.52).

[9] Ff. 43-5 contain 164 lines of a version of the Urbain poem, discussed by H. Rosamond Parsons, 'Anglo-Norman Books of Courtesy and Nurture', *PMLA*, 44 (1929): 383-455. Pages were instructed to maintain a moral code whilst seeking worldly success. Jonathan Nicholls associates some books of morality, such as *How the wyse man tawght his son*, with the courtesy book tradition; see Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain-Poet*, Woodbridge, 1985, pp. 16-17. He outlines various texts in the genre (pp. 7-74) and lists examples in his Appendices A and B. See, too, other examples (generally fifteenth century) in *The Babees Book*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, London, 1868. *Corset* also deals with appropriate social conduct, especially in *Matrimony.*

[10] This poem is one of many versions of *De coniuge non ducenda*, a popular anti-matrimonial work of the Middle Ages. See further: A.G. Rigg ed., *Gawain on Marriage*, Toronto, 1986.

fitting repository for *Corset* which addresses not only sacramental but also important secular themes – the marriage ceremony of a noble couple and the social obligations it entails, as well as the relationship of clerics and laymen and the tensions between contiguous masculinities.

Corset is written in octosyllabic couplets and comprises some 2436 lines of verse, which are often incomplete or fragmentary. It is structured as follows:

Rubric: 'Ici commence li prologes / Qui corset en roman est apelez'

Prologue: ll.1-14 (missing: l.14)

Matrimony : ll.15-484 (Total : 470 lines ; missing: ll.72, 73, 118, 121; fragmentary: ll. 313-321, 362-369)

Rubric: 'Ci commence des set orders de pruvaire degree'

Seven Orders: ll.485-1476 (Total: 992 lines)

- Preamble : ll.485-712 (228 lines)
- Doorkeeper: ll. 713 -756 (44 lines)
- Reader: ll.757 – 822 (66 lines)
- Exorcist : ll. 823 - 908 (86 lines)
- Acolyte : ll. 909 - 972 (64 lines)
- Subdeacon : ll. 973-1062 (90 lines)
- Deacon : ll.1063- 1242 (180 lines)
- Priest : ll.1243 – 1476 (234 lines)

Penitence: ll.1477 – 2112 (Total: 636 lines; missing: l.1822)

Rubric: 'Ci commence le romanz de confessioun'.

Confession: ll. 2113- 2282 (Total: 170 lines)

Unction: ll. 2283 – 2398 (Total: 116 lines)

Holy Water: ll. 2399 – 2436 (Total: 37 lines. Final line missing)

Frequent lacunae, like the incomplete prologue, occur in the sense of the verse, and whole folios have been lost from the manuscript, between ff. 12-3, 22-3, and 34-5 (at the end of *Corset*). Both Paul Meyer and Keith Sinclair have estimated how much of the original has been lost. Meyer surmised that at least one folio, roughly 200 lines, is missing between the prologue and *Matrimony* and he came to the reasonable conclusion that this important lacuna might have comprised the missing sacraments of baptism, confirmation and the eucharist.[11] Sinclair was less conservative in his assessment of textual loss. Following the composition of other quires in the manuscript, he postulated the possible loss of a complete gathering of six bifolia, rather than of a single sheet. Referring to the length of the missing section, Sinclair claimed:

> In the light of Robert's distribution of information over a large number of lines for the seven orders and for penance and confession, it is unlikely he would have devoted only two hundred to such primordial subjects as the ministration of baptism and the eucharist.[12]

He also suggested that a possible 200 lines are missing after *Holy Water* which may have included comments on Holy Bread, the offertory, a prayer and a colophon. He concluded: 'These calculations suggest that only half of the original work survives in the Douce MS'. Sinclair based his observations on a hypothetical model of text, despite the fact that sacramental works in the vernacular varied in order and length.[13] The extant material of *Corset*, for example, demonstrates an unusual ordering of the sacraments of *Matrimony* and *Seven Orders*.[14] Robert highlights the importance of the two sacraments in his text, I shall argue, since they are crucial to his purpose of forging links, parallels and analogies between two forms of masculinity; one defined through the sacramental rites of marriage, the other through holy orders. Whilst the fragmentary nature of *Corset* precludes an overall assessment of Robert's sacramental bias, it is worth noting that *Matrimony* (19% of total number of lines) and *Seven*

[11] Meyer, 'Notice': 63. Robert writes: 'En ceo ke signe le baptesme/ Et le cresmal, le oile et le cresme,/ Si cum jeo ay espuns brefment/ De cest livere al cumencement' (*Penitence*, ll. 1545-8) [What symbolises baptism (are) the vessel, the oil and the chrism, as I briefly explained at the beginning of this book]. The use of 'brefment' possibly corroborates Meyer's proposed loss of a single folio, about 200 lines. We have no way of gauging the length of the lost section on the eucharist.

[12] *Corset*, p. 6.

[13] Ibid., pp. 11-12. Sinclair uses Latin texts for comparison: canonical, such as *Codex Iuris Canonici Pii X Pontifex Maximi iussu digestus Benedicti Pape XV auctoritate promulgatus*, Vatican City, 1948, and liturgical, such as the twelfth century Pontifical of Evreux in J.-B. Molin and P. Mutembe, *Le rituel du mariage en France du 12e au 16e siècle*, Paris, 1974, pp. 286-7.

[14] Quivil's order, for instance, is baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, matrimony and holy orders.

Orders (41%) comprise well over half the extant material. The length of the latter section is remarkable and indicates Robert's focus on the status of the cleric. The chaplain's separation of *Penitence* from *Confession*, followed by an independent section on the nature of *Holy Water,* is idiosyncratic, but these important and related subjects are allotted treatment of due length: that is *Penitence*: 26% of the total text, and *Confession*: 7%.

Robert's patron

Robert's 'tres chier seignor Alain' (l.1) was, we assume with Professor Sinclair, Alan la Zouche, first recorded in 1238 as paying homage for his father's lands.[15] His career in the service of Henry III was long and well-rewarded.[16] He died 10 August, 1270, possibly as a result of an attack by John de Warenne and his followers.[17]

Matrimony examines at length the complex procedures and contractual obligations required in an elite marriage; this strongly suggests that the work was composed at the time of Alan's marriage to Elena de Quency which took place c.1240.[18] Robert insists on his lord's 'halt sen' (l.7) [high standing], but this may be little more than a diplomatic expression of respect for Alan's position or an attempt to enhance Robert's own authorial status.[19] The la Zouche family originated in Porhöet in Britanny but had been established for more than two generations in Leicestershire and its environs. The family was relatively prosperous and owned estates in several counties but it was

[15] The family name is variously: 'la Zouche', 'Zouche', 'Zuche', 'Souch', 'Tusche'.
[16] See: Thomas Frederick Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, Vol.1, Manchester, 1937. Alan became steward of the Household, 10 January 1263 (p. 41); he is listed as clerk of wardrobe (no date, p. 45). An item in the *Fine Rolls of Henry III*, dated 26 January 1250, is a pardon for Alan in respect of his 20 mark fine for having taken fowl from the king's river bank without a licence. This not uncommon interference by the king in the judicial system may indicate favour towards Alan.
[17] The two men had come to Westminster to settle a land dispute. See: *Corset*, p. 18 and 'The Anglo-Norman Patrons': 199-200. William Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, Vol.1, Hildesheim, repnt 1977, p. 689, claims the inquisition after Alan's death proved that he died some two years after the attack.
[18] Sinclair argues for this date (*Corset*, p.16), which would fit with the birth in 1242 of Alan's eldest son, Roger (d.1285), who was 28 in 1270, claims Dugdale, *Baronage*, Vol.1, p. 689.
[19] In the early part of the medieval period, the term 'knight' might indicate a soldier on horseback, possibly of modest rank; for example, a tenant required for service. In the later medieval period, the knight was generally of higher rank, promoted by the king after serving as page and squire. For a discussion of the difficulties of defining the status of medieval elites, see: D. A. Carpenter, 'Was there a Crisis of the Knightly Class in the Thirteenth Century? The Oxfordshire Evidence', *English Historical Review*, 95, (1980): 721-752 (esp. 722).

not a noble family.[20] Alan's active pursuit of his career led to various administrative offices of the Crown in different areas of the kingdom and enabled him to extend his family's wealth and lands.[21] In 1263 Alan was rewarded for his public service by his nomination as one of two stewards in the royal household, being eventually appointed *custos* of the City of London and Constable of the Tower. Alan was not noted for his military exploits but he did take part in skirmishes in the struggle between the king and de Montfort, including the battle of 14 May 1264 at Lewes.[22]

Alan's career in the judiciary, as well as his financial and land-holding interests, reflects the evolution of the character and function of knighthood during the early and high Middle Ages.[23] Before the latter part of the twelfth century the knightly class was not firmly established.[24] Knights were often in a precarious social position since their function did not entail actual possession of land which might or might not be free tenure. In 1166 Henry II created permanent status for knights by protecting their lands during their absence and securing their inheritance. By the thirteenth century the knightly class was essentially based on land-ownership.[25] Knights were classified in a system of fairly well-defined social gradations and benefited increasingly from devolved judicial authority as local office-holders under the Crown.[26] For some knights administrative skills became more important than military prowess. Alan was

[20] Alan's father, Roger la Zouche, was described as *custos* of Devon; see entry 14/187, dated 6 Feb, 1230, *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*: http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk [accessed 14/7/2009] but there is no evidence that he or Alan was created a baron; the family arms were registered only after Alan's death.

[21] Alan is described in documents as a knight, *miles* or *dominus*, but there is little reference to his military career.

[22] Sinclair, 'The Anglo-Norman Patrons': 198.

[23] The literature on this subject is extensive. For a survey of knighthood: Jean Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie: XIe-XIIe siècles*, Geneva, 1986; Georges Duby, *Guillaume le Maréchal ou le meilleur chevalier du monde*, Paris, 1983. Tony Hunt discusses the context of knighthood in 'The Emergence of the Knight in France and England 1000-1200', *Forum for Modern Language Studies Edinburgh*, 17 (1981): 93-114; Michael R. Powicke treats the emphasis on military obligations required of a knight in 'Distraint of Knighthood and Military Obligation under Henry III', *Speculum*, 25 (1950): 457-470 (esp. 459, 465). David Carpenter discusses the social impact of the thirteenth-century decline in the number of knights, which created an elite: Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284*, Penguin History of Britain Vol.3, London, 2004, p. 400. Peter Coss has written extensively about the evolution of English knighthood, for example, in *The Knight in Medieval England 1000-1400*, Stroud, 1993 and *The Origins of the English Gentry*, Cambridge, 2003.

[24] See Jean Scammell, 'The Formation of the English Social Structure: Freedom, Knights and Gentry, 1066-1300', *Speculum*, 68 (1993): 591-618 (599).

[25] In 1241 Henry III 'attempting to make money and gather troops' ordered all men with sufficient property to become knights. 'By associating knighthood with a specific economic group, distraint of knighthood began to define a knightly class'; Scammell, 'The Formation': 612.

[26] Peter Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality: a Study in English Society c. 1180-1280*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 309.

just such an administrator and his career followed a path not unlike that of men like Geoffrey de Langley (c.1200-ante 1274). The latter was a member of the Regents' council with particular responsibility for Prince Edward's English and Welsh lands from 1254 and he was subsequently appointed Edward's steward.[27] Both Alan and Geoffrey took out extensive loans in order to facilitate the transfer of lands to add to their own domains. In 1240, however, Alan la Zouche was a lesser lord who still had to prove himself.

In *Matrimony* Robert flatters his patron as he describes the refinement of the bridegroom, the fictive representative of Alan, who is depicted as a chivalrous knight. The refined nature of the marriage ritual is also emphasised throughout the section and suggests that the text serves as a compliment to Alan on his strategic alignment with the upper nobility or aristocracy; it separates him from lesser landowners, the gentry, who were 'not an aristocratic group or feudal class'.[28] By sharing notions of gentility with the great land-owners and adopting the tastes and *mores* of the aristocracy, a knight might distinguish himself from his inferiors.[29]

His marriage with Elena de Quency was certainly socially advantageous to Alan, since his bride came from aristocratic stock, her father being Roger de Quency, second Earl of Winchester (1195-1265). Although Elena and her two sisters were co-heiresses to the earldom, it is unclear whether the marriage benefitted Alan financially. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne raises doubts about Alan's marriage strategy in the light of Roger de Quency's penury by the time of his death, when his estates were valued at only £400.[30] Yet we might argue that the Earl's death occurred roughly a quarter of a century after his daughter's marriage and that his finances might have been on a firmer footing in 1240. Financial concerns notwithstanding, it is highly probable that Alan's position in society was consolidated, if not enhanced, by his marriage to Elena. Evidence of the heightened status of the la Zouche family in later

[27] Peter Coss, 'Sir Geoffrey de Langley and the Crisis of the Knightly Class in Thirteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 68 (1975): 3-37.
[28] Scammell, 'The Formation': 618.
[29] See: Georges Duby, 'The Diffusion of Cultural Patterns in Feudal Society', trans. R.H. Hilton, *Past and Present*, No. 39 (1968): 3-10, for the downwards diffusion of culture from the aristocracy to the lower echelons of society.
[30] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'How to Marry Your Wife with Chastity, Honour and *Fin'Amor* in Thirteenth-Century England' in *Thirteenth-Century England IX* , ed. Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell and Robin Frame, Woodbridge, 2003, pp.131-50 (p. 136).

years may be seen in the creation of Alan's coat of arms,[31] and in the marriage, c.1266, of Roger, eldest son of Alan and Elena, to Ela Longespee (1244-1276), grand-daughter of William Longespee (ante 1170-1226), Earl of Salisbury and illegitimate son of Henry II. Achieving a royal connection for his family may have been due in no small measure to Alan's own judicious choice of an aristocratic wife.

Alan is attended by the men of his household and Robert frequently appeals for their attention: 'Vëez, seignours' (l.875; also ll.639, 1413, 1465 and *passim*). Whilst the identity of these men is unknown, we may assume that the audience included men from a range of backgrounds: local lords, freeholders, knights, esquires and higher ranking servants of the household.[32] It might have included men like Philip de Staunton with whom Alan conducted land transactions.[33] Philip was, like Alan, part of the landed elite with his own chaplain.[34] Alan's retinue also appears to have included a group of men of rougher hue who lack respect for the clergy; several of Robert's comments demonstrate his disapproval and urge his listeners to show due regard to clerics.[35] Part of the imagined audience is thus resistant or even hostile.

Robert's assertion that *Corset* addresses his patron, his references to an audience of men, his depiction of seigneurial identity and the absence of specifically female issues, all indicate that the text does not target a female audience. Yet Robert's dedication of the *Miroir* to Elena argues against the absence of women from the audience of *Corset*. A single reference might indicate that women are included in the assembly: 'As femmes redi autrestiel' (l. 201) [I say the same to women] or it may be just a general statement. Yet, while focussing on the role of the high-born bridegroom, *Matrimony* also touches on the obligations of his bride – indicating that women are

[31] Listed in T. Woodcock and Sarah Flower, *Dictionary of British Arms; Medieval Ordinary*, Vol. iii, London, 2009, p. 309.
[32] The household was composed of functionaries of the lord (officials, administrators and domestic staff) lesser knights and esquires, relatives, visitors and guests. Knights remained closely connected to the lands they held and retained their ties with socially inferior groups, transmitting cultural values in local society; see Coss, *Lordship, Knighthood and Locality*, p. 308.
[33] See, for instance, LRRO 26D53/409 (early thirteenth century).
[34] See LRRO 26D53/492 (Easter 1247) for the agreement between the prior of Bredon and Philip de Staunton, granting Philip and his heirs the right to have a chaplain to bury members of the family at Staunton. Philip was Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire (1249-50) and probably had lands in Ireland. See: Beth Hartland, 'English Lords in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century Ireland: Roger Bigod and the de Clare Lords of Thomond', *English Historical Review*, 122 (2007): 318-48 (337).
[35] See my comments, p.91.

also being addressed, although they are not Robert's primary concern. Again, Robert's intended audience might have included priests, since *Corset* is a learned work with an abundance of scriptural references. Yet, I argue, Robert's frequent display of intellectual virtuosity is designed to enhance his personal authority and to impress laymen, not fellow priests. We shall see how, in his section on the clerical orders, Robert endeavours to validate and valorise clerical masculinity which he compares with the seigneurial masculinity displayed by the refined bridegroom of *Matrimony*. In order to enhance his own masculine status as a cleric, Robert adopts the strategy of confronting and challenging laymen as the single voice of textual, linguistic and religious authority.

Sacramental instruction: *Penitence* and *Confession*

Since Alan does not understand Latin, Robert will use the vernacular:

> Et quant n'entendez la letrure,
> Al franceis oÿre metez cure (ll. 9-10)

[And if you do not understand the lesson in Latin, listen carefully to the French].

Robert's exposition of the sacraments, however, often appears cursory or selective. He describes in meticulous detail, for instance, the significance of clerical apparel and appearance in *Seven Orders* and the social symbolism of marriage in *Matrimony*.Yet he makes only a simple comment on the transcendent image of marriage: 'Ki d'omme et Dieu est une lïen' (l. 300) [which is a connection between man and god].[36] Robert's religious commentary often takes the form of generalised digressions on man's obedience, or disobedience, of God's wishes, illustrated by citation, *topoi* and example. His tone is in turn monitory, exhortative or threatening as he attempts to inculcate conventional religious thoughts and habits in his audience. The sacraments of *Penitence* and *Confession* demonstrate the commonplace nature of much of Robert's religious discourse.

Penitence begins with Robert's declaration that he will deliver 'saint enseignement' (l. 1491), as authorised by the holy fathers:

> Dunt jeo prenc les autoritez
> Ke vous, s'il plaist a Deu, orrez. (ll. 1493-4)

[36] Contrast Robert's brevity with William of Shoreham's elaboration of the divine symbolism of marriage (p. 200).

[Whose authority and writings I explain, and to which, if God pleases, you will listen.]

A long allegorised image, taken from the work of Saint Ambrose, describes penance as a raft which helps man who is adrift in the world (ll. 1495-8). [37] The world, says Robert, is like the sea which is never at peace (ll. 1499-1500) but 'tutdis bruit et tutdis brait / En mals, en pecchiez, en mesfait' (ll. 1501- 2) [is always rough and always noisy, with evils, sins and misdeeds]. Man attempts to swim to God but founders, inevitably, in the face of evils that beset him, because of his 'feble esperit et frele corps' (l.1513) [feeble spirit and frail body]. He is surrounded by evil spirits who, like wild animals, will seek to kill him, or wreck the boat in which he tries to cross the sea of life. Through his holy church God offers man two rafts (l.1534) which will support him when his boat sinks: the first is baptism (l.1539) which protects through its water and the second is penance:

> Ceo est drait vaire penitaunce
> Ki de touz mals tolt la grevance. (ll. 1563-4)

[Genuine, true penance is what takes away the burden of all evils]

In two couplets, each beginning 'vëez' (ll.1569-72), Robert describes how penance will lead the sinner to heaven, although he does not explain how this will be achieved. He now returns to the image of the sea and appeals to the audience:

> Pur Dieu, seignours, aiez la table
> De penitaunce bien estable. (ll. 1587-8)

[For God's sake, gentlemen, keep the raft of penance steadfast]

The image of the sea is a commonplace for the tribulations of human life, although it has less relevance to the sacrament of penance and does not expound sacramental practice. Robert claims further authority: St John the Baptist initiated the need for repentance (l. 1597); Christ insisted on its importance (l. 1599); Isaiah articulated the path to salvation:

> L[i] prophete en dit la verur :
> 'Sire', fait il, 'par ta poür
> Avoms conceu et enfaunté
> Le esperit de ta salveté'. (ll.1618-21) [38]

[The prophet speaks the truth about this: 'Lord', he says, 'in awe of you, we have conceived and given birth to hope of your salvation']

[37] The same image, but shorter, is used by Pecham at the start of Chapter 6 of the Council of Lambeth, Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 898.

[38] The image is based on Isaiah XXVI, 18: 'We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have as it were brought forth wind; we have not wrought any deliverance in the earth; neither have the inhabitants of the world fallen'.

Robert now generates a play on words connected with childbirth:

> Le conçaivere afert al penser,
> Et l'enfaunter al bien overer.
> Ki bien pense, cil bien conçait ;
> Et bien enfaunte ki bien fait.
> Les sainz, ki mult sount en Dieu granz,
> Les faiz pernent par les enfantz,
> Ne ja nul ki poüre n'en ad
> Bone overaigne n'enfaunterad. (ll. 1621-8)

[The conception refers to thought, and the delivery to a good act. The man who thinks well is one who conceives well; he, who acts well, delivers successfully. The multitude of saints who are great through God ['s grace] invoke these truths like [the conception of] children. The man who has no fear [of God] will never give birth to good work]

Robert develops the link between conception as a process of thought which leads to action and the conception of a child. The significance of the biblical source has been adapted to demonstrate the writer's linguistic virtuosity through intricate word-play and repetition: *poür-poüre/ conceu-conçaivere-conçait / enfaunte- enfaunter-enfaunte-enfantz-enfaunterad/ penser-pense/ overer-overaigne*. Robert appropriates scriptural authority but manipulates the original text to serve his own purposes of invention. The frequent translations of authoritative sources in *Corset* raises important issues of authorial creativity and audience response, which I shall take up later in the chapter.

Humans must leave sin behind, unlike the 'chen de vomite recharché' (l. 1647) [dog returning to its vomit], and God exhorts the sinner to embrace goodness:

> Va! Si voillez mais pecchier!
> Meis n'aiez voil de meserrer ! (ll.1823-4)

[Go and sin no more; and take care not to stray again]

Robert delivers a concise typology of sins and how they should be assessed according to their severity (ll. 1851-74): first, whether they are 'petiz, maens et criminauls' (l.1854) [small, ordinary or criminal] and secondly, taking into account the time, place and circumstances (ll. 1857-60). This is followed by a list of what is revealed in confession: whether, for instance, anything has been concealed or whether penance has been undertaken for past sins. Robert then appeals to his audience to consider the unworthiness of the sinner:

Puis vëez cum vos mals sunt granz,
Cum 'orribles, cum[e] pessaunz. (ll. 1875-6)
[Then see how great your sins are, how terrible, how oppressive.]

Man has rejected God's grace and given himself to Belzebu (l.1882) [the Devil] and he refuses to contemplate the greatness of God. From l.2037, Robert produces a detailed list of sins: gossiping, backbiting, gluttony, deceit, envy, pride, lechery and love of luxury. He declares that man may be redeemed through:

oreisons…veilles et afflicïouns… almones…disciplines… tutes overes divines. (ll. 2069-72)
[prayers…vigils and weeping …alms…self-control…all holy works].

The sacrament of *Confession*, 'ki trestouz est necessaire' (l. 2116) [which is needed by everyone] has many benefits listed in a series of short sentences (ll. 2119-30), typically: 'Confessïoun fet les pecchez covere, / Confessïoun fet les cels aovere' (ll. 2119-20) [Confession covers over sins. Confession makes the heavens open]. Robert continues to enumerate the power of confession over sin: the breaking of fetters (ll. 2132-3) and the provision of a remedy (l. 2137). The repetition of sentence structure and the reiteration of clichés may be easy for his audience to memorise but they also suggest that linguistic virtuosity has taken precedence over religious exposition.

In one of many biblical illustrations, Robert likens the sinner to the captive daughter of Zion, who is ordered by God to untie the chains of sin through confession (ll.2143-54). He cites the instruction of St Paul that salvation must be sought through the act of oral confession (ll. 2159-60). God requires man to confess his sins and the priest is crucial to the process: 'Kar il soul ad la poësté / de deslïer lé repentaunz' (l.2188-9) [for only he has the power to unchain the penitent]. Robert now gives clear instruction that the penitent must make confession to a single priest:

Si se gardent bien les pecchours
K'il n'agent a prestres plusours
Pur dire a chascune sa partie
De la falture de sa vie. (ll. 2191-4)
[Sinners should be careful not to go to several priests to tell each one just some of the lapses in his life]

This important mandate of the twenty-first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council is a constant theme of vernacular *pastoralia*.[39]

[39] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 245. Quivil does not mention the problem of multiple confession unlike Shoreham, *De septem sacramentis*, ll. 906-7 and Mannyng, *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 11417-40.

Robert moves on to two brief *exempla* to demonstrate the result of unshriven sin: a wounded man is cured of all his injuries except the very wound which proves mortal (ll. 2211-4); a boat has all the holes in its hull plugged except the single one which causes it to sink (ll. 2215-8). These illustrations are followed by an account of David's repentance as he promised to put his folly behind him (l. 2235). Because of God's grace (l. 2243), David was forgiven like all those who truly repent and Robert encourages the sinner not to delay his confession, citing St John Chrysostom:

> 'Tutdis', feit-il, cressent pechez,
> Taunt cum il ne sount recoupez'. (ll. 2263-4)

[Sins grow for ever, he says, as long as they are not curtailed]

Robert's conclusion is threatening:

> L'Escrit dit: 'Guart! Ne targez mie
> De converter de ta folie…
> L'ire Dieu vient subitement
> Et mult est gref sun vengement'. (ll. 2269-70, 2273-4)

[Scripture says: 'Beware! Do not put off turning aside from your sinful life.....The wrath of God appears suddenly and his vengeance is very harsh']

In a further change of tone, Robert promises everlasting life to those who repent and confess their sins (ll. 2277-8).

Penitence and *Confession* emphasise the necessity of confession and penance but give little instruction or guidance as to how the laity should prepare for the sacraments. Robert plays on listeners' hopes and fears and focuses on the illustration of man's obedience or disobedience to God's will. The chaplain speaks with authority which is consolidated by frequent reference to time-honoured textual sources.

Citation, translation and humour

Corset contains many citations of biblical and patristic sources (examples appear below in Appendix A). They make up, at a conservative estimate, some 256 lines of verse out of a total of 2,436, that is between 10 -11% of the text. Translation of the passages cited is, therefore, an important element of Robert's work. References are made to sources from both the Old and New Testaments – slightly more from the latter. This possibly indicates the growing importance of New Testament narratives,

such as incidents in the life of the child Jesus, but the evidence is not compelling.[40] The Old Testament citations consist of narratives, laws and sayings, sometimes presaging Christian teaching. Robert's citations frequently evince Pauline, and to a lesser extent, Petrine influence, but he rarely refers to patristic authorities, apart from Ambrose's extended image of the sea of life (ll.1496-526).

As Eyal Poleg has demonstrated, sermons were among the few occasions on which the laity was presented with the text of bible in language they could understand. [41] In the main, however, Robert's biblical citations are not those regularly used in liturgical readings. There are a few exceptions, like the passage from Genesis I and Psalm XXXI, which is a penitential and might be known to the audience.[42] The two other psalms, however, are not graduals nor do any of their lines appear in St Jerome's Psalter.[43] We might conclude, therefore, that many of Robert's sources were unfamiliar to Alan and his followers. Robert possibly counts on his audience's lack of knowledge of scripture, since he rarely translates or paraphrases accurately. The chaplain's technique generally comprises a brief introduction to the source material, which he then proceeds to amplify, embroider or amend. Like other writers of *pastoralia* such as Robert Mannyng, he is no *fidus interpres* [translator providing word for word translation] since interpretive translation is a fundamental strategy in medieval composition whilst mere borrowing or accurate paraphrasing constitutes poor writing. Authorial practices of translation in vernacular *pastoralia* raise many complex issues: writers unfailingly claim the authority of their source whilst deviating from the original text. This manipulation of translation reveals a process of creative invention which Rita Copeland claims resulted from the mechanism of *exercitatio*:

> through which translation becomes independent discursive production, through which translation as an exegetical performance asserts power over the text it officially serves… in this process the exegetic role of translation assumes the productive force of rhetoric.[44]

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[40] Robert states the importance of the Gospels given by the bishop to the newly ordained deacon (ll. 1223- 4).
[41] Eyal Poleg, '"A Ladder set up on Earth": The Bible in Medieval Sermons' in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception and Performance in Western Christianity*, ed. Susan Boynton and Diane J. Reilly, New York, 2011, pp. 205-27.
[42] The seven penitential psalms are: nos. 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129 and 142.
[43] The graduals (sung after the reading of the Epistle) are numbers 120-134. St Jerome's Psalter, a popular penitential work, often appeared in medieval Books of Hours.
[44] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages,* Cambridge, 1999, pp.141-2.

Although Copeland's discussion is based on academic translation, her comments and conclusions apply to the translation processes at work in vernacular texts like *Corset*, which offer possibilities for new literary expression and creativity.[45] Copeland explains how translations:

> advance their own claims to *auctoritas*. They take the rhetorical motive of difference and displacement one step further than primary translation; these secondary translations insert themselves into academic discourse, not by proposing to serve the interests of continuity with the *antiqui* but rather by calling attention to their own status as vernacular productions and thus underscoring the fact of cultural and historical difference that vernacularity exposes.[46]

In *Seven Orders*, Robert provides the contrast of old and new in the historical developments of the office of deacon. He cites the first Epistle to Timothy and the authority of St Paul: 'Saint Poel comande cer[te]ment…' (ll.1201-6). What Robert omits to say, however, is that Paul assumed that deacons were married men and ordered them to be sober, monogamous and to control their families.[47] He insisted on the latter point twice and instructed the men's wives about their behaviour. Robert, on the other hand, portrays the ideal deacon of the Middle Ages, not of Antiquity, stressing different qualities: the deacon is admirable: 'saunz crimine ...umble, servisant et lettrez' (ll. 1205-6) [guiltless…humble, willing to serve and educated] but no mention is made of female companions or family, since he is, of course, celibate. Robert has adjusted his source material to reflect and authorise the emphases of his own time. The implicit contrast of the old and the new may even be linked to his sense of playfulness, since it is unlikely that his lay listeners would had have suffient knowledge of scripture to recognise the discrepancy.

Robert's manipulation of source is often subtle and nuanced as in his reference to the daughter of Zion (ll. 2143-54). In Isaiah LII, 1-2, the prophet calls upon Jerusalem to free herself from the shackles of physical enslavement which bind her neck – an image with religious and political resonance. Robert, however, develops the concept

[45] Hanna describes similar practices of translation in the Middle English version of Robert's *Miroir* in Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300–1380*, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 180-7. For an interesting link with the strategies of medieval translation, see Harold Bloom's argument: 'the history of fruitful poetic influence … since the Renaissance, is … of distortion, of perverse, wilful revisionism', Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: a Theory of Poetry*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, p.30.
[46] Copeland, *Rhetoric*, pp. 179-80.
[47] 1Timothy III discusses the positions of bishop, overseer and deacon.

of the bonds as sins around the neck of the individual sinner. He focuses on an unusual image of the throat as the conduit of speech in confession (ll. 2147-8):

> Preu ne purra parler nul fé
> Taunt cum sun col serra lïé. (ll.2149-50)

[No person will be able to confess at all, as long as his throat is shackled]

The Old Testament citation has provided Robert with an image that he reworks and shapes into the fresh image of sin linked with the medieval emphasis on oral confession. Citation and translation thus offer writers like Robert the authority of the past plus space and licence for literary innovation, invention and reformulation. Medieval writers are not, of course, creative authors in the modern sense but neither are they mere redactors. *Pastoralia* demonstrate the ways in which writers reworked and elaborated older material to put their own stamp on their composition.[48]

Robert' creative manipulation of translation may result in jocularity and humour, as in the well-known tale of Lot's wife (*Matrimony* ll. 29-71). This would have resonated with the audience in several ways: by suggesting disaster after wrongdoing, moral downfall, God's vengeance, foolishness of women or the need to follow God's word. The narrative is set out simply in *Corset*. Lot was thwarted in his desire to have a good wife, although, as Robert insists, a husband is not damned because of his wife's sins. Lot's wife looked back at the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, despite God's warning passed on by her husband, and was turned into 'une pere tres salee' (l. 52) [a pillar of pure salt]. God showed his vengeance 'par ceo k'en pere la müa' (l. 61) [by his action of turning her into stone]. Robert focuses on the commonplace obedience a wife owes her husband as the mouthpiece of God – if she does not comply, God will take vengeance in this world or the next. Robert leads his audience through the well-known tale but finally he veers away from familiar narrative and adds a further dimension to his discussion: God is angry with a wife:

> Ki ad vers son seignour duresce
> S'ele ne s'amolist umblement
> Et fait tot son comandement.
> Le sele savure tute rien :
> Partaunt sachent les dames bien
> K'en ad d'esausir le savour :

[48] For the emergence of the author (and a list of current terms used to avoid the term for medieval writers), see Anthony Bale, 'From Translator to Laureate: Imagining the Medieval Author', *Literature Compass*, 5 (2008): 918-934.

Par paer par sen son seignour (ll. 64-70)
[who shows stubbornness towards her husband, when she does not soften humbly and promptly carry out his order. Salt brings flavour to everything and thereby women know full well that there is something with which to spice up the flavour [of marriage] by sensibly pleasing their lord.]

From being the metaphor of God's vengeance, the hard pillar 's'amolist' [softens] into female obedience and reverts to its function as a culinary aide which savours all dishes. Women know how to make use of salt to produce something which, in Robert's parlance, is 'saucy' or 'spicy'. Through the distortion of the original image, Robert has produced a ribald joke for his male audience. The well-known narrative of Lot's wife builds up to its normal conclusion and then moves into this new area of discourse, humour.

Citation and translation may, then, offer possibilities for the communication of the writers'sense of humour and playfulness. The presence of humour in its many forms, particularly irony, is evident throughout *pastoralia*, as in many medieval texts and creative arts.[49] Modern sensibilities may be surprised at the introduction of low comedy into serious religious contexts such as liturgical drama, but clearly medieval writers and artists did not perceive the categories of sacred and profane as mutually exclusive. The constraints of this dissertation do not allow a thorough exploration of the phenomenon of medieval laughter which has attracted the attention of modern scholars. Jacques Le Goff, in particular, has commented on medieval concerns about Jesus and humour – often discussed in sermons and thirteenth-century *quodlibets* at the University of Paris.[50] Le Goff has argued cogently that with the development of vernacular literature the medieval perception of laughter was of 'libération et contrôle'.[51] Yet, despite doubts about the desirability of laughter, St Francis called his followers the *joculatores Dei* and the concept of *homo risibilis* emphasised the unique gift of man for laughter. Bozon and Mannyng have been long acknowledged for their skilled use of humour, but even Shoreham, whose work is consistently conventional and serious, makes the occasional joke, such as his description of Jacob's ladder:

[49] See, for instance, the numerous examples of humorous misericords and carvings in Paul Hardwick ed., *The Playful Middle Ages: Meanings of Play and Plays of Meaning, Essays in Memory of Elaine C. Block.* Turnhout, 2011.
[50] Jacques Le Goff, 'Jésus a-t-il ri?', *L'histoire*, 158 (1992): 72-4. See, too, the interesting variety of papers in *A Cultural History of Humour: from Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, Cambridge, 1997.
[51] Jacques Le Goff, 'Rire au Moyen Age', *Cahiers du Centre de Recherches Historiques*, 3 (1989), 18, URL: http://ccrh.revues.org [accessed 7/12/2011].

Me seiþe þe ri3te wone3yng
Ine heuene hyt his to manne;
Ac heuene his hei3e, and we beþ heuy
Howe scholde we þider þanne?
Bi leddre.
Howe mey þat be?
Wo dar þer-oppe stei3e,
For dou3te of fotes bleddre? (ll.36-42)

[It is said that man's right dwelling is in heaven. But heaven is high and we are laden so how shall we get there? By a ladder. How may that be? Who will climb up there for fear of blisters on their feet?]

The bathos of this homely joke derives from the medieval tension between spirit and flesh, the divine and the earthly in order to foster a sense of human frailty and sinfulness. Examples of such humour include elements of surprise and perceived incongruity and they abound in *pastoralia*. Other kinds of humour, particularly irony in Bozon's and Mannyng's work, may invite derisive laughter and depend on the creation of a sense of superiority in the audience. They thus reinforce a moral lesson by calling attention to cultural ideas and soliciting a response which either reinforces conservative views or opens the way for shifts in cultural thinking – the relationship between laughter and persuasion should not be discounted. Through humour authors develop a freedom of expression within their consideration of divine grace that aids the creative exploration of forgiveness and redemption.Thus Robert the Chaplain and other writers did not see the inclusion of the comedic in a religious text as incongruous but as a vehicle to explore issues related to salvation.

We should, however, beware of over-emphasising the dedication of writers of vernacular verse *pastoralia* to the single-minded pursuit of salvation. Whilst they worked within the textual space of religious instruction, they also embraced and relished the literary possibilities of their enterprise, frequently articulated through their engagement with the comic and humorous. A number of these comic passages appear to lack instructional or redemptive intent, such as the word-play we have seen the Chaplain develop around his citation of Isaiah (ll. 1621-8).[52] Pastoral writers frequently provided amusement for the medieval audience in these parades of phonological patterning, lexical repetition and slippage, the comic impact being heightened, it must be remembered, by oral performance. The primary aim of this

[52] See p. 64-5.

kind of humour is not, arguably, to instruct but to invite the audience to share in the sheer enjoyment of language manipulation. The inclusion of humorous and comic elements is a prominent feature of verse *pastoralia* and, whilst it may often promote instructional purpose, this is not invariably the case – the texts are imbued with the writers'sense of the ludic, playful fun for its own sake.[53]

The authority of the vernacular

Robert constantly emphasises his own social pre-eminence and authority. For example, he compares his superior skills in explaining the sacraments with the unsatisfactory levels of understanding he discerns in his audience:

> Tut aie dit suffisalment,
> Tut n'entendent pas ouelment. (ll. 1843-4)

[I have said everything satisfactorily; they do not understand everything adequately]

Robert's authority is reinforced by frequent authorial intrusions into the text which affirm his control of the material. Some 362 lines into his discussion of *Penitence*, for instance, he declares that, although there is much more to say: 'gradment i ad uncore a dire' (l.1839), he will shorten his instruction: 'abreger voil ma matire' (l.1840). Yet Robert continues to expound on the subject of penance for a further 273 lines, consolidating his personal textual authority. This is further enhanced by the displays of his knowledge of Latin and other languages, in contrast to Alan who, it is claimed in the prologue, has limited understanding of the Latin 'lesçun divine' (l.8) [holy scripture]. The linguistic ignorance of the lord and the men of his household is thus signalled from the beginning of *Corset*. The chaplain has been ordered to give instruction according to God's wish and commandment (l.12). Robert presents himself as indispensable to Alan in his role as God's mediator who will translate for those who do not understand Latin. The men of the household are implicitly no intellectual or spiritual match for Robert.

Robert frequently flaunts his knowledge of the languages of the Bible, as, for instance, he outlines the different nuances given to the title 'subdeacon' in various languages:

[53] For a through discussion of the subject, see Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a Study of the Play-Elements in Culture*, London, 1945. Mary Carruthers also comments: 'Play is especially a space for teaching, experimental thinking, and composing'; Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, p. 23.

‘Ypodïakene’ dist en gryu,
Evatanai’ en cele ebreu.
Ki le gryu espount, dist [a] tant
K’as dïakenes saient servant ;
Le ebru tant ; en umbleté
Sai[e]nt servisant Dampnedé ;
Latin et fraunceis dïent tant
K’il daivent estre suzservant. (ll. 979-86)

[They are called ‘Ypodïakene’ in Greek and ‘Evatanai’ in Hebrew. Greek explains that they should be the servant of the deacon. Hebrew explains that they should be serving the Lord God with humility. Latin and French say that they must be subordinate]

Robert may not have deep understanding of these languages but his knowledge is sufficient to impress lay listeners who are unlikely to understand his multilingual terminology and learning. Robert explicitly links French with the authority of Latin and suggests parity between them. Elsewhere, too, Robert makes similar associations between the two languages – they both have the same maxims, for example:

Franceis le dïent et latin:
‘Trestote riens prove la fin’. (ll. 1135-6)

[Both French and Latin say ‘Every single thing is defined by its end’]

Robert’s etymological skills are impressive as he discusses the derivation of the word ‘sacerdos’:

Les prestres en antiquité
‘Sacerdotes’ furent nomé
Si dist sacerdos ‘saint donour’
U sulunc asquans, ‘saint duitour’ (ll. 1283-6)

[In olden times priests were called ‘sacerdotes’. ‘Sacerdos’ means ‘holy giver’, or, according to some, ‘holy leader’.] [54]

The men in Alan’s circle do not have Robert’s linguistic skills – nor do they, possibly, have his command of French. In addition to his comments about ancient languages, Robert frequently discusses the linguistic usages of French, as in his definition of the moral significance of the French verb ‘repentir’:

Kar tant dist cest mot ‘repentir’
Cum ‘paine enterement tenir’. (ll.1805-6)

[For this word ‘to repent’ is the same as ‘to feel pain in its entirety’.]

[54] In the Table of Roots, *A Latin Dictionary for Schools*, p. 1182, Lewis attributes the root of ‘dos’ with ‘donum’ etc. and concurs with Robert’s first explanation.

This definition is repeated later (ll. 1945-6). The chaplain presents French as a complex language which requires explanation, and he provides lessons in French vocabulary. The doorkeeper, for example, is described 'en nostre fraunceis' as 'oisser' or 'porter' (ll.713-4). Occasionally Robert expands the explanation and gives alternative French words – as for the word 'exorcist':

> 'Exorciste' est li tierz degree,
> En fraunceis 'conjurour' nomé,
> Et ataunt dit 'exorciscer'
> Come 'converter' ou 'chastïer'. (ll. 823-6)

[The 'exorcist' is the third grade, called 'conjuror' in French; you can say 'exorcise', then, the same as 'turn aside' or 'drive out']

The listing of variants from the French lexicon augments the depiction of French as a scholarly language that requires translation and definition – not unlike the Latin it replaces – and reinforces the textual authority of *Corset*. At the same time, it raises a further issue. Whilst Robert exploits the unsurprising ignorance of Alan's followers in respect of Latin, Greek or Hebrew, we assume they understand instruction in vernacular French, as Robert claims. The parade of lexical items in French, however, resembles the display of Robert's knowledge of ancient languages which he has used to impress the men of Alan's household. Is Robert also attempting to impress his listeners with his knowledge of French? This would lead us to question how well the listeners know the French language. Would they agree with Robert that it is 'nostre fraunceis'? We must assume that the majority of his listeners had a reasonable understanding of the French they heard spoken, otherwise they would be unable to follow Robert's commentary or appreciate, for instance, his clever play on words. Yet in all probability, by the mid-thirteenth century, people like Alan and his entourage were mainly monoglot; their first language was English and they may have learned French as a second language. It is possible that the instruction of *Corset* was transmitted in a language which some members of the audience could understand without being entirely at ease with its use. Robert has dislodged the authority of clerical Latin and replaced it with the authority of French which some listeners may consider to be almost as inaccessible.

Matrimony

Matrimony was normally presented as the penultimate or last of the sacraments but its unusual position in *Corset* indicates the centrality of marriage to Robert's treatise. The main part of the section describes an idealised wedding ceremony in which the noble couple implicitly represents Alan and Elena; this compliments them on the suitability of their union. The description of the rite and the conduct of the bridegroom are generally based on themes taken from the literature of courtesy and chivalry, but the textual representation of the groom's status, noble qualities and sexual restraint also reflects ecclesiastical attempts to curb and direct the conduct of the secular elite.[55] The bride of *Corset* offers more than just sexual or emotional gratification; her importance lies in her social position and the material advantages she brings to the marriage. *Matrimony* defines the protocol required by the social circle into which Alan is marrying and emphasises the refinement which characterises him as a member of the elite.

Corset proposes a redefinition of the marital relationship through the concept of matrimonial chastity in contrast to the values of masculinity celebrated through sexual prowess. The latter is exemplified in the first part of *Matrimony* (ll.15-228) which treats the sexual transgressions of laymen in graphic examples of lecherous and adulterous behaviour. The discussion of adultery before the marriage ceremony itself is not incongruous since the commentary broadens into an exposition of marital chastity and thereby heightens the virtue of the bridal couple. *Corset* equates marital chastity with appropriately restrained sexual relations only with one's wife and presents it as an integral part of the elite male identity.[56] This depiction also establishes an analogy between the noble chastity of the idealised lord and that of the priest.

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[55] Marriage is often likened to a religious order implying that marriage is under ecclesiastical control, like monastic and clerical orders. 'The Order of Marriage' in *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, ed. Richard W. Kneuper and Elspeth Kennedy, Philadelphia, 1996 concludes: 'It is those who conduct themselves most properly in the order of marriage who live joyfully and pleasantly' (p. 173). Geoffroi (d.1356) probably wrote the book for members of the Company of the Star, a French order created in 1352 by Jean II.

[56] See Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*, Princeton, 1993, p. 5, for a discussion of the problem of such terms as 'matrimonial chastity'. This does not necessarily indicate the observation of absolute chastity in marriage but may refer merely to the maintenance of sexual fidelity as promoted by Robert. Sacramental sanctity in marriage accommodates sexual acts undertaken for procreation.

Each partner must accept personal responsibility for sin and neither is responsible for the other's misdemeanours.[57] In an alliterative couplet, Robert points out men will be damned by their actions alone:

> Dount saver poez: touz peccherent,
> Et pur lour pecchez periz erent (ll. 28-9)

[By which you may know: all will sin and perish, because of their own sins]

Robert explains through the story of Lot that a wife must be subservient to her husband in the hierarchy ordained by God (ll.76-80), although they are one flesh (ll.109-11). Marriage offers protection against lechery, and intercourse is to be undertaken only with the aim of begetting children (l.140). Robert argues for the curtailment of sexual intercourse during pregnancy, since further impregnation is impossible and there is a risk of miscarriage (l.154). Robert also claims that intercourse lessens the amount of milk for a suckling and that lechery may thus cause the death of a child. In a possibly humorous reversal of the normal injunction, Robert instructs that humans should imitate dumb beasts – 'mue beste' (l.166), 'fole beste' (l.172), 'creature' (l.174) – which do not have intercourse when the female is pregnant. *Matrimony* reaffirms church teaching that the proper function of sexual intercourse is procreation.

Yet, Robert observes, when men are denied intercourse with their wives, they may seek concubines and attempt to placate God with the specious plea that their aim is to produce a child (ll.177-80).[58] Robert builds up to a climax and establishes himself as the mediator of God's will:

> Mais jeol di bien overtement
> En l'ouance de tote gent -
> Les angeles en trai a testemoine
> Et quantke Dieux fist sans essoine -
> K'unc soignante Deux ne voult. (ll. 181-5)

[I say quite openly so that everyone can hear – and I take as my witnesses the angels and whatever else God created in his wisdom – that God wants nothing to do with concubines]

[57] Robert may refer to the idea of communal guilt, discussed in Chapter 4.
[58] Ruth Mazo Karras discusses the advantages for elite men in fathering illegitimate sons in 'resource polygyny', that is support for legitimate siblings etc.; Karras, *Unmarriages: Women, Men, and Sexual Unions in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 2012, p. 69.

Robert indicates that a further sin is committed if, at the end of an affair, a married man does not pass his concubine on to a bachelor:

> Et plus tolt a Dieu sa figure,
> Quant ceo ne laist al nounespous
> Ke ert de l'espous en ceo gelous. (ll. 188-90) [59]

[Moreover, he turns his face away from God, when he does not leave her [the woman] to a single man who was envious of the married man's relationship]

This comment may be an appeal for the equitable treatment of an abandoned concubine but it also demonstrates how women are commodities to be passed around. Robert's strictures may reflect the behaviour of this relatively prosperous group of men: a conclusion which is reinforced by his tempering of the severity of the punishment awaiting lechers. There are, he states, two hells: the first is deeper than the other (l.192): lechers will go to the second hell where their torments will be unending but they are not detailed.[60] Marriage was created to provide an outlet for 'charnel desire' (l. 208), so that when a married couple wish to have intercourse, it must be undertaken in an appropriate manner, and they must make amends towards God if they perform the act 'en legerté' (l. 214) [without thought]. A husband and wife who are lecherous are 'avoutres et putains' (l.217) [adulterers and whores] but those who keep their marriage chaste will be joyous with Christ and Mary (ll. 223-5).

The dishonour of an adulterous union stands in contrast to Robert's depiction of an honourable marriage. He is particularly concerned with the different stages of the ritual. According to the laws of marriage, the woman is given away by her father or – if he is dead – by a friend who has known her since infancy, thereby ensuring the legality of the pledges (ll.233-46).[61] Robert asserts the right of the priest to be present (l. 260) when marriage is created by the couple's promise freely given (ll. 269-70). When they are brought to the church, the betrothed stop outside and the priest asks

[59] Ibid., p.72. It was considered more acceptable for a bachelor to have a concubine.
[60] The idea that two hells existed derives from the Old Testament e.g. 1 Enoch XXII, 1-13. The existence of 'sheol' and 'gehenna' (where punishment was eternal) is also found in the New Testament e.g. Luke XVI, 23. St Augustine conceived of two hells with Purgatory as an upper abode. Robert says that he has threatened women with the same fate (l. 201).
[61] This donation of the bride by her father, part of the English/northern French ritual, differs from the marriage service in southern parts of France, where she was given by the priest to the bridegroom. See Molin and Mutembe, *Le rituel du mariage*, p. 92, who suggest that the latter practice may have been due to laws instructing that parents had no rights over the marriage of their children. This may indicate that, in England, parental power and choice was still acknowledged as an integral part of the marriage process. Alternatively, it may signal the transfer of the bride from the jurisdiction of her father to that of her husband.

whether they both give their consent and will live together in sickness and in health (l. 284). The two exchange gifts: dowry, dower and the wedding ring (ll. 321- 414) and the significance of gift-giving is described at length. Great honour is attached to the husband's gifts:

> Et doun aferme mult amour ;
> Ki doner ne voult, grantment pert.
> Doun fait amer, doun de queor sert.
> Pur ceo luy doune le duaire
> K'el n'ait soig de rien mesfaire. (ll. 322-6).

[A gift greatly strengthens love; he who does not wish to bestow gifts, loses much. A gift creates love; a gift expresses the wishes of the heart. He gives her the dower so that she has no fear of committing any wrong.]

The groom's gifts ensure marital love and the dower is an essential part of the contract, since it secures the bride's future should she be widowed. The commodification of the bride is clear since: 'achatee l'ad en chastee' (l. 329) [he has bought her in chastity]. The marriage is the public sign of an honourable contract, in which the wife has been acquired by her husband with her full consent, and which, therefore, cannot be challenged.

The public demonstration of the bride's chastity combines with the honour bestowed on her by her husband and this ratifies the marital relationship based on 'fin'amour' (l.414), a noble and specific concept of love which Robert now defines. The wedding ring symbolises the eternal nature of 'fin'amour':

> Anel est tote rount e entier
> Et nul home n'i poet fine trover.
> Et la roundesce moustre bien
> Fine amour ke ne fine mie. (ll. 375-8) [62]

[The wedding ring is completely round and whole; no man can find where it ends. The roundness signifies true love that never ends.]

The refined silver of the ring represents the chastity of the bride:

> Et la blancheur del fine argent,
> De ceo lui fait demoustrement
> K'ele sait blaunche en chasteé
> Come est [li] lils en tens d'este. (ll. 401-4)

[The whiteness of the fine silver thus demonstrates that she is as pure white in her chastity as is the lily in summertime.]

While the couple's hands are joined, the ring is placed first on the middle finger and then on the fourth which leads directly to the seat of love in the heart (ll. 407-10).

[62] The symbolism of the circle is reiterated in *Seven Orders*, ll.413-4, in relation to clerical tonsure.

Public recognition of the relationship in the tangible form of the ring also highlights the legal responsibility of the lord for the woman. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne sees in Robert's use of 'fin' amour' two emphases: enduring love and female legal incapacity. This is not chivalric love or romantic passion, although it shares the refined qualities of romance literature, and is linked by Wogan-Browne to earlier uses of the term, which in the high Middle Ages 'can be the very opposite of private romantic transgressive love'.[63] Robert's concept of love is not based on marital affection but on the public expression of seigneurial honour; the equivalent of 'drait amor' (l. 410) [righteous love] and 'leial amour' (l. 412) [faithful love]. Commenting on the groom's gift-giving, Wogan-Browne remarks that 'Robert's lexis of gift, love, purchase and chastity' signifies that nuptial exchange confirms marital love and is subsumed into the concept of honour.[64]

In Robert's commentary, the symbols of marriage have moved from sacramental significance to the temporal virtues of courtesy and chivalry. This shift in symbolic focus occurs frequently in all the texts under consideration. We shall see, for instance, Bozon's allegorical *Char* which begins its journey as the conveyance of sinners to hell; its component parts then develop into complex symbols of sin; finally, it comes to signify social degeneration. The introduction of sacramental or other religious symbols into a text offers the writer the opportunity to engage in the formation of multiple significances and connotations, possibly as part of a creative process. Medieval symbols are inextricably bound to a social perspective or vision, as Sarah Beckwith has argued, and these may develop into divergent ideas and practices.[65] David Aers and Lynn Staley also describe the cultural potency of Christian symbols which are:

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[63] Wogan-Browne, 'How to Marry Your Wife', p.142.

[64] Jocelyn Wogan-Browne's arguments are compelling. I question, however, her claim ('How to Marry', p. 138) that the nature of the gift-giving in *Matrimony* indicates a 'reversal of romance iconography' when the bride kneels symbolically before her lord (ll. 347-50), in contrast to the woman of romance literature who withholds her love from the supplicant male on his knee (see the *amye* in Bozon's *Tretys de la Passion* in my Chapter 3). Robert's depiction of the kneeling bride is merely part of accepted ceremonial practice and is incorporated into the wedding rite in an English missal in Laon and in pontificals in Avranches and Ely, as a sign of gratitude on the part of the bride for her ring and dower. See Molin and Mutembe, *Le rituel*, p. 162.

[65] Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in late Medieval Writings*, London and New York, 1993, pp. 2-4 and *passim*.

> essential components of the paradigms through which human beings formed their specific identities … Through them people sought to understand and shape…massive dislocations, shifts, possibilities, and conflicts.[66]

Christian symbolism may thus serve as a forum in which secular concerns may be articulated.

The bride and groom now enter the church and go to the altar where mass is performed (ll. 415-6). Prayers are said by the priest:

> Si come home et femme fist
> Et ensemble les joinst et mist. (ll.423- 4)

[Then he makes them man and wife and puts and joins them together]

Robert ignores the redundancy of the priest in the completion of marriage and stresses the importance of his supervision throughout the ritual (ll.427-72). This is evident as he blesses the couple lying prone before the altar 'desoutz une vail ou une cendal' (l. 436) [under a veil or canopy], in a symbolic act of submission to God.[67] Their action demonstrates the couple's humility not only towards God but also towards the priest, 'son sergaunt' (l. 440) [his officer]. After the nuptial mass, the couple must go home and spend two days praying and performing acts of charity, before intercourse takes place (l. 473-80).[68] These strictures again typify the refinement of the noble couple and *Matrimony* ends with the injunction that Christians should not engage in wanton behaviour (l. 484).

The enactment of noble and refined values in *Matrimony* redounds to the honour of Alan, Robert's lord and patron. The performance of the sacrament likens the protagonists' conduct to that of literary heroes who, nonetheless, comply with ecclesiastical constraints. The bridegroom's exceptional qualities impress on Alan's inferiors the gulf between themselves and the nobility, a caste perpetuated by lineage

[66] David Aers and Lynn Staley, *The Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture*, Pennsylvania, 1996, p.3.

[67] Illegitimate children were sometimes placed under the veil, with parents who were marrying, to effect legitimisation. See Grosseteste, *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae*, ed. Henry Luard, London, 1861, letter xxiv, p. 96, defending this law.

[68] The imposition of this period of sexual abstinence has been attributed to the influence of the prayers that most commonly concluded the marriage service, based on a blessing from the Book of Tobias VII, 15. See Molin and Mutembe, *Le rituel*, pp. 202-4. Tobias was the eighth man to marry Sarah, the others having been torn apart by a devil of lust because they tried to consummate the marriage immediately. Tobias spent the first three nights of marriage in prayer and was spared; see Tobias VI, 18-22.

and breeding which is closed to lesser men, no matter what their merits or possessions. For Alan's peers or superiors, the text reasserts his position as a young noble poised to attain full male estate through the familial and societal responsibilities of matrimony. *Corset* thus shares certain of the aims of courtesy books – to affirm the social behaviour deemed appropriate for a noble lord.

Alan belonged to the group of elite men whose imagined masculinity was frequently depicted in chivalric literature. Such texts constructed and reinforced patterns of behaviour and feelings deemed acceptable for a virile knight.[69] These ideals also found visual expression in the effigies of knights' tombs which stress chivalric notions of masculine identity. In her study of medieval military effigies, Rachel Dressler draws a comparison between visual and textual depictions:

> Chivalric literature not only parallels the effigies' idealization of the active knight, it also engages in drawing distinctions between knights and other gender and social groups.[70]

Dressler concludes that the elite knightly class was dominated by the great magnates who defended their superior status through the military ethos of chivalry, especially the tournament. County knights, like Alan, growing ever more autonomous, sought social parity and aimed to imitate the magnate's chivalric conduct where they could. To be represented as a warrior was to achieve an association with the great lords. At the other end of the social scale the economic power of townspeople had the capacity to break down social barriers erected by the knights.[71]

Popular interest in knighthood has fostered the idea of the medieval predominance of an inflexible and static model of the elite warrior male. Yet this, too, was evolving. The military function of knighthood clearly retained its importance in the governance

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[69] Constance Brittain Bouchard describes the major elements of chivalry in France which included virtues of 'warlike honor, Roman Stoic virtue, court fashion, and Christian morality', so that it was 'inherently self-contradictory' and created tension between ideals and reality; Bouchard, *Strong of Body, Brave and Noble: Chivalry and Society in Medieval France*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1998, p.111.

[70] Rachel Dressler, 'Steel Corpse: Imaging the Knight in Death' in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray, New York and London 1999, pp. 135-68 (p. 155).

[71] See Jean Flori, 'La notion de chevalerie dans les chansons de geste du XIIe siècle: étude historique de vocabulaire', *Le Moyen Age*, 81 (1975): 211-44, 407-45 (233). Flori claims that the development of commerce provided the sons of rich bourgeois with opportunities which threatened the social monopoly of the nobility. Nobles retaliated with the promotion of chivalry to define themselves as an elite caste.

of the country for waging war and defending regions such as the Marches, but it plays no part in the construct of the lord in *Corset*, which places greater emphasis on the courtesy and refinement of the lord's conduct.[72] Robert's model of lordship generates respect and may also reflect the importance attached to the role of the knight as the king's representative, if indeed Alan was already in the service of the Crown when he married. The reality of Alan's career was, however, quite different from that of the knight of chivalric text; it entailed many mundane tasks to ensure the careful administration of those parts of the kingdom entrusted to him. Alan's position as Justice of Chester, for instance, involved tax-collection and estate management on behalf of the king, and it offered the appointee many opportunities for the creation of personal wealth.[73] Alan was not the refined ideal knight depicted in *Corset*, and his career typifies the occupations and interests of many thirteenth-century knights.

Seven Orders: celibacy and hierarchies

Despite the social opposition of priests and knights in many literary *topoi*, writers occasionally interlinked the two groups.[74] Robert explores the relationship between the two estates: he demonstrates the differences between clerical and lay models of masculinity but also explores the characteristics and experiences they share, such as sexual restraint, which typifies both the bridegroom and his priestly counterpart.

Priests were easily identifiable in medieval society by their dress and appearance, and were set apart by their knowledge of Latin and their sacramental authority. They had, of course, less conspicuous characteristics, such as their celibacy, morality and non-aggressive conduct.[75] In theory, the celibate priest was free from human ties and

[72] At the Council of Clermont (1130), the Church attempted to curb the exercise of warrior activities by condemning tournaments; the ban was revoked in 1316. For a discussion of the Church's attempts at control, see Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, Oxford, 1999, p. 80.
[73] Insights into what was required of Alan as Justice of Chester may be gleaned from instructions issued by the king in a detailed writ, Marlborough, 2 July 1250; see *Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Henry III*, 4 (1247-58), Vol. IV, p. 70. http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/h3v4/body/Henry3 [accessed 27/1/2010]. Alan is to oversee named areas of England and north Wales for two and a quarter years; his most important task is to collect taxes and render them to the Exchequer at the rate of 1,000 marks a year. He must also maintain the king's property and all the castles in the area at his own expense in peace-time; acquit appointed alms; maintain the chaplains in the king's chapels and treat the tenants as law and custom demand.
[74] See Section 42, 'The Orders of Priesthood and Knighthood Compared' in *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, pp.180-90. Georges Duby describes medieval games when ladies would chose whether it was best to love a clerk or a knight; Duby, 'Diffusion': 8.
[75] The celibacy of the priesthood in the thirteenth century developed from Gregorian reforms and led to what Robert Swanson describes as 'the sacerdotalization of monasticism, as it became increasingly

relationships and focused entirely on the *cura animarum* in the parish. In practice, however, the secular clergy had no training for the problems and strains caused by the requirement for celibacy, since men who became priests were already socialised as young laymen. This may be contrasted with the situation that obtained in the monasteries up to the twelfth century where boys offered as oblates were initiated at an early age into their vocation and socialised as celibate monks.[76] Young men in lesser orders were not required to be celibate but, Robert's section, *Seven Orders*, declares that a man 'chaste dait estre come pucele' (l. 1095) [must be chaste like a virgin] once he reaches the diaconate. At the same time, the Church insisted that a priest have fully functioning genitals, as Peter Damian (1007-72) wrote to Bishop Cunibert of Turin, citing Leviticus XXII, 24: 'Omne animal quod vel contritis vel tunsis vel sectis ablatisque testiculis est, non offeretis Domino'. [You shall not offer to the Lord any animal whose testicles are crushed or bruised or cut and removed].[77] Robert stresses the difficulty for priests to fight their carnal desires, which are symbolised by long hair – this is why it must be cut short:

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normal for monks to advance to priesthood; and the monachization of priesthood, in the search to impose chastity and celibacy on the clergy in general'. He explains: 'The insistence on clerical celibacy was driven by two different concerns. One was bluntly practical, to prevent the alienation of church property through descent, perhaps also to prevent the creation of a hereditary priestly caste. The other was ideological, requiring that those dealing with sacramental matters be unsullied': R.N. Swanson, 'Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation' in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D.M. Hadley, London, 1999, pp. 160-77 (p.162). Ruth Mazo Karras differentiates between monastic chastity and that of secular priests: 'Rather than just the personal avoidance of vice, it was the purity of the church – and its independence from dynastic politics – that was at stake in the enforcement of celibacy on the secular clergy. As part of a wider move towards separating the church from the world (but at the same time giving it dominance over the world, particularly over temporal rulers), the popes attempted to set higher standards of moral behaviour for priests, including the insistence that they not marry': Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Thomas Aquinas's Chastity Belt: Clerical Masculinity in Medieval Europe' in *Gender and Christianity in Medieval Europe, New Perspectives*, ed. Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz, Philadelphia, 2008, pp. 52-67 (p.59).

[76] Geoffroi de Charny writes of a boy entering the monastic orders; 'When one enters so young that one has no knowledge of sin nor of the world ...[he is] brought up in the order and should accept it more willingly': *The Book of Chivalry*, p.173. Nicholas Orme treats the subject of child oblates and scholars in his chapter: 'The Religious Orders and Education' in *Medieval Schools*, pp. 255-87, pointing out that the monastic system of child oblates ended in the twelfth century (p. 256). The friars accepted youths aged 14-16 years into their orders.

[77] Letter 112, dated 1064, in Kurt Reindel, ed., *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, Vol. 3, Munich, 1989, pp. 260-1. Peter Damian explains: 'Porro si tanto Deus odio habet sterilitatem in animalibus brutis, quae sibi per sacerdotale ministerium offeruntur, quanto magis hanc aspernatur in sacerdotibus, qui sibi sacrificium offerunt? Nimirum ut sicut illis foetus exigitur carnis, ita sacerdotes in alios propagines germinent sanctitatis. Tunc ergo coram divinis optutibus tua castitas approbatur, si et in cleric tuos propaginata porrigitur'. [But if God hates sterility so much in brute beasts which are offered to him through the ministry of priests, how much more does he scorn it in the priests who are offering the sacrifice to him? Surely, just as offspring are required of the animals, so priests should propagate holiness in others. For then your chastity meets with approval in the sight of God, especially if it is extended by propagation among your clerics]. Peter Damian directs the priesthood to pursue a metaphorical concept of spiritual fatherhood which is conflated with physical potency.

Li clerc dait tundre ses chevouls,
Par quai sount moustré ses avols
K'il sa charnele volenté laist
Pur faire et oïr ke a Dieu plaist. (ll. 641-4)[78]

[The clerk must cut his hair, which signifies his desires, so that he gives up desire and lust in order to do and hear what pleases God]

Seven Orders states that chastity is required of the acolyte (l. 941, although, canonically, acolytes were free to marry), the subdeacon whose clean body must match the liturgical vessels he handles (ll. 1013-30), and the deacon who must be pure to touch the sacramental vessels (ll. 1093-100). The chaste priest must struggle against sexual temptation:

Et ces rains dait aver purçaint
Ke luxure sait en luy estaint. (ll. 1355-6)

[And he must have his loins girded so that lechery is extinguished from his body]

Robert takes it for granted that men in higher orders are normally sexed men with normal reactions; they are morally different, however, and must struggle like a warrior to remain chaste. Robert is not alone in describing the epic qualities of the priest's struggle against his sexuality – other clerics, too, battled heroically against their inclinations.[79] Whilst the noble lord has only to refrain from lechery and adultery, the priest must resist all physical temptation. The evocation of the priest girded for combat valorises sacerdotal celibacy and suggests that it is as much part of the masculine function as sexual activity.

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[78] Long hair in females was predominantly associated with sexual attraction and requires control; see Roberta Milliken, *Ambiguous Locks: an Iconology of Hair in Medieval Art and Literature,* Jefferson, North Carolina, 2012. The symbolism of the manliness of hair on the head and face is found in many medieval works e.g. *La chanson de Roland*, ed. F. Whitehead, Oxford, 1962, in which Charles's frequent references to his beard serve as a sign of his social dominance. His grief for the loss of Roland is expressed in his extreme action: 'Sa barbe blanche comencet a detraire/Ad ambes mains les chevels de sa teste' (ll. 2930-1) [He starts to pull out his white beard, and with two hands the hair from his head]. Christopher Brooke discusses how lay brothers in the new orders wore beards to distinguish them from the monks and he refers to Burchard of Bellevaux's *Apologia de barbaris* (c.1160) on the significance of beards and shaving; Christopher N.L. Brooke, 'Priest, Deacon and Layman from St Peter Damian to St Francis' in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, Oxford, 1989, pp. 65-85 (p. 79). See: Robert Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *TRHS*, Sixth Series, 4 (1994): 43-60, for William of Malmesbury's disapproval of long hair as morally decadent (p. 51). Episcopal statutes reiterated that no man could claim benefit of clergy without tonsure and clerical dress.

[79] Even Thomas Aquinas needed his belt of virginity and the protection of God against thoughts of lust; see Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe,* Philadelphia, 2002, p.60. See, too, the struggle of Hugh of Avalon/Lincoln (1140-1200) described by Jacqueline Murray, 'Mystical Castration: some Reflections on Peter Abelard, Hugh of Lincoln and Sexual Control' in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray, New York and London, 1999, pp.73-91 (pp. 80-3).

In addition to the requirement of celibacy and chastity, the behaviour and appearance of clerics were strictly defined by ecclesiastical law. Decrees fourteen to seventeen of the Fourth Lateran Council attempted to circumscribe a range of clerical activities, prohibiting gluttony and drunkenness, business of a secular nature, public entertainments, visits to taverns and games of chance.[80] Canon sixteen defined the outward appearance of priests:

> They should have a suitable crown and tonsure ....Their outer garments should be closed and neither too short nor too long. Let them not indulge in red or green cloths, long sleeves or shoes with embroidery or pointed toes ...

Priests were not allowed to own horse-tackle, be involved in the shedding of blood or wear cloaks, buckles and rings. The cleric's appearance and behaviour might thus appear infantilised and emasculated to laymen, particularly as the principal defining feature was his relative lack of hair.

In a passage of over a hundred lines (ll. 585-692) Robert describes the symbolic nature of the clerical tonsure, short hair and shaven face. The tonsure is particularly significant and its circular shape represents the priest's never-ending service to God:

> La coroune par sa roundesce
> Nos curage partant adresce.
> Cil ki a Dieu merker se fait,
> Ja de lui ressortir ne dait,
> Mais sanz fine siure son chemin
> Kar r[ö]ound[e] chose n'ad fine. (ll. 589-94)[81]

[The circular nature of the tonsure denotes our courage. The man who has had himself marked as God's own should never withdraw from him, but should endlessly follow his path, for a round thing has no end]

Robert makes no direct comparison between the bride's ring and the clerical tonsure, but the descriptions of their symbolic circularity are striking and connect the honour of lay 'fin'amour' with that of clerical 'curage'.[82] The tonsure must be maintained, as it also represents clerical receptiveness to God's wishes:

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[80] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 342.

[81] Patricia Cullum demonstrates how rituals of entry into clerical orders could be extended over time and, while the tonsure was a sign of separation from lay life, it was part of a process and not a single event; P.H. Cullum, 'Boy/Man into Clerk/Priest: the Making of the late Medieval Clergy' in *Rites of Passage: Cultures of Transition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Nicola F. McDonald and W.M. Ormrod, Woodbridge, 2004, pp. 51-66 (p. 53).

[82] For the bride's ring, see pp.79-80.

K'il dait avair tote son penser
Totdis vers Dieu, overt et clier. (ll.601- 2)
[That he must keep all his thought always open and clear towards God]

Robert stresses the need for continuous upkeep of the tonsure and the prompt cutting back of any regrowth, the 'chief velue' (l. 611). The cutting of hair signifies that the cleric has overcome his lust, 'sa charnele volonté' (l. 643). Hair should not grow below his ears where it might prevent him hearing the commands of God (ll. 645-7). Robert cites St Paul's condemnation of long hair as bringing shame on a man (ll. 653-4). The clean-shaven face shows that the clerk has no shame or deceit in his service to God (ll. 661-4). When priests shave, they must take up the sword of punishment, Robert declares, thereby conflating the secular sword of warfare and the clerical razor:

….daivent mener durement
L'espee de chastïment
Pur lour chief el plus hault rere,
K'il aient concïence clere ;
Et les barbes tut ensement
K'il saient sages overtement ;
Et la coroune toundent de gré
K'il n'aient superfluïté. (ll. 679-86)
[[They] must use the sword of punishment harshly to shave the top of their heads so that they have a clear conscience. They should deal similarly with their beards, so they appear of good conduct and they should shave the crown in such a way that there is not too much hair].

The use of the razor has been authorised by God who told Ezechiel:

'L'espee,' fist il, 'tu, fiz de home,
Manie sure tone chief et coroune
Et sure tes barbes ensement' (ll. 669-71)
[Son of man, he said, use the sword on your head and crown and also on your beard]

Thus, Robert claims, the absence of hair signifies to the laity the service God requires of his servants but it is unlikely that laymen in the la Zouche household would understand it as such.

Robert goes on to expound the symbolism of the ecclesiastical dress of the seven orders, such as the stole and chasuble of the deacon (ll. 1124-54). The stole hangs down 'desk' as pez' (l.1125) [right down to his feet] and covers the left side of the body which is the site of 'tote le travail de ceste vie' (l. 1144) [all life's work]. The bishop folds the deacon's chasuble over the same shoulder, so that he will continue to

work in the service of God until he is ordained priest. At ordination his stole will be draped over the right shoulder as well (l. 1315). In this way the priest is 'des verteuz Deu armez' (l. 1318) [armed with God's virtues]: the left side protects against sins brought on by adversity, and the right against sins of prosperity (ll.1319-30). Sacerdotal vestments were the protective armour of God around the priest – his 'corset', even.[83]

As a soldier of God, the priest's relationship with his Lord mirrors that of the knight and his king in Robert's depiction of spiritual and temporal hierarchies.[84] The model of the division of the Christian community into three estates exemplified the hierarchical divisions and social inequality ordered by divine will – as rulers and churchmen alike maintained.[85] Robert suggests that all men must climb a ladder and that each step is necessary if they are to be worthy of their lord's favour:

> Ki faudra al primer degré,
> Tart serra al plus hault mounté ;
> Et ki aulcun degree treshault,
> Trestot son mounter rien ne vault.
> Al plus bas dait home comencer
> Et celuy come son chief paier. (ll. 85-90)

[It would be wrong if the man who falters at the first step should be raised to the highest degree. The rise of anyone who misses out any step would be worthless. Man must begin at the very bottom and pay his dues to his lord]

The cleric also must move through the hierarchy of the *Seven Orders.* Robert expounds each stage in the same format: the name of the office, the listing of associated tasks, the procedures of ordination by the bishop along with the special signs of office and, finally, the exemplification through an authoritative figure (generally Christ) of a biblical model of that order.[86] Robert thus depicts ideal models of the cleric in this highly structured hierarchy instituted by God. Priests are at the pinnacle, having moved through each of the seven grades:

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[83] See Ephesians 6, 10-17, for the trope of the armour of God - a subject taken up in Bozon's *Tretys de la Passion*.

[84] The first poem in MS Douce 210, ff. 1r-12v relates parts of the body to the various divisions of society, such as the knights 'il daivent par draite et justise /defendre tot Saint Iglise'[they must defend all of holy Church, as is right and just] (f. 4r). The important theme of the division of society is explored in all *pastoralia* studied in this dissertation.

[85] In a letter of 1079 to the archbishops of Rouen, Tours and Sens, Gregory VII (1073-1085) wrote: 'The dispensation of Divine Providence ordered that there should be diverse grades and orders...the whole could not exist were it not supported by this wide system of diversities'. See *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII: Selected Letters from the Registrum*, trans. and intro. Ephraim Emerton, New York, 1932, p.142.

[86] A similar pattern of exposition is found in Shoreham's section *De ordinibus ecclesiasticis*.

En set degrez ordinément
Et ki es ordres sount mountez
Dignement par les saint degrez. (ll. 1252-4)

[They have gone up each of the seven degrees of the Orders, with dignity at each holy stage]

The priest is a superior being, and Robert compares the order of priests with angels, in the words of St Paul:

A merveille sumes el mound
Ne mie as humes tut soulement,
Mais aux angeles tut ensement. (ll. 1362-4)

[We are an object of wonder in this world, as we are not merely part of mankind but also belong with the angels]

When they preach, deacons 'doivent en hault bosiner' (l. 1197) [must trumpet from above] like the angels of the Apocalypse. The allegorical treatment of the cleric places him in the spiritual realm, above humankind.

Christ is himself subject to God: 'Et le chief Crist, Deu, ke tut fist' (l. 80) [And the lord of Christ is God who made everything], a chain of command not strictly in line with church doctrine on the Trinity.[87] Robert has already established that a man owes allegiance to his lord in the temporal hierarchy and this relationship brings him personal honour, like the king's military 'sergaunt' (l. 1446). Even if he fails in his duty, the servant will retain public esteem because his lord's status and dignity will reflect on him:

Pur la hautesce sun seignour
Et pur s'amour et pur s'onour. (ll. 1451-2)

[For the sake of his lord's high standing, for love and honour of him [his lord]]

Similarly, the priest is 'sergaunt' to God (ll. 507, 522, 1458 and 1459) and Robert threatens his audience with God's vengeance, should they dishonour his servant-priests (ll. 1458-9). The priest's relationship with God is depicted as analogous to the secular bond between man and lord. A priest inevitably fails to live a perfect life and is bound to sin, but he continues to be honoured because of the esteem and honour in which God is held. God has promised his priests:

'Qui vous despit, et mei despit:
Ki vous reçait et mei reçait ,
L'onour del serf al seignour trait'. (ll. 1420-2)

[87] Compare with Shoreham's nuanced description of the composition of the Trinity, p. 218.

[Whoever despises you, despises me: whoever shelters you, shelters me, the honour of the servant concerns his lord]

Robert's conflation of secular and spiritual relationships suggests that similar principles define clerical and lay masculinities: adoption of appropriate forms of chastity, physical and mental courage, respect for hierarchical structures and honour in the service of a lord. The emphatic reiteration of clerical superiority, however, directly challenges the secular model of masculinity characterised by physical prowess and social dominance. Yet the clergy was not universally revered and some laymen may have been sceptical about the insistence on clerical chastity. While this was deemed necessary in order to avoid pollution of the sacraments, it might also be viewed as part of a practical strategy to justify privileges, such as freedom from taxes and royal justice.[88]

Robert often instructs his audience to respect the authority of the priest as he is indispensable to man's salvation:

> Cum prestres honurer devez
> Vëez cum sure nous sount posez:
> Sanz eals salfs estre ne poëz. (ll. 1390-2)

[You must honour priests, see how they are placed above us: without them you cannot be saved]

He calls upon his listeners to acknowledge a priest's dignity: 'Vëez, seignours, quel digneté /Cil ad que prestre est ordiné !' (ll. 1413- 4) [Behold, gentlemen, the dignity of the ordained priest]. In addition to these appeals, several passages may intimate disrespect shown by some of Alan's men towards priests, possibly Robert himself.

Robert advises clerics to take steps to avoid criticism by the laity. Lectors, for instance, must have a high standard of literacy and read scripture well, 'ke nuls ne lour puisse gaber' (l.782) [so that no-one can make fun of them]. Should a lector make a mistake, he is 'escharni come bricoun' (l.786) [mocked like a fool], so Robert recommends preparation of readings to circumvent potential disgrace. *Corset* even hints at acts of open hostility by the laity. In *Matrimony* (ll. 437-58), for instance, Robert describes the humility of the bridal couple towards God and his 'sergaunt', the priest, and compares this with the attitude of a man who does not honour his priest

[88] See R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society*, Oxford, 1989, pp. 149-153, for an outline of benefit of clergy and the avoidance of criminal charges.

and is worse than a dog (l. 441). Robert accuses some men of acting like the Jews, who worshipped Christ and then beat him (l. 447). Since the priest is frequently compared with Christ in *Corset*, this may imply that a cleric, perhaps Robert himself, has been subjected to disrespectful treatment.[89] Robert then cites David: 'Ne tuchez pas par mal mes crisz' (l.450) [Do not strike my anointed maliciously]. [90] This injunction is repeated later in a citation from Zechariah II, 8: 'qui enim tetigerit vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei' [For whoever touches you, touches the pupil of my eye]; God asserts that harm done to his servants is done to him. Robert's translation is as follows:

> Cil ke vous tuche par malvoil
> La purnel touche de moun oil. (ll. 1423-4)

[Anyone who touches you with evil intent, touches the pupil of my eye]

The addition of 'par malvoil' suggests possible malice directed against the priest, and the same charge is made later:

> Pur ceo, seignurs, feites le bien !
> Nes molestez en nule rien. (ll. 1465-6)

[Because of that [i.e. God's vengeance for dishonouring priests] behave correctly, gentlemen. Do not attack them (priests) in any way]

It is, of course, impossible to gauge the seriousness of the situation – whether Robert is speaking of physical assault or general lack of respect – but there is apparently tension in the household between laymen and clerics.

The relationship between laymen and priests is explored through the presentation of an idealised, specific version of knightly manhood in the shape of the bridegroom, and of clerical manhood represented by the Chaplain. Robert asserts the right of the priest to be considered a fully gendered male with the same attributes as the lay lord, but reformulated according to the function of the priesthood.[91] The text suggests that, despite their differences, lay and clerical masculinities are analogous. The chaplain does not judge himself to be an inferior male, quite the reverse, and his combative

[89] See ll.1427-8, where Robert asserts that every man who is ordained is called Christ.
[90] See Appendix A: Psalm CIV.
[91] In addition to texts cited, the extensive body of literature on the diversity of medieval masculinities and gendered behaviour includes: *Gender and Holiness, Men, Women and Saints in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. Samantha J. E. Riches and Sarah Salih, London, 2002; *Holiness and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. P.H. Cullum and Katherine J. Lewis, Cardiff, 2004. For a discussion of the association of youthful masculinity with feminity, see Christopher Fletcher, *Richard II: Manhood, Youth and Politics 1377-99*, Oxford, 2008, pp. 4-5.

stance challenges modern perceptions of the predominance of the elite model of masculinity.

In his discussion of conceptions of clerical masculinity towards the end of the Middle Ages, Robert Swanson sets out the problem:

> If masculinity is defined by the threefold activities of 'impregnating women, protecting dependents, and serving as provider to one's family', then the medieval clergy as unworldly celibates were not meant to be masculine.[92]

Swanson identifies a hierarchical progression in the link of the clergy with the angels, through their chastity and renunciation of sexual activity. He views this as part of the creation of a genderless status, which he calls 'emasculinity'. In this paradigm, the secular and monastic clergy are considered by the laity as 'emasculine': that is, tonsured, quasi-transvestites and dependent on the patronage of others, as indeed the Chaplain may have appeared to the men in Alan's household. Swanson argues persuasively for the validity and usefulness of the concept and suggests that, without the economic responsibility of dependents, a man was not fully masculine. Yet Robert's defence of his model of clerical masculinity is robust and far from 'emasculate'. Whilst it differs from the model of secular masculinity represented in *Matrimony*, the two ideals are both characterised by chastity, service and physical courage.

The diversity of medieval modes of masculinity amongst peasants, burghers, and scholars has also been considered by Ruth Mazo Karras, whose analysis is based on a compellingly simple definition of masculinity:

> One core feature of medieval masculinity ... is the need to prove oneself in competition with other men and to dominate others. Medieval masculinity involved proving oneself superior to other men.[93]

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[92] R. N. Swanson, 'Angels Incarnate', p. 160. Vern L. Bullough claims that the 'key to male definition was in his virility': 'On being a Male in the Middle Ages' in *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*, ed. Clare A Lees, Thelma Fenster and Jo Ann Macnamara, Minneapolis; London,1994, pp. 31- 46 (p. 43).

[93] Ruth Mazo Karras allows that women might be tools in the demonstration of that superiority, but that men 'did not define themselves by their relation to women as much as by their relation to other men', *From Boys to Men*, pp. 10-11.

Similarly, Michael Kaufman understands the social construct of masculinity to be established through the exercise of power: 'The equation of masculinity with power is one that developed over centuries'.[94] The works of scholars like Swanson, Karras and Kaufman move us beyond the emphasis on the reproductive outcomes of male lives. We may appreciate that Robert's employment of superior scholarship and skill allows him to criticise, advise and correct powerful men and thereby reaffirm the status of the priest as a fully gendered male.

Corset thus expounds the sacraments within the context of a specific social setting in which the text also explores the nature of social and personal relationships. Whilst Robert asserts his main purpose is to enhance awareness of lay sacramental duties, his themes also reflect moral and secular concerns, such as his criticism of the sexual mores of an elite society. Some listeners may thus have associated *Corset* with other courtesy texts, such as the works in Bodleian Library MS Douce 210 which treat similar issues of status and elite marriage. Robert's text also functions as a compliment to his patron on his 'haut sen' in the depiction of the solemnity of his noble marriage, which forms an integral part of Alan's seigneurial identity and consolidates his position in the lay hierarchy. In spite of the different attributes of the lord and of the priest, Robert demonstrates how both lay and clerical masculinities are based on similar concepts of hierarchy, service, loyalty and sexual restraint. *Corset* depicts the ideal model of the Christian lord who is chaste and honours God and his servants. Facing this image of secular masculinity is the priest, less potent in temporal terms but intellectually and spiritually superior – Robert vigorously asserts his personal authority as a priest and fully gendered male. We may only speculate about the immediate reception of *Corset* by the men in Alan's household who may have been a hostile or reluctant audience, as I have suggested. Robert uses the agency of the text to enhance his superior status as a man of learning and the servant of God – an uncertain strategy which might well reinforce listeners' negative opinions of the priesthood.

The textual complexities of *Corset* and the other vernacular *pastoralia* considered here often derive from the writer's blend of sacramental exposition with commentary

[94] Michael Kaufman, 'Men, Feminism and Men's Contradictory Experience of Power' in *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. Harry Broad and Michael Kaufman, Thousand Oaks, CA, 1994, pp.142-63 (p.146).

on an array of social themes and idiosyncratic concerns. Robert's assertion of his primary purpose to instruct does not preclude the introduction into the text of unrelated themes, both sacred and profane, such as the compliment he wishes to pay to Alan on the occasion of his marriage. *Corset*, like other *pastoralia*, presents the audience with the difficulty of interpreting tightly interwoven subjects which are distinct from the instructional material the audience anticipates. Further complications arise from Robert's literary aspirations. On the one hand, for example, his use of verse serves to promote lay instruction since it lends authority to the text and is mnemonically effective. On the other hand, composition in verse indicates Robert's intent to entertain and amuse an audience – an undertaking which is sometimes at odds with instructional purpose.

CHAPTER 3: THE PENITENTIAL POEMS OF NICHOLAS BOZON

The Franciscan friar, Nicholas Bozon, produced a substantial body of work between the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries; all his works are written in the French of England. Two prose works are attributed to him: *Les proverbes de bon enseignement* and the long collection of *exempla* published as *Les contes moralisés* in 1889.[1] He also composed in verse: saints' lives and poems on religious, social and lyrical themes. This chapter focuses on three of Bozon's poems which discuss sin, penance and salvation: *Pus ke homme deit morir*; the *Tretys de la Passion* and *Le char d'Orgueil*. Whilst the compositions are not structured as conventional expositions of the sacrament of penance, they have similar aims: to prepare the laity for confession by clarifying the nature of sin and developing appropriate spiritual and emotional approaches to penitential processes.

Bozon's work survives in several medieval manuscripts of which British Library Manuscript Additional 46919 is the principal repository.[2] A Franciscan preacher would have found this handbook of modest format (230mm. by 170mm.) easy to carry as he travelled around England. The British Library catalogue entry describes the manuscript as pre-dating 1333, the death of its owner, William Herebert, who was the compiler and scribe of many of its folios, and translator and author of several of the works it contains.[3] The year 1320 is generally taken as the earliest date of

[1] For influential collections of *exempla* for sermon use, see, for example the *Dialogus miraculorum* and *Libri octo miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach (c.1180-c.1240) and the *Sermones vulgares* of James of Vitry (c.1160-1240). Moralised *exempla* in Latin had been produced in England by writers like Odo of Cheriton (c.1185-1246/47) but Bozon was the first to produce a compilation in the French of England, see B. Levy, *Nine Verse Sermons by Nicholas Bozon: The Art of an Anglo-Norman Poet and Preacher*, Oxford, 1981, p.12.

[2] For a description of the manuscript under its original title: Paul Meyer, 'Notice et Extraits du MS 8336 de la Bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham', *Romania*, 13 (1884): 497-541; and for further bibliography: K.L. Sinclair, 'Anglo-Norman Studies: the Last Twenty Years', *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 2 (1965):113-155; 225-278. David Jeffrey and Brian Levy characterise Anglo-Norman manuscripts of this kind as 'miscellanies primarily designed to provide material for mendicant preachers, and thus containing diversity of catechetical material, calendars, common doctrinal expositions, meditations, and vernacular poems which offer a potential homiletical application. But such manuscripts could contain apparently unrelated treatises, on such diverse subjects as hunting, falconry, and cuisine'; David L. Jeffrey and Brian Levy, eds and trans, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: An Anthology*, Toronto, 1990, p. 4. See, too, David d'Avray's comments about size of portable handbooks (footnote 119, p.52).

[3] William Herebert belonged to the Franciscan convent in Hereford and was a lecturer in the Franciscan schools in Oxford. The table of contents ends 'ex collacione fratris Willelmi Herebert', f.1v. The folios transcribed in my appendices are not of Herebert's hand.

Herebert's compilation of Bozon's texts.[4] Because of the pre-eminence of this manuscript in regard to Bozon studies, I have chosen to base my commentary solely on the texts it contains; line references are to my transcriptions of relevant folios at Appendices B-D.

Background and life

We have little firm evidence about Bozon's life apart from information provided by the manuscripts. Several introductory rubrics confirm that he was a Franciscan; *Le char d'Orgueil*, for example, is headed: 'Cest tretys fist frere Nich. Boioun del ordre de freres menours' [This poem was written by Nicholas Bozon, of the Order of Friars Minor].[5] His subject matter fits well with the Franciscan emphasis on preaching on the four topics of vices, virtues, punishment and glory.[6] The mendicant orders were well-established in England: the Dominicans had settled in Oxford by 1221; English men had entered the Franciscan Order before 1224 and by the end of the century a network of their foundations had been set up in most urban areas. Bozon's status is also described: 'Ceo vult frere(r) Bozum, k'est ordinurs' (*Le char*, l.350) [This is the wish of Brother Bozon who is a licensed friar]. Amelia Klenke has suggested that the licence refers to a right awarded uniquely to the Franciscan friary in Nottingham in 1286 by Archbishop Romayne to absolve any person excommunicated for acts of violence against clerks, a right generally reserved for the bishop.[7] Her suggestion is plausible but most commentators believe that Bozon's licence refers to the right given to mendicants to hear confession and to grant absolution.[8] The papal bull *Ad fructus uberes*, issued 13 December 1281 by Martin IV, authorised members of the mendicant orders to hear confession, with canonical exemption from episcopal authority, outside

[4] M.A. Klenke, 'Nicholas Bozon', *Speculum*, 15 (1940): 444-453 (445).
[5] For the early years of the Franciscan ministry in England, see Thomas of Eccleston, *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little, Manchester, 1951. See, too, C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: the Impact of the early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, London, 1994, esp. pp. 102-26.
[6] As described in Caput IX: 'De praedicatoribus' [concerning preachers] of the *Regula Bullata* (1223) of St. Francis of Assisi, approved by Honorius III in the bull *'Solet annuere'*. See '*Solet Annuere': Bulla Domini Papae Honorii III super regulam fratrum minorum*, ed. Kajetan Esser, Padua, 1995, pp. 462-9.
[7] M.A. Klenke ed. *Three Saints' Lives by Nicholas Bozon,* New York, 1947, p. xxviii.
[8] See Levy, *Nine Verse Sermons*, p.1. The right of friars to hear confession was highly contentious from the start. The papal decretum '*Nimis iniqua'* of 1231 ordered prelates to desist from oppressing the friars. The Minorites were given the right to self-government and freedom from episcopal control and their independence was assured by the establishment of oratories and cemeteries. Mendicant activities threatened the source of income of parish priests particularly as demand grew for chantries and private masses.

parochial settings.[9] The provincials of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders were, however, urged to inform diocesan clergy of the names of friars chosen as confessors.

The friars were popular among the laity.[10] Some bishops, like Peter Quivil, supported their pastoral and confessional activities,[11] but the privilege caused great animosity between friars and diocesan clergy and, unsurprisingly, the latter sometimes reacted with violence as in Nottingham 1280-1292.[12] Tensions were exacerbated by the bull, *Super Cathedram* of 1300 (abrogated in 1304 and finally embodied in canon law in 1317) which affirmed the right of mendicants to preach without episcopal or sacerdotal licence but also stipulated a payment to parish clergy of a fourth of the income from their ministry.[13] The bull was subject to different interpretations, however, and a number of English bishops chose to control mendicant preaching in their dioceses by issuing licences – although these were not canonically required.[14] Again, some bishops provided dual licences for preaching and confession but licensing was not a universal custom.[15] Conversely, several friars asserted the right to preach in a parish church without the licence of the rector or bishop.[16] The divergence

[9] The commission was open to all friars and was taken by a number of bishops to be an attack against episcopal authority. For the spirited response of the French episcopate, in particular, see Paul Glorieux, 'Prélats français contre religieux mendicants: Autour de la bulle: *Ad fructus uberes* (1281-90), *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 11 (1925): 309-31.

[10] The number of new building projects undertaken by the Franciscans gives some indication of their popularity. See A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, p. 73-5.

[11] See the Statutes of Exeter, Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 995. Dominicans and Franciscans may enjoin penances provided that they have the permission of the parish priest and have settled financial arrangements. Quivil enthuses: 'Et quoniam ipsorum fratrum predicatio et sancta conversatio in ecclesia dei produxisse fructum non modicum dinoscitur, ubicumque per nostram diocesim transitum fecerint honorifice admittantur et procurentur honeste' [Since we recognise the substantial reward resulting from the preaching of these friars and their holy speech in the church of God, they should be welcomed with honour and treated well, wherever they take their missions in our diocese]. This may indicate clerical hostility to mendicants in the diocese.

[12] M.A. Klenke, 'Nicholas Bozon', *Modern Language Notes*, 69 (1954): 256-60 (258). For an alternative view of endemic hostility between seculars and mendicants, see the conclusions of Penn R. Szittya: 'we…should understand them (the friars) in subsequent literature - not just by reference to clerical privileges, papal bulls, episcopal license, Gallicanism, limitations, and the like - but by analogy with the Apostles of Christ and the *pseudoprophetae* of the end of time': Penn R. Szittya,'The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature', *Speculum*, 52 (1977): 287-313 (290).

[13] For the long-running controversy, see Michael J. Haren, 'Friars as Confessors: the Canonist Background to Fourteenth-Century Controversy', *Peritia*, 3 (1984): 503-16. http://brepols.metapress.com [accessed 29/9/2011].

[14] For a discussion of the differing reactions of English (and continental) prelates to *Super Cathedram*, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Canon Law and Local Practice: the Case of Mendicant Preaching in Medieval England', *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*, 2 (1972): 17-32.

[15] Ibid., 17-8, 24.

[16] Ibid., 25

of interpretation and reaction to *Super Cathedram* added to the volatility of the situation.

By the fourteenth century, two branches of the Bozon family were in existence, one based in Cornwall, and the other with extensive land holdings in the east Midlands and East Anglia.[17] Nicholas Bozon was, in all likelihood, a member of the latter branch of the family, since texts indicate that he knew the Midlands well and had some acquaintance with the North.[18] Geographical locations mentioned fit this view: a Scottish breed of sheep that Bozon has seen (*Conte* 19); a female leper in Wales, described as a distant spot (*Conte* 78); a woman called 'Leve in yi rokke' [leave [some wool] in the distaff] living at a distance in the West Country (*Conte* 96). A jester of Leicester plays his part in another tale (*Conte* 144a), the second part of which (144b) describes a dinner at Banbury where the Bishop of Lincoln and the Abbot of Eynsham discussed a procurator who worked in London. Most significantly, Bozon writes of the confluence of the rivers Trent and Derwent.[19] These locations suggest the friar lived and worked in the Midlands. Sister Klenke concludes that Bozon may have belonged to the Nottingham friary in the Oxford custody, after studying at the Franciscan school of theology at Stamford.[20] Brian Levy accepts a version of this background: 'he was most probably a member of the large and influential Franciscan friary at Nottingham, which had been founded by 1230', and later, perhaps, studied at Oxford. [21]

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[17] In 'Nicholas Bozon' (1940): 453, Klenke concludes that Nicholas belonged to the Norfolk or Nottingham branch of the Bozon family. Less convincing is her argument that the friar's 'ancestral manor' was the village of 'Bolun', some seven or eight miles from Derwent Mouth, which she claims may be an erroneous spelling for 'Bosun' in the Derbyshire Domesday survey (p. 452). In 'Nicholas Bozon' (1954): 260, Klenke adduces evidence that leads 'one to believe more strongly than ever that Bozon came from Nottingham and the diocese of York'. In 'Steventon Priory and a Bozon Manuscript', *Speculum*, 30 (1955): 218-221, she links Bozon's career with Steventon. My own enquiries indicate that the Vale of Beauvoir was the focal point of the family's land interests.

[18] Bozon occasionally intercalated Latin and English quotations, maxims and satirical names, often for comic effect in his work. For example, in *Conte* 128, the sheep speaks in verse: "Was it nevere my kind/ Chese in wellez grond to fynde" [It was never the job (of sheep) to find cheese down a well]; rogues commonly have English names: Hoket, Croket and Loket in *Contes* 117 and118. Bozon uses several lexical terms which belong to a specifically northern dialect; see, for instance, Johan Vising ed., *Plainte d'amour, poème anglo-normand*, Göteborg, 1905, l.458, where Bozon uses the Danelaw term 'wapentak', most commonly found in the Midlands and North of England.

[19] Conte 78, *Contes moralisés*, p. 96. The Derwent joins the River Trent at a point forming the border between Derbyshire and Leicestershire.

[20] 'Nicholas Bozon' (1940): 449.

[21] Levy, *Nine Verse Sermons*, pp. 1-2.

Documents in the Nottinghamshire County Archives refer to land transactions involving the Bozon family in the East Midlands and Lincolnshire, where they had extensive holdings. They record, for example, agreements made by John Bozon, the son of Ralph, from the manor of Kirton.[22] John owned several properties in and around the Vale of Beauvoir and, between1305-6, he granted his son, also named John, lands and tenements in Orston and Bottesford, important family holdings between Nottingham and Grantham.[23] A later grant was made to a second son, William, of the Lincolnshire lands bequeathed by his mother, Lora, in North Rothwell, Long Owersby, North Kelsey and Nettleton.[24] We cannot ascertain Nicholas Bozon's position within this branch of the family but I suggest that the link with North Kelsey may indicate a personal connection between the writer and John Dalderby who served as prebendary of North Kelsey before becoming Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral in 1291 and Bishop (1300-20). The long *Conte* 144b revolves around the figure of the bishop, whom Bozon describes as 'le bon homme', and the two men may well have known each other.[25] William H. Campbell has pointed out that, shortly after Dalderby's death, there was a movement to have him canonised and that Bozon would have referred respectfully to the bishop, were he deceased at the time of composition, as 'of good, or pious memory' since he was a friend to Franciscans.[26] The use of the familiar epithet 'bon homme' might thus indicate that the *Contes* were written between 1300 and 1320. Amelia Klenke and Paul Meyer, however, believed that the *exemplum* was written shortly after John Dalderby's death in 1320. I would argue for this later dating, since the narrative honours Dalderby's

[22] See receipt, NCA, DD/SR/208/73, c.1289. John Bozon is further described as a knight in a quitclaim made in favour of William, son of Robert del Hou de Flonbergh, of holdings in Flawborough, Staunton and Alverton in Nottinghamshire in NCA, DD/SR/12/38 *2 Edw II [1308-9].* The parish church of St Remigius in Long Clawson, Leicestershire, contains the effigy of William Bozon and members of the Bozon family were lords of the manor, 1304-1539.
[23] NCA, DD/SR/12/18 *34 Edw I [1305-6].*
[24] NCA, DD/SR/12/20 *2 Edw II [1308-9]* and DD/SR/12/21 *6 Edw II [1312-13].*
[25] William H. Campbell queries whether this epithet is appropriate if Dalderby was already deceased at the time of writing, as is generally proposed; see: William H. Campbell, 'Franciscan Preachers in Thirteenth-Century England: Sources, Problems and Possibilities' in *The Friars in Medieval England,* ed. Nicholas Rogers, Donington, 2010, pp. 25-40. Campbell argues that, shortly after his death in January 1320, there was a movement to have the bishop canonised and that Bozon would have referred respectfully to Dalderby as 'of good, or pious memory' since he was a friend to Franciscans (p.32). In this case, the *Contes* would be dated between 1300 and 1320. Yet Campbell's argument does not take into account the possible acquaintance of Bozon and Dalberby (as I suggest) nor the playful nature of the *conte* which depends on the depiction of Dalderby as a man of sense, not as a pillar of the church (the bishop and the Abbot of Eynsham ridicule the miserly actions of a man who is now dead).
[26] William H. Campbell, 'Franciscan Preachers in Thirteenth-Century England: Sources, Problems and Possibilities' in *The Friars in Medieval England,* ed. Nicholas Rogers, Donington, 2010, pp. 25-40, (p.32) .

wisdom and good sense which Bozon describes in a tone of affectionate remembrance.

Miscellanies, such as the Additional Manuscript, provided material for mendicants to use in their work so it is unsurprising that Bozon's compositions range over subjects of secular, popular appeal – well-known narratives, satirical treatment of social and family situations; this suggests they were intended for a broad lay audience including women.[27] It is probable that some members of his public came from the same relatively prosperous background as Bozon himself, since they were familiar with the *mores* of the elite characters in *Le char d'Orgueil*. Bozon may have envisaged that he was writing not only for oral performance but also for private reading. At the end of *Le char*, he claims: 'Ky voudra cest escrit sovent regarder/ Il en avera matire de se confesser. (ll.580-1) [The man who is willing to look often at this poem will find (plenty of) material for confession]. The word 'regarder' suggests the possibility of an 'ideal reader', not just a 'reading community'.[28]

Pus ke homme deit morir

This relatively short poem is composed of twelve six-line stanzas with a refrain. It treats the need for man to prepare for death in order to gain the reward of heaven, which is set out in the rubric: 'Vous (pur) veez en ceste vie de soustenaunce en l'aut(re) vie' [You purchase in this life sustenance for the next life] and reasserted in the refrain:

> Enpense checun de espleyter
> Ke il ne perde le grant louher
> Ke Deu promis nous a.

[Let each man think to act in such a way that he does not lose the great reward that God has promised us].

Pus ke homme deit morir reflects on death through reiteration and re-working of commonplace images in order to promote and enhance lay penitential practice.

[27] See female response to *Le char*, p.135.

[28] Internal evidence also suggests a literate lay audience for the *Contes moralisés*: for example, sequences and repetitions in certain narratives indicate continuous reading, not discrete oral material. Claude Brémond concludes that many *exempla* have a secondary function as 'ouvrages de lecture' [works to be read]: *L' 'exemplum',* Typologies des sources du Moyen Age, 40, Turnhout, 1982, p. 64.

The poem is found at folios 84 r-84v of British Library MS Additional 46919, the eighth in a sequence of nine poems, folios 80r-85v, all attributed to Bozon.[29] A second version of the poem appears as a discrete item in two manuscripts: in a Franciscan handbook, Lambeth Palace Library MS 522, folios 220v-222r, and in a song book in BL MS Sloane 1611, folio 68l. In his critical edition, *Nine Verse Sermons*, Brian Levy bases his commentary of the poems on the Additional Manuscript but adopts the text of the Lambeth MS for *Pus ke homme*, on the grounds of its earlier production (before 1300), the clarity of language and its logical order.[30] Inclusion in three manuscripts indicates the popularity of the poem, which circulated in at least two Anglo-Norman versions and one English translation.[31] The inclusion of *Pus ke homme deit morir* in two handbooks for the use of preachers suggests that, like a number of lyrical works, the poem was recited during a sermon by mendicant friars in support of their theme.[32]

The poem teaches in simple language the efficacy of good deeds performed on earth: 'Meuz vaut un ben devaunt la mort/ Ke dis apres'. (ll. 49-50) [One good action before death is worth ten afterwards]. It aims to inculcate this thought through frequent repetition; for instance, the metaphorical cliché of the laden sack of spiritual goods is repeated in the first and final stanzas:

Bone serreit ke chescun trossat

[29] The rubric and text of several poems in the sequence refer directly to Bozon: for instance, the seventh poem ends: 'Pryez Deu pur Bosoune / Ke vous fet ceo sermoun' (ll. 71-2) but no author is named for the eighth poem. All nine poems are now generally attributed to Bozon; see Levy and Jeffrey below.

[30] Levy, *Nine Verse Sermons*, p.77. The Additional/Lambeth MMS versions of the poem are different in several respects. The Sloane MS poem most closely resembles that of the Lambeth MS with some variants. The Additional MS poem was transcribed and translated by Jeffrey and Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric*, no. 29, pp.142-9.

[31] The poem was highly regarded by William Herebert and he translated it into English: *Soethye mon shal hoenne wende* [Since man must depart from here], BL MS Additional 46919, ff. 208v-209r.

[32] As Wenzel has so clearly demonstrated: 'The connection of Middle English lyrics with preaching goes far beyond their preservation in manuscripts that were made by and for preachers. A good many of these poems were actually used in sermons. This, too, is not a new insight'; Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets,* p.8. Julia Boffey also claims that many collections for preachers include lyrics within sermons; Julia Boffey, 'Middle English Lyrics and Manuscripts' in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*, ed. Thomas G. Duncan, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 1-18. In *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England*, Dublin, 1998, Alan J. Fletcher discusses a Latin sermon, 'Qui custos domini sui gloriabitur' which has English lines intercalated into the text (pp. 52-3, item 67). Fletcher also cites a sermon, taken from BL MS Harley 2247 (a revision of Mirk's *Festial*) into which lines are intercalated, including a lyric in the popular 'Signs of Death' tradition: Whan þi handis quaketh,/ Þi lippes blaketh,/Thyne hed rokkyth,/ Þi nose droppith… (p.190). Also cited by Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, p. 199. See, too, the appendix of sermon lines in Veronica O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, Turnhout, 2007, Vol. 4, pp. 2894-5.

Les bens ke il en soun sak. (ll. 4-5)
[It would be good for each man to pack all his goods into his sack]

… queus bens ad entasse
E que bens o ly menera. (ll. 71-2)
[which goods he has piled up and which goods he will take with him].

The poem articulates and illustrates the idea of the reward of heaven through a series of platitudes, for example, stanza five, which describes the different fates awaiting virtuous and sinful men:

Ke si cum cely ke ben fet
Le ceel pur louher, cum promis est,
Recevera de deu
Ausi cely ke sa vie
Degaste en pecche e vylenye
En enfern demorra. (ll. 25-30)
[Just as he who does good, will receive heaven as a reward, as promised; so he who wastes his life in sin and evil will stay in hell]

Through reiteration and re-phrasing, the poem articulates standard teaching and underlines the wisdom of preparation for heaven, like the harvest garnered by both the wise man and the ant which symbolises the spiritual benefits man should accrue:

Aust sygnefie ceste vie:
Le sage en aust fet sa quillie,
Par unt en l'an apres vivera.
E la petite formye
En este ne se oblie
Ben seyt ke yver apres vendra. (ll. 61-6) [33]

[This life is like August when the wise man gathers his harvest on which he will live during the year ahead. Like the little ant who never forgets in summer that, as he well knows, winter will follow afterwards.]

These two brief analogies appear in the penultimate stanza of the poem and have no link with the preceding stanza – which treats mankind's just deserts – or with the final stanza which merely reminds us that all men think about preparing for death. The stanzas of *Pus ke homme deit morir* often stand as discrete and unconnected items, in an apparently random assortment of material. There is no coherent line of thought, nor development of wider issues: Bozon is silent about associated themes such as

[33] For this *exemplum* of the harvest of life, see, too: 'Comparaisoun al haust de ceste vie' (no. 5 in Bozon's sequence, BL MS Add. 46919, f. 82v-83r); and 'Quod bonum cupiatur et vana gloria fugiatur' (*Conte* 69) telling of the need to provide from the bounty of summer for the dearth of winter. *Pus ke* uses the image of summer as earthly life spent in preparation for the winter of heaven.

penitence, the nature of temptation and vice, the joys of heaven or the fear of hell. The poem focuses simply on the individual's responsibility to achieve the reward of heaven.

Modern scholarship asserts the homiletic function of the sequence of poems, expressed in Levy's title, *Nine Verse Sermons*, and in his assumption that 'each of Bozon's nine poems represents one of the friar's own sermons, turned by him into the various verse-forms at which he was so adept'.[34] Levy associates the nine poems with the genre of the sermon in verse, the *Reimpredigt*. Yet his application of the term to Bozon's poems fails to take into account the traditional preaching practice of prefacing a sermon with a biblical pericope, followed by an exposition. The formal structure and development characteristic of the sermon or homily are completely absent from *Pus ke homme deit morir,* as from the other poems in the sequence. The poem is intended for oral delivery but it is not a sermon and the term *Reimpredigt,* like 'verse sermons', is a misleading generic description for Bozon's sequence of poems. To suggest that *Pus ke homme* has a homiletic purpose misinforms our reading and understanding of the poem. Moreover, Levy is at pains to defend the poetic virtues and potent message of the poem which demonstrates 'power and vigour'.[35] He thus imbues it with qualities it does not possess. I maintain rather that *Pus ke homme deit morir* is limited to a sole commonplace motif reasserted, rephrased and reworked. Indeed, the repetitive nature of the simple poem may seem banal to modern sensibilities, despite good evidence that the work was valued in the medieval period. This begs the question: might medieval esteem have been based on the very qualities we perceive as weaknesses? *Pus ke homme deit morir* lacks depth and is little more than the reiteration of religious commonplace, but repetition and monotony may be crucial agents in the function of the poem. We might look further into the resemblance between the diffuse and disjointed articulation of the motif with natural patterns of thought and contemplation.

Pus ke homme deit morir treats its subject matter in a fashion similar to reflective thought which reviews a single topic from several angles; it may be banal and does not depend on logical progression for all it requires is exemplification and constant

[34] Levy, *Nine Verse Sermons*, p. 15.
[35] Ibid., p. 84.

reassertion of a central idea. The parallels between poem and reflective contemplation suggest that *Pus ke homme deit morir* may function as the replication of an interior monologue on a single thought. The listener is guided through the minutiae of a religious truth and then focuses on what is essential; like the beads of the rosary, the poem acts as the locus of memory and contemplation. Siegfried Wenzel has taken this concept further, suggesting that some lyrical verses serve the same purpose as meditative cues, conduits to contemplative states of mind during the sermon: 'Concrete evidence that fourteenth-century preachers in their sermons strove for the same goals as did formal meditation is not wanting'.[36] Certainly in *Pus ke homme deit morir*, the repetition of refrain, reiteration of the central motif and the reworking of example and *topoi* serve to intensify contemplation of the preparation for death. If the apparent monotony and repetition we perceive in the text are viewed as essential agents in the reflective or meditative functionality of *Pus ke homme deit morir*, then the poem may be seen as a tool for lay contemplation and self-examination which may have been read or recited at some point during the sermon. It is, however, impossible to know whether Bozon intended his poem to be used in this context.

The function of the poem as a meditative hiatus in the sermon is not unlike that of some hymns in the office, although this is not to suggest that *Pus ke homme deit morir* was a hymn.[37] The lyrical features of the poem place it in a varied and flexible European tradition which often included setting words to music.[38] The poem's suitability for musical arrangement is evidenced by the regularity of the versification of the poem: the twelve six-line stanzas have octosyllabic lines of verse that vary in

[36] Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: 'Fasciculus morum' and its Middle English Poems,* Cambridge, Mass., 1978, p. 126. Wenzel describes the topic of meditation on death and humility set out in five English lines of *Fasciculus morum* (numbers 14 -17, pp.148 -152; 19, pp. 153-154) but warns: 'The close links between preaching and meditation, and the appearance of early meditative verses in sermons, must, however, not obscure the very marked differences that exist between preaching lines and what Miss [Rosemary] Woolf considers genuine meditative poems' (p.129). Bozon's poem clearly does not fit into the latter category.

[37] *Pus ke homme deit morir* is long and lacks the characteristics of hymns, like exhortation, jubilation or eulogy. Siegfried Wenzel separates the tradition of medieval hymnology from that of preaching. He admits that hymns and sequences exerted an influence on the development of vernacular lyrics but concludes that 'the continuity of this tradition and influence... still need to be traced in detail': *Preachers, Poets,* p.15.

[38] Medieval lyrics are frequently linked to musicality. They are often relatively short pieces which do not treat narrative or intellectual reflection but articulate personal experience and feelings – many are far from ' lyrical' in tone.

length but are generally isometric.[39] Each stanza has a tail-end rhyme scheme: generally, a a b c c b, followed by a three-line refrain rhyming d d b.[40] Tail-end rhyme had developed throughout the poetics of Western Europe and was favoured by the troubadours.[41] The presence of refrain and of tail-rhyme in *Pus ke* indicates the suitability of the poem for song and it was, at some point, set to music. A version of the poem was added to BL MS Sloane 1611, to the final folio of an illuminated thirteenth-century songbook, the first item in the manuscript.[42] The scribal hand differs from that of the body of the songbook and the poem was, apparently, inserted into the collection at some period after the abandonment of decoration and annotation.[43] The later scribe evidently considered *Pus ke homme deit morir* to be a song, but there is no evidence that Bozon intended it to be sung, even though several of his lyrical works would have lent themselves to musical arrangement.[44] It has been claimed that the corpus of medieval songs was far more extensive than some scholars have estimated.[45]

I referred earlier to the possibility that *Pus ke homme deit morir* might have been recited at some point during a sermon. Might, therefore, a sung version of the poem

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[39] The editors of *The Anglo-Norman Lyric* have indicated in their transcription, the deficiency of l. 27, adding 'De deu' before 'recevera'.

[40] The refrain appears in both Lambeth and Additional MSS. In the Sloane MS, it is barely legible and appears once at the bottom of f. 68v. Tail-rhyme or 'rime couée' indicates the conclusion of a stanza by a line that rhymes with a previous line from which it is separated.; see Shoreham's *In holy sauter may me rede* and *Five Joys*. Robert Mannyng famously criticises tail-rhyme which is difficult to understand, unlike his simple rhyming couplets: 'I made it not for to be praysed,/Bot at þe lewed men were aysed./If it were made in ryme couwee,/Or in strangere or enterlace.' [[I did not write this in order to be praised, but for the understanding of uneducated men. Now if it had been written in tail-rhyme, or in unusual or elaborate verse forms....]: Sullens, *Chronicle*, p.93, ll. 83-6. Several poems by Bozon in MS Add. 46919 are written in graphic tail-rhyme: the lines containing the tail-rhyme are written on the right-hand side of the folio, with straight lines linking them to the main body of verse. *Pus ke homme deit morir* is, however, written as a prose composition.

[41] Paul Zumthor claims that originally troubadours used a limited number of stanza forms which were structured on the model of Church verse and the Arab 'zejel', and that tail-rhyme was common; *Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale: 6e-14e siècles*, Paris, 1954, p.132.

[42] The illumination and musical notation of the songbook cease at f. 66r, and thereafter spaces have been left in the text for musical notation to be added later. *Pus ke homme deit morir* is squeezed into the space below the right-hand side column (f. 68v) and continues into the smaller space below the left-hand column.

[43] The BL catalogue describes this as an English scribal hand of the fourteenth century.

[44] I am grateful to Bella Millett for drawing attention to the possible association of *Pus ke homme deit morir* with the tradition of the carol. The first chapter of Richard Leighton Greene, *The Early English Carols*, Oxford, 1977, defines the genre as deriving from the ring-dance with accompaniment of song. Greene includes a wide variety of types, including carols of mortality and of satire. An interesting function for a poem like Bozon's is suggested by Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns', *Studies in Philology*, 56 (1959): 559-582.

[45] See David Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975, p.178.

be included in a medieval sermon? On the face of it, musical performance would be consistent with the emphasis on music in medieval Franciscan work and culture. David Jeffrey argues for the inclusion of singing in the sermon, citing the example of the fifteenth-century preacher Nicholas Philipp.[46] Conversely, Siegfried Wenzel claims there is no evidence that singing took place within sermons, although he recognises that religious orders sang or chanted, both during and outside the official liturgy. He dismisses Jeffrey's ideas as undeserving 'of serious attention'.[47] The single example of *Pus ke homme deit morir* provides insufficient evidence to add to the debate. All we may conclude is that the poem was used, in all likelihood, by mendicants to support the themes of their preaching as they went around the country. During the fourteenth century it was set to music but we cannot determine the context in which the song was performed, although it may, possibly, have been used as a processional or as the introduction to a sermon. It was unlikely, however, to have been sung or intoned during the sermon itself.

Although the recurring theme of individual responsibility for salvation is sustained throughout the text, the primary focus of penitential discourse is undermined in stanzas six and seven by the introduction of humour in the satire of two social groups. The sixth stanza opens with a rhetorical question:

> Key fray li reys, baroun e counte,
> Ke ne sevent ren de acounte,
> Kaunt acounter covendra? (ll. 31-3)

[What will the king, barons and counts do, those who know nothing of account-keeping, when the time comes for giving accounts [of their actions]]

The question invites audience response and calls for increased attention. The play on words draws an analogy between the spiritual account of a man's life and the practical accounts of book-keeping as Bozon questions the morality of financial dealings and professional activities. These grandees, Bozon asserts, will be shamed when no legal adviser will speak in their defence on the Day of Judgement:

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[46] Ibid., pp.172- 84. Richard Leighton Greene, *Early English Carols*, p.cliii, discusses the fifteenth century French theologian, Jehan Tisserant. He concludes from a ms heading: 's'ensuit le dicté …lequel il fait chanter à son service' [there follows the text which he had sung in his service] that at least one of Tisserant's compositions was sung at the beginning of the service. Greene suggests Bozon 'followed the practice of continental Franciscan preachers by including stanzaic lines in the vernacular in some of his sermons'. This may well have been the case, although no sermon attributed to Bozon survives.

[47] See Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets*, pp.17-8. Wenzel writes that Jeffrey follows Pfander's 'errors' in his claims.

Mes certes plusurs averont hounte,
Kaunt nul contour put par counte
Pur ewus pleider la. (ll. 34-6)

[Some of them are sure to be shamed, when no counsel will take on their account to plead for them there]

The comparison of spiritual with financial accountability is forced, and there are obvious inconsistencies: the skills of accountancy are not analogous with the ability for self-scrutiny, and men who are privileged are as capable of justifying their actions to God as any other man. Yet the analogy is firmly located in satire, allowing Bozon to introduce word-play with the different forms and meanings of *counte*: *acounte, acounter, contour*. Bozon criticises elite men; they are inadequate when faced with certain practical tasks, and they are served by dishonest lawyers.[48] He implies that they are deserving of ridicule and have more to fear from God's judgement than other groups. The sixth stanza also uses alliteration as a comic device: the letters 'c' and 'k': *counte* x 2, *acounte*, *acounter*, *covendra*, *kaunt* x 2, *contour*; and 'p' in the last two lines: *plusurs, put, par, pur, pleider*. Bozon's satire is neither explicit nor harsh, but finds humour in standard criticism of rich nobles, whilst also implying that humility and poverty facilitate the gaining of heavenly reward.

Bozon now moves on to question the response of men of religion to the hour of judgement:

Ke fray le prestre e li esveke,
Ly sage clerk ly erseveke,
Ke taunt de acountes apris a? (ll. 37-9)

[What will be the reaction of the priest and the bishop, that wise clerk the archbishop, who has learnt so much about accounting?]

Unlike the lay group of the preceding stanza, the clerics are well-versed in keeping accounts, although the type of account they deal with is ambiguous. Irony is further intimated in the use of the enigmatic epithet 'sage' applied to the clerk, the archbishop's factotum – is he wise, knowing or discreet? The clerks are particularly interested in commercial transactions, and the technical vocabulary of accountancy describes their operations:

Kaunt la soumme ert souztrete

[48] There are many examples of Bozon's criticism of lawyers in *Le char d'Orgueil* and also the *Contes moralisés*: e.g. *Conte* 22 where the hound 'Baudewyn'- boldness of mind and speech - traps lawyers.

De despensis e de recete,
Ly plus sage fou se tendera. (ll. 40-2) [49]

[When the total amount is balanced with expenditure and credit, the wisest man will consider himself mad].

The nature of the account has moved from temporal to spiritual, leaving the 'sage' cleric at his wit's end as he faces rejection by God. *Pus ke homme deit morir* is clear that worldly riches do not endure – an idea consistent with customary Franciscan avoidance of involvement in financial dealings.[50] Barbara H. Rosenwein and Lester K. Little demonstrate how developments in mendicant spirituality simultaneously rejected monetary wealth but also reflected growing justification of a moral money nexus:

> One of the critical elements here was a new appreciation of the value of time, an appreciation that emerged from the need to calculate so characteristic of the new forms of commercial and industrial activity…The social achievement of the friars thus consisted in their confronting and eventually de-mystifying the taboo of monetary commercial transactions, starting by outright rejection, then by incorporating elements of commercial practice into their spirituality, and finally by helping to justify worldly commerce in a modified and carefully circumscribed form.[51]

Friars were dealing with the realities of a money-based economy and their writings frequently reveal an understanding of the importance of money in lay society and an acceptance of the autonomy of the money economy.[52] Bozon demonstrates a

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[49] What Bozon describes sounds very like double entry book-keeping which is thought to date from the end of the fourteenth century; see Lester K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom', *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971): 16-49 (28).

[50] Bozon affirms the vanity of position and wealth: Ke vaut pouher e hautesce? / Ke vaut aver hou richesce? / Or e argent s'en irra. (ll. 13-5) [What is power or high estate worth? What are possessions or riches worth? Gold and silver will vanish]. Abuse of money is a theme of several *Contes* and also *Le char.* In 1323 Pope John XXII (1316-34) attacked the conviction that the Franciscan Order should be based on rules of poverty in the declaration *Cum inter nonnullos*. For an analysis of the different rationales instrumental in papal thinking, see David d'Avray, *Medieval Religious Rationalities: a Weberian Analysis*, Cambridge, 2010, pp.113-5.

[51] Barbara H. Rosenwein and Lester K. Little, 'Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', *Past and Present*, 63(1974): 4-32 (29 and 31). See, too, David d'Avray's comments, *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp. 207-16.

[52] Ian Wei discusses the stance of the Church and of religious orders towards money and usury in *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 293-355. The Franciscans quickly became adept in commercial transactions; see, for instance, the self-explanatory title of Adam J. Davis, 'A Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Money Manager: Archbishop Eudes Rigaud of Rouen, 1248–1275', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 56 (2005): 431-54. Suspicion about the greed of certain members of the order continued to find expression, for instance, in 'Winner and Waster' of BL MS Additional 31042 (a poem possibly dating from the fourteenth century): 'These are St Francis's men… I know it was for profit they departed from home; whoever lured them here must have a heavy purse.' (ll.159, 161-2); *Wessex Parallel Web Texts*, ed. Bella Millett, English, School of Humanities, University of Southampton

willingness to engage with financial *topoi* but he does not explore the subject in any depth. He appears, therefore, to be less concerned with financial morality than with the selection and depiction of suitable objects of ridicule.

As we have seen in *Corset*, comic effects in verse *pastoralia*, as in many medieval texts, were considered perfectly compatible with serious and purposeful writing. 'Le rire devient véritablement une forme de spiritualité et de comportement' [laughter truly becomes a form of spirituality and conduct] according to Jacques Le Goff who highlights the influence and importance of Franciscan attitudes towards humour.[53] Alan Fletcher points out the practical need for a preacher to keep his listeners' minds from wandering by the use of jokes.[54] Nonetheless, the introduction of humour in the sixth and seventh stanzas of *Pus ke homme* ruptures meditative discourse and requires instant response and renewed engagement of the audience. Satirical humour also demands audience collusion with the writer in a cooperative venture which differentiates listeners from the targeted group. The former are flattered into believing that they will achieve the goal of heaven, unlike the secular or religious elite. Here as elsewhere, Bozon focuses on textual playfulness and authorial control of his audience.

Tretys de la Passion

The *Tretys* appears folios 38r-40v of the Additional manuscript [55] and a second version is found folios 172r-174v of BL MS Cotton Julius A V, the basis of Thomas Wright's 'Allegorical Romance on the Death of Christ'.[56] A much shorter version of the poem, *Comment le fiz Deu fu arme en la croyz*, also attributed to Bozon, has a number of lines of verse in common with the *Tretys de la Passion*.[57] It has been suggested that Bozon's *Tretys* was an influential poem during the late Middle Ages.[58]

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http://www.soton.ac.uk/~wpwt [accessed 24/05/2010]. See also: Richard Newhauser, '*Avaritia* and *Paupertas*: on the Place of the Early Franciscans in the History of Avarice' in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser, Toronto, 2005, pp. 324-48.

[53] Jacques Le Goff, 'Rire au Moyen Age', 18.

[54] Alan Fletcher, 'The Lyric in the Sermon' in *A Companion to the Middle English Lyric*,ed. Thomas G. Duncan, Woodbridge, 2005, pp. 189-209 (esp. pp. 191-5).

[55] Paul Meyer transcribed the first four and the final quatrains of the poem in 'Notice et extraits du MS 8336': 507.

[56] See T. Wright ed., *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft: in French verse, from the earliest period to the death of King Edward I*, London, 1868, Appendix II, p. 427 onwards. Wright's version, containing many inaccuracies regarding authorship and translation, was summarised by Wilbur Gaffney in 'The Allegory of the Christ-Knight in Piers Plowman', *PMLA*, 46 (1931): 155-168, 158-160.

[57] *Coment le fiz deu fu arme en la croyz*, MS Add. 46919, ff. 90v-91v, was edited and translated as 'Christ's Chivalry', by Levy and Jeffrey in *The Anglo-Norman Lyric*, p. 186-191. Stanzas common to

The poem tells of a powerful king who disguises himself in order to fight to release his lover, who has been stolen from him by a rival. It is an allegory of man's fall and subsequent redemption: the king is Christ, who wins back his lady, the human soul, who has been tempted away by a tyrant named Belial, the devil. The *topos* of Christ the lover-knight, who displays his love for mankind through his Passion, is one of the most common allegories in medieval manuals of preaching and instruction.[59] Its popularity may be due to the depiction of divine incarnation as a chivalric love story, the outline of which is related in a short thirteenth-century *exemplum*:

> '[The tale of] a knight who died through the injuries he incurred because of a girl'. A certain knight loved a particular girl so much that he wished to make her his wife. Seeing this, a tyrant carried her away. When he heard this news, the knight undertook to fight so that he might take her away from the tyrant. The tyrant smote him in the side, so that he died from that blow. But before he died, he called the girl and said that he was dying for her sake. He asked her to remain faithful after his death, to accept another thing he would send besides, and to place his shield in her chamber. The girl agreed to do this. That knight is Christ who was pierced in the side. The tyrant is the devil. The girl is the soul. Every chamber is the mind or the conscience. The knight's shield is his passion, which he suffered on the cross. Through this passion the soul was freed from the devil. The soul must have no other spouse but Christ.[60]

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the *Tretys* and *Coment le fiz* are listed (p.190). In the Additional MS, two items treating armour and chivalry precede *Comment le fiz*. First, ff. 86-7: notes in Latin with French and English glosses, on different kinds of hawks and on the arming of a knight for tournament. Second, ff. 87-90: the *Ordre de chivalerie* by Hue de Tabarie, a well-known poem on the crusades, praising Saladin. *Coment le fiz* was thus linked with chivalric writing by Herebert or a second editor.

[58] See R.A. Waldron, 'Langland's Originality: the Christ-Knight and the Harrowing of Hell' in *Medieval English Religious and Ethical Literature: Essays in Honour of G. H. Russell*, ed. Gregory Kratzmann and James Simpson, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 66-81 (esp. pp. 67-70). Waldron discusses the possible influence of the *Tretys* on *Piers Plowman* – Langland, like Bozon, uses the arms of *humana natura* and integrates themes of treachery and judicial right into his narrative.

[59] Rosemary Woolf, 'The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature', *Review of English Studies*, 13 (1962): 1-16. Numerous examples of the exemplum are found in Latin, such as 'de quadam puella regum possidente' of BL MS Harley 219, attributed to Odo of Cheriton and edited by Thomas Wright in *A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, London, 1842, p.132-3, no. CXLVII. David d'Avray translates a Parisian version (c.1271), which treats the predicament of aristocratic women under pressure to marry; *The Preaching of the Friars*, p. 223. The earliest English version of the chivalric exemplum appears in *Ancrene wisse*, ed. Bella Millett, Vol.1,Oxford, 2005, pp.146-8, sections 3-4.

[60] 'De milite vulnerato ad mortem pro puella': 'Quidam miles tantum diligebat quamdam puellam quod volebat eam habere tamquam sponsam; et, videns, tirannus rapiebat eam. Quo audito, miles cepit pugnare ut eam auferret a tyranno. Et tyrannus percussit eum in latere, ita quod mortuus est ex illo ictu. Sed antequam moreretur, vocavit puellam, et dixit quod moriebatur pro ea, et rogavit eam ut fideliter se haberet post mortem suam; et quod missum de cetero alium acciperet, et quod scutum suum poneret in thalamo suo. Et illa concessit se sic facturam. Miles iste est Christus qui percussus fuit in latere. Tyrannus est diabolus. Puella est anima. Unuscuiusque talamus est mens sive consciencia. Scutum militis passio est, quam in cruce sustinuit; per quam passionem anima ablata fuit diabolo. Non debet

The *exemplum's* rudimentary narrative and explicit allegorisation provide the broad thematic outline which, in all redactions, exploits different elements of theological allegory. The primary penitential function of Bozon's *Tretys* is augmented by further layers of metaphorical discourse: first, the typology of the idealised knight-warrior embodied in the person of the Christ-lover and second, the theme of social mutuality and reciprocity re-enacted in the relationship of king and the *amye.*

The allegorical depiction of Christ sets the warrior-king against Belial, the seducer of his *amye*, 'La quele plus ama ke ne fit sa vie' (l. 2) [whom he loved more than he did his life].[61] The king is motivated by a desire for revenge and by his longing for the lady's love. In order to hide his identity in the chivalric contest, the king acts secretly and borrows the armour of Adam, his esquire. He is dressed in 'mout estraunge armure' (l. 29)[very unusual armour] by the most beautiful maiden, the personification of the Incarnation.[62] The protective sections of the knight's armour are replaced by parts of the human body, symbolizing the body of Christ at both the Incarnation and the Passion. For instance, his jerkin is made of 'blaunche char e pure/ Pur kadaz e cotoun, sanc mist en cuchure (ll. 30-1) [pure white flesh padded with layers of blood, in place of silk and fabric] and his helmet is a skull with brains inside (ll. 37-8). Christ's military equipment also reflects established religious images; his horse, for instance, is made of four types of wood – cypress, cedar, olive and palm – reputed to have been used in the making of the cross (ll. 75-6). His saddle reflects the pain he endured on the cross:

> Sa sele fu trop dure & mout le ad anguse
> Mes pur l'amour sa amye la peyne ad oblye. (ll. 79-80) [63]

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anima de cetero habere alium sponsum quam Christum'. From the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, a fourteenth-century handbook attributed to the Dominican, Stephen of Besançon (c.1250-1295): see BL MS Harley 268. The *exemplum* appears at f.6 r, part of a collection introduced by a rubric: 'exempla bona et moralia' [good and moral tales].

[61] Bozon does not explain his personifications, although the names of Belial and Adam indicate their identities. Similarly, Friday is set as the day of the fight but it is not directly associated with Easter.

[62] For a similar maiden, see T. F. Crane in 'New Analogues of Old Tales', *Modern Philology*, 10, (1913): 301-316 (314). The tale, 'Quomodo miles novus armaretur'[how a new knight should be armed], develops the theme of the Incarnation but, like several other versions, differs from the *Tretys:* both the knight and the girl are of noble birth and when she arms him, she promises him her love if he returns victorious. Bozon's king does not love the *pucelle*, who personifies the Incarnation, and his *amye* is of lower social status.

[63] Woolf claims: 'The most important and recurrent allegory is that of Christ's Cross as the horse or saddle upon which He rode'; 'Theme of Christ': 13. See the same image in *Coment le fiz*, MS Add. 4619, f. 90v and also Carleton Brown ed., *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, Oxford, 1952, p.

[His saddle was very hard and pained him greatly. But, for the love of his lady, he forgot his agony]

The wounds inflicted at the crucifixion are reflected in the grotesque images of the king as he engages in the formal duel on Friday. The king's shield carries the device of a crown of thorns (l. 86) and pulsating veins (l. 88); his helmet is made of blood-red hair; his sword and lance recall the nails, the scourges and lance of the Passion (ll. 89-92). Aaron Gurevich reminds us of the importance and ubiquity of grotesque distortion in medieval genres: 'The confrontation of body and soul and of earth and heaven was central to medieval aesthetics and was expressed especially in the grotesque, in both art and literature'.[64]

When Belial tears away Christ's fleshly armour, his adversary is revealed in his true knightly attire and his armorial shield represents his essential virtues:

> De joie & de vye tut dreit quartille.
> De pussaunce e de saveir & de dreyture frette,
> En le chef un sautour de haute dignite ;
> Une bende en belif de inmortalite. (ll. 129-32)

[[the shield] was quartered with joy and life, decorated with power, knowledge and rightfulness; at the top there was a diagonal cross of high dignity, and an oblique band of immortality lay across it.]

Bozon has given Christ three sets of armour or insignia: the Incarnation, the symbols of the Crucifixion and the armour of virtues which has precedents in the allegorisation of the separate pieces of armour in many literary and visual works.[65] The latter *topos* evolved from Paul's sixth letter to the Ephesians describing the whole armour of God, and had been used from earliest Christian times to advance the metaphor of spiritual warfare and martyrdom. The medieval description of Christian armour developed into a literary image of widespread application, originally to illustrate monastic and

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67 (taken from MS Harley 2316). James of Voragine (1230-1298/9) describes the four types of wood in the invention of the cross; see *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, ed. F. S. Ellis, London, 1900, Vol. 3, p.78 onwards. See also: Nicole Fallon, 'The Cross on the Tree: the Wood-of-the-Cross Legends in Middle English and Latin Texts in Medieval England', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 2009.

[64] Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, p.181.

[65] For a discussion of the visual expression of moralised armour: the hauberk of justice, the shield of faith, the helm of salvation and the sword of the spirit of the word of God, assimilating heraldry and Passion imagery in the cult of the *arma Christi*, see Michael Evans, 'An Illustrated Fragment of Peraldus's *Summa* of Vice: Harleian MS 3244', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982): 14-68. Evans discusses an allegorical knight preparing to do battle with the Seven Deadly Sins; he protects himself with the *scutum fidei* of the Trinity (ff. 27-8).

clerical discipline.[66] By the late Middle Ages, as chivalric piety was increasingly emphasised, the *topos* became associated with knightly, not monastic, piety. The more unusual depiction in the *Tretys*, associating the armour of incarnation with the symbolism of the crucifixion, provides a conceit in which Christ's innate humanity is intensified and invites an affective response from the audience.[67] The king invites the lady and, implicitly, the audience to consider the grotesque armour and the horrible wounds inflicted in the battle:

> 'Regardez ma face, cum est demanglee
> Regardez moun corps, cum est pur vous plaee'. (ll. 169-70)

[Look at my face, how disfigured it is; look at my body how wounded it is for you]

The *Tretys* presents a graphic, detailed allegory of the Crucifixion expressed through Christ's bodily suffering and his sense of persecution, and thereby makes a potent emotional appeal in preparation for penitence and confession.[68]

Christ's behaviour is modelled on the exploits of brave warriors which drive the narratives of vernacular chivalry and romance.[69] He wins the battle and rescues the lady, yet his behaviour in the violence of the battle is portrayed as genteel and restrained in the *Tretys*.[70] This common portrayal of an essentially courteous knight

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[66] The symbolism of the armour of God had been developed from Ephesians 6, 10-17, by clerical writers like Jerome. See Ronald E. Heine, *The Commentaries of Origen and Jerome on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 261-7.

[67] See *Coment le fiz Deu,* ll. 45-52, in Jeffrey and Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric*, pp. 186-91, with the same image of fleshly armour.

[68] Sarah McNamer suggests that the graphic portrayal of the horrors inflicted on Christ in medieval texts may have desensitised the audience to violence; Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion*, 2010, pp. 151-2. On the other hand, Anthony Bale suggests that medieval readers turned the 'image of horrific agency into one of beauty', citing Nicholas Love's *Mirror* for the joy that derives from the imagined suffering of Christ which after 'long exercise of sorouful compassion' may be experienced 'not onely in soule but also in the body'. Bale describes the ideas of Aquinas on the imprinting on the mind of overpowering *passio* and concludes: 'medieval viewers would have found their way into understanding a scene of violence through other ways of reading: metaphorical, allegorical, typological': Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages*, London, 2010, esp. Chapter 1, 'He who is in pain is alive', pp. 7-30 (p.17).

[69] The genre resists strict definition: recreational narratives including motifs such as heroic adventures, exile, unrecognised children or siblings, fin'amour etc.; deriving from the *chansons de geste*, the *roman courtois*, the Breton *lais*, Arthurian romances (a little later) all popular in England from the time of the Conquest until the beginning of the fifteenth century. Romance includes the tales of Tristan, Horn, Ipomedon, Cligés and so on, often by named authors such as Thomas (Horn), Hue de Rotelane, Chretien de Troyes, Marie de France.

[70] Richard W. Kaeuper defines chivalry: 'the powerful, mutually reinforcing fusion of several major functions, roles, and rights. Above all, the chivalrous defended honour through the violence of personal prowess; to this fusion they added a formal and rather independent piety, asserting God's blessing on their demanding and violent lives; they claimed an elite, usually noble, status and established their nobility by the practice of a chivalric way of life; they sought to regulate relationships between males

may reflect clerical attempts to modify the nature of chivalric values and behaviour by imposing religious morality on the concept of chivalry. The *Tretys de la Passion* projects an image of male prowess and courage, but stresses - as do other chivalric tales - the knight's obligation to reflect piety and humility and to protect the helpless. Textual representations of chivalric courtesy incorporated elements of male aggression which competed with and were, to an extent, tempered and legitimized by clerical restraints promoting romantic love, civility and piety. Whilst romance valorised the exploits of battle as a means of gaining female approbation, the clerical projection of chivalric morality acted as a force to quell excesses of knightly life.[71] It had long been customary to describe monks as 'milites Christi' and to borrow the vocabulary of the battlefield to discuss spiritual matters. The literary and visual image of the pious knight replaced that of the monk, in the medieval trope of the 'miles Christi'; it is a logical extension of the image to embrace Christ himself. The religious allegory thus supports the secondary metaphor of the exemplification of the piety and virtues of knighthood but both are vulnerable to the depiction of crucial components of romance narratives, such as the curious depiction of Belial as a worthy chivalric rival of the king – he is a tyrant but has no demonic powers. In the initial confrontation between the two men Belial tries to dominate the king, demanding 'homage et servise' (l.48). The king replies :

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and females on their own terms, exclusively linking love, too, with prowess and honour'; Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, p. 302. Some commentators describe a nobler, more restrained version of chivalry stretching back to Roman writers like Sallust. See, for example: Christine de Pizan (c.1364-c.1431), *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. Sumner Willard; ed. Charity Cannon Willard, Pennsylvania, 1999, pp. 32-3.

[71] See the instructions of Raymond Lull, *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry or Knyghthode*, Norwood, N.J., 1976 (no pagination). An old hermit knight speaks to a squire about 'th(e) offyce of chyvalrye to pacyfye and accorde the peple by force of armes'(end third chapter). The first question for the esquire is: 'Yf he love and drede god' (fourth chapter). Lull presents knights as the armed force of Christendom, dispensing licit force sanctified by the Church. In *Chivalry and Violence*, Kaeuper treats the complex relationships between *chevalerie, clergie* and *royauté*, emphasizing clerical attempts to lessen the threat of unrestrained violence on the part of the male elite which were only partially successful: 'Dubbing to knighthood looks very much like a classic example of independent lay piety, an appropriation or laicizing of the clerical entry into knightly practice; once again, knights more readily took on religious legitimation than the element of sacerdotal control intended from the sphere of *clergie*' (p. 86). Kaeuper's first chapter, 'The problem of public order and the knights', emphasizes the potential excesses of the valorization of prowess and violence, although the reality of the threat was, possibly, less critical, as John Gillingham suggests: 'I know of no evidence that the secular elite of twelfth- or thirteenth-century England was more prone to violence than the secular elite of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even in the twelfth century, the heyday of the castle, castles were more about image and display', John Gillingham, 'From *Civilitas* To Civility: Codes Of Manners In Medieval And Early Modern England', *TRHS*, 6 (2002): 267-89 (287).

‘Unke ne fut oye ke serf de seygnurage
Par poer demaundat servise & homage’. (ll. 51-2)
[‘No-one has ever heard of a serf demanding by force service and homage from a lord.’]

Thereupon Belial insults him in turn:

‘Hou est ta seygnorie ?’ dit ly tyraunt,
‘Unke ne vy rey aler payn queraunt
Mes il pert ke seet de lyngnage graunt’. (ll. 53-5)
[‘So where is your domain ?’ said the tyrant, ‘I have never seen a king go begging for his food without losing his high status in society.’]

In the exchange of formulaic insults before battle, the devil is categorised as the rival of romance literature, not the cosmic force of religious doctrine. In the Friday battle, Belial has the upper hand and meets little resistance from the king who is severely wounded:

Le cop fu si fort dunt ad le roy feru
Ke en cynk lus de corps sanc ad espandu (ll. 98-9)
[The blow which struck the king was so strong that his blood sprang from five parts of his body]

The symbolism of the five wounds evokes the Crucifixion, as does the shaking of the ground and cracking of stones (l.116). The crowd wonders why the king has no army with him; the reason is that he is motivated by a desire to win his *amye*’s love through his actions alone (ll.108- 9). Chivalric valour is reflected in the king’s courage, although Bozon does not highlight his actions in combat, describing simply: ‘Mes il par sa pruesce si les venqui touz’ (l.116) [But by his prowess he overcame them all]. The *Tretys* focuses here on the crucial chivalric duel between the forces of good and evil which appears incongruous in an allegorical exposition of the redemption, whilst having greater doctrinal significance in the narrative of the downfall of man. Whilst the projection of restrained courtesy in both Christ and Belial reasserts clerical legitimisation of the knightly *ordo*, the *Tretys* reflects tension arising from the requirements of religious allegory and the literary imperative of chivalric heroism which is lacking in the king. The disjunction of doctrinal instruction and romance narrative destabilises the text, particularly in the characterization and interaction of the lovers, an enigmatic union that appears to defy appropriation by either chivalric or religious typology.

The powerful motif of love in the *Tretys* demonstrates the ambiguous nature of the relationship between the king and his *amye*. As befits his divine identity, the king is all-forgiving in respect of his beloved's sins; even his lance is made of 'pacience' [suffering] (l.92).[72] He declares that he would be content with no more than love based on gratitude from his *amye*: 'E me voillez amer si cum reisoun doune' (l. 90) [If you are willing to love me, as reason ordains] The king shows signs of weakness and infatuation for a woman who does not reciprocate his love, resists his attempts to win her and remains silent about her own feelings. The sexual betrayal of the *amye* may be understood as the allegory of the errant ways of the human soul, a well-established literary trope.[73] Yet whilst the depiction of a weak Christ-lover may resonate in religious imagery of the Passion, it is inconsistent with chivalric typology which requires a powerful male character who, when wronged, does not forgive a shameless errant lover, let alone honour her further as his wife and thereby exceed his rival's promise of 'nobleye':

> 'Jadis vous donai fiaunce en prive,
> Soulement ma amye fures dounke nome.
> Mes ore ma espouse serrez apele
> De tous ke sevent e saverent la solempnete'. (ll. 173-6)

[I formerly promised my faith to you in secret, so you were named only my lover. But now you will be called my spouse by all who know, or will know, of this solemn occasion]

Christ displays a high degree of restraint, patience and forgiveness, virtues which are not valued in secular romance and which sit uneasily with ideals of the chivalric knight. His divine status is challenged and his essentially human weakness comes to the fore as he is manipulated by his *amye*; the issue of his sexual betrayal is a constant subtext of the *Tretys*. Bozon's depiction of Christ is not far removed from the image of the cuckold Christ who features in a fourteenth-century sermon.[74]

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[72] The king's love is mentioned: ll. 2, 109, 167.

[73] The depiction of mankind as a wanton woman is found in Old Testament imagery; for example: Hosea 2: 14-20, and Ezekiel 16, for the nuptial allegory of Israel or Jerusalem as the ungrateful bride of God who has become a whore. God reproves her unfaithfulness but is willing to forgive her and take her back. For the commonplace sexual theme of Christ the bridegroom, see Bozon's own life of St Agnes: 'Son cors al meyn en nettete/ Par fin amour se est done' [His body was given chastely to mine in real love] in Amelia Klenke, *Seven More Poems by Nicholas Bozon*, Louvain, 1951, p. 95.

[74] Rosemary Woolf refers to Cambridge University Library MS Ii. 3. 8, ff. 83v-84r, where Christ complains of his lover: "Sore me may rewe/ þat evere hi lovede hire so," [How bitterly I regret ever having loved her so much]; 'Theme of Christ': 4.

Religious and romance ideals also clash in the person of the *amye* whose complex relationship with the king is based on the negotiation of the nexus of promises and gifts he offers: his extraordinary love, the tribulations endured for her sake, the provision of lavish material comforts and, finally, public recognition of her queenly status. In most redactions of the *exemplum*, the lady is rich and of noble birth but has been deprived of her lands.[75] This romance *topos* has been altered by Bozon and stresses the even greater debt of gratitude the *amye* owes the king who seeks only reciprocation of his feelings. Yet she betrays him and her emotional attachment remains in doubt to the end, contrary to the requirements of Christian instruction which would invoke repentance and contrition for her sin in deserting the king.[76] The *amye* is, however, remarkably reluctant to apologise fully for her actions. Whilst this might reflect the soul's stubborn refusal to comply with divine instruction, it seems unlikely in a text promoting affective penitential practice. Her reluctance fits, however, with the conventions of tales of romance where it is not unusual for the lady to be hard-hearted and unkind to her lover. In an extreme form, the lady, like Guinevere in the *Chevalier de la charrette*, might refuse to show gratitude or generosity to her lover yet still retain her honourable status.[77] The perverse attitude of Bozon's *amye* is, thus, typical of other female literary characters. Sarah Kay, like other commentators, describes the development of such contradictory characters and actions in courtly genres across the twelfth century and beyond.[78] Kay highlights narratives which provide 'as a point of identification and delectation for the audience – the figure of the pervert: objectified, passive, rapturous but unruffled…. The texts

[75] See the high social status of this character in *Ancrene wisse* and also 'Quomodo miles novus armaretur'.

[76] In many versions of the exemplum the lady treasures the bloodied shirt or arms of the knight in loving memory; for instance, 'The bloody shirt of a knight who restored a princess to her kingdom, and of her gratitude to him' in *The Early English Versions of the 'Gesta Romanorum'*, ed. S.J.H. Herrtage, London, 1879, p. 23-6, based on BL MS Harley 7333, f. 154.

[77] The literature on the role of the queen in this poem is extensive. For a general discussion of some of the difficulties of interpretation, see: Jacques Ribard, *Chrétien de Troyes, 'Le Chevalier de la charrette', essai d' interprétation symbolique*, Paris, 1972; David J. Shirt, ' "Le Chevalier de la Charrete" : a World Upside down?', *Modern Language Review*, 76 (1981): 811-22; F. Bogdanow, 'The Love Theme in Chrétien de Troyes' *Chevalier de la Charrette*', *Modern Language Review*, 67 (1972): 50-61; P. Noble, 'The Character of Guinevere in the Arthurian Romances of Chrétien de Troyes', *Modem Language Review*, 67 (1972): 524-35.

[78] See Sarah Kay, *Courtly Contradictions: the Emergence of the Literary Object in the Twelfth Century*, Stanford, 2001. What Kay calls the 'self-conscious cultivation of contradictoriness' is treated in Chapter 5, pp. 179-215. Other commentators investigate the association of medieval philosophies of opposition with expressions of textual contradiction: Catherine Brown, *Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and the Poetics of Didacticism*, Stanford, 1998; Constance Brittain Bouchard. *"Every Valley Shall Be Exalted": the Discourse of Opposites in Twelfth-Century Thought*, Ithaca, N.Y.; London, 2003.

offer their audience both anger and safety, *jouissance* and calm'.[79] Some scholars, however, argue that in English romance reciprocal courtesy and consideration were generally treated as necessary qualities in the chivalric mistress.[80] Thus, in the English context, Bozon's lady may appear particularly perverse and resistant to customary practices of courtesy, expressing only a modicum of gratitude. In her explanation of her behaviour, she reveals thwarted ambition and does not accept responsibility for her betrayal:

> 'Syre', dit ele, 'mercy, chivaler alose,
> De ceste lasse chetive preynne te pite.
> Taunt ay mesfet a cuntre vostre gre.
> Ne vous os regarder, de hounte enfrounte.
> Vous me feistes riche, la ou povre esteye.
> De robe me vestistes, ke plus valut ke seye.
> La curtesie fu la vostre, la vyleynie fu meye,
> Kaunt ove cruel tyraunt alai de vous ma veye.
> Sire, en vostre verger, ou jadis m'en jhoye,
> Par une fauce clef ly tyraunt quit sa preie,
> Entra en parole e taunt me dauncye,
> Ke a ly me assenty par promes de nobleye.
> Ove ly m'en alai, a mal houre le men.
> Ke sy tost cum entray la tere ke cleme seen,
> En prisoun cy me mit, sy cum veet ben.
> Unke pus ne oy joie, ne solace de nule ren.
> Genti quer de rey, merci vous requer,
> De ma fole enprise me voilles pardoner.' (ll. 141-58).

['Sire', she said, 'please, gentle knight, take pity on this wretched captive. I have done such evil against your will. I do not dare look at you, overwhelmed as I am by shame. You made me rich, when I was poor; you clothed me in a robe which was worth more than silk. The gallantry was all yours, the wrong-doing was mine, when I left you to go with the cruel tyrant. Sire, with a false key the tyrant sought out his prey in the orchard where I formerly found joy. He talked to me and wooed me so much that I swore to be his because he promised me nobility. I went off with him to my downfall. Once I entered the land he calls his, he put me in prison, as you can see. Since that time I find no joy or solace in anything. Gentle-hearted king, I ask for your mercy, deign to forgive me for my act of folly']

The speech evokes briefly the analogy between Eve and the *amye* in her own garden paradise, but the focus quickly moves to the lady's self-justification which begins and ends with an appeal for mercy and forgiveness. Whilst she expresses shame because she recognises the material favours the king has bestowed, she admits that her

[79] Kay, *Courtly Contradictions,* p. 313.
[80] Woolf, 'Theme of Christ': 9: 'Certainly in England, it was thought that the unbounded loyalty of a lover deserved a reciprocal courtesy and consideration in his mistress, and that a lady lacking in these would show a churlishness particularly unfitting in one of gentle birth'.

departure was voluntary. She claims, however, to have been a victim, shifting blame on to the tyrant who deliberately preyed on her.[81] Her ill-luck, 'male houre le men', led to the wrongs done to her, as she languished as a prisoner. Her motivation was, she confesses, the promise of social advancement; her arrangement with the tyrant would have been perfectly satisfactory, had he kept his side of the bargain. Her words 'ma fole enprise' may indicate not the inherent foolishness of her objective, but, rather, the unsuccessful outcome of a risky undertaking. The scant gratitude she expresses to the king is for support, rescue and material comforts, such as the gift of rich apparel; she makes no mention of the king's great love or suffering nor of any reciprocal feelings. Whilst the extreme resistance of the *amye* reflects the obstinate failure of mankind to appreciate Christ's sacrifice, it appears inconsistent with the typology of a penitential allegory like the *Tretys.* It is, however, consistent with the perverse heroine of medieval romance.[82] She remains unattainable; her motivation is contradictory and enigmatic; she is a wilful literary creation, not the religious personification of the human soul. Sarah Kay is 'not persuaded' that love's, or the lady's, monstrous rule is a common characteristic of courtly literature.[83] Yet Bozon's *amye* embodies that power and it is the fulfilment of her wishes, not the king's, that drives the narrative.

The king's generosity towards his lover fails to elicit appreciation and love, yet he continues to bestow on her a series of gifts which she treats as commodities. He even offers to make his faithless *amye* queen with authority over his lands:

> 'Jeo vous frai reyne e porterez corone
> En ma ryche tere ke tot vous abaundonne'. (ll. 191-2)

[I will make you queen and you will wear a crown in my rich lands which I shall shortly hand over to you]

The model of discourtesy exemplified by the lady's ambition and acquisitiveness is further compounded by her lack of response to such generosity. She is not the only recipient of the king's largesse which he has earlier offered to Belial:

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[81] The parallel with Eve's accusation of the serpent is lost amongst the excuses of the *amye.* See later discussion in *Le Char* of the sins of the tongue, which includes excuses for one's own sin.
[82] D. W. Robertson suggests that in medieval aesthetics 'accepted techniques involved the use of an enigmatic arrangement of visible things which would serve to call attention to an invisible truth… A work of art was frequently a problem to be solved'. D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives,* Princeton, 1962, p. 15.
[83] Kay, *Courtly Contradictions,* p. 312.

‘Par ma curtesye, si vous fray taunt,
Rendus ore a mey e ieo vous sesiray
De teres & de tenemenz ke en ma baylle ay’. (ll. 56-8)

[By my courtesy, I will go so far as to give you lands and property which I have in my jurisdiction, if you will surrender to me]

The king exhibits indiscriminate generosity to all and sundry. The allegorical re-enactment of Christ’s promise to mankind is barely discernible as Bozon develops the theme of courtly largesse and exchange of gifts. As Sarah McNamer has demonstrated, Christ frequently offers his extreme form of kindness to ‘unkynde’ women in late medieval poetry.[84] The *Tretys* illustrates issues of emotional and social reciprocity as the king seeks to create a relationship of social equality with the likes of his *amye* and Belial. He fails to take into account that the completion of the transaction requires a change in the qualitative relations between donor and recipient: an impossible outcome for the king, given the refusal of the lady to love him. Moreover, the unique power of giving and forgiving is to inspire gratitude, a response which is lacking in the lady. McNamer comments: ‘ ‘kyndenesse’ comes across as the most promising of concepts, for it carried within it the potential to distribute social and political power more equitably by positing affinity rather than hierarchy as a primary social ideal’.[85] Yet without the implementation of all aspects of the paradigm, gift-giving is portrayed in the *Tretys* as a futile activity that threatens individual honour. Since he fails to understand the necessary stages in the process, the king appears naive and foolish. Bozon attempts, then, to explore the nature of social hierarchy, the requisites for change and the difficulties of completing the process.

The *Tretys de la Passion* is a multi-layered allegorical narrative based on a medieval commonplace. It expounds the Passion of Christ and the redemption of mankind with its emphasis on forgiveness freely bestowed and thus asserts Christian teaching. Yet that purpose is constantly challenged by other authorial concerns such as Bozon’s exploration of the social typology of the idealised knight, an example of piety and chivalry contained within clerically imposed boundaries. Most importantly, religious allegory frequently comes into conflict with chivalric narrative, as we see in the transposition of the qualities of the godhead to the hero of a chivalric tale. Far from

[84] McNamer, *Affective Meditation,* Chapter 6: ‘*Kyndenesse* and Resistance in the Middle English Passion Lyric’, pp. 174-205.
[85] Ibid., p.191.

adding to his dignity, the king's extreme patience and tolerance characterise him as a weak lover, diminished by his betrayal at the hands of his scheming *amye*. Judged by the ideals of popular literature, Christ does not inspire respect and the depiction of his fond and foolish *persona* undermines doctrinal exposition at the heart of the allegory. The core religious allegory is, thus, constantly destabilized and challenged by the imperative of secular narrative. Religious themes give way in the latter part of the *Tretys* to exploration of social issues around mutuality and gift-giving, which further embed the narrative in the domain of courtesy and chivalry.

Le char d'Orgueil

Although little scholarly attention has been paid to the *Char*, it enjoyed a degree of popularity in the medieval period since it survives in four manuscripts: two complete versions in British Library MS Additional 46919, ff. 66r-74r and Cambridge University Library MS Gg. 6.28, ff.1-8.[86] Extracts are found in Bodleian Library MS Bodley 425, f. 94 and British Library MS Royal 8 E. XVII, f. 108. The poem personifies Pride as a noble lady, the daughter of Lucifer, and allegorises the many sins engendered by this vice. *Le char* is, roughly, composed of five sections. After a brief introduction to the lady (ll.1- 4), the second part moralises the exterior and interior parts of her luxurious carriage (ll.5-122). The horses that draw the carriage represent four major sins described in the third section (ll.123-273). In the fourth, and longest, section the carriage departs on the road to hell, carrying away Pride's entourage and household servants, all characterized by their sinful behaviour (ll. 274-562). Finally, Bozon calls on his audience to prepare for confession (l. 563) and to repent of their sins (ll. 564-87). The poem emphasises the importance of understanding and acknowledging the state of sin.

Bozon's study of the nature of pride attests to the pastoral importance of using various systems of cataloguing and of discussing mortal and venial sin in the examination of

[86] Paul Meyer transcribed sections of the Additional MS poem: ll.1-12, 243-301, and 559-587, in 'Notice et extraits', pp. 514-8. Johan Vising produced a complete edition of *Le Char d'Orgueil* in *Deux poèmes de Nicholas Bozon: Le char d'Orgueil, La lettre de l'Empereur Orgueil*, Goteborg, 1919. Vising's version was compiled from the Additional, Cambridge University and Bodleian MSS, listed above. Vising claimed to follow the most logical order, that of the Additional MS, and he listed a limited number of stanzas that would deviate (p. xx). His matrix is, however, inaccurate since his edited material deviates from l.13 onwards. Vising followed the text of the Cambridge MS with variants (p. xxi), which is substantially different from the text of Additional 46919.

the conscience of the penitent before and during confession.[87] The importance of the Seven Deadly Sins or Vices, one of the standard elements of catechetical teaching, is highlighted in influential instructional works, such as Alan of Lille's *Liber poenitentialis* (c.1199-1202) [88] and William Peraldus' *Summa de vitiis et virtutibus* (c.1236).[89] The schematic agency of other systems was also employed: for example, Peter Quivil promotes the Ten Commandments, in addition to the capital vices, to generate awareness of sin; William of Shoreham also wrote *De decem preceptis* and *De septem mortalibus peccatis*.[90] Yet, as Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio insist, the vices retained their primacy in the examination of conscience.[91]

The idea that sin was caused by seven (or eight) capital vices had a long history. The number and order was not fixed but fluctuated according to the individual writer.[92] As part of a system of monastic discipline, the scheme appeared in the early Latin works of John Cassian (d. 433/5), the *Instituta* and *Collationes*, based on the teachings and practice of the desert fathers, Evagrius Ponticus (d. 399) in particular. The early perception of the vices was as a series of links – that is, each vice is brought forth from another. This idea was relinquished over the course of many years in favour of the concept of mortal sins growing from the single root of Pride. For instance, Gregory the Great (d. 604) reduced the number of vices from eight to seven and declared 'Pride is the queen of the vices... the root of all evil, and the beginning of all sin'.[93] In the high medieval period this concept is often graphically represented as a

[87] See, for instance, the mnemonic acronym: SALIGIA (*superbia* (pride), *avaritia* (avarice/greed) *luxuria* (lust) *ira* (anger) *gula* (gluttony) *invidia* (envy) *acedia* (sloth). Arthur Watson describes the development of this and other medieval acronyms in his short article, 'Saligia', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10 (1947): 148-50.
[88] Alan of Lille, *Liber poenitentialis* : *introduction doctrinale et littéraire*, ed. J. Longère, Louvain, 1965.
[89] See Antoine Dondaine, *Guillaume Peyraut: vie et oeuvres*, Rome, 1948, pp.162-236. The editor lists the many manuscripts that survive of the *Summa*. A new edition of the Summa is due in 2014, see work-in-progress, on-line *Peraldus Project*.
[90] *The Poems of William of Shoreham*, pp. 86, 96.
[91] Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, *I sette vizi capitali: storia dei peccati nel Medioevo*, Turin, 2000, p. 256.
[92] For the development of the ideas: see M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English*, East Lansing, Mich., 1952; Rosemond Tuve, 'Notes on the Virtues and Vices', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 26 (1963): 264-303; Siegfried Wenzel, 'The Seven Deadly Sins: some Problems of Research', *Speculum*, 43 (1968): 1-22.
[93] 'Vitiorum regina superbia…Radix...cuncti mali, initium omnis peccati. [Gregory, *Moralia in Iob*, Cl. 1708, SL 143B, lib. 31, par. 45, *CCL* [accessed 7/10/2011].

tree of vices with branches growing from the root of Pride.[94] Pride is the sin of placing oneself above God, so its opposite virtue is faith. Subcategories are extensive and include disobedience, bragging or ostentation, hypocrisy, contempt, arrogance, impudence and taking pride in one's bad deeds. *Le char* covers a wide range of sins in this tradition: all sins spring from Pride.

The ascendancy of Pride was, however, challenged in theological discussion of the categories of sin and evil pursued during the twelfth and thirteen centuries.[95] Scholars like Thomas Aquinas debated the primacy of Pride and its status became less secure.[96] Lester K. Little describes a shift of emphasis around the twelfth century, giving primacy to the vice of Avarice.[97] Little argues that Pride had been viewed as the principal evil in the early medieval period, when property was fixed in the possession of land, and power was not yet primarily associated with money. With later economic expansion, those migrating to the towns dealt, inevitably, with partial or total strangers, and they faced further change: the nexus of money and commerce which replaced the personal relationships of an agrarian, hierarchical society. The disjunction between new social realities and an older set of morals, Little claims, fostered confusion and anxiety and resulted in a change of focus which highlighted Avarice as the principal vice.

This is a persuasive line of argument although, certain exceptions of time and place notwithstanding, neither Pride nor Avarice completely dominated and both retained their importance. Perhaps for a medieval writer, like Bozon, the long visual and literary tradition of the pre-eminence of Pride is a potent attraction. Perhaps, too, the

[94] For examples, see: twelfth century BL MS Arundel 44, f. 28v, where a tree of vices grows from the head of Superbia, and faces a tree of virtues on f. 29r; and Robert de Lisle's psalter (c.1310), BL MS Arundel 83, f.128v.

[95] Gregory the Great's schematic order, grouping the five spiritual sins first, followed by the two carnal sins, remained influential in the schools, although there was some modification. For instance, lust and gluttony were often placed third or fifth in the descending hierarchy.

[96] Thomas Aquinas discusses the nature and number of the vices: 'Sed omnia vitia oriuntur ex uno vitio, vel ex duobus: dicitur enim i ad tim., vi, 10: radix omnium malorum cupiditas; et eccli., x,15, dicitur: initium omnis peccati superbia. [But all sins arise from one or two vices. Timothy VI, 10, says that envy is the root of all evils and Ecclesiastes X, 15 says that pride is the beginning of all sins]. Aquinas, *Quaestiones disputatae de malo*, q. 8, pro, l. 3, *CCL*. [accessed 12/12/2011].

[97] Lester K. Little, 'Pride Goes before Avarice'. Le Goff also observes: ' l'*avaritia*…péché bourgeois dont l'usure est plus ou moins la fille, détrône à la tête des sept péchés capitaux la *superbia*…péché foédal', [Avarice … a bourgeois sin which has, more or less, spawned usury… usurps the position of the feudal sin of Pride as the chief capital sin] : Jacques Le Goff, *La bourse et la vie: économie et religion au Moyen Age*, Paris: 1986, p.10.

supremacy of *Superbia* sustains the hierarchical ideal of the social order, threatened by individual pride and ambition. Dynamic visual representations of the personified Seven Vices had been produced since early times, usually based on battle scenes originally depicted by ancient Roman artists.[98] The figure of Pride, often female, was generally portrayed as a mighty warrior mounted and brandishing a sword.[99] This traditional image endured for centuries and illustrations in medieval texts continued to depict the figure of Pride either as a static female warrior or as a mighty person, usually armed with at least a sword and seated on a horse, which is sometimes wearing protective and decorative devices.[100] Bozon's depiction of the figure of Pride differs from this tradition: she is an aristocratic woman who loves comfort and luxury.[101] After the brief introduction in the first four lines of the poem, Pride does not appear again and the poem focuses on her carriage and its occupants.

The carriage has been built for Pride at great cost: 'un char de mult grant custage'.[102] Bozon describes the four-wheeled *quadriga*, the *char* or *chariot*, which gradually replaced the two-wheeled *charrette* and was in wide use by the thirteenth to fifteenth

[98] In *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art*: *from early Christian times to the Thirteenth Century*,Toronto, 1989, Adolf Katzenellenbogen describes how this classical typology endured into the medieval period, principally through continued interest in the allegorical warfare depicted in contemporary versions of the *Psychomachia* of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348-c.410). For an incisive overview of the *Psychomachia* see the first chapter in Sinéad O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' 'Psychomachia',* Leiden; Boston, 2004. See, too, H. J. Thomson, 'The *Psychomachia* of Prudentius', *Classical Review*, 44 (1930): 109-12, suggesting that Prudentius based much of the material on the *Aeneid* which prefigures moral warfare in the soul; and Joanne S. Norman, *Metamorphoses of an Allegory*: *The Iconography of the Psychomachia in Medieval Art*, New York, 1988.

[99] Prudentius personified all the virtues and vices as female, their grammatical gender in Latin.

[100] *Allegories of the Virtues*, p. vii, Katzenellenbogen describes two traditions of visual representation: first, as warriors in battle scenes, such as the *Psychomachy*, figure 7 in his back section, or on the book cover of the Melisande Psalter, BL MS Egerton 1139 (c.1131- 44). See, too, the vices all armed in BL MS Add. 24199, f.18r (tenth century); and a prostrate eastern warrior pierced by the sword of the standing figure of *Humilitas* in BL MS Arundel 44, f. 32v (twelfth century). In the second tradition, representations of moral concepts offer theoretical insight into the essential nature of those forces; Pride, for instance, depicted falling from his horse – as on the left pillar of the central bay of the south porch of Chartres Cathedral. The development of these comic figures is discussed by Armand Strubel, 'La *Psychomachia* grotesque: genèse du comique dans la représentation allégorique' in *Le rire au Moyen Age dans la littérature et dans les arts*, ed. Thérèse Bouché and Hélène Charpentier, Bordeaux, 1990, pp. 323-334.

[101] By the high medieval period Pride is often allegorised as a fine lady. In *De septem mortalibus peccatis*, William of Shoreham introduces Pride: 'Prede suweþ in floures/Of wysdom and of wyt,/Amang leuedys in bourse/Þe foule prude syȝt'[Pride sucks up flowers of wisdom and wit; foul Pride sits amongst the ladies in their bowers], *Poems*, p. 107. The growing importance of the vice of Avarice might have influenced the relocation of Pride to the domain of riches and luxury. Robert Mannyng, however, does not associate Pride with money and luxury but ridicules items of fashion which derive from the sins of arrogance; see, for instance, *Handlyng Synne*, p.85, ll. 3329-52.

[102] *Le char*, l. 4. The appearance of a chariot in medieval poetry often indicates the introduction of allegory, as in Alan of Lille's *Anticlaudianus* and *De planctu naturae*.

centuries as the transport of the elite.[103] Bozon details the comfort of carpets and soft furnishings in a richly decorated *char* with a protective canopy over the painted body of the coach. Such a luxurious coach indicates a noble owner.[104] Each part of the carriage is moralised: for instance, the four wheels represent anger, vengeance, derision and shame (ll. 5-8). These major sins are further defined by the moralised wooden spokes, *bilettes*, which support the wheels:

> La bilette ke tient corusce si est surquidurie,
> La bilette qe tient vengaunce, malice endurie,
> La bilette qe tient baudur, esperaunce de longe vie,
> La bilette ke tient honte, amour de ceste vie. (ll. 9-12).

Thus the sins represented in the four wheels are: anger supported by arrogance; vengeance by persistence in evil; derision by the hope of a long life; shame by love of earthly pleasure. This expositional technique is frequently employed in the first two sections of *Le char*: simple moralisation transmutes a section of the carriage into a single major category of sinful behaviour attributable to Pride. Each sin is thereafter broken down into cause or effect, through a consideration of the materials that make up the carriage section: the 'jonctures', chains, nails, fastenings, woods and materials. Bozon's systematic scrutiny of the parts of the carriage has a mnemonic function as well, creating a structure of associated sins, which facilitates memory retrieval.[105] The image of the wheels and spokes serves, too, as the reminder of the relationship between sins.

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[103] The medieval technology of carriages is discussed in Marjorie Nice Boyer, 'Mediaeval Suspended Carriages', *Speculum*, 34 (1959): 359-66 and 'Medieval Pivoted Axles', *Technology and Culture*, 1 (1960):128-38; and A. Rupert Hall, 'More on Medieval Pivoted Axles', *Technology and Culture*, 2 (1961):17-22. In the early medieval period passengers are often depicted in two-wheeled vehicles, but by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries travellers are usually shown in the more comfortable four-wheeled *chariot*, despite the lack of suspension (a feature of Roman carriages but, it has been claimed, unknown during the Middle Ages). Nice Boyer concludes that the use of leather straps as suspension was probably not common until the end of the fourteenth century; 'Mediaeval Suspended Carriages': 362-4. Bozon mentions straps only in relation to the canopy, not suspension, and says nothing to indicate the presence of an axle (essential for relatively sharp turning).

[104] Nice Boyer describes the sumptuary law of the French king, Philip IV, promulgated in 1294: 'Nulle bourgeoise n'aura char'; 'Mediaeval Suspended Carriages': 360.

[105] The arts of memory were part of the medieval university course in the elementary language arts of grammar, logic and rhetoric. In the pedagogy of training and disciplining the memory, described by Mary Carruthers, the important practice of *memoria rerum* employs a system whereby the object to be remembered is placed in an imagined summary location, often an architectural form or diagram, from which it may later be retrieved. See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 2008, e.g. pp. 97-8; and Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory: an Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, Philadelphia, 2002.

The ladder is set in place and each rung is moralised as a sin deriving from the love of glory and luxury. The lavishly appointed vehicle provides many creature comforts for the passengers. The carpet that is put into the vehicle represents sins of idleness, comfort and good living (ll.107-14), as do the cushions:

> A chescun cornire des quareus sunt quatre botuns;
> Le un si est enuy de sovent oyr sarmouns,
> L'autre si est pesentime de estre en oreisun,
> Les autres deus sunt ignorance e necglicence par nun. (ll. 115-8)

[In each corner of the squares [cushions] are four buttons: one is the tedium caused by listening to frequent sermons; the other is the burden of being at prayer; the two others are called ignorance and negligence]

The passengers and valuable decor are protected from grime by cloths and carpets, under a 'bahuz' [animal hide] to protect them from dirt (ll.119-20). Bozon likens this arrangement to the hypocrisy of hiding sin:

> Ceo est la ypocrisie ke cele par coverture
> Tuz les pecchez par desuz, chescun sanz blemure (ll. 121-2).

[It is hypocrisy to cover over and hide all sins, so that each one appears spotless]

Here Bozon introduces a major group of sins in *Le char*: those of the tongue. The paint of the carriage is likened to hypocrisy of speech and behaviour (l. 52) and a protective cloth serves to cover individual responsibility for sin: 'excusaciun de pecche ke mout unkore dure' (l. 58) [excuse for sin which continues for a long time].[106] Bozon rails against false promises:

> Si est de bele promesse parole ahurne.
> Mult i ad de favele mes trop poy de bunte. (ll. 70-2)

[So it is with words embellished with fine promises; it finds great favour but lacks goodness]

> Issi est de promettur kant ben est esprove.
> Le char covient cluter de aster surement;

[106] See Edwin D. Craun '"It is a freletee of flesh": Excuses for Sin, Pastoral Rhetoric, and Moral Agency' in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser, Toronto, 2005, pp.170-192. Craun claims: '*excusatio* developed as the pastoral movement fostered and regulated sacramental confession and fraternal correction of sin, practices which often provoked excuses for sin' (p.171). He suggests that many commentators traced the human tendency to excuse one's sins back to Adam's blame of Eve, as William Peraldus (1200-71) does in the *Summa de vitiis* (p.174). Whilst apology may serve as a basis for confession, as Peraldus makes clear, excuses for one's sin constitute yet a further sin – see the third chapter of the twenty-four sins of the tongue in *Summa de vitiis*. See also the fourth chapter: 'Guglielmo Peraldo: I vizi capitali e il pecato della lingua' in Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, *I peccati della lingua: disciplina ed etica della parola nella cultura medievale,* Rome,1987, pp. 103-36; and Siegfried Wenzel, 'The Continuing Life of William Peraldus's *Summa vitiorum*' in *Ad litteram: Authoritative Texts and their Medieval Readers*, ed. Mark D. Jordan and Kent Emery, Notre Dame IN, 1992, pp.135-63.

Ceo fet ly maveis mentur ke tant sovent ment.
Ryen ne vult cunter fur par enoytement,
De fere les gens escuter e crere folement. (ll. 75-80)

[So it is with those who have made promises when good actions are required [of them]. The carriage should surely make haste to depart; that is what the evil liar does who lies so frequently. He wants to tell stories only to exaggerate and make people listen and believe nonsense]

Bozon also includes 'li faus losengur de parole afile' (l.86) [the false flatterer, practised in his speaking]. *Le char* reflects the importance of this category of sin in medieval texts, despite its relatively recent origins.[107] Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt typify the thirteenth century as a period which experienced: 'l'explosion de la parole, une parole nouvelle de plus en plus libre et dialoguée'.[108] They suggest that the emphasis on sins of the tongue may have been augmented by secular factors in the redefinition of the values of silence and speech amongst a growing social class of lay professionals: architects, lawyers and administrators.[109] *Le char* frequently underlines the need for harmonious interaction and good social order which require control of: 'les paroles qe volunt cum vent/ Wichuses e feluns, pur aboler la gent' (ll.435-6) [words which fly like the wind,/ Vicious and evil, to deceive people]. The company of Lady Pride is called to join the coach for the departure to hell, and tasks are allotted to groups involved in lawsuits:

Rebatez les clous; rebatez, vous pleidurs.
Debatez les clous; debatez, vous tensurs.
Ferez de marteus, vous bon guerreurs. (ll. 81-3)

[Hammer in the nails, you lawyers; bang in the nails, you seekers of quarrels; strike with the hammer, you great warriors]

The four horses drawing the coach each represent a category of sin which threatens social accord and this is further sub-divided into allegorised examples of wrongdoing. The behaviour of the first horse, *Impacience,* reveals how difficult he is to control. Just as a man loses his good sense through impatience, this horse has lost its teeth in the process of complaining (ll. 131-8) and his shafts represent the poor who are

[107] Its importance continued throughout the fourteenth century, see: Casagrande and Vecchio, *I peccati della lingua*, p. 219. They point out that Alan of Lille lists three sins of the tongue: *verbositas, mendacium* and *detractio* in the *Summa de arte praedicatoria* but Peter the Chanter has a systematic list in *Verbum abbreviatum*: the *vitium linguae* and of *mala taciturnitas* (p. 1).
[108] Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'Au XIIIe siècle: Une parole nouvelle' in *De la clandestinité à la chrétienité*, 1, *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien*, ed. J. Delumeau, Toulouse, 1979, pp. 257-79 (p. 278).
[109] Ibid., p.266.

abused by ‘cruelete de baillifs’ (l.148) [the cruelty of bailiffs]. The second horse, *Denaturesce*, represents those whose actions do not accord with the duties of their position or relationship, such as children who lack natural responses:

> Les piez de cest cheval sunt li maus enfauns
> Ke trop sunt denatureus a lur nurisaunz.
> Lur pere e lur mere vunt contrarianz,
> E ne portent reverence a petiz ne a granz. (ll.159-62)

[The feet of this horse are bad children, who have no natural feelings for those who have brought them up. They go around opposing [the wishes of] their mother and father, and have no respect for either rich or poor].

Denaturesce threatens to disrupt accepted social patterns, a danger Bozon revisits throughout *Le char*. The dichotomy natural/unnatural reiterates the requirement for behaviour appropriate to one’s status which is at the heart of the satire of Pride’s entourage. The tail of *Denaturesce* represents the executors of wills, who spend their inheritance but do not pay for masses for the dead (ll. 163-74). A short exemplum tells of the marriage of a young widow with her *bel amy* who drinks her dead husband’s wine and ‘tripe sa sautele’ [dances his dance] (l.72).[110] Refusing to pay for a mass to be sung for the dead man, the new husband:

> Chaunte pur l’alme, va la la ridulele.
> Autre eide n’avera de celuy ne de cele.(ll. 173-4)

[Sings for the deceased’s soul and goes tra-la-la-la. That is the only help the dead man will have from either of them]

While the audience may be affronted by the couple’s lack of respect for the dead man’s soul, this stock representation of the young husband demands a humorous response from the listeners. The pious warning is clearly distorted by situational humour which invites the audience to connive in the heirs’ chicanery.

Bozon suggests that the third horse, *Deleaute*, is difficult to describe: ‘Il n’est tut neir ne blaunc mes feraunt techele’ (l.187) [he is not black or white, but dappled grey]. Those guilty of the sin include clerics who do not say their masses or who are not truly religious (ll.191-8) and lay officials who are initially easy-going and then fail to carry out what has been agreed. Bozon’s typology of disloyal sinners encompasses: those who criticise others (ll.208-10), neighbours in dispute (ll.212-4), angry beadles

[110] See, too, the same exemplum, *Contes moralisés*, 28b, p. 44. The young husband refuses to send a gift of bread and wine to the chaplain, claiming: ‘Jeo say…meux chanter qu le chapelyn’ [I can sing better than the chaplain]. He suggests that he and his wife should take the food and have a picnic.

who tell their tales of financial woe to any who listen in the town, (ll.215-7), youths who do not attend church and eat when they should be fasting (ll.220-2) and those who make false measurements of the harvest (ll.223-6). Also included in this band are those who steal from their lord, false merchants, and lawyers who, like horses, come 'pur hennir et braer en cuntre verite' (l. 241) [to neigh and bray against the truth]. Through the categories of *Impacience*, *Denaturesce* and *Delaute*, the locus of sin has migrated to the misdemeanours of social stereotypes.

Bozon declares that the fourth horse, *Envye*, is more important than the others (l. 245) and he explores the characteristically human motivation of the animal. *Envye* is unwilling to work in harmony with the other horses pulling the carriage; indeed his desire to stand out in the group is his defining feature. He accepts only the best oats to eat and refuses mayweed or tares, 'ameroke e jazerie, ceo est detraccioun' (ll. 255-6). The horse is suspicious of what he is given to drink, and when wisps of hay are brushed from him, he reacts with mistrust (ll.257-8). The anthropomorphism of *Envye* extends to the rationale for his behaviour:

> Kant autres sunt en solaz, il est en tristur,
> Mult li est grant peyne de autres la valur,
> Nule rien taunt het cum comun honur.
> Si vous preisissez autre par devaunt ly,
> Il get aval la teste cum eust l'esquinancy.
> Kar il ly est avis ke vous despicez ly,
> Pur coe ke vous preisez autre pardevant, vus dy. (ll. 259-65)

[When others are happy, he is sad; when others are honoured, it causes him great grief. He hates nothing more than honour given to all. If you prize another more than him, he throws back his head as if he had a quinsy. For he believes that you despise him just because you have prized another, that is what I think]

Envye's reasoning is understandable: he suffers doubts about his own value and standing, even if his behaviour appears perverse and contrary. In a new stable, *Envye* acts 'cuntrefere la grant seignurie' (l. 268) [so as to imitate great lords] just like men who, for a short while, attempt to impress others and then are 'meyne vaillant' [less effective] for the rest of the year. The audience might regard this equine caricature and behaviour with a degree of familiar indulgence. Discourse in the section on the horses of *Le char* has distanced itself from penitential instruction and has shifted into the domain of social interaction and satire.

We may discern in the poem a breakdown of the conventional distinctions between sins and vices in favour of a new orientation towards the duties of status, in which vices are defined by their impact on individual men according to their social position. Bozon firmly places sin in the context of social obligation as he does in the *Contes moralisés*, where new employment opportunities, for instance, threaten the natural order of society.[111] His satirical attacks against lawyers, for instance, may result in distortion but they stem from a generalised concern about social developments which challenge established definitions, depictions and expectations.

Le char reflects the inadequacy of the traditional concept of the three estates of society to describe contemporary social relations.[112] The poem treats themes which arise from Bozon's perception of changes in contemporary social structures, a concern he shares with other medieval writers.[113] Estates literature articulates the theme of the evils of the times not by reference to the inequity of the social system, but as a consequence of the failure of people to carry out the duties of their allotted station in

[111] Bozon promotes *passim* the maintenance of the social *status quo* and he criticises the growth of education which provides the poor with the means of advancement: e.g. *Contes moralisés*, 16 and 17, pp. 22-3. *Conte* 16 begins: "Ore bestorne le siecle tant qe saphir tourne en moustard e gravel tourney en rubie, qar les gentilez devinrent failliz e les pesauntez devienent gentilez.' [The age we live in is so topsy turvy that sapphires turn into mustard and pebbles turn into rubies because the gentry have become impoverished and the peasants are turning into gentry]. The *Contes* also criticise members of various professions, particularly household servants and lawyers.

[112] For the textual background, see Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, Cambridge, 1973; and Ruth Mohl, *The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, New York, 1933. Paul Strohm points out that literary adherence to the theory of the three estates is 'typical of ideological texts in presenting its system as self-evident, as the only possible form of social organization'; Paul Strohm, *Social Chaucer*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, p. 3. He also suggests that some fourteenth-century texts include new social groupings, such as the emergent mercantile classes (p. 4). Helen Barr, *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England*, Oxford, 2001, demonstrates how a process of social reconfiguration is articulated in 'Wynnere and Wastoure' (late-fourteenth century) and that 'a vertical ordering of society is under strain' (p.26). Alan Fletcher affirms of a later period: 'While it had the weight of tradition behind it, classical estates theory no longer expressed society as actually perceived by fifteenth-century men and women', *Preaching, Politics and Poetry*, p.146. Yet if the conventional paradigm persists as late as the fifteenth century, was it ever meant to portray a true reflection of society? In *Les trois ordres, ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*, Paris, 1978, Georges Duby claims that the ideology of tri-functionality was a means for the elite to justify and protect their interests, not a widely accepted description of the structure of society.

[113] Bozon's complaints of particular sins, vices and abuses in certain types of social groups are not dissimilar to those exemplified in the work of the moralist Bernard of Morval, or Cluny, especially his *De contemptu mundi* (c.1150). For an overview, see: Ray C. Petry, 'Mediaeval Eschatology and Social Responsibility in Bernard of Morval's *De contemptu mundi*', *Speculum*, 24 (1949): 207-17. For a full version of the text: *Scorn for the World: Bernard of Cluny's 'De contemptu mundi',* trans. Ronald E. Pepin, Woodbridge, 1991. Bernard also wrote *De octo vitiis*; see *Bernardi Cluniacensis Carmina de Trinitate et de fide catholica, De castitate servanda, in libros Regum, De octo vitiis*, ed. Katarina Halvarson, Stockholm, 1963.

life.[114] Jill Mann suggests that it 'comprises any literary treatments of social classes which allow or encourage a generalised application'.[115] Often linked with the satire of different social groups, the genre is based on a concept of ideal human behaviour which is being undermined, or denatured in Bozon's terms, by social upheaval and expanding opportunities for social advancement.

The penitential purpose of *Le char* is articulated in the moralisation of the carriage and the personification of the travellers who have abstract names like the driver, *Sire Mestre Meyveillus* (l. 389) also known as *Manace* (l. 441). As the poem progresses, however, this troupe of allegorical figures is joined by a band of sinners who are increasingly defined by their trade, such as the innkeeper who finds his work hard because he goes to bed drunk every night (ll. 420-2). The sin of drunkenness is no longer allegorised in a specific character, but is embodied in a professional activity. The shift from abstract personification to the satire of social sin is exemplified in Bozon's differing treatment of *Torcenus*, or Corruption, and of the squires who follow him. Torcenus is a clerical chevalier and he parades his moralised coat of arms on his shield:

> Le chef si est de felonie e treis losenges de treisun,
> Une espeye de homicide asis en l'un quartrun,
> Florette de sacrilegie et de escommunicaciun. (ll. 480-2)

[The top displays felony and three lozenges of treason; a sword of murder is set in one of the quarters, blossoming from sacrilege and excommunication]

We learn nothing about the chevalier himself, unlike the group of squires, whose habits are satirised:

> La dame ad ses esquiers de mult bele nuriture;
> Longes sunt en levanz, de messe ne unt il cure.
> Vount giwer a tables e jurent sanz mesure;
> De juner e de maunger ne regardent nule houre.
> Chescun fol contrefunt en lur atiffure,
> Sovent hautent la meyn de planer lur chevelure,
> Mult lur greve sarmon, ja si poi ne dure.
> Asotes sunt de femmes, ceo mustre lur porture. (ll. 483-90)

[114] Literary treatment of the estates developed from the enduring tradition of complaint literature, originally a lively and varied genre in classical Latin. Note the enduring modern use of Cicero's complaint: *O tempora, o mores!* (second oration against Verres, book 4, chap. 25). For examples of Latin complaint literature and satire: Juvenal, *The Sixteen Satires*, trans. Peter Green, London, 1998, and Martial, *Epigrams, with an English Translation*, trans. Walter C. A. Ker, London, 1919.
[115] Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire*, p. 3.

[The lady has her squires who are very well bred. They take a long time getting out of bed and take no notice of [the time for] mass. They play board games and swear profusely, they pay no attention to the appropriate hours to eat or fast. Each imitates the fool in their grooming; they often raise their hand to smooth down their hair. They find sermons troublesome, no matter how short they are. They are besotted by women: that just shows what they are like.]

The squires are not portrayed as the embodiment of evil like Torcenus, but are guilty of everyday misdemeanours. Other servants in Pride's household are similarly criticised for failing to behave appropriately: the seneschal (l. 499), treasurer (l. 507), marshal (l. 511), pantry-keeper (l. 515), butler (l. 519), almoner (l. 523), clerk (l. 527), laundry keeper (l. 531). The housekeeper (l. 535) and the slatternly chambermaid (l. 537) organise birth control; the horse dealers treat the poor pitilessly (l. 539) and the poultry-cook is endlessly attempting new dishes (l. 547). The hierarchical descent ends with the kitchen boy, compared with the unrepentant sinner:

> Le garcun de la quisine trop est embrowe,
> E si lest par laschesse la vessele delave:
> Ceo sunt les peccheurs ke ja unt ublie
> De laver lur almes suilles de pecche (ll. 559-62)

[The kitchen boy is very dirty, and he leaves the dishes unwashed through idleness, like sinners who have forgotten to wash the filth of sin from their souls]

Vernacular estates literature depended on traditional commonplaces and stereotypes and drew 'on popular prejudices and ideas when it wished to extend its range to new classes of the laity'.[116] Satirical exploitation of stereotypical conduct may, however, stimulate an ambivalent or contradictory response from the reader or audience, as in the case of the butler who takes pleasure in seeing men whom he has plied with drink 'chanceler en ver le mur ou chair al palis' (l. 522) [stagger towards the wall or fall into the straw]. The action of the butler is wrong and we have an expectation that moral disapproval is called for. Yet the overt, crude humour of the text requires of the audience both experiential recognition of the situation and complicity in the joke. Audience response is thus of an affective nature which conflicts with the initial expectation of moral condemnation – a contradictory reversal which may lead to moral ambiguity.

[116] Mann, *Chaucer*, p.9.

Satire does not reflect historical reality, as its targets are specifically sought out and their depiction distorted. We might, therefore, understand Bozon's objections not as direct criticisms but as intimations of a general disquiet about the social transformations he observes. Such may be the case with the misogyny inherent in *Le char* which generates Bozon's satirical depiction of women.[117] Bozon sets the scene of a feast attended by a group of elite women wearing headdresses like 'cornue bestes' (l. 276) [horned beasts]; they may look ridiculous but they mock others who are inadequately coiffed. Their clothing is rich, made of cambric and silk; their buttons are of coral and amber (l. 280). The ladies never stop talking (l. 281). Should a young squire appear, the women secretly mock him (ll. 284-5). Bozon emphasises the excellent appetites of the women as they discard their veils (l.283) in order to fall upon the capon and wine (ll. 286-93). After dinner they move to a separate room to spend time in talk: 'l'une de l'autre encerche le quer' (l. 296) [they ask about each other's feelings], although they would do well, according to Bozon, to desist from all this gossip (l.291). The women behave quite differently when knights are present, chatting quietly and pretending to have small appetites (ll. 308-11). Once home after the festivities, a woman's appearance takes a turn for the worse:

> Cele qe fu si fresche, ja devent si reste,
> Ke le marchant se repente, ke achata cele beste (ll. 332-3).

[She, who was so fresh-looking, now becomes stale. How the merchant must repent of having bought this animal]

Bozon is highly critical of the needlework that occupies women when they retire at the end of the meal:

> Entren dunc la chambre pur entresolacer.
> De overaine e d'enchure covient dunk treter.
> Chescune de autre aprent acune novelerie
> E si estudient de lur sen de fere controverie. (ll. 324-7)

[Then they go into the room to amuse themselves. So we should speak of embroidery and needlework. They learn some new thing from each other and they attempt to produce in their turn some other novelty]

This appears to be a harmless activity but Bozon disapproves of 'novelerie' in the constant change and amendment, as he sees it, of the women reworking their embroidery:

[117] *Le char*, ll. 274-382. This section exists as a discrete, popular poem, *La geste des dames,* in BL MS Royal 8 E XVII, f.108v.

Mettent la perles u plates furent avant;
D'un liun recope un egle funt volant,
D'un cygne entaille un levre tapisant.
Mes ke lur atil ja si ben ne seit fet,
Kant une fez est veu, nule ren lur plest. (ll. 339-43)

[They put beads where there was flat work before, and from the fragments of a lion they make a flying eagle, from a sculpted swan they make a crouching hare. But no matter how well their work is made, once it has been displayed, they take no further pleasure in it]

Bozon disapproves of the constant desire for improvement and change, attitudes he criticises in other social groups, fearing it may encourage the poor to emulate the rich (ll. 344-5). Bozon defends his position, claiming he has nothing against luxurious items such as 'plates e perles et pan de meniver' (l. 372) [metal embroideries and pearls, and cloaks of white fur] but he objects to the time wasted in personal adornment (ll. 373-4). Bozon's graphic representation of female activities encapsulates sins that threaten the *status quo* and also sins of the tongue since women: 'bleysunt par cointyse pur doucement parler' (l. 357) [inflict sly wounds in their quiet speech]. In short, women are constantly dissatisfied, envious of others and hypocritical.[118]

This representation of the female sex disturbs modern sensibilities, although Bozon's misogyny may be little more than a posture to create humour at the expense of women. Whilst the satire is apparently designed to appeal to men, it would be wrong to imagine that women would not be interested in Bozon's representation of their sex. Humorous commonplaces, such as modern 'mother-in-law' jokes, highlight and refract the activities and attributes of the objects of their barbs. The victim may be intrigued by her prominent role and may even relish the slippage between reflection and refraction. Textual misogyny does not implicitly exclude women. In fact we know that *Le char* had a female audience who found Bozon's satire unacceptable and reacted with such hostility that Bozon was forced to retract. The poem, *De bone femme la bounte* [The goodness of women] is attributed to Bozon, although it has no

[118] At the end of *Le char* Bozon declares that he has dealt with all kinds of sin except of a sexual nature: 'fors soule privetez' (l. 583). In fact, he makes several references to sexual misdeeds: for example, male misconduct: 'Meint homme unt blemi de dens e de hors/ E si unt suylli vilement le corps' (ll. 62-3) [Looking at the four windows, many a man has blushed both inside and outside (the carriage) and has greatly soiled his body]. Bozon comments more frequently on female sins: abortion and lechery (ll. 453-4), pimping (l. 456), incitement to take new lovers (l. 462), help with birth control (ll. 535-6) – suggesting that mechanical or post-coital aids were current.

rubric to that effect. The poet declares that he has been criticized 'pur un char q'ay charpente' [because of a carriage that I built] and so he has written a poem praising women and concluding: 'Ja n'est trovee en tere ou en mer/ Pierre preciouse nule si chere/ Qe vayle a femme' [There is no precious stone found on land or in the sea which is worth as much as a woman].[119] The hostile reaction of Bozon's female audience may, ironically, lend credibility to his depiction of increasing female participation and influence in the public domain.[120]

Le char concludes with the call: 'Pur ceo, seignurs, hastum nous a confessiun' (l. 563) [Therefore, gentlemen, let us hasten to confession], reiterating the penitential function which is common to the three poems studied in this chapter. They support the laity in preparing for penitential self-examination through the creation of contemplative space, the evocation of affective piety and, most importantly, an awareness of the different manifestations of sin depicted through a graphic system of mnemonics. Yet traditional concepts of sin constantly give way to concerns about ethical living in a changing society, as Bozon abandons allegorical representations of abstract sin in favour of the typology and satire of social figures. Whilst comic touches are no bar to serious discussion in medieval texts, Bozon's wide use of humour indicates the importance he places on audience response and acknowledgement of his status as a writer. Moreover, Bozon combines moral allegory and personification with the characterisation of popular literary genres, thereby creating protagonists, such as the king's *amye* and, even the horse, *Envye*, whose complex and enigmatic natures obscure moral purpose. Despite their declared instructional intent, the three poems defer to and are driven by literary imperatives.

[119] BL MS Add. 46919, ff. 93-5.
[120] For instance, he claims women should stay at home rather than attend feasts (ll. 318-9). *Conte* 136 criticises women who: 'de profrer lur marchandie les viles ou le pays vont regeantes' [go wandering around the towns and the countryside offering their merchandise].

CHAPTER 4: *HANDLYNG SYNNE* BY ROBERT MANNYNG

Robert Mannyng wrote two long works in verse: *Handlyng Synne* which he began in 1303, a translation of the Anglo-Norman '*manuel de pecchees*' (l. 82),[1] and the *Chronicle*, completed in 1338.[2] In the prologue to *Handlyng Synne* Mannyng states that it is a practical guide to help the laity confront the problem of 'shameful synne' (l.7), so that they may redeem themselves through appropriate penance.[3] *Handlyng Synne* is thus embedded, like the *Manuel des pechiez*, in a penitential pastoral tradition. The categorization and enumeration of Church precepts are reflected in the structure of *Handlyng Synne* as follows: [4]

1. The Prologue (ll.1-146)
2. *Ten Commandments* (ll.147-2990)
3. *Seven Deadly Sins* (ll. 2991-8586)
4. *Sacrilege* (ll. 8587-9500)
5. *Seven Sacraments* (ll. 9501-11310) : Crystendom (*Baptism*) (ll. 9501-794); Confyrmacyon (*Confirmation)* (ll. 9795-898); Sacrament of þe autere (*Eucharist*) (ll. 9899-10818); Penaunce (*Penance*) (ll.10819-950); Presthod (*Holy Orders*) (ll. 10951-1162); Wedlok (*Matrimony*) (ll.11163-238); Anelying (*Unction*) (ll.11239-310); a final section on Shryfte (*Shrift*) (ll.11311-2638).

This chapter first examines the background of the manuscripts of *Handlyng Synne* in conjunction with Mannyng's career in order to determine the possible composition of

[1] The chapter is based on Idelle Sullens' edition of *Handlyng Synne*, a transcript of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 415, with variants from other manuscripts. Like the *Manuel des pechiez*, *Handlyng Synne* is written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets (although many lines are irregular).

[2] The *Chronicle* edited by Sullens is composed of approximately 24,000 lines and was earlier edited by Furnivall as *The Story of England by Robert Manning*, London, 1887. Part one contains legends from the Trojans to Cadwallader and is heavily based on Wace; part two treats more recent history and derives much of its material from Peter of Langtoft's work.

[3] The prologue was written approximately fourteen to seventeen years after the main part of *Handlyng Synne* and reflects Mannyng's retrospective comments on the function of his work.

[4] D. W. Robertson notes that Mannyng's system of instructional organisation reflects a 'well established convention which had been developed to implement certain definite aims of the medieval Church' – as found in Raymond of Pennafort's *Summa de poenitentia* and William Peraldus's *Summa de vitiis*; D. W. Robertson, 'The Cultural Tradition of *Handlyng Synne'*, *Speculum*, 22 (1947): 162-85 (162). Elsewhere, Robertson suggests 'further study of *Handlyng Synne* may reveal that it contains much less that is original than has commonly been supposed...the selection, organization, and even the details themselves, may reflect conventions of pastoral theology'; 'Certain Theological Conventions in Mannyng's Treatment of the Commandments', *Modern Language Notes*, 61 (1946): 505-514 (514). Many scholars, however, have found Mannyng's 'details' highly unconventional.

the audience he aimed to address. I then focus on *Seven Sacraments* which was expanded to approximately double the length of its source, the *Manuel*, with many additions in the section, *Eucharist*.[5] I include four of Mannyng's narratives contained in *Seven Sacraments* to assess their impact on his audience.[6] *Handlyng Synne* depicts sin as a fluid concept which assumes unexpected forms that the individual must learn to evaluate for himself. The agency of the lay person in achieving personal redemption is at the heart of Mannyng's instruction.

Manuscripts and editions

The *Manuel des pechiez* survives in some twenty-five manuscripts, from the fourteenth century onwards.[7] *Handlyng Synne*, however, is found in only nine manuscripts and some are fragmentary. The three most complete versions are: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 415, ff.1-84, dated early fifteenth century, with 12638 lines; London, British Library MS Harley 1701, ff. 1-80, dated end of fourteenth century, with 12,597 lines; and Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library MS Folger V b. 236, ff. 1-84, dated early-fifteenth century, with 12,582 lines. Substantial passages of the text are found in three further manuscripts: New Haven, Yale University Library MS Osborn a. 2, c. 1440; Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS Ii 4.9, fifteenth century, and London, Dulwich College Library MS Dulwich XXIV, early- fifteenth century. Fragments are found in: British Library MS Additional 22283 (Simeon MS), late-fourteenth century; Bodleian MS Eng. Poet. a.1, fourteenth century (Vernon MS); and Bodleian MS Ashmole 61, fifteenth century.

[5] See Arnould, *Manuel des péchés*, p. 298. Mannyng increases the length of the section from roughly 415 to 1,809 lines, according to Jennifer Garrison, 'Mediated Piety: Eucharistic Theology and Lay Devotion in Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne', Speculum*, 85 (2010): 894-922 (897, footnote 12).
[6] Mannyng adopts and amends most of the sixty-seven tales of the *Manuel*, often introducing material that concerns social or local issues. He adds twelve of his own *exempla*. The sacramental sections contain: *Baptism* (2 narratives), *Eucharist* (6), *Holy Orders* (2), *Shrift* (6). The names given to Mannyng's *exempla* are mine.
[7] *Handlyng Synne*, p. xxxviii. Sullens points out that the attribution of the *Manuel* to William of Wadington is now generally discredited and that *Handlyng Synne* did not supersede the *Manuel* since later mss of the Anglo-Norman poem were contemporaneous with surviving mss of *Handlyng Synne*. Both texts were popular: the *Manuel* perhaps because of its use by educated clerics in private reading (despite the prologue's insistence it is for lay use). This challenges the assumption that English became the pre-eminent literary language during the fourteenth century. *Handlyng Synne* had limited influence on later works, apart from the fifteenth-century *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, ed. Charlotte d'Evelyn, Boston; London, 1935. An analysis of Peter Idley's use of *Handlying Synne* as a base text is given in Matthew Giancarlo, 'Dressing up a 'galaunt': Traditional Piety and Fashionable Politics in Peter Idley's 'translacions' of Mannyng and Lydgate' in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, Turnhout, 2011, pp.429-48.

Handlyng Synne was first edited by F. J. Furnivall in 1862 for the Roxburghe Club.[8] At the time Furnivall was aware only of the existence of the Harley and the Bodleian manuscripts and chose the former as the base text since he considered it to be older than the Bodleian manuscript.[9] Furnivall edited a new edition of *Handlyng Synne* for EETS in 1901, again basing his work on the Harley manuscript with variants taken from the Bodleian and Dulwich manuscripts.[10] The pages of this edition are composed of two parallel columns: the English text of *Handlyng Synne* on the left and corresponding passages of the *Manuel des pechiez* on the right. The gaps between sections of the French text demonstrate graphically that the *Manuel* contains approximately half the number of lines of *Handlyng Synnne*. Mannyng's translation is very free, only rarely does it follow word for word.[11] Furnivall's dual-text edition remains a valuable resource for a comparison of the two works, although several modern scholars have commented unfavourably on his choice of the Harley manuscript as his base text. Bettie-Marie Van der Schaaf, in particular, asserts the primacy of the Bodleian manuscript of *Handlyng Synne* in her account of the various families of manuscripts.[12] Idelle Sullens describes the manuscript tradition of *Handlyng Synne* in her introduction and bases her edition on the Bodleian manuscript.[13] For her New York University dissertation, Susan A. Schulz based her edition of *Handlyng Synne* on the Yale manuscript. None of the manuscripts were written during Mannyng's lifetime; all postdate the beginning of the composition of *Handlyng Synne* by at least seventy to one hundred years and none is authoritative. Since they are all written in a Midlands dialect (apart from the northern dialect of the Yale Manuscript), they were probably copied in areas relatively close to Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, where Mannyng claims it was written. The linguistic evidence points to a circulation generally confined to the Midlands.

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[8] Robert Mannyng, *Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne'*(*written A.D. 1303) with the French Treatise on which it is founded, 'Le manuel des pechiez' by William of Wadington*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, London, 1862.

[9] Furnivall claims that the dating of 1360 was made by Frederick Madden – now considered erroneous, see Bettie-Marie Van der Schaaf, 'The Manuscript Tradition of *Handlyng Synne*', *Manuscripta*, 24 (1980): 119-26 (122).

[10] Robert Mannyng, *Robert of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne'* (*written A.D. 1303) with those parts of the Anglo- French Treatise on which it was founded, William of Wadington's 'Manuel des pechiez'*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, London, 1901-3.

[11] Confirmed by Van der Schaaf, 'Manuscript Tradition':126.

[12] Ibid., 122-6.

[13] See Sullens' description of the manuscripts, *Handlyng Synne*, pp. xviii-xxxiii.

Mannyng's life and background

The prologues to *Handlyng Synne* and the *Chronicle* provide us with a good deal of personal information about Robert Mannyng:

> Of Brunne I am, if any me blame,
> Robert Mannyng is my name. (*Chronicle* ll.135-6) [14]

[If anyone criticises me, my name is Robert Mannyng from Bourne]

Handlyng Synne identifies Bourne as a village in Lincolnshire, some eight miles from Sempringham:

> And to gode men of brunne,
> And specyaly alle be name:
> Þe felaushepe of symprynghame.
> Roberd of brunne gretyþ 3ow. (ll. 58-61)

[Robert of Bourne sends greetings to the good men of Bourne and especially all those who belong to the community at Sempringham]

Mannyng explains that he had lived in the priory of Sempringham for fifteen years; for ten years under the prior John of Camelton and five years under John of Clyntone (ll. 66-72). He began his translation of the *Manuel* when Philip of Burton was prior and he gives the date 1303 as the start of his work (l. 76).[15] The fact that Sempringham was the principal house of the Gilbertine Order has led scholars to the reasonable conclusion that he was a member of the Order.[16] Ruth Crosby's

[14] Prologue, *Chronicle*, Part I, p. 94,

[15] John of Camelton/ Hamilton: Prior 1301 and 1312; John of Clynton/ Glinton: Prior 1325 and 1332, elected Master 1332, resigned 1341; Philip de Burton/ Barton: elected Master 1298 – 1332. See: 'The Priory at Sempringham' in D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, London, 1971, p.195; 'Gilbertine Canons and Nuns' in David M. Smith, C.N.L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, Vol. II: 1216-1377, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 527-9; and 'Houses of the Gilbertine Order: The Priory of Sempringham' in William Page ed, *A History of the County of Lincoln:* Vol. 2, 1906, pp. 179-87. http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=38029 [accessed 23/11/2010].

[16] For the history of the order, see Rose Graham, *S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines: a history of the only English Monastic Order*, London, 1901, and Brian Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130-1300,* Oxford, 1995. Gilbertine houses were scattered around the country but the centre of the order's influence remained in Lincolnshire where it had been founded. It enjoyed royal patronage and protection (Golding, p.312). Gilbertine monasteries had become considerable landowners and relied upon a large force of lay brothers who served either at the priory or at the outlying granges which Golding describes as 'economic and spiritual' units (Golding, p. 409). For the rebellion of the lay brothers in the 1160s, see Janet Sorrentino, 'Rebellion and Perseverance: the Profession of Lay Brothers in the Order of Sempringham and the Votive Mass for *Conversi*' in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff,* ed. George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voigts, Turnhout, 2010, pp. 3-40. Ralph Hanna calls Mannyng an 'honorary'Augustinian:'Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature', p.36.

chronology of his life and career is based on information supplied by Mannyng's two works and is generally accepted by modern commentators: [17]

> 1283 (or earlier). Born at Bourne in Kesteven, Lincolnshire (estimated on the regulations regarding age of admission to the Gilbertine Order).
>
> 1298 (or earlier) -1302. Studied, perhaps, at Cambridge (possibly in the Gilbertine House, the Priory of St. Edmund), where he knew Alexander Bruce and attended a banquet given by Robert Bruce before he became king.
>
> 1302-17 (or later). Canon (or possibly Master of Novices) at Sempringham Priory under John of Camelton and John of Clynton.
>
> 1303. Began *Handlyng Synne*, when Philip de Burton was Master of the Order.
>
> 1317-27 (or later). Probably still at Sempringham.
>
> After 1317. Prologue to *Handlyng Synne*.
>
> 1327 (or later) -1338. Work on the *Story of England (Chronicle)* at the request of Dan Robert of Malton, probably prior of Sixhills, where Mannyng resided for a time.
>
> 15 May 1338. Completed the *Chronicle*.[18]

Robert's acquaintance at Cambridge with Robert Bruce and his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, suggests that he was a student there.[19] The Gilbertine Order is known to have promoted higher education and Mannyng's knowledge of pastoral theology and canon law indicates a sound educational background – he may have been an instructor. [20] It has also been suggested that he may have served as chaplain in Lincoln circa 1327.[21] There is a possibility that Mannyng was, at some point, in

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[17] This outline is based on Ruth Crosby's schema in 'Robert Mannyng of Brunne: A New Biography', *PMLA*, 57 (1942): 15-28, 28. For a version of his life based on Crosby, see: 'Author, Sources and Nature of Text' in *The Idea of the Vernacular, an Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson *et al.*, Exeter,1999, p.19.

[18] Although it is often assumed that Mannyng died in 1338, he may well have lived for a further ten years or so. See Sullens, *Chronicle*, p. 22.

[19] Ibid., Part 2, p.689, ll. 8225-39.

[20] The Gilbertines had several schools of learning around England; the house at Sempringham was given papal licence in 1290 to appoint a teacher of theology to instruct the canons. See Orme, *English Schools*, p. 237.

[21] Ethel Seaton cites the 1327 will of Avice de Crosseby (*Lincoln Wills registered in the District Probate Registry at Lincoln*, ed. C. W. Forster, Vol.1: A.D. 1271-A.D. 1526, Lincoln, 1914, pp. 6-8, which refers to a 'Sir Robert de Brunne', a chaplain in Lincoln. See Seaton, 'Robert of Brunne in Lincoln', *Medium Aevum*, 12 (1943): 77.

charge of the *cura animarum* of a parish since, from the end of the thirteenth century, churches held by the Gilbertines were normally served by their canons.[22]

Mannyng's career has been the subject of debate and differing scenarios have been suggested for his life.[23] Matthew Sullivan, for example, has found documentary references made to a Robert of Brunne in land transactions in Lincolnshire, and he concludes that Mannyng was 'a substantial landholder in Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire who experienced a fair amount of legal trouble (much of his own making), [and] had some experience in the legal profession'. Despite Sullivan's careful argument, it is difficult to equate his miscreant Robert with the moralistic writer of *Handlyng Synne*. Michael Stephenson, however, argues that there is no evidence that Mannyng was a member of the Gilbertine Order and, indeed, no statement exists to that effect. Stephenson refers, in particular, to the first register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, which records that a certain Robert de Brunne was ordained sub-deacon, deacon, and priest between 1294 and 1295.[24] Robert is described as the son of Thomas de Brunne of Lincoln and his titles for ordination were supplied by the Cistercian Abbey of Revesby in Lincolnshire. Stephenson proposes that Mannyng was a secular priest, possibly serving as an itinerant confessor to nuns. Whether the Robert de Brunne identified by Stephenson is the same man as the writer is unsubstantiated and his argument ignores Mannyng's long association with several of the masters of the Order, which suggests that he was himself a Gilbertine. The third contributor to *Notes and Queries,* Andrew Taubman, proposes yet another

[22] Rose Graham describes papal sanctioning of Gilbertine appropriation of churches as early as 1170, when Pope Alexander III gave approval to the Master and canons of the Order of Sempringham; Graham, *S. Gilbert,* p. 111. In his chapter 'The Gilbertines and their Churches', Brian Golding suggests the canons served their churches more frequently in the later Middle Ages; Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham*, pp. 353-91. He cites *inter alia* the case of the prior of Malton who was summoned to account for his negligence in instituting vicars in appropriated churches (p. 390). Other commentators have suggested the Gilbertine grange system was based on the impropriation of churches by communities of canons regular who installed their own members as vicars. T.A.M. Bishop claims that the part of an Augustinian or Gilbertine grange which was normally the first to be acquired, was the endowment of a parish church and that the word 'grangia', originally indicated something very like 'tithe barn'; T.A.M. Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', *The English Historical Review*, 51 (1936): 193-214 (205).

[23] The journal *Notes and Queries* published three articles about Mannyng's career: M. Sullivan, 'Biographical Notes on Robert Mannyng of Brunne and Peter Idley, the Adaptor of Robert Mannyng's Handlyng Synne', 41 (1994): 302-4; M. Stephenson, 'Further Biographical Notes on Robert Mannyng of Brunne', 45 (1998): 284-5; Andrew W. Taubman, 'New Biographical Notes on Robert Mannyng of Brunne', 56 (2009): 197-201.

[24] See *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton,* ed. Rosalind M.T. Hill, Vol.VII, Lincoln, 1975, pp. 60,63,71.

geographical location as the background for Mannyng. Citing the linguistic evidence provided by the northern dialect of the Yale manuscript and by the lexis of the other manuscripts, Taubman claims that Nunburnholme in the East Riding of Yorkshire was called Brunne in the late-thirteenth century and that Mannyng was born and brought up there.[25] According to Taubman, Mannyng joined the Augustinians at Warter, which is close to Nunburnholme, before moving to the Arrouasian house at Bourne in Lincolnshire, where he may have become familiar with the nearby Gilbertines and their communities. This version of Mannyng's career is unconvincing and fails to give sufficient weight to the testimony concerning Mannyng's long relationship with Sempringham.

Mannyng names himself as the author of *Handlyng Synne* – an established procedure in French works but one of the earliest examples in English. He provides a great deal of information about himself and this has been deliberately included or retained in the text, since the prologue to *Handlyng Synne* was written or revised at least fourteen years after the main period of composition. Joyce Coleman has addressed the question of Mannyng's self-identification in her contribution to the debate about his background.[26] She suggests that Mannyng's purpose in writing *Handlyng Synne* is to offer his text as a gift to the Sempringham priory, which faced financial difficulties because of the decline in the number of pilgrimages made to St. Gilbert's shrine. In 1301 Prior John of Camelton had begun a necessary, but ambitious, rebuilding of the priory church in order to stimulate greater interest in the minor cult of the founder-saint. Mannyng, Joyce Coleman posits, was promoting the activities of the cult by providing entertainment for pilgrims, and he was careful to identify himself and to publicise his association with the community in order to encourage financial contributions to its funds.[27] According to this hypothesis, Mannyng was the priory's *hospitarius* (master of guests) and chosen passages of *Handlyng Synne* were read to pilgrims in the Gilbertine guesthouse. Coleman argues that *Handlyng Synne* contained a wide range of topics and interests appropriate as reading material for 'a shifting

[25] Taubman, 'New Biographical Notes': 198.
[26] Joyce Coleman, 'Handling Pilgrims: Robert Mannyng and the Gilbertine Cult,' *Philological Quarterly*, 81 (2002): 311-26.
[27] Most pilgrimage churches and monasteries offered food and shelter to pilgrims – a requirement of the Benedictine rule. See Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an Image of mediaeval Religion*, London, 1975, p.164.

collection of visitors'.[28] *Handlyng Synne* may well have had a specifically local function, authorised by a senior member of the Order, and the writer's identification with Sempringham lends weight to Coleman's argument.[29] The inclusion of tales may also indicate the intention to entertain a public. Yet it remains a matter of speculation whether the text was designed to serve the needs of pilgrims and the Gilbertine economy. Coleman's suggestion is imaginative and novel but ultimately unconvincing, since the themes of *Handlyng Synne* do not appear to target pilgrim audiences in particular. It seems more likely that Mannyng's self-identification is connected with his definition of himself as a native-born English writer. It also emphasises the idea that he is the individual author of the work, although it is, as he claims, a translation. If Mannyng were well-known in certain circles, his declaration of authorship might also serve to promote the text.

The Prologue, audience, language and tales

Mannyng states that his target audience is not 'clerkys' (l. 37) but laymen whom he addresses in their own language:

> For lewed men y undyr toke
> On englyssh tonge to make þis boke, (ll. 43-4)

[I undertook to write this book in English for uneducated men]

This is, however, inconsistent with a later statement that he had read his section on the eucharist to an audience of both clerics and lay people:

> As y haue here to ȝow shewed
> Nat to lered onely, but eke to lewed.
> Ȝe lewed men, y telle hyt ȝow,
> Þese clerkes kunne hyt weyl ynow. (ll. 10811-4)

[As I have explained before, not only to learned clerics but also to laymen. I am now speaking to the laity about something that clerics are well aware of.]

[28] A variety of attractions and entertainments was developed by the clergy who managed cults: 'The gaiety of fairs was not altogether absent from shrines, where musicians sometimes performed near sacred precincts and occasionally buffoons amused pilgrims as they queued at a holy tomb', Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*, London, 1977, p. 40.

[29] The Rule of St Gilbert insisted that every writer needed the consent of a superior and prescribed severe penalties for disobedience; see *De scriptoribus et poena occulte scribentium*, William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, London, 1846, Vol. 6, Part 2 b, Chap. XIX, p.xxx. If permission were granted, 'omnino caveat vanitatem profundi vel pomposi dictaminis' [he should particularly avoid the vanity of unfathomable or pompous language]. See, too, Graham, *S. Gilbert*, pp. 60-1. Mannyng carefully points out that he has written 'in symple speche as I couthe' (*Chronicle*, I, p. 92, l. 73), avoiding 'pride & nobleye' (Ibid., p. 93, l.105).

Mannyng's short section *Matrimony* (ll.11163-238) may address the clergy rather than the laity since it stresses practical concerns for the union – the requirement for mutual consent and the necessity to reveal any impediment. Mannyng warns that children should not be betrothed for money and he points out that many marriages fail when money becomes scarce (ll. 11215-20) but little advice is offered to the laity on the responsibilities of marriage. We should not, therefore, discount the presence of clerics in the audience. Kate Greenspan goes further, however, and claims that *Handlyng Synne* appeals more directly to a clerical audience because Mannyng is particularly concerned with eradicating clerical corruption.[30] For example, the short section *Holy Orders* (ll. 10951-1162) asserts the lack of education and unworthiness of many priests. In Greenspan's reading, the text carries a double message: the clergy must amend its ways and laymen must ignore the implications of priestly wrongdoing, since they depend on the mediation of the priest for their salvation. In the main, however, modern scholars assume that Mannyng's intended audience was predominantly lay.[31]

Various groups have been suggested as a likely audience for *Handlyng Synne*, particularly those associated with the Gilbertine house: the novices, the lay brothers, pilgrims, parish congregations and Mannyng's fellow preachers – we may safely propose a broad readership. We might regard with scepticism other qualities Mannyng ascribes to his listeners:

> For many beyn of swyche manere
> Þat talys & rymys wyle bleþly here
> Yn gamys, yn festys, & at þe ale,
> Loue men to lestene troteuale,
> Þat may falle ofte to velanye,
> To dedly synne, or outher folye;
> For swyche men haue y made þys ryme
> Þat þey may weyl dyspende here tyme. (ll. 45-52)

[For many are so minded that they will listen readily to tales and rhymes during entertainments, at feasts and in the tavern. Men love to listen to trifles and they may

[30] Kate Greenspan, 'Lessons for the Priest, Lessons for the People: Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Audiences for *Handlyng Synne'*, *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 21 (2005): 109-21.
[31] See, for instance: Fritz Kemmler, *'Exempla' in Context: a Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng synne'*, Tübingen, 1984, p. 15; Jennifer Garrison, 'Mediated Piety': 895-6; Mark Miller, 'Displaced Souls, Idle Talk, Spectacular Scenes: *Handlyng Synne* and the Perspective of Agency', *Speculum*, 71 (1996): 606-32 (609). D.W. Robertson insists that *Handlyng Synne* was intended for use only with lay penitents; 'Certain Theological Conventions': 514, and 'Cultural Tradition': 183.

often fall into bad behaviour, deadly sin or other follies. I have written this poem for men of this type so that they may spend their time profitably.]

Far from treating his public as wastrels and drunkards, Mannyng requires the laity to be actively involved in their religious education and to be serious, effective agents in their own redemption. It is, therefore, unlikely that those who are receiving Mannyng's instruction come from the very lowest echelons of society since the long theological exposition of *Handlyng Synne* implies they have sufficient leisure time to have acquired a good level of religious knowledge. The penitential dedication demanded by the nuanced instruction of *Handlyng Synne* renders it an unlikely text for a dissolute or impoverished audience. Moreover, characterisation in narratives is generally predicated on the interests of the recipient audience, so Mannyng's *exempla* may indicate a gathering composed of the middle ranks of society. The text sometimes suggests that Mannyng addresses women in his audience which, given the mixed environment of the Gilbertines, might include religious women too.[32]

Mannyng's emphasis on writing in the only language that can be understood by uneducated lay people is part of his authorial strategy to justify and promote the use of English. Although apparently unlettered, these men are familiar with the French '*manuel de pecchees*' (l. 82) which is now being translated into English for their instruction. Mannyng justifies his simple, accessible English style as a reflection of the lack of status and learning of his addressees but this does not stand up to scrutiny, since *Handlyng Synne* is a difficult, erudite work which does not simplify but adds to the complexity of the source material. Mannyng's apology for his use of English derives from what Nicholas Watson terms the 'combination of humility and assertiveness' running through Middle English literature of this period. Watson dismisses depictions of English as the 'underdog':

> The theme of oppression became most prominent in English at just the moment (in the first half of the fourteenth century) when use of the language was no longer reliable as a genuine marker of social status, let alone racial origin. By no later than 1300, written English - a language that was much influenced by Anglo-Norman - was being

[32] Cynthia Ho accepts that Mannyng occasionally addresses women but she argues that this is incidental to his main target audience: women play a passive role in the *exempla* and function simply as signs of good or evil to augment male religious experience. See Cynthia Ho, 'Dichotomize and Conquer: 'Womman handlyng' in *Handlyng Synne'*, *Philological Quarterly*, 72 (1993): 383- 401.

> promoted vigorously, at least on a regional level, as an instrument of the church's education program.[33]

Mannyng has little need to justify writing in English but his stance reinforces the linguistic unity of his audience and may account for his references to his own regional background and links with Sempingham, since the Gilbertines were the only native English religious order. Their linguistic rule prohibited the use of Latin in transactions concerning the management of property.[34] Some scholars have viewed Mannyng's advancement of English in the *Chronicle* as driven by a political imperative, to create and promote a community built around an English literary culture which claims for itself the same status as an elite French one.[35]

The processes of translation in *Handlyng Synne* similarly support Mannyng's creation of an English heritage. The work justifies itself 'in terms of exegetical and perhaps didactic service' by translating its source text, the *Manuel*, in order to facilitate instruction for the ignorant laymen.[36] The text purports to be a simple primary translation which does no more than serve its source; it thus appropriates the authoritative status and material of the *Manuel* which it replaces. Yet, as Rita Copeland notes, a translation may develop and direct 'its practices toward a self-sufficient or independent discourse, using the original as a model against which to discover new textual idioms'.[37] In this way, creative exploration encourages a translation – from a short citation in *Corset* or a full text like *Handlyng Synne* – to differentiate itself from the source it supersedes and to claim its own independence and authority. *Handlyng Synne* constantly distances itself from the *Manuel* and asserts its own status as a vernacular production, thereby stressing the 'cultural and

[33] Nicholas Watson, 'The Politics of Middle English Writing' in *The Idea of the Vernacular,* pp. 331-52 (p. 335). Watson suggests that texts like the *Chronicle* foster the fiction of the single English community 'devoid of differences of dialect, social status, or gender'. He adds that the 'naturalness' of the community and of the language's capacity to unite people and land continued to be central to thinking about the 'mother tongue'.
[34] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Vol. 6, Part 2 a, p.xlix: 'Omnino prohibemus Latinam linguam inter omnes' [We especially prohibit the use of Latin amongst yourselves].
[35] Thorlac Turville-Petre considers the choice of English or of French to be a fundamentally political decision; Turville-Petre, 'Politics and Poetry in the Early Fourteenth Century: the Case of Robert Mannyng's *Chronicle*,' *Review of English Studies*, 39 (1988): 1–28 (1). Joyce Coleman challenges the image of the *Chronicle* promoting English culture on behalf of the oppressed: Joyce Coleman, 'Strange Rhyme: Prosody and Nationhood in Robert Mannyng's 'Story of England'', *Speculum*, 78, (2003): 1214-38.
[36] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation*, p. 94.
[37] Ibid.

historical difference that vernacularity exposes'.[38] Far from supporting and serving the *Manuel*, *Handlyng Synne* attempts to displace it and is empowered by the processes of appropriation, translation and differentiation to authorise and privilege its own English text as part of an emergent English literary culture.

The very title of Mannyng's text differentiates it from the *Manuel*:

> Manuel ys handlyng wyþ honed,
> Pecchees ys synne to undyrstonde.
> Þese twey wrdys þat beyn otwynne,
> Do hem to geyr ys handling synne. (ll. 83-5)

['Manuel' means handling by hand; 'péchés' we understand as sin. If you put together these two words that are related, they make 'handling sin']

Rather than using a direct translation, like 'hand-bok', Mannyng exploits the use of 'manuel' as both noun and adjective and he opts for the gerund 'handlyng'. His choice of title goes straight to the heart of the dynamic engagement required for the management of sin: that is, to 'handyl synne' (l.89). Mannyng does not offer the universal blueprint of a manual, which may have liturgical overtones, but seeks to instil in the penitent a tactical methodology to recognise and deal with sin. He expounds conventional typologies of instruction, such as the Seven Deadly Sins and the Ten Commandments, but, I suggest, they merely form the moral backdrop to the daily confrontation with ever-present sin:

> We handyl synne euery day
> Yn wrde & dede al þat we may. (ll. 89-90) [39]

[We handle sin every day in word and deed as well as we may]

Mannyng continues with a formulaic sequence based on the phrase 'handlying synne'.[40] Man must deal with sin, for instance:

> Wyþ shryfte of mouþe & wyl of herte
> And a party wyþ penaunce smert,
> Þys ys a skyle þat hyt may be tolde,
> Handlyng synne many a folde.
> Handlyng yn speche ys as weyl
> As handling in dede euerydeyl. (ll.111-6)

[38] Ibid., p.180 (also cited p.69).
[39] Mannyng promises his audience that they will learn many things from his work but not 'pryuyte' [sexual sins] (l. 31 and 139); he will not plant any new ideas in sinners' minds.
[40] See the repetition of this formula: ll. 94,97,99,101,103,105,107,109,114,115,116.

[With shrift of mouth, a willing heart and a conscience smitten by penance: this is a skill that can be explained: how to handle sin in different ways: you can handle sin in speech as well as handling it in everyday actions]

Lay people are capable of learning how to recognise the various forms of sin and the implication is that there is no single way of dealing with it.

The Prologue claims that Mannyng's narratives will provide entertainment for those who enjoy tales which the writer considers to be 'troteuale' (l. 48) [trifles or idle talk].[41] *Exempla* make up roughly half of the text of *Handlyng Synne*, inserted into Mannyng's commentary on ethical and religious instruction. They borrow extensively from the numerous well-known collections of *exempla* which were already compiled by the early-thirteenth century.[42] An early example was the *Dialogus miraculorum* of the Cistercian, Caesarius of Heisterbach.[43] Other well-known *exempla* are found in the sermons of James of Vitry [44] and in *De septem donis spiritus sancti* of Stephen of Bourbon (d.1262).[45] In England collections of moralised *exempla* had been produced in Latin by writers like Odo of Cheriton and, later, in French by Nicholas Bozon.[46] These compilations were generally written for use in preaching, but some vernacular

[41] Mannyng's claim that his tales are designed to entertain has been the subject of considerable academic debate. D. W. Robertson writes 'His stories are always used to illustrate a point of doctrine. They are *exempla* in function as well as in tradition; that is, the stories are not told simply as entertaining narratives, but are subordinate to the doctrine which they illustrate'. See Robertson, 'The Cultural Tradition':162. There is no doubt about the serious intent of the narratives, although the idea of their subordination to doctrine is contentious. For the authoritative treatment of Mannyng's tales, see Kemmler, *Exempla in Context*.

[42] For exposition and discussion of the medieval *exemplum*: J-Th. Welter, *L''Exemplum' dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age*, Paris; Toulouse, 1927; C. Bremond, J. Le Goff and J-C Schmitt, *L''Exemplum'*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, Turnhout, 1982; J. Berlioz and M. A. Polo de Beaulieu, *Les exempla médiévaux. Introduction à la recherche, suivie des tables critiques de l'Index exemplorum de Frederic C. Tubach*, Carcassonne, 1992; J. Berlioz and M. A. Polo de Beaulieu, *Les exempla médiévaux: nouvelles perspectives*, Paris, 1998; Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: the Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*, Cambridge, 1994. Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Helsinki, 1969, provides an invaluable index of a large number of *exempla* by subject.

[43] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensi, Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, Cologne, 1851, 2 vols, repnt Ridgewood, N.J., 1966; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. Scott and C.C.S. Bland, intro. G.G. Coulton, 2 vols., London, 1929. Members of the Cistercian Order were often involved in the writing and diffusion of *exempla*; see Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and Faith: Cistercian Men, Women and their Stories, 1100-1200*, Aldershot, 2002 and Stefano Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections: Role, Diffusion, and Evolution', *History Compass*, 8 (2010): 903-12.

[44] James of Vitry, *The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. T.F. Crane, London, 1890.

[45] Stephen of Bourbon, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon dominicain du treizième siècle*, ed. A. Lecoy de La Marche, Paris, 1877.

[46] Odo of Cheriton, *The Fables of Odo of Cheriton*, ed. and trans. J.C. Jacobs, Syracuse, N.Y., 1985; Bozon, *Contes moralisés*.

texts were clearly intended to be read to a lay audience in a secular setting. *Handlyng Synne* similarly attests to the use of these tales in communal readings.

Exempla frequently asserted their function as illustrations of specific moral points articulated in different narrative forms: simple anecdotes, fables, legends and tales from classical antiquity, saints' lives or the Bible. In order to convey authority to the tale's moral proof, it was crucial to establish the veracity of the source; hence the frequent references to various revered authorities. Mannyng claims that his tales have been collected from written sources – such as the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, the *Vitae Patrum,* and Bede's *Historia* – or have been corroborated by witnesses if they are 'merueylys' [supernatural].[47] The miraculous themes of so many medieval *exempla* reflected writers' attempts to see patterns in events to support the belief that providence ordered earthly rewards and punishments. Miracles were viewed as a sign to humanity of divine intervention and they might also provide an explanation of the anomalies of the world. Miri Rubin summarises the usefulness of miraculous *exempla* in preaching:

> More popular interpretations saw miracles as instrumental occurrences, as weapons against adversaries…a eucharistic miracle tale was not only a story about the host, it was a manifestation of just how regular and reliable [divine] intervention was. [48]

For the clerical writer, the miracle tale thus tapped into a rich vein of instructional material: the potency of divine grace or, alternatively, of divine retribution; the immanence of God and human relations with the deity. The widespread enthusiasm for the miraculous was not, however, entirely shared by ecclesiastical authorities, who recognised the dangers of association with the marvellous beyond what was required by time-honoured doctrine and teaching. By the early-thirteenth century the papacy had issued directives to distance the Church from the endorsement of miracles and greater emphasis was placed on guaranteeing that an event had taken place.[49] It was,

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[47] Mannyng frequently introduces supernatural material into his *exempla*, e.g. one tale of a witch (not in the *Manuel*): 'The Tale of the Witch and the Cow-Sucking Bag' (ll.501-62); 6 devil-tales and several tales with allusions to demon-figures. For a list of Mannyng's 'original' material, see Kemmler, *Exempla in Context*, p.137.

[48] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 112-3.

[49] See, for instance, the changing emphases of canonisation. The bull of Innocent III in 1200 required greater papal direction in each case considered and demanded piety and good works to be allied with miracle working e.g. the speedy canonisation of St Elizabeth of Hungary (d.1231) on 1 July 1235. Gabor Klaniczay describes how Elizabeth's process was one of the first to be produced in written form,

thus, essential for the medieval writer to cite the source of miraculous *exempla* in order to authenticate the credibility and accuracy of his narratives.

Exempla embodied the Latin tradition of using narratives as illustrations of moral problems and many had been in currency for a long period. The inclusion of these tales in a vernacular commentary thus linked a medieval text with the gravitas of the past and reinforced the authority of new forms of vernacular writing, as Larry Scanlon explains:

> The congruence between narrative discourse and moral authority the *exemplum* asserts is precisely what enabled it to transmit previous forms of authority to this new vernacular tradition. [50]

The function of the vernacular *exemplum* goes beyond the illustration of moral truth. By linking the text with the authority of tradition, it contributes to the establishment of a newly-authorised and confident literary culture. Mannyng exploits this function of the *exemplum* in his assertion of the shared cultural heritage that unites the medieval writer and the community he addresses.

Baptism and *Confirmation*: *Bad Midwife* and *Bad Godfather*

Mannyng employs the English form 'chrystendom or crystenynge' (l.9503) for baptism: 'þat ys on englys oure spekyng' (l. 9504) [that is how we say it in English] and its necessity for salvation (l. 9508).[51] He expounds the traditional view that man has been redeemed from the sin of Adam by Christ's sacrifice. Jews may be saved only through baptism into the Catholic faith (ll. 9519-34)[52] and, similarly, children who are not baptised may not enter heaven (l. 9565 ff.). Baptism brings another benefit:

> Hyt makþ þe fre þat er were þral
> Fro þe fendes seruage al,
> Þat þe þar neure þe fend drede
> But hyt be þurgh þyn owne mysdede. (ll. 9561-4)

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using evidence given by over 700 witnesses, including Elizabeth's maidservants, who describe her childhood in domestic, not miraculous, detail; Gabor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, trans. Eva Palmai, Cambridge, 2002, p. 210-1.

[50] Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power*, p. 5.

[51] Mannyng frequently translates French words e.g. 'sacrylege'/ 'misdeed' (ll. 8598-602), implying that his audience needs translation but also reinforcing the alterity of French speakers.

[52] Jews had been expelled in 1290 from Lincoln and so were part of the audience's collective memory.

[It frees you from all your enslavement to the devil so that you need never fear the devil again except as a result of your own wrong-doing]

Fear surrounds the new-born child and Mannyng states that the sacrament provides a *cordon sanitaire* around the infant to protect it against the devil – an idea which promotes the benefits of baptism. [53] In *Confirmation*, he adds that children who are not confirmed suffer day and night from bad dreams about the Devil (ll. 9855-60). Here Mannyng employs a trope based on folk belief which has no religious authority but this does not prevent him advising parents: 'Ne to wycchecraft lyste ne loute'. (l. 9582) [Do not listen to or obey witchcraft]. Later in the section his warning against superstitious practices will develop into an attack on heresy.

Mannyng insists that the laity should be familiar with the forms of lay baptism, 'þe poyntes of bapteme' (l. 9600), in order to administer the sacrament to a child, if the need arose. The absolute requirement of baptism as a condition for salvation must have presented an unpalatable doctrine to parents of sick children. Their fears about the fate of an unbaptised child were not fully allayed by recently-developed models of the after-life.[54] The concession that lay baptism might be administered in cases of emergency highlighted the importance of instruction, as Bishop Quivil had insisted. Mannyng concentrates on the correct form of words to be used, a doctrinal imperative since it completes sacramental purification. He gives the customary warning that priests should teach midwives the words: 'Y crysten þe in þe name of þe fader & sone & hely gast' (l. 9610) and reminds midwives of the necessity for water. Priests should not only instruct midwives, they must also test their knowledge. Mannyng also warns of problems should a parent try to 'crystene a child twys' (l. 9686).

To illustrate how lay baptism can go awry, Mannyng introduces the minatory tale of the *Bad Midwife*, which is unique to *Handlyng Synne* (ll. 9627-56).[55] This simple anecdote is introduced briefly: 'Y shal ȝow telle of a mydwyff' – it might well have

[53] From a very early date baptism was believed to be a potent tool to keep the Devil at bay: J.B. Russell, *Satan: the Early Christian Tradition*, Ithaca; London, 1981, pp. 76,103,143 and *passim*.
[54] The idea of the three locations of heaven, hell and purgatory had developed between 1170 and 1220: see Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du purgatoire*, Paris, 1981, and *passim.* In addition, the system of defining the after-life was expanded to include one place of limbo for the Fathers of the Church, and a separate limbo for unbaptized children; see Jacques Le Goff, 'Les limbes', *Nouvelle revue de psychanalyse*, 34 (1986): 151-73.
[55] Tubach, *Index exemplorum*, No. 3282, p. 255. Tubach's single citation of *Handlyng Synne* is surprising since baptism is a common topic in lay instruction.

happened, Mannyng implies, and needs no authorising source. A midwife 'lost a child boþe soule & lyff' (l. 9628) [lost a child's soul and [everlasting] life] because she failed to use the correct form of words for baptism. Despite her priest's frequent reminders, she baptised the child in the name of 'god & seynt Ioun' (l. 9635). The parents brought the child for burial in the churchyard, as if he had been christened, but the priest stopped them and questioned the midwife about her words and actions in administering the sacrament. When she told him that everyone had heard her complete the baptism with the words: 'god almyghty & seynt Ioun', the priest made the mocking retort: 'god & seynt Iame / ȝyue þe boþe sorrowe & shame' (ll. 9649- 50) [May God and St James bring both sorrow and shame on you] and he barred her from attending future births. [56]

The moral of the anecdote is explicit: lay baptism must be administered correctly, or a soul will be lost. Yet both the priest and the midwife may be guilty of a fault. Is Mannyng criticising the priest for not having tested the midwife sufficiently? The priest is unsympathetic: inquisitorial, mocking, censuring the midwife and all who attended the birth, declaring the invalidity of the sacrament and giving no succour to the bereaved parents. Whilst his judgement is consistent with theological belief, he may evoke audience sympathy for the midwife and parents, thereby encouraging the listener to identify with the lay protagonists and to hesitate over the question of the midwife's guilt. Did she commit a crime, or is she merely foolish? Does she deserve summary dismissal? The listener's sympathy for the midwife begins to break down, however, as Mannyng moves the *exemplum* from the framework of lay baptism to the wider question of heresy (from l. 9663). The moral of the tale appears, initially, to be predicated on the midwife's disregard of instruction, but Mannyng now categorises her real crime: disobedience of God's law and defiance in public when challenged.[57] She is not a foolish innocent but a woman who wilfully attempts to extend the

[56] According to D.W. Robertson the medieval audience would appreciate the satire of such inversions and reversals of Christian doctrine. They would also find humour in the gap between the way things are in the text and the way things should be and appreciate the criticism implied: D.W. Robertson, *Preface to Chaucer*, p. 487.

[57] Robert Grosseteste defined heresy as: 'Haeresis est sententia humano sensu electa, scripturae sacrae contraria, palam edocta, pertinaciter defensa' [heresy is an opinion chosen by human perception, contrary to Holy Scripture, publicly avowed and obstinately defended]; quoted in Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. Luard, Vol. 5, London, 1880, p.400.

boundaries of Christian faith beyond what doctrine allows.[58] Mannyng insists on the importance of accurate wording in lay baptism but he is still concerned with the issue of heterodox thought and superstitious beliefs surrounding childhood, which he has already touched on. He follows the *exemplum* with discussion of another superstition about childbirth (ll. 9663-78), dismissing the idea of the 'shapperes' of a child's destiny: [59]

> Þe beleue ys fader & sone & hely gast:
> Al ouþre beleue ys wykked & wast. (ll. 9667-8)
> …And ouþre shapperes ne are noght.
> God ys shapper of al þyng. (ll. 9670-1)

[[Christian] belief is in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: any other belief is wicked and useless... there is no such thing as other shapers [of fate]. God is the shaper of everything].

Mannyng condemns the custom of leaving gifts of food for the 'shapers' (l. 9675) and insists that lay superstition must not be introduced into sacramental rites.[60] On the other hand and as already noted, he apparently finds no inconsistency between his own reference to superstitious beliefs, such as the protection of confirmation against nightmares, and his criticism of the same practice by others. The duality in Mannyng's attitude towards superstition is puzzling – although, it has been suggested, Mannyng may be attempting to popularise his work by acknowledging that such ideas are rife, without necessarily subscribing to them himself. Nancy Mason Bradbury rightly dismisses such a proposition as merely 'sugar-coating the doctrinal pill' and she concurs with Aaron Gurevich's argument:

> that for persuasive purposes, clerical discourse must momentarily entertain the opposing world view held by the unofficial culture. In this way, it seeks to engage its opposition in an activity more like the ancient ideal of dialectic than it is like the simpler and more superficial accommodations to one's audience recommended by the rhetorical handbooks and preaching manuals available in the Middle Ages.[61]

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[58] Because of possible involvement with contraception, abortion and infanticide, midwifery was believed to overlap with witchcraft. 'Many of the accusations levelled against witches centered on the skills and functions of midwives': Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman born: Representations of Caesarean Birth in Medieval and Renaissance Culture*, Ithaca NY, 1990, p.113.

[59] The 'parcae' of Antiquity and the 'weird' sisters (of 'destiny). See, for instance, the three witches (not sisters) in *Macbeth* and tales of fairy godmothers.

[60] The practice was common throughout Europe; see: Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*, Toronto, 2005 (esp. pp. 76-7 and 167).

[61] Nancy Mason Bradbury, 'Popular-Festive Forms and Beliefs in Mannyng's *Handlying Synne*' in *Bakhtin and Medieval Voices*, ed. Thomas J. Farrell, Gainesville, 1995, pp. 158-179 (p. 162).

Mannyng thus challenges his audience to enter a dialogic debate about superstitious practices in which they have possibly indulged, regarding them as harmless.[62] He provokes reaction by his implicit suggestion that superstitions are so banal that he himself uses them in his commentary. The *exemplum*, too, is unclear and his audience must consider the different ideas presented in order to understand that all superstition is dangerous since the border between heterodoxy and heresy is so easily breached. The tensions that accompany childbirth lead to practices and beliefs which Mannyng decries as 'wykked heresye' (l. 9678), which is at the heart of his exemplum. The *Bad Midwife* is, ostensibly, an illustration of the disastrous outcome of incorrect procedure at lay baptism but it is incorporated into Mannyng's wider condemnation of practices of superstition and heresy.

Mannyng impresses on godparents that they have a duty to ensure the instruction of children in basic religious beliefs, such as the *Pater Noster* and the Creed (l. 9707). This is followed by the tale of the *Bad Godfather* (ll. 9709-90), which does not develop the theme of duty but deals, instead, with the misconduct of a godfather.[63] The man's goddaughter is growing up, 'to wommannes elde' (l. 9730), and her parents agree that she may stay with him for Easter Day. The effect of drink, a frequent theme of *Handlyng Synne*, leads him to sin with the girl and in the morning he regrets his actions:

> Þys man on þe morne þoghte
> How sinfully þat he had wroghte,
> Ful gret þoght þan was he ynne
> Þat he had do so greuus a synne.
> Twey þoghtes yn hys herte come:
> To go to þe cherche or byde at home.
> "Ȝyf y vnto þe cherche ȝede,
> Of veniaunce y haue do gret drede
> And ȝyf y nat þyder go
> Men wyl wene y haue do sum wo".
> So algate vnto þe cherche he name.

[62] 'Practitioners and participants had to become aware of the limits of magic': Aaron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception*, trans. Janos M. Bak and Paul A. Hollingsworth, Cambridge, 1988, p. 97.

[63] See Tubach, *Index Exemplorum*, no. 2333, p. 186. Mannyng cites the authority of Pope Gregory (l. 9725). See *The Dialogues of St Gregory, surnamed the Great: Pope of Rome and the First of that Name*, re-ed. Edmund G. Gardner, London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911, Book 4, Chap. 32, p. 216; and *Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues*, ed. and trans. Odo John Zimmerman, Washington, D.C., 1977, Book 4, No. 33, p. 230. For the background of the *Dialogues*, see Joan M. Petersen, *The Dialogues of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background*, Toronto, 1984. A version of the tale is found in the *Manuel des péchés* in Furnivall's *Handlyng Synne*, pp. 304-5, ll. 7161-208.

He dred nat god but more shame. (ll. 9741-52)
[In the morning this man thought of how sinfully he had acted. He then thought deeply about the grievous crime he had committed. Two thoughts came into his heart: whether to go to church or stay at home. "If I go to church, I am most afraid of [God's] vengeance. And if I do not go there, people will know that I have done something wrong." Anyway, he went into church. He feared God less than shame.]

The godfather acknowledges his sin in an internal dialogue which invites the listener to understand the logic guiding his actions. Despite the gravity of his sin, the protagonist is particularly concerned about the possible shame he might suffer in the parish. Mannyng's central thesis has thus developed from the sanctity of baptismal affinity and the crime of incest into new areas of sin: hypocrisy and disrespect for God.[64] The godfather goes to church every day during the following week and his fears are put to the test. The first day he awaits the reaction of his fellow parishioners – will he be damned as a 'sumwhore' (l. 9754) [lecherous man]? The next day he wonders when the devil will carry him off. All week long he remains fearful of the 'werldes shame' (l. 9757) and it does him little good to be in church.[65] The gradual realisation that he is experiencing no retribution encourages the sinner to believe that God has either forgotten his sin (l. 9764) or that God has forgiven him and he need do no penance for the wrong he has done. However, God has not forgotten the man's sin and on the seventh day he dies. This is followed by the self-combustion of the body 'ful stynkyng' (l. 9776) and the conflagration of all the earth around, including the stones.

God's vengeance is 'for þat trespas' (l. 9774) [for that sin], although the nature of the sin is no longer clear since the *exemplum* has developed as the locus of many sins and wrongdoings, both spiritual and temporal. The tale claims to treat the specific sin of incest, but the narrative focus has moved to the sinner's worldly pride and his disrespect for God, since he creates a further sin by avoiding confession. This volatility may compromise the original moral purpose. Mannyng may be implying

[64] Mark Miller reaches a similar conclusion about the *Dancers of Colbeck* : 'Our sense of what the narrative is about, and so of what the sin or sins relevant to it as a piece of instruction might be, keeps getting overturned'; Miller, 'Displaced Souls': 611.
[65] *Handlyng Synne* refers to him simply as a man who once 'hefe' (l. 9727) [lifted] the child at the font. This would indicate that he was godfather but may also mean 'baptise' of a priest. The *Dialogues* call him 'curialis', a cleric in an ecclesiastical court and translated by Furnivall as the 'bad bourgeois'. The sinner's regular attendance at church might suggest that he is a priest going about his work, as Arnould suggests, *Manuel*, p.167, No. 49. This might seem excessive attendance for a layman, although it would made sense if he were testing divine reaction. The number seven reflects, too, the Seven Vices.

that sin does not occur as a single entity but one sin leads to another and is thus always fused with other sins; the audience must unravel the complex model of sin he has shaped in order to extract a moral lesson. This is, perhaps, one of the senses of Mannyng's phrase of 'handlyng' sin: learning to distinguish and separate one sin from another. The listener participates in the performance of sin as a textual experience; whilst remaining guiltless, he benefits from a process of penitential exercise in which sin is realised vicariously.

An even greater challenge for the audience is Mannyng's empathetic portrayal of the sinner. We are in no doubt about the seriousness of the godfather's sin but our initial disapproval fades as the narrative of his apparent escape from justice unfolds. The listener is drawn into the perceptual framework of the sinner's mind through a reasoned and carefully constructed monologue:

> Þys þoghte he yn hys herte ful raþe,
> For he had þarfore no skaþe:
> He wende god had hyt forgete,
> As ouþre men do þat haue forlete,
> Or þoghte þat he had hyt forȝyue
> And hym neded nat þer of be shryue.
> Ne shuld þer of come no myschaunce
> For he was of so long suffraunce. (ll. 9761-8) [66]

[This is what he was thinking eagerly in his heart: because he had suffered no ill by his action, he thought that God had forgotten it, as other men do when they overlook something, or, he reasoned, God had forgiven his sin and that he need not be shriven for it. Nor should any further harm come of it because he had suffered so long.]

The godfather's judgement of the situation is set out in the first couplet: he realises that God's vengeance has not descended upon him. The sinner's voice is then reaffirmed in indirect speech after the verbs 'þoghte' and 'wende' and, we may assume, the listener accepts the sinner's hopeful assessment of the situation. In the fourth couplet, however, indirect speech changes to direct speech as the internal thoughts of the sinner transmute into a statement of fact: 'Ne shuld þer of come no myschaunce'. The audience has been manipulated into accepting this as an objective justification of the sinner's right to go unpunished; it gives credibility to the sinner's thoughts – he has suffered enough. Yet the very next moment, the bond between the

[66] The introspection of Mannyng's sinner is quite unlike the sinner described in the simple narrative of the *Dialogues*. See Zimmerman, *Dialogues* p. 230, no. 33.

audience and sinner is dramatically broken by the irruption of the authorial voice, contradicting the godfather's fond hope:

> But god þat forȝeteþ no þyng,
> He sente þar fore gret heuenyg. (ll. 9769-70)

[but God forgets nothing, he therefore exacted great vengeance]

Mannyng's intention to deliver moral instruction is exposed to the narrative imperative of engaging the audience in a relationship with the protagonist and this undermines the instructional theme. The audience must engage in dialogic debate with the voices of the narrator, the sinner and the omniscient author (speaking on behalf of God), which intermingle, merge or challenge each other. An apparently simple tale designed to enlighten proves to be difficult and opaque.

Mannyng's brief section *Confirmation* is expounded principally through the image of a charter. The sacrament confirms baptism just as a legal document represents perpetual ownership when a house or land is sold (ll. 9801-3). Mannyng discusses the rights of charters bestowed by a lord or the king whom he compares to the bishop performing the sacrament (ll. 9805-28). The use of legal language and forms in sacramental exposition appears curious but is found in numerous texts such as the Middle English *Charter of Christ* (from c. 1330).[67] Many people were familiar with legal documents and the charter had replaced symbolic objects like knives.[68] Mannyng thus uses a contemporary metaphor to expound the sacrament; he is not necessarily exhibiting his legal knowledge of land transactions. *Confirmation* also emphasises the complications that may arise from the rules of affinity (ll. 9869-90) and parents are advised not to sponsor their own child.[69]

Eucharist: *Jumna and Tumna*

Mannyng's section on the eucharist is long (nearly one thousand lines) and reflects the importance of the sacrament in his instruction. Like other clerics, Mannyng faced

[67] Discussed by Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 306-8. For other examples, see Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction', pp. 2343-4 (manuscript references, pp. 2548-9). Emily Steiner argues that the articulation of legal concepts and expressions is an authorising model for poetic works; Emily Steiner, *Documentary Culture and the Making of Medieval English Literature*, Cambridge, 2003, esp. pp. 21-8.
[68] See Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp. 37-43. The increasing use of documents is detailed in the following chapter, 'The Proliferation of Documents', pp. 44-80.
[69] See Shoreham, *De septem sacramentis*, l.1905.

the enormous challenge of expounding the doctrine of transubstantiation to lay people who may have been repelled by the concept of consuming Christ's flesh or, alternatively, did not accept that a miracle had taken place since it was inconsistent with the evidence of their own eyes. Mannyng begins the section with a prayer for forgiveness for his sins before he undertakes his instruction: 'For3yue me to day, lord, my synne' (l. 9903) [Forgive me my sin today, O Lord]. He is careful to present himself as shriven, unlike the sinful priest he later depicts at mass:

> An hunder fold he synneþ more
> Þan 3yf he a lewed man wore. (ll. 10157-8)

[His sin is a hundred times worse than if he were a lay man]

Mannyng bases his description of the eucharist on the omnipotence of God which is acknowledged by both Jews and Christians (l. 9970).[70] God is thus able:

> For to change þe lyknes
> Yn to a nouþer þyng þat es:
> Þe lyknes of brede & wyne,
> Yn flesshe & blod to turne hyt ynne.
> Hys flesshe, hys blod, þe brede be broght,
> Syn he made al byfore of noght. (ll. 9977-82)

[To change what looks like one thing into another; to turn what looks like bread and wine into flesh and blood. The bread is transformed into his flesh and his blood, since he made everything originally from nothing]

Man requires faith, not sensory proof of this transformation:

> Ȝyf þou se hyt nat wyþ bodily syght,
> Þy soule wyþ ynne shal beleue hyt ryght.
> And 3yf þou fele no sauour,
> But rightly wyne & brede of flour,
> Þat ys þe wisdom of goddes ordynaunce. (ll. 9983-7)

[If you do not see it with your eyesight, your inner soul will believe in it. And if you do not taste any flavour except that of wine and wheaten bread, that is because of the wisdom of God's command]

Mannyng reassures the audience that the host tastes like bread as:

> For 3yf hyt fyl as flesshe to take,
> Wlate we shuld and hyt forsake. (ll. 9989-90)

[If it tasted like flesh, we would be disgusted and refuse to eat it]

[70] One of several examples of 'the fundamental 'supporting' role of the idea of Judaism inherent in medieval Christian culture': Anthony Bale, 'The Fiction of Judaism in England before 1290' in *The Jews in Medieval Britain: Historical, Literary, and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Patricia Skinner, Woodbridge, 2003, pp. 129-44 (p.144). See, too, Robert the Chaplain's use of Old Testament citation to reinforce New Testament discourse.

Mannyng admits that neither his reader's 'syghte' nor 'felying' can help him to understand this mystery, only 'stedfast beleue' (ll.10000). This is demonstrated in an *exemplum* taken from the *Vitae Patrum* and often cited in medieval texts. A man, who does not believe that the eucharist is truly Christ's body, is served with the body and blood of a child prepared by an angel. The horror and disgust felt by the man makes him call out: 'Mercy, goddess sone of heuene' (l. 10070) [Mercy, O heavenly son of God]. When he promises to believe that Christ is truly present in the eucharist, the body turns back into bread.

Mannyng is not the only medieval writer to be troubled by the repeated sacrifice of Christ's body at the altar.[71] Exposition is unsatisfactory and all writers fall back on an insistence on faith. Jennifer Garrison has commented on the contradiction between the emphasis of medieval theologians on the real presence of Christ in the consecrated host and their insistence that his presence had to be perceived through a form of mediation.[72] The inadequacy of exposition may have distanced laymen intellectually from the sacrament which they were unable to understand, just as they were physically excluded from participation at the altar. Garrison argues that Mannyng used eucharistic theology to examine the religious practices of lay people who were constantly reminded that they did not have direct access to God. Their contact with the divine was restricted to the sight of the bread and wine, and the taste of the mystical consumption of the host. As a result, the recognition of the barriers dividing God and the individual believer provided an indispensable spiritual experience precisely because the eucharist failed to fulfil the promise of complete connection with the suffering of Christ. Garrison argues persuasively that:

> for Mannyng, the fleeting union with Christ that the Eucharist offers believers simultaneously demands that they seek a deeper devotion through recognition of their own distance from the divine.[73]

What Garrison terms 'lay desire for the sacrificial body' was undoubtedly a potent force in the religious sensibility of the period. To prevent idolatrous adoration of the unconsecrated host, early-thirteenth century decrees stated that the host was to remain

[71] For instance, Shoreham comes to the same conclusion: 'For 3ef he schewed hym in flesch, / Oþer ine blody þynge, / Hydous hy3t were to þe sy3te, /And to þe tast wlatyng/ And pyne. (*De septem sacramentis*, ll. 694-8) [For if he showed himself in the actual flesh or in blood, it would be hideous to the sight and loathsome and disgusting to the taste].
[72] Garrison, 'Mediated Piety': 895.
[73] Ibid.

hidden until consecration and elevation for worship by the congregation.[74] *Eucharist* may indicate a shift of lay emphasis from the function of the host in sacramental processes to its role as the object of devotional practice. Mannyng's unease in expounding the sacrament contrasts with his fluent account of the seven symbolic properties of the host (ll. 10089-150).[75] The sequence of conceits on the intrinsic nature of the wheaten host presents each quality in opposition to a particular sin and serves as a mnemonic to reinforce knowledge of the Seven Deadly Sins. For instance, the host is 'a lytyl þyng to se' (l.10092) [looks like a small object] and man should try to emulate its meekness in the struggle against the sin of pride; no sourdough should be used since it brings envy into the sacrament; wheat has no prickles:

> A vertu also yn whete ys
> Þat ys moche aȝens sloghnes,
> For whete cornes wyl nat prykke
> As otes or barlykke.
> Ne we shuld nat haue any prykyl
> Of ydelnes ouer mykyl. (ll. 10115-20) [76]

[There is another good property in wheat, which greatly counters sloth, for wheat is without a prickle, unlike oats or barley. And we should not have the prickle of overly great idleness]

Unlike the distance sacramental transformation creates between the host and the laity, Mannyng emphasises the accessibility of the bread, its physical reality – the smoothness and ingredients which are evident to the layman. A man needs faith to believe the eucharistic transformation, but he witnesses the properties of the bread for himself and can apply the imagery to his own experience. The familiarity of the properties indicates an intimate relationship between host and laity and may suggest the importance of the host's secondary role as the object of personal devotion and piety.[77] If, as Jennifer Garrison argues, the laity recognised that human union with the

[74] See Quivil's instruction; Chapter 1, p. 35. Between 1300 and 1400 the pyx (not monstrance), often made with glass, came into use to carry the host which could now be seen by the laity. See chapter 'The Exposition of the Relics and of the Eucharist' in G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist*, Leiden, 1995, esp. p. 289.

[75] The properties of the host are also very briefly described in the *Manuel* in two Latin lines, see Furnivall, *Handlynge Synne*, p. 316: 'Candida, triticea, tenuis, non magna, rotunda/ Expers fermenti, non mixta, sit hostia Christi' (ll. 7473-4) [White, wheaten, thin, not large, and round / without leaven, not mixed with anything, so should the host of Christ be]. Siegfried Wenzel also quotes a similar, concise fifteenth-century version of the properties in Latin and English: *Verses in Sermons*, p.182 (English) and p.183 (Latin).

[76] See my later comments on Sloth, pp. 174-6.

[77] 'By the beginning of the thirteenth century the notion of visiting the place of eucharistic reservation and praying there had made its debut': N.M. Mitchell, *Cult and Controversy: the Worship of the*

body of Christ is 'fleeting', *Handlyng Synne* may offer and promote the consolation of devotional practices.

Nonetheless, the power of the eucharist is pre-eminent. Through prayer it benefits the souls of the dead, as Mannyng demonstrates in the tale of the man from Sudbury (ll. 10405-500). The dead man visited his widow from purgatory and asked for masses to be said for his soul. Accordingly she had him commemorated in the common prayer for the dead. The deceased returned a second time, asking for individual prayers to be said for him by a man of holy life. His widow complied and hired a friar renowned for his saintliness. On a third visit the dead husband told his wife that he was now blessed with eternal joy. Mannyng insists on the fitness of the priest to celebrate the mass – as he does elsewhere in *Handlyng Synne* – but, like other writers, he may recognise that not all lay folk have the means to pay for individual commemoration. Later religious movements would question the usefulness of prayers for the dead and reject the concept of indulgences, considering the dead to be beyond the reach of human assistance.[78] Mannyng now asserts the benefits the eucharist brings to the living:

> Nat only for soules ys he herd
> But also for vs here yn þe werld. (ll. 10515-6)

[(The priest) not only speaks to aid the souls (of the dead) but also to aid us who are still on earth]

Eucharistic prayers can, then, effect miracles here on earth as demonstrated in the tale of the 'feyr miracle' (ll.10526) of two brothers, *Jumna and Tumna*.[79] The basic narrative has a long history: Gregory's *Dialogues*, for instance, recount the miraculous release of a captive from his chains whenever his wife had mass offered for him.[80] An extended version is found in Bede's tale of *Imma and Tunna*, on which Robert Mannyng bases his *exemplum*.[81] Nicholas Bozon also treats the theme in a short *conte*:

Eucharist outside Mass, New York, 1982, p.166. See, too, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: the Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, Berkeley, 1988, for forms of devotion to the consecrated host. Bynum describes the practice of burning candles or lamps before the host which was treated in the same way as a relic (p. 255).

[78] See, for instance, Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 309-10.

[79] Tubach, no. 926, p.75: 'Chains loosened by Virgin'. The Virgin does not always act as intercessor in later versions.

[80] See Gardner ed., *The Dialogues of St Gregory*, Bk. IV, Chap. 57, pp. 253-5, and Zimmerman, *Dialogues,* No. 59, p. 270.

[81] See Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, eds. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford, 1979, Book IV, Chap. XXII, p. 401. Mannyng's narrative borrows heavily from Bede's work.

> There was once a knight called Sir Yomi, who was captured in battle by his enemies, and he was imprisoned and chained up. But no shackle could hold him for long, as every day at the third hour his guard found him unfettered and, no matter how often he was tied up again, he was always unfettered again at that hour. The knight himself was amazed at this, as was everyone who saw it. At last it was discovered that he had a brother in an abbey, who believed that his brother had died in battle and so every day at the third hour he said a mass for the soul of his brother. Thus, this sacrament has the same bond with the body in this life, as mass does with the soul in the next life. [82]

In contrast to Bozon's simple account, Mannyng's *Jumna and Tumna* is long (ll.10523-10714) and follows Bede's detailed, historical narrative.[83] The *exemplum* is set in seventh-century England which was divided into several kingdoms and where fighting was endemic (ll.10528-9). A battle took place near the River Trent *[679 AD]* between two kings; one was Ecgfrith *[645-85, ruled 670-85]* of Northumbria who married *[660]* St Audrey *[or Etheldreda]* of Ely *[636-79]* (ll.10531-6). Ecgfrith's brother Elfwyn was killed in the battle (ll.10537-8) and one of his knights, Jumna, was taken prisoner by an earl in the army of Ecgfrith's opponent, King Aethelred of Mercia *[brother-in-law of Ecgfrith, ruled 675-704]* (ll.10554). Jumna told the earl that he was a poor man whose job was to take victuals to the army; his only wish was to return home to his wife. At this point the text turns from the narrative to a general discussion of the regionalism of the early kingdoms, the variety of religions, both Christian and pagan, and the wars and hardship that ensued:

> Þat tyme were here many thedes,
> Many vsages yn many ledes….
> And ofte was boþe werre & wo. (ll. 10571-2; 10578)

[At that time there were many realms, many religions and many races… and there was often warfare and suffering]

Mannyng also points out that captives might be sold or enslaved:

> Ȝyf any king myghte of ouþres men take,

Handlyng Synne also recounts the life of St Fursey (ll. 2473-2630) taken from *Ecclesiastical History*, Book III, Chap XIX, pp. 269-277.

[82] *Les contes moralisés*, No. 81b, p.10: 'Un chivaler estoit jadis qe fust appellé sir Yomi, e fust pris en bataille de ses enemys, e fust mys en prison e trop chargé de fer, mes nul lien lui pout tenir longement, qar chescun jour a houre de tierce, son gardeyn lui trova desliee, e ja tant sovent ne fust reliee qe a cele houre ne fust desliee. De ceo se merveilla mout le chivaler mesmes e touz les autres qe ceo vierent. Au dreyn fust trovee qe il avoyt un frere en un abbé qe quidoit qe son frere fust mort en bataille ; si chanta chescun jour a houre de tierce un messe pur la alme son frere. Dont ceste sacrament monstra al cors en ceste vie quel lien la messe tient al alme en l'autre vie'.

[83] Mannyng refers to Bede, ll. 10524, 10542, 10546 and 10711. I have added historical details in bracketed italics.

He shuld hem selle on yn seruage make (ll. 10579-80) [84]
[If any king happened to capture other lords' men, he would sell them into slavery]

Mannyng's narrative resumes: Jumna was bound up at night to prevent escape but his fetters always broke. This was due to the intervention of his brother, Tumna, a priest and abbot of a Northumbrian town, Tuncestre, named in his honour (ll.10594-6).[85] Tumna had visited the battlefield near the River Trent and found a corpse that he believed to be his brother. Every time he said masses for Jumna's soul, the prisoner's fetters broke: 'Hys broþer had þe godenes of hys song' (l.10606) [His brother had the benefit of his intoning [mass]]. Hearing of the miraculous occurrence, the earl sent for Jumna and addressed him as 'bele amye' (l. 10621).[86] Jumna denied the earl's accusation of sorcery and explained that his brother was interceding on his behalf. He claimed that the power of the eucharist would have saved him from hell, had he died in battle. The earl now understood that 'he was no cherle' (l. 10646) and asked his real status in life, promising to do him no harm. Jumna admitted that he had fought on the side of King Ecgfrith. The earl spared his life although, had he known his true identity, he would have killed Jumna in revenge for his relatives' deaths in battle. Jumna was then sold:

At londoun to a frysoun.
A frysoun, ȝe shul vndyrstande,
To a marchaund of fryslande. (ll. 10670-2) [87]
[In London, to a Frisian. By Frisian, you should understand, a merchant from Friesland.]

Because he could not be fettered, the merchant set Jumna free on condition that he redeemed the money the merchant had paid for him. Jumna then travelled to the court

[84] David Pelteret describes early trade in slaves between the British Isles and continental Europe. Evidence shows there was a Frisian colony in mid-eighth century York; the Frisians are known to have been middle-men in the trade and may well have engaged in trafficking in men: David Pelteret, 'Slave Raiding and Slave Trading in early England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1980): 99-114 (esp.105). See too: Dirk Jellema, 'Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages', *Speculum*, 30 (1955): 15-36. The best-known tale of this trade is Bede's account of Gregory the Great and Anglian slave boys in the market in Rome; *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, Chap. I, pp. 132-135. Mannyng also relates this tale: *Chronicle* I, ll. 14241-319.
[85] The modern name of the town is unknown.
[86] An anachronistic use of French to greet an elite man, as the earl now supposes Jumna to be.
[87] See Rolf Bremmer Jr., 'Friesland and its inhabitants in Middle English literature' in *Miscellanea Frisica; a new Collection of Frisian Studies,* ed. N. R. Århammar *et al*., Assen, 1984, pp. 357-70. Bremmer claims 'In the eyes of the Christian Englishmen…the Frisians must often have come to be associated with paganism and barbaric behaviour, of which slave-trading is but one example' (p. 359). I disagree with Bremmer's claim that Mannyng merely clarifies the men's Frisian nationality - I suggest it is an attempt to differentiate the barbaric Frisians from the English, and thus promote the illusion of a homogeneous native grouping (despite the division of seventh-century England into warring kingdoms).

of King Hlothhere (Lothair) of Kent *[ruled 673-85, died 685]* who was the son of St Audrey's sister *[St Seaxburga of Ely, died c. 699, had been married to King Eorcenberht of Kent, died 664]* (ll. 10695-7). The king gave Jumna his ransom money which he duly returned to the Frisian. Jumna finally went home to Tumna who learnt how his masses had brought his brother 'out of seruage & out of sorowe' (l. 10710) [out of slavery and sorrow]. Mannyng ends with an acknowledgement to Bede:

> Þys tale telþ vs seynt Bede
> Yn þe gestes of yngland þat we rede. (ll. 10711-2)

[This tale is related by St Bede, as we read in the *Gesta* [History] of England]

Mannyng's *exemplum* is imbued with English history, kings, nobles, knights and holy men of the past. The narrative deals with the protagonist's exploits and the generosity and loyalty of those around him: his brother's continuing thought for his salvation, King Hlothhere's reward to Jumna for services rendered and the repayment of the debt to the Frisian, as the code of honour requires. Like other medieval literary heroes, Jumna is even guilty of guile when he lies in order to avoid death at the hands of the earl - such acts are considered prudent necessities. Mannyng adds to Bede's tale the depiction of England as a divided land, partly pagan and suffering from wars, slavery and barbaric practices - men captured in war, for instance, are routinely slain as a matter of vengeance. The tale does not evoke an Arcadian past. Yet Christianity has been established in many regions and its practices and miracles, like Jumna's, are making their mark. The earl would, in all likelihood, have been a Christian, since he was a courtier of the Christian King Aethelred, but Jumna speaks to him as if he knows little about doctrine. Jumna explains that his bonds have been burst not by witchcraft, but by his brother's intercession; he lectures the earl about the function of the eucharist in aiding the dead:

> For no þyng ha þowere
> Aȝens þe sacrament of þe autere,
> And ȝyf y were ded in ouþer werlde,
> Hys preyer shuld for me be herd
> To brynge me of pyne & wo
> And afterward to blys go. (ll. 10639-44)

[For nothing has power against the sacrament of the altar; and if I were dead and in the next world, his prayer for me would be heard to bring me out of suffering and woe and send me to heavenly bliss]

Jumna's explanation of eucharistic power to the earl suggests that Mannyng's fourteenth-century audience perceived seventh-century England as a country that was only partially Christianized. Mannyng articulates a view of historical progress brought about by the spread of Christianity in a land that had been divided and pagan but was now united and Christian. The past becomes a crucial means by which the audience is invited to develop an ethnic identity. *Handlyng Synne* creates the illusion of a homogeneous present-day community united not only by its language but also by a common history and literary heritage. Whilst the *exemplum* claims to illustrate Mannyng's theme of eucharistic efficacy, his instruction is interwoven with the construct of a collective history, religion, culture and identity set firmly on English soil.

Penance* and *Shrift*: *Secret Sin

Both *Penance* (ll.10819-10950) and *Shrift* (ll.11311-12638) deal with penitential practice and are clearly linked, as Mannyng indicates at the end of *Penance*: 'y shal telle þer of more/ At shryfte whan y come þore' (ll.10957-8) [I shall explain more about it when I come to *Shrift*]. The two sections are separated by *Holy Orders*, *Matrimony* and *Unction*.

In the relatively short *Penance* Mannyng provides two sets of instructions concerning the sacrament; the first addresses the laity, and the second appears to address the priesthood (ll. 10889-950). Laymen must, according to Mannyng, confess their sins openly, without omission and 'wiþ sorowe of herte & wyþ drede' (l.10846); they must carry out the tasks they are set as penance, or else suffer in purgatory (l.10870). The emphasis is on the need for true repentance and the avoidance of sin (ll.10882- 3) – injunctions that are expanded in *Shrift*. Mannyng now addresses priests who are enjoined not to ill-treat their flock; for instance, they should not be like the priest who 'for lytel curseþ hys parysshenes' (l.10890) [curses his parishioners for little reason]. Mannyng defines the pastoral role of the priest in the traditional image of the shepherd who cares for his sheep: when they take the wrong path, the shepherd fears for them and, if the flock does not respond to his cry, he sends his dog to bring them to safety (ll.10905-12). Clerical criticism of the laity should not be indiscriminate: 'Kowardyse hyt ys and foul maystrye/ To þrowe a faucoun at eury flye' (ll.10923-4) [It shows cowardice and poor skill to send a falcon after every single fly]. Mannyng

characterises the priest as exhibiting a single trait – of constant anger and impatience with his parishioners. Such a sustained and generalised criticism is, however, unlikely to encourage reform in the priesthood and might well be dismissed as misrepresentation by hostile clerics in his audience. Mannyng's comments may not, then, address the clergy but the laity, to emphasise that a priest should be patient and understanding in dealing with his congregation's difficulties. *Handlyng Synne* articulates the *topos* of the impatient priest and acknowledges clerical fallibility, but insists that a layman must at all times obey the authority of his priest: 'Be he wykked or be he gode' (l.10931) [whether he is wicked or good], as the laity is consistently reminded in *pastoralia*.

Shrift augments ideas outlined in *Penance* which are particularly relevant to the lay penitent. Mannyng's extensive advice is set out in two highly systematized lists: the first guides the sinner through the requirements he must fulfil; the second informs him of the graces bestowed by shrift. First, the twelve 'poynts' of shrift declare that (ll. 11359-11905):

1. Shrift is to be undertaken with good will (ll.11359-380).
2. Man must not put off shrift (ll. 11381-408).
3. Confession should be made openly and to many priests (ll.11409- 56).
4. Meekness is needed in repentance (ll.11457-90).
5. The penitent must not be ashamed to confess (ll.11491-524).
6. Sorrow of heart or contrition for sins is required (ll.11525-82).
7. Shrift should be made to a wise priest, a 'shryftefader' (ll.11583-618).
8. Man is responsible for his own sin; it is the fault of no other (ll.11619-704).
9. Confession must include only sin committed by the penitent (ll.11705-64).
10. The sinner should confess honestly (ll.11765-84).
11. He must carry out the priest's penance promptly (ll.11785-824).
12. Sin must be confessed in full and nothing kept back (ll.11825-902).

The twenty-first Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council obliged the penitent to confess privately to his parish priest who might, in extraordinary circumstances, permit

confession to be made to another priest.[88] At the same time general forms of confession were still current and public penance was imposed for sins of a social nature.[89] The importance of the annual obligation of private confession is also reiterated by Robert the Chaplain and William of Shoreham and their emphasis may suggest that the fourteenth-century laity still did not comply with Lateran decrees.[90] In the main Mannyng's 'poynts' provide customary instruction – the need for humility and true sorrow is unsurprising, for instance – but they also reveal occasional anomalies and inconsistencies both internally and with accepted practice. Mannyng's third point, in particular, stands out since it appears to promote the practice of multiple confessions – that is the repetition of the same sin, or parts of it, to different confessors. Yet this is contradicted in the seventh point which advises the listeners to choose a single 'shryftefader'. The eighth and ninth points may suggest that the laity adhered to older ideas of communal sin which stressed public confession and penance, rather than fulfilling their obligation to acknowledge and confess sins of a personal nature. Mannyng's commentary demonstrates the evolving emphases in penitential thought and practice at this time and possible discrepancies between doctrine and custom.

Unlike the Chaplain and Shoreham, Mannyng appears to advocate some flexibility in lay confessional practices. In his third point, he encourages the penitent to confess to as many priests as possible, citing the authority of St Augustine:

> Þus seyþ þe clerk, seynt Austyn ,
> Þat was a mayster of deuyn:
> "Ȝyf þou to many prestes atwynne,
> Al holyche wylt shryue þy synne,
> Þou shalt fynde grace & forȝyuenes
> And mede to þe for þy mekenes" (ll.11417-22)

[88] Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 245.
[89] For a thorough study of the subject, see: Mary Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*. P.D. Clarke examines the background to the imposition of papal interdict, punishing both guilty and innocent, and points out that collective guilt is based on the belief that all humans inherited the sin of Adam, as demonstrated in the biblical trope of sons who suffer for the sins of their fathers: P.D. Clarke, 'Peter the Chanter, Innocent III and Theological Views on Collective Guilt and Punishment', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 52 (2001): 1-20 (esp. 3-4).
[90] See Robert the Chaplain, *Corset*, ll. 2192-4: the sinner must not seek 'prestres plusours/ Pur dire a chascune sa partie/De la falture de sa vie [several priests, to tell each just a part of the sins he has committed]; William of Shoreham, *De septem sacramentis*, ll. 906-7: Sin must be confessed to a single priest, not a 'kantel to a prest/And a kantel to an-oþer'[a portion to one priest, and another portion to a different one].

[Thus says the learned St Augustine, who was a master of religion: 'If you go to many priests separately, they will solemnly shrive your sin. You will find grace and forgiveness and reward for your meekness']

It is unlikely that St Augustine gave any such directive about lay confessional practices but Mannyng has provided authority for his statement, which runs counter to the spirit of the Lateran ruling and is, indeed, incongruent with what he writes in his twelfth 'poynt'.[91] Mannyng claims that there are three benefits in confessing to several priests (l. 11423). First, the penitent will learn:

> Of eury prest a lessoun
> To knowe þy saluacyoun. (ll. 11427-8)

[a lesson from every priest to explain your path to salvation]

Second:

> Þe ofter þat þou shewest þy blame,
> Þe more me þynkþ þou hast of shame (ll. 11433-4)

[The more frequently you show your fault, the more, I think, you will feel shame]

Third:

> For þou shalt be yn alle preyeres
> Of alle þe prestes þat þe haue shryue
> As long tyme as euer þey lyue. (ll. 11438-40)

[For you will be remembered in all the prayers of all the priests that have shriven you, for as long as they live]

This suggests that Mannyng is promoting penitential practice in which the sinner confesses to several priests.[92] The second benefit affirms that repetition of 'blame' will deepen the penitent's sense of shame, and it is not unreasonable to understand this as the repetition of the same sin to different confessors. Priests may have shared the secrets of the confessional – evidence attests to such leakage [93] – and realised what was happening. On the other hand, if Mannyng is endorsing the confession of a single sin to a priest from outside the parish, it is a legitimate action, provided the penitent has his own priest's agreement. Yet it is a complicated and unlikely

[91] Confession must be made in full to a single priest (ll.11831-6 and 11885-8).

[92] My thanks to Sarah Hamilton for her consideration of this section of *Shrift* and for her suggestion that Mannyng may be referring to the context of general confessions and general absolutions in several churches, as discussed by Mary Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners: Public Penance in Thirteenth-Century France*, Ithaca; London, 1995, pp. 149-158. If this is so, then Mannyng is apparently promoting public forms of penance.

[93] See: Alexander Murray, 'Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century' in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, with R.J.A.I. Catto and M.H. Keen, Oxford, 1981, pp. 275-322 (pp. 281-6).

arrangement. Mannyng's proposal is, thus, at odds with conventional ruling and even inconsistent with his own instruction. We might assume that this would be recognised by members of his audience although, in all likelihood, they have heard other men make similar statements about their confessional practices.

These inconsistencies are confusing: why does Mannyng endorse a particular practice only to condemn it later? The promotion of benefits that are contrary to accepted belief unsettles the reader or listener. In this contradictory discourse, Mannyng's comments appear to be a series of endorsements of heterodox practices but they are better understood as his possibly playful adoption of the voices of different laymen in a sequence of commonplace vignettes in which lay self-justification contrasts with established rulings. Just as they were earlier invited to reflect on 'superstitious' practices, listeners are now engaged in a discussion of unconventional confessional practices through the conflicting assertions of medieval dialectic. The process requires Mannyng's audience to recognise the irony of his discourse, to consider both sides of the argument and conclude that the excuses given by transgressors may appear sensible and harmless, but risk developing into an apology for heterodox practices.[94] At the same time listeners must question personal motives and acknowledge their own failings and wrongdoings. Dialectic process demands a highly nuanced response from an audience capable of dealing with contradictions and ambiguities in a text which does not always mean what it says. Since Mannyng's vignettes were probably credible to his listeners, the excuses offered were, we conclude, typical of opinions commonly aired by some members of the lay community who resisted Church directives concerning private confession.

Mannyng is clear that not all priests are wise enough to act as confessors (ll.11595-6) and the seventh requirement of *Shrift* states that a penitent needs a 'shryftfader' who should have a high level of learning (ll.11601-2).[95] Mannyng is probably reflecting

[94] This process of subversion of doctrine is also seen in Chaucer's manipulation of religious imagery in *Troilus*, which aims: 'to suggest the values the hero (here, the sinner) inverts and, at the same time, to furnish opportunity for ironic humour': D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives*, London, 1963, p. 487.

[95] Thomas Tentler considers instructions given in manuals requiring penitents to examine the intellectual credentials of confessors. He claims that, by raising the question, writers reflect a moralistic motive – a good priest should be chosen who has greater control over the penitent: Thomas N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession*, pp. 124-5.

the real desire of laymen to choose their own confessor. His advice is perfectly congruent with established practice since he insists the penitent must 'haue hys leue at þe leste'(l.11614) [have his [the priest's] permission at least]. The penitent should feel 'no gylt/ And shryue þe þan where þou wylt' (ll. 11617-8) [no guilt. Receive shrift then wherever you like]. Mannyng's instruction does, however, promote greater flexibility and choice for the lay penitent than was intended by Lateran and episcopal decrees which highlighted the centrality of the parish priest in the sacrament.

Shrift also indicates lay adherence to traditional ideas and forms of penitence that have been superseded by private confession and penance. The eighth and ninth 'poynts' of *Shrift* emphasise the individual's responsibility to account only for his own actions in private confession:

> Þyn owne folye þou shalt seye
> And noun ouþer body bewareye. (ll. 11623-4) [96]

[You will confess your own sins and take no notice of any other man]

Mannyng cites the sins of David to demonstrate that, even if a man has been aided in the sins of lechery, murder or robbery (ll.11635-6), he should not implicate another:

> For ȝyf þou any ouþer man namest,
> Y dar weyl seye þou hym dyffamest. (ll.11641-2)

[For if you name any other man, I dare say that it amounts to slander]

Mannyng's emphasis on personal contrition may reflect an attempt to weaken lay attachment to beliefs and practices which had stressed the function of confession not merely as a spiritual act reconciling man with God – the aim of private penance – but also as a social act, reconciling man with fellow man. Communality of guilt and blame, often associated with conflict and strife amongst neighbours, fostered the concept of sin as endemic in collective activities, as John Bossy suggests:

> The most frequent reason why people failed to fulfil the obligation of annual confession was that they were in a state of hostility with a neighbour, and proposed so to continue…Their behaviour also expressed the positive conviction that sin was a state of offence inhering in communities rather than in individuals.[97]

[96] See, too, Robert the Chaplain's insistence that spouses are not responsible for their partner's sins; *Corset*, ll. 28-9.
[97] John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700*, Oxford, 1985, p. 67.

The older concept of sin as an integral part of communal activity had been reflected in the practice of public penance, which provided a forum for the expression of collective responsibility. Mary Mansfield contrasts the communality of past practice with the isolation of private penance:

> Before the Fourth Lateran, some parishes knew a kind of general confession in which several parishioners confessed together a common list of sins… *Omnis utriusque* stipulated that each Christian had to appear alone, *solus*. The word refers to the loneliness rather than the secrecy of the confrontation.[98]

Private confession insists on individual responsibility as Mannyng affirms: a sinner should not blame God or the devil for leading him astray, nor should he suggest the communality of sin by saying to his confessor: 'A, syre, so synneþ al þe werld' (l.11694) [Oh, sir, all men sin in this way]. The duties of private confession may well have been considered onerous by laymen, who continued to value the practical and secular functions of the older paradigm of penance which ensured social reconciliation and cohesion after conflict. If, as John Bossy suggests, sin and guilt continued to be viewed as a communal, not individual, problem, laymen needed frequent reminding of the importance both of their penitential responsibility to acknowledge their own sins and of the role of the sacrament as a personal conduit to salvation. Mary Mansfield demonstrates how the persistence of a collective form of penance gave rise to the development of a 'separate collective penitential liturgy' for the laity during the thirteenth century.[99] Indeed there are instances of public confession even later: a sermon in Cambridge University Library MS Additional 2829 (post 1447) calls for parishioners to repeat the priest's words which confess various sins, to bow their heads and to receive absolution.[100] Mannyng's promotion of private confessional practices may, therefore, reflect the difficulty of achieving lay compliance with ecclesiastical ruling.

Mannyng concludes the points of *Shrift* with a clear affirmation of established directives for lay confession. The twelfth requirement orders the penitent to be completely frank with his confessor (ll.11826-7) so that 'shryfte al hole shal be' (l.11830) [shrift shall be complete]. Mannyng states that a sin must be confessed in

[98] Mansfield, *The Humiliation of Sinners*, p. 67.
[99] Ibid, p. 247.
[100] O'Mara and Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons*, Vol. 1, pp.1-3.

full to a single priest (l.11831-6) and he later repeats the warning: confession should be made: 'nat by parcelles to prestes atwynne' (l. 11885) [not piecemeal to different priests] since this might lead to the withholding of part of a sin. The commonplace metaphor of five mortal wounds illustrates the danger: there is no point in healing four of the wounds as the fifth, left untreated, is enough to kill the injured man (ll. 11849-52).[101]

There follows a short *exemplum* of a woman who, out of shame, told no priest about a sinful deed (ll. 11853-80).[102] However, one day she decided to confess to a friar and his words of comfort 'made here ryght bolde' (l. 11865), prompting her to confess the sin which the devil had made her conceal. A black bat immediately flew out of her mouth, which was witnessed by the friar who thanked God 'of hys mercye' (l. 11874). Mannyng comments on what has happened:

> Þat yche blak y dar weyl telle,
> Þat hyt was a fend of helle,
> Þat myghte no lenger yn here reste
> Whan þe synne out gan breste. (ll. 11875-8)

[I dare say that the black [bat] was a fiend from hell, which could no longer stay in her when the sin left her bosom]

Sin hides in the form of a devil and is expelled from the sinner only by confession. The writer's explicit claim is that the narrative demonstrates how full confession leads to God's forgiveness.

In *Secret Sin*, as elsewhere, Mannyng projects a menacing depiction of a demon since the Devil could be defeated only by recourse to the protection of Christ, as in baptism.[103] On the other hand, this terror may be controlled in popular literature by representations of foolish demons, easily duped and tricked by humans who display native wit and cunning.[104] Mannyng's narratives also depict demons who are

[101] The same image is found in *Corset*, ll. 2211-4, and clearly links with the Five Wounds of the Passion.
[102] Tubach 1359 (variant), p.109. The *exemplum* is also found in the *Manuel*, Furnivall, *Handlyng Synne*, p. 369-70, ll. 10331-56.
[103] Aaron Gurevich explains: 'Although ecclesiastical authors regularly affirm that the devil is not equal in power to God, their 'latent Manicheanism'…permits the devil and his minions to grow into a frightful threat, an enormous force, lying in wait for man at every step', *Medieval Popular Culture*, p.185. For Gurevich's masterly summary of the topic, see pp.184-95.
[104] Commentators have suggested that demons were frequently depicted as less evil than is generally imagined, or were 'lame-brained'; Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Satan: a Biography*, Cambridge, 2006, p.257. Jeffrey Burton Russell suggests that representations of the Devil became more ridiculous and comic:

frequently comic and fallible, or even benign.[105] Because of the writer's ambivalent and dualistic interpretation of the Devil, miraculous narratives like this *exemplum* run the danger of arousing a range of unexpected emotions in the audience: not fear and terror but the converse, humour and, possibly, scepticism. Mannyng's tale may thus produce reactions which have no connection with the illustration of his moral lesson.

The tale is designed to build on the fear of harbouring an inner demon because of an unshriven sin, and it is likely that many in Mannyng's audience would share this fear, being uncertain whether they had fully confessed every sin. Should they undertake full confession, they might anticipate the harrowing prospect of a bat flying out of their mouth and the narrative might thus rebound on itself and detract from its instructional intent. Furthermore, this tale, like other *exempla*, is set between routine normality and the miraculous. The brief narrative unfolds in a familiar setting with everyday characters but the normality is shattered by the miracle of the bat. Some listeners doubtless believe that the confession of a hitherto secret sin is a frequent occurrence despite the fact that no-one has seen the extraordinary sight of bats flying from penitents' mouths. Sceptics in the group may conclude that the implausibility of the narrative challenges explicit moral instruction.

The second part of *Shrift* (ll.11906 – 12638) itemises eight graces of the sacrament – not the customary twelve. In summary, shrift: gives life to the soul (ll. 11906-44), takes away the punishment of sin (ll. 11945-88), provides unction (ll. 11989-12020), confounds temptation by the devil (ll. 12021-62), fosters the love of God for man (ll. 12063-114), creates joy in heaven and admits the sinner to heaven (ll.12115-56), blinds the devil and prevents him blinding man to his sin (ll. 12157 – 260) and strengthens man through the constant renewal of the property of grace (ll. 12261-96). Mannyng interrupts the list after eight graces since 'long hyt were for to dwelle' (l. 12293) [it would take a long time to go through them]. He now proposes to give his listeners further advice about shrift: 'But touche y wyl two or þre/ Þat ȝe mowe weyl

'perhaps a logical result of reducing his theological significance while increasing the sense of his immediacy'; Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer, the Devil in the Middle* Ages, Ithaca, 1984, p.161.

[105] For instance, the tale of the hermit and the devil who leads a man to church in chains, *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 12171-258. This demon is a figure of fun, bewildered at the disappearance of his victim once he has confessed his sins.

warned be' (ll. 12295-6) [But I will touch on two or three (points) so that you are fully warned] and he reverts to the discourse of his 'poynts' with four injunctions:

I. 'Þat þou falle nat yn wanhope' (ll. 12297-346) [that you do not fall into despair].
II. 'Þat þou excuse nat þy synne' (ll. 12347-418) [that you do not excuse your sin].
III. 'Þat þou make nat þy synne lytel seme' (ll. 12419-88) [that you do not make your sin seem small].
IV. 'Þat þou make no skornyng in shryfte' (ll. 12489-638) [that you make no pretence in shrift].

Much of the material in these four items has already been treated in Mannyng's 'poynts', although the first injunction introduces a new warning against 'wanhope', the despair that may arise from the contemplation of one's sins.[106] Mannyng considers this to be the gravest sin since it angers God more than any other (ll. 12301-2) by its denial of his 'hys myght & mercy both' (l. 12314).[107] In his long section on the fourth Deadly Sin, *Sloth* (ll.4241-5326), Mannyng makes the well-established link between the sin of 'wanhope' and the vice of sloth or *acedia* which derives from the traditional monastic concept of spiritual deficiency:

> Whan a man ys slogh & wyle nat do
> Þat holy cherche techyþ hym vnto,
> Aȝens god he ys froward
> And yn hys synne he wexyþ hard.
> Þan puttyþ þe fend yn hys þoght
> Þat hys synne ys lytyl or noght.
> And whan tyme were mercy kalle,
> Yn wanhope he makþ hym falle (ll. 4515-22)

[When a man is slothful and refuses to do the church's teaching, he is disobedient towards God and he hardens in his sin. Then the devil puts the thought into his head that his sin is small or of no consequence. And when it is time to appeal to God's mercy, the devil makes man fall into despair.]

[106] 'Wanhope' is the theological sin of insufficient faith in God's mercy and leads to the despair that denies the promise of salvation and divine forgiveness. The penitent may yearn for salvation but is unable to confess because he believes that his sinfulness cannot be forgiven.

[107] A frequent subject of medieval discussion. Peter Quivil writes of *accidia* which develops from religious sloth into a general 'tedium vite' [weariness with life]; Powicke, *Councils* II, p.1067. Writers warn of the danger of suicide arising from 'wanhope': 'þane strok dyadlych / and deþ him / into wanhope. þeruore he porchaceþ / his dyaþ / and him-zelue / slaȝþ. [[The devil] gives him a deadly stroke, and throws him into despair. Therefore he seeks death, and slays himself]: *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, p. 34.

It has long been recognised that 'sloth' was a fluid concept. In an earlier period Cassian and Gregory had listed several species or 'daughters' of *acedia*, and in his influential *Summa de vitiis* Peraldus outlined sixteen species of the vice.[108] Mannyng implicates sloth in many reprehensible features of medieval life, such as tournaments, minstrels, neglectful parsons and parents, rich men's sons, lazy young men, worldly people and even miracle plays, 'a syght of synne' (l.4644). *Handlyng Synne* thereby demonstrates wide application of the term from spiritual deficiency to sins firmly connected with the secular world. This semantic disparity indicates the complexity of *acedia* where the shift from the technical vocabulary of moral theology encompassed a variety of secular faults which medieval writers like Mannyng continued to include within a religious framework.[109]

Two men exemplify the sin of 'wanhope': Cain and the arch-sinner, Judas. Cain's unnatural sin of fratricide represents the desperation of the Old Testament but it is his New Testament fulfilment, Judas, who demonstrates the most uncompromising form of 'wanhope'. Like other medieval writers, Mannyng claims Judas refused to believe that God would forgive him for his betrayal of Christ and he hanged himself (l.12328).[110] Judas sinned more in destroying himself without seeking repentance, than he did in betraying Christ:

> For hys wanhope god wroþer was
> Þan for hys tresun or ouþre trespass. (ll. 12339-40)

[God was angrier with his despair, than with his betrayal or other sins]

[108] For a discussion of the complexity of the vice, see Andrew Crislip, 'The Sin of Sloth or the Illness of the Demons? The Demon of *Acedia* in early Christian Monasticism', *Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 98 (2005): 143-69. Siegfried Wenzel has traced the development of the term *acedia* during the Middle Ages, from its monastic beginnings to its use in scholastic circles and its increasingly secular application in popular texts; Siegfried Wenzel, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature*, Chapel Hill, 1967. See, too, Wenzel, 'Petrarch's Accidia', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 8 (1961): 36-48.

[109] The use of the term in *Handlyng Synne* demonstrates how it is gradually losing coherence – is it a somatic or psychological disease: laziness or deadly sin? A lexical shift privileged the idiom of laziness, so that by 1509 the vice of sloth is exemplified by a lazy man who prefers to let his legs be burnt rather than move from the fire, see *Barclay's Ship of Fools*, trans. Alexander Barclay, ed. T.H. Jamieson, Vol. 2, Edinburgh, 1874, pp.184-7. Meanwhile the monastic sense of *acedia*, roughly analogous to the modern concept of depression, gradually gave way to later theories of behaviour based on the typology of the four humours.

[110] William of Shoreham also warns that the penitent: 'ne be nauȝt ine wanhope/ Þat made Iudas to spylle', *De septem sacramentis*, ll. 850-1 [should not fall into despair which made Judas kill himself]. Robert the Chaplain takes the robust view that man needs to maintain hope and fear in equal balance when asking for God's mercy (*Corset*, ll.1968-78).

Medieval writers found it difficult to account for Judas's lack of penitence in the face of divine mercy and, as a consequence, he was provided with a legendary history of incest that would further blacken his name.[111] This was a rough parallel of the legend of the classical figure, Oedipus, but, in the case of Judas, the incest was linked with the theological condition of 'wanhope'.[112] *Shrift* shows how it is the rejection of the possibility of God's mercy that ultimately condemns Judas Iscariot.[113] Mannyng's discussion of the sin of 'wanhope' reveals his interest in the emotional formation and interiority of the penitent. Whilst contrition and satisfaction must be sincere, listeners are encouraged to believe that forgiveness is always possible. Mannyng understands that utter despair is a highly likely outcome in the context of a medieval penitential theology that sets such store on the act of contrition.

Handlyng Synne delivers, then, a systematic programme of instruction across a wide range of theological themes. It explores the complexity of sin and the task of recognising and 'handlyng' the problem. The self-examination required of the individual layman is designed to elicit an appropriate emotional response; in particular, a sense of shame and guilt that one has fallen short of a legitimate ethical standard. Mannyng's instructional commentary is complex and often presents listeners with internal inconsistencies and contradictions. Heterodox beliefs, which appear harmless but are irrational or self-centred, are presented as reasonable and acceptable. Mannyng proceeds to interrogate the sinner's motivation and opens a dialogic discussion on the nature of erroneous belief, revealing its weaknesses but leaving listeners to draw their own conclusions. He thereby challenges heterodox

[111] Conversely, medieval English texts occasionally portray Judas in a strangely sympathetic light, as a man who is to be pitied for his inability to seek God's help. For instance, an early fourteenth-century ballad implies the connivance of Jesus in his own death since he gave Judas the thirty pieces of silver to buy food. See Carleton Brown ed., *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century,* Oxford, 1932, pp. 38-9.
[112] The earliest surviving versions of Judas' biography date from the twelfth century and it was included in Jacob of Voragine's *Golden Legend* in the thirteenth century. For a background to the tradition, see Paull Franklin Baum, 'The Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot', *PMLA*, 31 (1916): 481-632. See, too, Thomas Hahn, 'The Medieval Oedipus', *Comparative Literature*, 32 (1980): 225-37. Judas' treachery and oedipal guilt are forcefully expressed in a monologue added to the Wakefield Cycle of mystery plays: 'Alas, alas & walaway !/ Waryd [doomed] & cursyd I have beyn ay;/I slew my father, & syn [after] bylay/ My moder der./ And falsly aftur I can betray / Myn own mayster', *The Towneley Plays*, ed. Martin Stevens and A. C. Cawley, Vol.1 EETS s.s. 13, Oxford, 1994, p. 432.
[113] Alexander Murray discusses medieval understanding of the gospel account of Judas: Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages: Volume 2: The Curse on Self-Murder*, Oxford, 2000, esp. pp.364-8.

belief and practice by requiring his listeners to engage in debate as 'responsible religious agents'.[114]

Mannyng suggests that laymen are insufficiently prepared to deal with sin by merely following lists of rules. His methodology depends on careful analysis of narratives which invite the audience to identify with the situations and experience vicariously the temptations of sin. The text allows the audience to envisage the constant errors and dangers that threaten ethical living, without incurring personal guilt: the text thus becomes a substitute for experience itself. This function of the *exemplum* is explored in many religious works but is fraught with dangers. The introduction of different themes, for instance, may overturn the audience's sense of which sin is relevant to the particular instruction of the tale. Narrative constraints may create empathy for the protagonists and challenge the moral framework of the narrative. The tales are not limited to the illustration of sin or doctrinal truth, being frequently subject to other imperatives – literary, historical and cultural – such as the creation of the formation and consolidation of an English cultural identity. Several commentators have pointed out the resultant ambiguity in *Handlyng Synne* 'where the power of the inset narratives does destabilize the moralizing framework'.[115]

Mannyng, on the other hand, presents the moral framework of an *exemplum* as stable and immutable.[116] Are his comments disingenuous? There is no doubt about Mannyng's self-awareness as a writer: his self-identification, revision of work, acknowledgement of sources and cross-references to comments made in other sections of *Handlyng Synne*. In short, he demonstrates a capacity for authorial self-knowledge and criticism that suggests he would have been aware of the outcome of his narratives: they do not simply illustrate sets of doctrinal truths, but deliver instruction that is complex, sometimes inconsistent and frequently ambiguous. There are grounds, therefore, for assuming that Mannyng's retention of destabilising textual material was conscious and deliberate. What, then, might he have envisaged this

[114] The term used by Ralph Hanna, *London Literature, 1300–1380*, Cambridge, 2005, p. 212.
[115] John Ganim, *Chaucerian Theatricality*, Princeton, 1990, p. 26.
[116] The complex and much-studied tale of the *Dancers of Colbeck* (*Sacrilege*, ll. 9015-245) demands a far more nuanced analysis of sin than Mannyng allows when he later describes the sinners who 'hopped aboute/ Þat wlde nat þe prestes byddyng doute' (*Penance*, ll.10943-4) [danced about because they did not fear the priest's warning]. See: Miller, 'Displaced Souls': 610-2, and Ganim, *Chaucerian Theatricality*, pp. 22-8.

would add to the instructional content of *Handlyng Synne*? His primary intention is clearly to deliver a well-established religious programme congruent with church teaching. Yet there is significant dissonance between the general conformity of Mannyng's instruction and the volatility of his *exempla* and this challenges the notion that his aim is to deliver a single thread of explicit instructional discourse. Mannyng might, rather, offer instruction that functions at different levels: his commentary provides a conventional scheme of rules and advice; the *exempla* dramatize the complexity of the nature of sin – attractive or repulsive, straightforward or ambiguous, often mundane. His emphasis is on surprise, inconsistencies and reversals which are inherent in medieval dialectics. The life of the spirit, as depicted by Mannyng, is thus punctuated by situations in which there may be no clear distinction between good and evil, sins are intermingled and difficult to disentangle and what begins as an innocent action may degenerate into sin. Mannyng's instruction suggests that it is the task of the penitent to find his own way through the morass of sin in order to come to an understanding of an ethical situation.

Mannyng's *exempla* claim to illustrate individual sins; yet their focus is not, I suggest, on the typology of sin but on the exploration of the dynamics of sin which are illogical and fluctuating. We might, therefore, construe the narratives as a series of dynamic spiritual exercises for the laity: that is, each *exemplum* represents a case study of sin in its various forms for the lay reader to unravel, analyse and assess. In this way, the penitent is trained to confront complex moral situations and to use independent judgement in 'handlyng synne'.

CHAPTER 5: POEMS OF WILLIAM OF SHOREHAM

BL MS Additional 17376 is the sole repository of the poems of William of Shoreham, vicar of Chart Sutton in Kent. This modest fourteenth-century volume of 222 folios contains the Psalms with Canticles and the Athanasian Creed in Latin and English (ff.1-149), followed by poems attributed to Shoreham (ff.150-220). Details of his verse are as follows: [1]

1. *De septem sacramentis*: with sections 1. *De baptismo* (ll.190-336). 2. *De confirmatione* (ll. 337-490). 3. *De sacramento altaris* (ll. 491-840). 4. *De penitencia* (ll. 841-1099). 5. *De uncione extrema* (ll.1100-211). 6. *De ordinibus ecclesiasticis* (ll.1212-561). 7. *De matrimonio* (ll. 1562-2142). The colophon reads: 'Oretis pro anima domini Willelmi de Schorham quondam vicarii de chart iuxta Ledes. Qui composuit istam compilationem de septem sacramentis' [Pray for the soul of William of Shoreham, once vicar of Chart, near Leeds, who wrote this collection of the seven sacraments]
2. *Pater Noster*.
3. *De decem preceptis.*
4. *De septem mortalibus peccatis*. The colophon grants forty days' remission of sins to all those who pray for the soul of William of Shoreham. These days 'a domino Symone, archiepiscopo cantuarie conceduntur' [are granted by Lord Simon, the Archbishop of Canterbury].
5. *The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary.* Colophon: 'Oretis pro anima Willelmi de Schorham, quondam vicarii de chart iuxta Ledes'.
6. *On the Virgin Mary*, ending: 'Oretis pro anima Roberti Grosseteste quondam Episcopi Lincolniensis' [Pray for the soul of Robert Grosseteste, once Bishop of Lincoln].
7. *On the Trinity, Creation, the Existence of Evil, Devils, Adam and Eve etc*. (incomplete).

This chapter first focuses on *De septem sacramentis*, the section *De matrimonio* in particular. I then consider two devotional poems, *Pater Noster* and *The Five Joys of*

[1] This chapter is based on *The Poems of William of Shoreham, about 1320 Vicar of Chart-Sutton,* ed. Matthias Konrath, EETS e.s.86, London, 1902. I retain Konrath's titles for each poem, in Latin or English. 'Chart Sutton' is generally not hyphenated. See, too, Thomas Wright's earlier edition, *The Religious Poems of William de Shoreham, Vicar of Chart Sutton in Kent*, Percy Society, Vol. 28, London, 1849.

the Virgin Mary, written for the same parish audience but appealing to lay affectivity – an important aspect of vernacular *pastoralia*. Finally, I consider the poem gloriously entitled *On the Trinity, Creation, the Existence of Evil, Devils, Adam and Eve etc.* The work demonstrates Shoreham's understanding of religious instruction as a wide-ranging enterprise which encompasses a raft of ideas and concepts that, I argue, goes well beyond the limited scope of the teaching proposed, for instance, by Bishop Quivil.

Manuscripts and background

The uneven presentation of the poems in Additional 17376 suggests the work of a relatively inexperienced scribe. The scribal hand, for instance, is larger and less uniform than that of the preceding Psalter and Creed. The text box of folio 150 onwards measures 145 mms by 95 mms but is not always carefully pricked out. In the first poems, blue and red inks are used for occasional punctuation and initial capitals but embellishment and use of coloured ink are gradually abandoned. The final two folios of the manuscript are left blank, indicating the incomplete nature of both the manuscript and of *On the Trinity* in which Shoreham promises to tell of the redemption: 'Ase ich her-after telle may' (ll.793-5) [as I may later describe] but no such account follows. Unlike other works, the poem does not close with invocation, final homily or colophon. Matthias Konrath concludes from linguistic evidence, spelling in particular, that the manuscript was written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century; he also cites Furnivall with a *terminus ante quem* no later than 1350.[2] I propose an earlier date because of the colophon of *De septem mortalibus peccatis* which offers forty days' remission from purgatory,[3] granted by Archbishop Simon Mepham (1328-33).[4] The use of the present tense 'conceduntur' indicates a fairly recent event; either Mepham was still alive, or his memory fresh enough to resonate in the parishes of Kent. The manuscript would, therefore, postdate 1328, but I suggest a date closer to Mepham's death in 1333 than to 1350.

Although the colophon of *On the Virgin Mary* suggests the authorship of Grosseteste, the poem is attributed to Shoreham by Wright and Konrath. Konrath ascribes the

[2] Shoreham, *Poems*, p. xi.
[3] Ibid., p. 114.
[4] Details of the grant cannot be confirmed since no Canterbury registers survive for the period 1328-49. See David M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales*, London, 1981, p.1.

poem's linguistic variance from usage elsewhere in the manuscript to the fact that Shoreham was not 'an exact rymer'.[5] He adds that the scribe, who 'did his work rather mechanically', would not have taken the added trouble of intercalating a poem from a different source. This claim should be challenged, however, since the original manuscript compilation contained work by both men. BL MS Additional 17376 has a chequered history described in two notes and a letter, dated 23 September 1960, appended to the manuscript. In the latter R.W. Hunt explained that, while editing the notebooks of Francis Douce, he had come across Douce's description of a manuscript borrowed from Thomas Rodd.[6] This contained: first, a *summa* and *diversitates penitentie* by Robert Grosseteste, second, a psalter in English and, third, the poems of William of Shoreham. Hunt concluded that the manuscript described by Douce was comprised of two present-day manuscripts: Bodleian MS. Lat.th.e.32 containing an incomplete copy of *Templum Domini* and a tract on penance by Grosseteste; and BL MS Additional 17376.[7] As the original compilation described by Douce included works by Grosseteste, there seems little reason to ignore the colophon of *On the Virgin Mary* by attributing it to Shoreham. This paean to the Virgin consists of a series of the titles and qualities of Mary, who is compared with figures such as Judith:

> Þou ert Judith, þat fayre wyf,
> Þou hast abated al þat stryf. (ll. 37-8)

[You are Judith, that good woman; you have calmed all that fighting]

It would be impossible to identify the author from the dense accumulation of images taken from both biblical and hagiographic sources; these are found in many medieval

[5] Shoreham, *Poems*, p. xiii.
[6] Thomas Rodd acted as agent in the acquisitions of manuscripts; see, for example, BL catalogue history of MS Egerton 3088.
[7] Hunt suggested the manuscript had been dismembered at an unknown date after 1830. See, too, R. W. Hunt, 'A Dismembered Manuscript: Bodleian MS Lat. th. e. 32 and British Museum Additional MS 17376', *Bodleian Library Record*, 1966: 271-5. A note in BL Additional 17376, signed by Frederic Madden and dated June 1849, states that in 1828 the complete manuscript described by Douce was sold to an Edinburgh printer, Alexander Henderson, who was to produce a printed version of the Psalter edited by Madden. Henderson split the manuscript and in June 1848, two separate lots were put up for sale at Sotheby's: number 3329, the Psalter and number 3332, the rest of the manuscript. The first lot was purchased by Thomas Rodd for £18 on behalf of the British Museum; lot 3332 was 'purchased by Rodd for the Museum for £5.12s.6d' but was 'stolen' (Madden's word) from the auction room. In March 1849 the missing part 'made its appearance in private hands' and was returned to the British Museum. Although the two lots were reunited in one volume (present-day MS Add. 17376), this contained only the Psalter and Shoreham's poems, but no works by Grosseteste – unlike the original manuscript described by Douce in 1830. We must conclude the original was dismembered on two separate occasions. Having disappeared from the public domain for some years, present-day Bodleian MS. Lat.th.e.32 was purchased in 1953 from a private collection.

texts.[8] Since Grosseteste wrote in Latin and French but not English, as far as we know, we might speculate that this is the bishop's composition translated into English by Shoreham.

A rural vicar and his parish

The colophons of the first and fifth poems identify William of Shoreham as vicar of Chart Sutton, a village near Leeds in Kent in the diocese of Canterbury.[9] After the resignation of the last rector, John de Houkyngg, in 1320, Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury (1313-27), appropriated the living of Chart Sutton to the Augustinian convent of Leeds.[10] An endowment from Walter Reynolds of 26 February 1321 at Lambeth reports that William de Shoreham was presented to the vicarage by Leeds Priory.[11] A later agreement by Prior Robert, dated September 1321, assigned church ground to build a house along with a right of way to William of Shoreham, the perpetual vicar of Chart.[12] William, thus, became vicar in the latter part of 1320 or very early 1321. He died before 1333 (the date of Mepham's death) as

[8] See: 'Symbolism of the Virgin Mary' in Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, pp. 365-75. Extravagant Marian epithets include: throne of Solomon (her son sits on her lap); Queen of Heaven, crowned with twelve stars; the second Judith, second Esther, second Eve, a lily and a closed garden, the burning bush. For vernacular examples, see 'A salutacioun to our lady' in *Vernon, Minor Poems*, p. 134: Mary is described as: 'busch brennyng þat neuer was brent' [the burning bush that was never consumed] l. 15; 'blosme briht', l.17; 'feirest fflour', l. 42; 'tortul trustiest and trewe' [true and most loyal turtle-dove] l. 43. Miri Rubin discusses the Marian symbolism of *On the Virgin Mary* and links the accumulation of titles with the seventh-century Byzantine *akathistos* hymn: Miri Rubin, *Mother of God*, London, 2009, pp. 218-9. For the discussion of such hymns, see Mary B. Cunningham, 'The Meeting of the Old and the New: the Typology of Mary the Theotokos in Byzantine Homilies and Hymns' in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R.N. Swanson, Woodbridge, 2004, pp. 52-62 (esp. pp. 56-60).

[9] The medieval diocese of Rochester was very small, consisting only of Kent west of the Medway, and the deaneries of Rochester and North and South Malling. The deanery of Shoreham, which includes Chart Sutton, was and remains a peculiar jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[10] Thomas Wright (*Religious Poems*, p. vi) and Mattias Konrath (Shoreham, *Poems*, p. xiv) cite the charter in John Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, London, 1769, pp. 207- 9. Thorpe's source is *E. Registro Reynoldes*, the present-day Lambeth Palace Library MS Register of Walter Reynolds (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1313-27), ff. 96-7. The yearly tithe is estimated at 25 marks (£16.13s.4d), *Registrum Roffense*, p. 207, line 21. In1291-2 the benefice had been valued at 25 marks and the Priory of Leeds is named as the patron; *Taxatio* Database, http:www.hrionline.ac.uk/db/taxatio, [accessed 10/ 09/09]. In CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/414 (21 March 1320), a licence from Edward II is given at Rochester to the prior and convent of Leeds for the appropriation of the living at Chart Sutton, at the request of Bartholomew de Badlesmere, steward of the royal household. The priest will receive 'omnes oblat[ati]ones & obvent[io]nes' [all charitable and occasional offerings]. Two documents dated 1320, CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/410 and CCA- DCc-SVSB/II/5/1, testify to the induction of two representatives of the convent.

[11] CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/411.

[12] CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/363. St Michael's Church at Chart Sutton (rebuilt on the original site in the eighteenth century) stands roughly half a mile from the parish church of Sutton Valence, on the edge of the Greensand ridge, with wide views towards Staplehurst. William of Shoreham's right of way was agreed with the lord of the manor of Sutton Valence, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (c.1275-1344). 'Rectory Lane' now leads directly down the steep hill from St Michael's to a farmhouse – possibly Shoreham's right of way attributed to a rector.

evidenced by the colophon of *De septem mortalibus peccatis*. The content of the poems is suitable for parochial instruction and they were most likely composed after William's arrival at Chart; that is between 1320 and 1333. The poems are not dedicated to a named patron, although *The Five Joys* refers to an unnamed 'sister':

> And þou me bede, soster, synge.
> And alle in-to one songe bring
> Here swete ioyen fyue. (ll. 34-6)

[And you, sister, told me to compose and bring her [Mary's] sweet five joys into one song]

A second mention is made of the sister's request (l. 350). It is thus possible that the poem was composed for a specific group of nuns, although there were few nunneries in Kent at this period, the nearest to Chart Sutton being at Malling.[13] This raises the question of the career of William of Shoreham before his arrival in Chart; might he have had links with Malling? Because of his association with the Augustinian house in Leeds, it has generally been assumed that William was a member of the Order [14] but evidence strongly suggests that he was a secular priest. Documents in the Register of Robert Winchelsey (*RRW*) provide information about three men called William (a common name) of Shoreham – whether in Sussex or Kent is not specified.[15] We may discount the first man, a Benedictine monk from Boxgrove near Chichester who became deacon in 1304 (*RRW* p. 972) and priest the next year (*RRW* p. 978). The second William of Shoreham was ordained subdeacon in 1303, with a title of Malling Abbey (*RRW* p. 965), and priest in 1305 (*RRW* p. 971). He was not a regular ordained

[13] See Sally Thompson, *Women Religious*, Oxford, 1991, Appendix A, 'Dates of the foundations and founders', pp. 217-31; and Eileen Power, *English Medieval Nunneries c.1275-1535*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 685-92. Two Kentish female houses had been established at an early date: one in Minster-in-Thanet c. 669-90, probably by Domneva and Ermenburga, daughter of Eormenred of Kent, the other at Newington by St Sexburga in 675, refounded at Minster in Sheppey in 1130, probably by Archbishop William de Corbeil. After the Norman Conquest nunneries were established: at Canterbury, St Sepulchre founded by St. Anselm in 1100; at Davington, founded by Fulk de Newenham in 1153 and at Lillechurch (Highham) by King Stephen before 1151. The house at Malling had been established by Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, c.1090. See: 'Houses of Benedictine nuns: The abbey of Malling' in *A History of the County of Kent*, ed. Willam Page, Vol. 2 (1926), pp.146-148. British History Online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=3819 [accessed16/9/2009]. Elizabeth de Badlesmere, sister of Bartholomew, was abbess of Malling until 1321 when she was deposed, along with Eleanor de Badlesmere, the cellarer: see *Register Roffense*, p. 217, and David M. Knowles and Vera C. M. London, eds, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, II, 1216-1377, Cambridge, 2nd edn 2002, p. 586.

[14] When a monastic house possessed the advowson of a church and appointed a vicar, he was often, but not necessarily, a member of the house. See: Phillipp R.Schofield, *Peasant and Community in Medieval England, 1200-1500*, Basingstoke, 2003, p.192.

[15] *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey, Cantuarensis archiepiscopi A.D. 1294-1313*, 2 Vols., transc.and ed. Rose Graham, Oxford, 1952. The dates cover the period when the vicar of Chart was probably ordained. Virginia Davis kindly aided in differentiating the men named in the register.

as a member of his house but a secular whose title did not indicate employment by the abbey but may suggest that he was from this area of Kent. An earlier collation in the Winchelsey register, dated 3 May 1299, appointed a third 'William de Schorham', a secular priest, to the benefice of the high mass at the convent of Malling in 1299 (*RRW* pp. 346-7). It is possible that either the second or third William of Shoreham eventually become the vicar of Chart Sutton. Citing the evidence of the Register, Ralph Hanna concludes the vicar/writer was a secular priest.[16] The mass-priest would have had a close association with the nuns at Malling and this would link *The Five Joys* with the convent where Shoreham might have known Elizabeth Badlesmere. We note, too, that Shoreham took up the position of vicar at roughly the same time as the change of regime at the convent, when Elizabeth was deposed as abbess. This is, of course, mere speculation but the lives of the vicar, members of the Badlesmere family (and Aymer de Valence) came in contact on more than one occasion.[17] No concrete evidence, however, links the mass-priest with Chart Sutton and, as the register shows, the name was common to several men.

Alternatively, the Augustinians may have appointed one of their own canons as vicar. The important contribution of the Augustinians to vernacular literature has been reiterated by scholars like Ralph Hanna and Niamh Pattwell – Shoreham's poems may form part of that body of work.[18] Yet, since the episcopal registers for the diocese of Canterbury do not mention an Augustinian William of Shoreham in their extensive lists of ordinations, we must conclude that the vicar was, in all probability, a secular. As Shoreham's poems were written in a Kentish dialect and were not redacted, as far as we know, it is probable that his poems circulated solely within the county and that their public did not extend far beyond Chart Sutton.

Shoreham provides, 'greȝt sarmoun' (*De septem peccatis*, l. 67) [detailed instruction] and practical advice in his structured treatises on the Seven Sacraments, Seven Vices, and Ten Commandments. His work demonstrates the exercise of doctrine, devotion and canon law required in the *cura animarum*. He is the only writer considered in this

[16] Hanna, 'Augustinian Canons', p. 31.
[17] See footnotes 10 and 12, p.182; 13, p.183.
[18] Niamh Pattwell, 'Canons and Catechisms: the Austin Canons of South-East England and *Sacerdos Parochialis'* in *After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh, Turnhout, 2011, pp. 381-94.

dissertation that wrote and worked in a specific parish setting. Shoreham is, however, remarkably reticent about the realities of life in a rural parish and gives no indication of the great agrarian and political crises which affected the whole country from roughly 1315.

A number of parishioners must have been caught up in recent turbulent events when Lord Bartholomew de Badlesmere (1275-1322) allied himself with the rebels against Edward II. The refusal of Lady Margaret Badlesmere in 1321 to allow Queen Isabella to enter Leeds Castle had led to the siege of the castle by the King and local lords, including Aymer of Sutton Valence.[19] Nigel Saul describes how the area around Leeds may have suffered the consequences for some years: 'The atmosphere of fear and suspicion that prevailed between 1322 and 1326 provided an open invitation to spies, informers and story-tellers'.[20] Chart Sutton is only four miles from Leeds but Shoreham makes only one mention of political upheavals, a rhetorical question: 'Who yst neuer nas rebel/Aȝeins hys souerayn?' [Who is there who has never rebelled against his sovereign?].[21]

Again, Shoreham makes no reference to the agrarian disaster which had affected the whole of Europe in recent years.[22] The crisis of 1315-22 had been precipitated by many factors: substantial price inflation before 1315,[23] extreme weather conditions and flooding, the resulting poor harvests of 1315 and 1316 and the outbreaks of disease in sheep, 1315-7, and in cattle, 1319-21.[24] A large number of religious establishments suffered from the effects of the crisis and over a hundred grants of

[19] After the Battle of Boroughbridge (1322) Badlesmere was hanged, having incurred the king's great animosity. See George Sayles,'The Formal Judgments on the Traitors of 1322' in *Speculum,* 16 (1941): 57- 63 (59-60).
[20] Nigel Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II', *English Historical Review,* 99 (1984): 1-33 (22-3).
[21] *De septem mortalibus peccatis,* ll. 261-2.
[22] The extensive bibliography of the effects of the famine on the population includes: William C. Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the early Fourteenth Century,* Princeton, 1996; J. C. Russell, 'The Pre-Plague Population of England', *Journal of British Studies* (1966): 1-21; B. F. Harvey, 'The Population Trend in England between 1300 and 1348', *TRHS* (1966): 23-42; Bruce M. S. Campbell ed., *Before the Black Death*, Manchester, 1991. M.M. Postan suggested, though never specifically stated, that the Great Famine marked the watershed in a crisis of overpopulation; M.M. Postan, *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy*, London, 1973.
[23] The maximum prices for livestock and foodstuffs were fixed at the parliament of Lent 1315 but did little to alleviate suffering.
[24] See Jordan, *The Great Famine*, for chapters 'The Bringers of Famine in 1315: Rain, War, God', pp.7-23, and 'The Harvest Failures and Animal Murrains', pp. 24-39.

protection were awarded to religious houses and hospitals 1315-6, although only a few grants were normally made in a year.[25] Even great institutions which had established a solid economic base by the beginning of the fourteenth century, such as the Benedictine house of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, continued to suffer from substantial losses for some years.[26] The poor suffered most and vagabondage and thefts were constant problems.[27] Despite the diversity of its agriculture, it is highly unlikely that the parish of Chart Sutton went unscathed.[28]

Other preachers and writers used the theme of the troubles of the period to demonstrate God's retribution for mankind's wrongdoings, appealing to the laity to return to the ways of righteousness.[29] Yet William makes no mention of local hardships or the ravages that had affected the whole country. How, then, can we account for his silence? The economic situation might have improved, of course, and political rifts may have healed, so he possibly did not wish to open old wounds. Alternatively, Shoreham's silence may have been deliberate, since temporal conflicts and suffering are inconsistent with his vision of the parish which is defined by spiritual and sacramental cohesion: 'Þenne scholde hy at one be/ In loue' [then it should be united in love].[30] This is a fraternal community: Shoreham frequently uses the first person: 'we habbeþ tokene gode/ Wanne we fangeþ penaunce' [we have God's pledge to us, when we receive penance] [31] and the parishioners are 'brothers' to indicate the relationship of all Christians united by their religious practices.[32] Like the limbs of the physical body, the mystical body has various functions: hands are men 'þat wel doþ' [who do good] and feet are those 'þat wel op-heldeþ' [who give good

[25] Ian Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-1322', *Past and Present*, 59 (1973): 3-50 (30).
[26] See Hamo de Hethe's letter and note of 25 January 1328: CCA-DCc-ChAnt/W/165 and CCA-DCc-ChAnt/C/230.
[27] The commission to the Keepers of the Peace in Kent, 1316-7, referred to this danger. A larger than usual number of robberies was reported: nearly a third of all thefts were of foodstuffs, particularly grain and its products, and about 40% involved livestock; Kershaw, 'The Great Famine': 12.
[28] Kent had prospered in the thirteenth century, benefitting from advanced farming techniques; see: P. F. Brandon, 'Farming Techniques: South-Eastern England' in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. 2: 1042-1350*, ed. H. E. Hallam, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 312-25.
[29] For example, the *Poem on the Evil Times of Edward II* in *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, ed. Thomas Wright, London, 1859-61, dating from 1321 (p. 383) and claiming that the ravages are due to God's anger: 'God hath ben wroth wid the world' (p.323, l.379).
[30] *De septem sacramentis*, ll. 650-1.
[31] Ibid., ll.127-33.
[32] See this usage also in the *Ayenbit*, BL MS Arundel 57, f. 102, line 18: 'We byeþ all broþren ... of one vader and of one moder, þet is, of god and of holy cherche'[We are all brothers…of one father and one mother, that is of God and the holy Church].

support].[33] As Sarah Beckwith has pointed out, the depiction of the body as an image of human society is based on the Aristotelian model stressing the organic nature of society but it is also a potentially highly hierarchized view, represented by the subordination of the parts to the whole.[34] The priest has a privileged role in the community's relationship with Christ.[35] Shoreham's Christian flock is, thus, characterised by structure and cohesion in the symbolic relationship of God with his Church.[36] Shoreham presents a common code of moral conduct in his vision of communal Christian life. It is reasonable to assume that a range of strategies – catechetical and instructional – worked powerfully to legitimize this social framework of apparent stability and conformity, despite the fact that the parishioners of Chart Sutton were probably as disparate and independently-minded as any other community.

There has been considerable debate about the social cohesion of medieval rural communities. On the one hand, historians like Zvi Razi have studied evidence of the reciprocity of social and economic intercourse and the mutual aid offered in disputes, concluding that the medieval village community was strong and well-organised, while dependent on the local lord's good governance. As early as the tenth century, rural communities collaborated effectively in the organisation of their farming routines – Suan Reynolds describes this as 'an example of the kind of collective control which is attested even where lordship was weak'.[37]

Yet social fragmentation in small communities was inevitable, even against a background of collaboration and collective endeavour. The image of the tightly knit medieval rural community has been challenged by many scholars. Katherine French, for instance, argues for a 'richer multivalent concept of community', [38] and Phillipp

[33] *De septem sacramentis*, ll. 664-5. For an extended version of this common medieval trope of the parts of the body as the different estates of man, see Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 210, f.1, item 1, for the allegorical poem beginning 'Kele ne porrat iamais failler' [The one that will never fail].
[34] Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body, Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings*, London, 1993, pp. 27-30.
[35] *De septem sacramentis*, ll. 622-3.
[36] Zvi Razi, 'Family, Land and the Village Community in later Medieval England' in *Past and Present*, 93 (1981): 3-36.
[37] Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300*, Oxford, 1984, pp. 111,124.
[38] Katherine French, *The People of the Parish*, 2001, p. 21.

Schofield, too, emphasises diversity and 'multi-identities' amongst the medieval peasantry.[39] Miri Rubin stresses the variability associated with communal activities:

> The decision to join a fraternity, to invest in procession in one fashion or another, speak loudly about individual and collective assessments of politics and finance, of friendship and trust ....views which are never at a state of rest, nor captured in a set of rules and statutes.[40]

Rubin argues that sacramental religion, particularly the eucharist, created a locus for different levels of social integration and that ritual action articulates the 'ever-changing balance of power between competing and adversarial interests and roles'.[41] Despite Shoreham's claim of clerical primacy, the role of the parish priest in the cohesion and consolidation of the medieval community is also debatable. Robert Swanson discusses difficulties arising from the tithing system and other sources of clerical income, 'effectively ... taxation' for the laity, which often led to a complex and fluctuating relationship between the priest and his parishioners.[42] Shoreham gives no indication whether tensions reported in other parishes existed between the vicar and his flock.[43]

Like most parishes in south-east England and the Midlands, Chart Sutton included customary peasants and landless labourers, alongside more substantial tenants who enjoyed a degree of financial independence: Shoreham uses, for instance, a financial analogy in calling God 'oure alder auditour' [our chief examiner] who will forgive spiritual 'arerages' [arrears] [44] and he warns that earthly possessions should not be valued above all else: be it 'þy childe…/ Land, brouches, oþer rynges' [your child, land, brooches or rings].[45] By the first half of the fourteenth century some parishioners were closely involved in church business – meeting the costs of maintaining the building and providing liturgical ornaments, while also being offered

[39] Schofield, *Peasant and Community*, pp. 1-8.
[40] Miri Rubin, 'Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages' in *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Jennifer Kermode, Stroud, 1991, pp.132-150 (pp.147-8).
[41] Ibid. p.147.
[42] R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 210.
[43] See *The Register of Walter de Stapeldon*. Men from Branscombe reported favourably on the conduct of their priest (11 July 1301, p. 194) but parishioners from St Mary's Church complained about animals which the incumbent kept in the cemetery and his frequent absences to Moreton-Hampsted for a week or a fortnight at a time (4 July 1301, p. 337).
[44] *De decem preceptis*, ll. 204-5.
[45] Ibid., ll.171-2.

opportunities to participate in the consultative processes of the diocese.[46] Yet nowhere in the *Poems* is the parish depicted as a dynamic melting-pot of men and women of different occupations, financial means and talents. Similarly, Shoreham does not address the issue of the mutual social responsibilities of his parishioners, despite evidence of both customary acts of charity and of institutional arrangements in rural communities.[47] The political, social and economic concerns of Chart Sutton do not encroach on Shoreham's vision of an ideal Christian community based on internal concord and mutual regard, a model which he develops through the symbolism of the sacraments, particularly the eucharist and matrimony. As John Arnold points out:

> The power of community is to make itself *appear* obvious and natural, performing this trick through precisely the mechanisms of order, exclusion and negotiation ... A primary vehicle for effecting this cultural work is religious discourse and practice that not only explicitly enjoins peace and amity between Christians, but implicitly presents order, hierarchy and obedience as God-given.[48]

Sacramental instruction and lay experience: *De septem sacramentis*

De septem sacramentis demonstrates the negotiation of clerical authority with lay experience. Shoreham's instructional themes often reflect the problems and needs of parishioners who must retain his instruction.

In all his works Shoreham employs memorable and complex rhyme schemes, not the rhyming couplets favoured by many medieval writers of *pastoralia*. *De septem sacramentis,* for example, has a strong rhyme scheme, a b c b d e d, with the effective use of the short bob-line which rhymes with the final line of verse and brings the

[46] For the increased responsibilities of the laity in the fabric of parish life, see Katherine French, *The People of the Parish*, esp. pp. 68-92 ; William Dohar,'The Sheep as Shepherds' in *A Companion to Pastoral Care in the Late Middle Ages (1200-1500),* ed. Ronald J. Stansbury, Leiden, 2010, pp. 147-72; Emma Mason, 'The Role of the English Parishioner, 1100-1500', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976): 17-29. C.R. Cheney writes: 'we should not infer … that laymen were specially cited to give evidence about the state of their parishes and the conduct of the clergy. But it was certainly common practice at English visitations in later times to do as Grosseteste did and to summon a few *fidedigni* from every parish', Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 262. See, too, *The Register of Richard de Kellawe*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy, Vol.1, London, 1873, pp. 62-3, where reference is made to the participation of the laity in episcopal visitations, in two undated notes of 1311 to the rector and parishioners of Brandespath and of Corbrigg. In Brandespath this will include: 'laicos dictae parochiae per nos alias evocatos' [laymen of the said parish who were previously summoned by us].

[47] Shoreham has little to say about the poor and suffering, apart from brief references to: almsgiving to the sick, prisoners and to those in need (*De septem sacramentis*, ll.1032-3); 'charyte' (*De decem preceptis*, l. 47); helping those in need (*De decem preceptis*, ll. 249-56).

[48] John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe*, London, 2005, p. 142.

stanza to a firm and striking conclusion.[49] The varied use of the bob-line often includes the interruption of a second voice in a sequence of question and answer, replicating conversational patterns easily retained by the listener.[50] The mnemonic efficacy of the verse is a particular feature of the *Poems* – Shoreham expounds complicated instruction that might be difficult to remember. A variety of mnemonic devices are exploited throughout the poems, such as numerical prompts which Shoreham discusses in *De decem preceptis* (l.122-36), citing the instruction in the *Book of Wisdom* to the effect that man's ten fingers and toes are ever-present reminders of the Ten Commandments. In *The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary* the audience is reminded that four of the joys are connected to the Virgin's time on earth like the 'stremes of þe welle' in paradise (l. 54), each being linked to a specific point in the narrative of her life; the fifth joy is revealed as the mystery of her assumption into heaven.

De septem sacramentis also employs the mnemonic strategy of a series of synopses which reiterates core material.[51] In his introductory section (ll. 85-154), Shoreham outlines each sacrament in a few lines, generally a single stanza: for instance, stanza twenty-one deals with the clerical orders and stanza twenty-two with marriage. After this, Shoreham provides a condensed summary:

> Christendom, and bisschoppying,
> Penauns, and eke spousinge,
> Godes body ine forme of brede,
> Ordre, and Aneliinge,
> Þes seuene,
> Heþ holicherche sacremens,
> Þat beþ tokenen of heuene. (ll. 155-61)

[Christening and confirmation, penance and also marriage, God's body in the form of bread, the orders and extreme unction; Holy Church has these seven sacraments which are tokens of heaven]

[49] The bob-line is a line of verse composed of a single metrical foot, in certain stanzaic forms of medieval alliterative poetry such as *Gawain and the Green Knight*.

[50] For example, the question from a second voice: 'Wat thenkeste?'(*De septem sacramentis* l. 12); '3e, wane?' (l.166); this duality of voice may echo the question and answer form of scholastic writings. Elsewhere, the bob-line may comprise an expletive or colloquial add-on: for instance, 'To soþe' (l. 103); 'By chaunce' (l. 124); 'In londe' (l. 243, a simple word-tag, according to Konrath). These replications of speech patterns reinforce aural retention.

[51] This creates 'chunked' material - a term and process described by Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory, a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 2nd edn 2008, p.105.

This outline establishes the basic material parishioners must remember before Shoreham launches into his lengthy, conventional expositions of the individual sacraments. Towards the end of the poem (ll. 2143 onwards), Shoreham constructs a final summary of the sacraments through a vivid analogy taken from the Apocalypse when St John finds a book with seven locks which the Holy Lamb will undo to reveal the mystery of the seven sacraments which has, until now, been hidden from man. Yet again Shoreham enumerates the sacraments – here as a series of events in the life of Christ (ll. 2178-226). For instance, baptism is like Nicodemus coming to Christ at night (l. 2178), confirmation like Christ telling the sleeping apostles to pray (l. 2185), and the eucharist is like the Last Supper (l. 2192). The use of repetition and mnemonic devices demonstrates Shoreham's attempts to ensure that the laity retain and act upon his instruction, particularly in *De septem sacramentis* which addresses the salvific needs of his parishioners and is at the heart of his work.

In *De baptismo*, the first section of the poem, Shoreham's main concern is, like Mannyng's, to affirm the importance of baptism to secure the salvation of sick infants.[52] We generally assume that medieval England suffered from very high mortality rates in children, although attempts have been made to moderate this view. Peter Laslett, for instance, challenged these 'lugubrious statements' and claimed that the rate was approximately only a quarter of children under ten years of age.[53] Yet even this estimate justifies, rather than refutes, the description of 'high infant mortality' for the medieval period. Phillipp Schofield writes that evidence for infant mortality is lacking in medieval England but concludes that it is unlikely to have been low.[54] Evidence from studies of the present-day structure of mortality reveals that one in three deaths in poor countries involves very young children and this proportion would presumably obtain in medieval Europe.[55] There were clearly many emergencies during medieval childbirth.

[52] For the history of the sacrament, see Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages c.200-c.1150*, Cambridge, 1993. Richard Helmholz discusses the overlap between canonical and theological thinking on baptism in his instructive section in *The Spirit of Classical Canon Law*, pp. 208-28.
[53] P.Laslett, *The World we have Lost - further Explored*, p.112, based on figures provided by E.A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield in *The Population History of England, 1541-187: a Reconstruction*, London, 1981.
[54] Schofield, *Peasant and Community*, p. 93.
[55] The proportions of deaths per 100,000 among different age groups in their table is analysed in 'the Worldwide Structure of Mortality in 2002', based on WHO data and analysis, in David Cutler, Angus

De baptismo first stresses the need for water alone in the rite: 'Hiȝt moȝt be do ine kende water, / And non oþer licour[e] (ll. 202-3) [it must be completed with water alone and no other liquid]. Shoreham allots forty-four lines of verse (ll. 202-45) to warn against prohibited liquids: no wine, perry, cider, ale, mead or oil should be used or mixed with water. Nothing should change the nature of the water although sea-water may be used, provided it is not too salty (ll. 227-9). Shoreham's careful listing of alcoholic drinks and his discussion of the qualities of water may suggest that his parishioners used different kinds of liquid for infant baptism or believed, perhaps, that wine is a superior kind of liquid to be used in imitation of the eucharistic wine. Medieval writers often expressed their concerns about the nature of the liquid used in baptism just as they debated the quality of the wine used in the mass.[56]

Shoreham moves on to the Trinitarian formula of the words to be used in baptism:

> 'Ich cristni þe ine þe uader nam
> And sone, and holy gostes';
> And more,
> 'Amen' (ll. 248-51)

['I christen you in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost', and then, 'Amen']

To complete a valid sacrament, these words are to be said 'wiþe-oute wane and eche' (l. 254) [without omission or addition] although other languages may be used. Normally, Shoreham stresses, the sacrament should be administered by a priest in a church (ll. 262-6). Further details of the procedure are set out: the recipient is dipped three times in honour of the Trinity, a 'cloþe' is necessary to wipe the child dry and water may be cast anywhere on the body but is best on the head (ll. 274-83). This itemised instruction takes the parishioners carefully through the stages of lay baptism and possibly indicates over-zealous parishioners who mishandle the emergency procedure. Notwithstanding such concerns, Shoreham warns against the withholding

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Deaton and Adriana Lleras-Muney, 'The Determinants of Mortality', *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 20 (2006): 97-120 (107). The figures for children aged 0-4 years are: 18.4% (world total), 0.9% for high-income countries and 30.2% for low-income countries.

[56] See the seminarian's joke about the monastery soup which was watery enough for use in baptism; Helmholz, *Spirit of Classical Law*, p. 213. According to the strictures of the Winchester Council of 1070, care should be taken with the eucharistic wine which should be mixed with a little water. Beer or water alone should not be used; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 1991, pp. 48-9. Over-dilution of eucharistic wine was also condemned by Robert Grosseteste; see, *Templum Dei*, p. 63.

of the sacrament from an apparently healthy child who subsequently dies; midwives in particular are reminded of their responsibility not to delay baptism (ll. 295-301). Having specified the precepts, Shoreham articulates clerical unease about lay baptism – over which priests have no control. If baptism has been correctly completed, it is irreversible and may not be repeated. So should the priest later decide to perform the rite himself to ensure its validity, he must circumvent the possibility of a lay baptism that has already been effectively performed by declaring: 'Ich ne cristni þei nauȝt, ȝef þou ert icristned... Ac ȝyf þou nart, ich cristni þe' (ll. 311-2, 314) [I do not christen you if you have been christened... but if you have not been, I christen you].

Both Shoreham and Mannyng insist that the laity must know 'þe poyntes of bapteme' (*Handlyng Synne*, l. 9600) and it seems logical to link the importance they place on the lay rite with high infant mortality. Yet we might wonder at the frequency with which the instruction is reiterated and elaborated, since it is so simple – a short formulaic statement and sprinkling of water – that mistakes cannot have been common. We would also assume that the laity did not need reminding of this important duty since a Christian parent or midwife would wish to ensure a dying child's place in the next life. So why do the writers continue to stress the need for performance of the lay rite? Do laymen find it difficult to believe that the sacrament is valid, even in the absence of the priest? Are writers articulating clerical anxiety that the sacrament has not been satisfactorily completed? Is it an attempt to impose clerical control on female activities? Is it merely the repetition of a codified and conventional instruction? The sacramental emphases of Shoreham and Mannyng are often quite different but they both elaborate on the requirements for the lay rite: Shoreham's over-concern for the quality of the water, for instance, and Mannyng's exemplum of the *Bad Midwife* (referred to above, *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 9627-56). They appear to voice a real anxiety which is shared by Peter Quivil. The bishop's concern adds weight to the suggestion that a number of lay people did, in fact, fail to act in an emergency. The simplest explanation might be that, regardless of the benefits of baptism to a dying child, mothers and midwives were reluctant to perform the rite and needed pressure and persuasion. They may have feared lay baptism in an emergency

as the harbinger of death, not unlike extreme unction.[57] Or they may have had recourse to superstitious practices that, Mannyng claims, surround childbirth.[58]

Whilst a priest was normally required to perform baptism, only a bishop or his suffragan could complete the sacrament of confirmation which strengthened the soul of the older child. It is difficult to determine how frequently confirmation was performed in the medieval period. In the fourth canon of the Lambeth constitutions in 1281, John Pecham declared 'confirmationis insuper sacramentum multi negligent temerarie' [Many people neglect the above sacrament of confirmation at their peril], and he threatened that only the confirmed would be allowed to take the eucharist.[59] Shoreham insists on the importance of the rite for, like baptism and ordination, it effects a specific change in man's character: the spiritual 'prente', or *character indelebilis,* the Christian ideal based on Paul's references to the stamp of God.[60] Shoreham refers to this important doctrine on several occasions in *De septem sacramentis* (ll. 450, 468, 485, 1205-8). Since the imprint may not be eradicated, these rites may not be repeated.[61]

De confirmatione details the processes of the sacrament, such as the cloth used to bind the head for three to seven days which is then washed by the priest at the font and burnt. The bishop leads the Christian host in the fight against evil in the place of

[57] *Corset* provides a possible, if tenuous, link between the two as *Eve beneite* (l. 2399 onwards) [holy water] is curiously tacked on to the section on unction. Peter Quivil is clear that unction is so feared by the laity that 'vix velint illud suscipere etiam in extremis' [they will undertake it only reluctantly even at the very end], Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 996. An attempt to counteract lay fear may be seen in Robert the Chaplain's claim that a sick body may be 'de mals alegez' [relieved of ills] (*Corset*, l. 2300) through the administration of the sacrament.

[58] See the final sentence in Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England*, Harmondsworth, 1978: 'If magic is to be defined as the employment of ineffective techniques to allay anxiety when effective ones are not available, then we must recognise that no society will ever be free from it'.

[59] Powicke, *Councils*, II, p. 897.

[60] See II Corinthians 1, 22 and Ephesians 4, 30.

[61] This doctrine was strongly debated in the thirteenth-century schools. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, found it difficult to define the essence of the *character*. See:'Deinde considerandum est de alio effectu sacramentorum, qui est character', *Summae theologiae, tertia pars,* q. 63, *CCL* [accessed 2/ 6/12]. The doctrine of the priestly *character indelebilis* had wide ramifications (see the *topos* of the 'unworthy priest', footnote 66, p. 196) and was to meet many challenges. See Martin Luther, *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility* of 1520, http://www.stanford.edu/~jsabol/certainty/readings/Luther-ChristianNobility.pdf [accessed 4/6/12].

Christ, often portrayed as a knight at the head of the Church Militant (ll. 372-85).[62] The section emphasises the indispensability and importance of the priest and the bishop which are later elaborated in *De ordinibus ecclesiasticis* in which Shoreham links each order with the authority of the Bible: 'Ich schel telle hou hyt was þer,/And hou hyt hys now here' (ll. 1259-60) [I shall tell how it was and how it is now].[63] For example, the doorkeepers in *De hostiariis* hold keys from the bishop to keep evil out of the church, just as Jesus dismissed the money-lenders from the temple and thus created the order (ll. 1282-8). Shoreham proceeds through the hierarchy of the orders, finally reaching the priest in *De presbiteris*, who is called the elder because of his wisdom, not his age (ll. 1423-4).[64] His hands are crossed and anointed at ordination and a stole put over his shoulders to signify that his hands are unrestricted, free from adversity and untainted by prosperity. He receives the chalice with wine and the paten with bread (ll. 1429-44), in symbolic imitation of Christ who manifested his own priesthood by consecrating his body at the Last Supper and offering himself on the cross (ll. 1450-6). Shoreham's ideal priest is implicitly as spiritually pure as Christ.

The section *De sacramento altaris* maintains a balance between the essential humanity of Christ and the symbolic embodiment of the unity of godhead and man. Shoreham claims that, through the eucharist, Christ's presence is more widely disseminated than would be possible were he actually present on earth (ll. 561-7). He confronts sacramental difficulties such as the possibility of change in the digested body of Christ by turning the problem around: 'he chaungeþ ous in hym' (l. 573) [he changes us in him]. All 'cristyne folke' who wish to take communion must be free from deadly sin (ll. 582-585) as the whole parish is united with the godhead to create the body of the Church:

> Crist hys þat heued, þe prest þe mouþe,
> Þe lymes þat folke i-vere. (ll. 622-3)

[Christ is the head, the priest is the mouth and the people all together are the limbs]

[62] See, for instance, in BL MS Royal 6 E VI, f.15, the large illumination of the 'Arma Christi'. For the metaphor of the armour of God based on Ephesians 6, see Bozon, *Tretys de la Passion* and *Coment le fiz Deu fu armé en la croyz.*

[63] The correlation of each order with events in the life of Christ is found in other works; e.g. *Corset* where the position of 'hostiarie' or 'porter' is likened to Jesus who made cords into whips: 'Et hors del temple touz jetat / K'eu liu marchëant trovat' (ll. 751-2) [and threw out of the Temple all those he found trading there].

[64] See the same idea in *Corset*, ll.1255-9.

The unity of the group may be understood through the composition of bread made of many grains, and of wine made of many grapes (ll. 624-7). Communal unity is thus signified by the symbols of the eucharistic host and wine which also have a mystical nature likened by Shoreham to a homely riddle:

> Wet hys mystyke ne mey non wete
> Be no þynge a-founde,
> Bote wane þer hys o þyng yked,
> An oþer to onder-stonde
> Þer-inne;
> Hy þat aredeþ þyse redeles
> Wercheþ by þilke gynne (ll. 631-7)

[You cannot comprehend what is mystical through anything you may devise; the exception is when one thing in itself signifies another, I believe. The man who solves this riddle works it out through his understanding [of symbols]]

The sacrament is complex: 'Doble hys þat þyng, ry3t cristes body, / And body of quike and dede' (ll. 654-5) [The symbol is twofold: it signifies the very body of Christ and also the body of the living and the dead]. First, Shoreham asserts, the eucharistic bread and wine represent: 'swete ihesu cryst/Ine flesche and eke ine bloude' (ll. 680-1) [the flesh and blood of sweet Jesus Christ]. Second, they demonstrate that the body of the Church is composed of all Christians, both the living and the dead.The former are, implicitly, responsible for ensuring the salvation of the dead through the provision of masses and prayers for their souls. Shoreham thus presents the eucharist as a unifying focal point of the whole community. The body of Christ is present in every particle of bread and wine and Shoreham likens this to the image of the shattered mirror, in which every shard reflects the whole image (ll. 722-8) – a trope used by other medieval writers.[65] He reassures his parishioners that even when the priest is in a state of sin, the efficacy of the eucharist is in no way invalidated (ll.736-42), thereby rebutting an idea which dates back to the Donatists of the Antique Church.[66] As Gary Macy claims, major heretical attacks on the eucharist in the Middle Ages often derived not from a rejection of the sacrament but from:

[65] For an example of the well-known *exemplum de speculo*, see 'On the feast of Corpus Christi' in *Vernon, Minor Poems*, 1, pp. 177-8 (ll. 205-20). The host is compared with a mirror which shows one face but when broken, 'so moni forms þou miht se' (l. 216) [you can see many different reflections].
[66] Thomas Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation*, Princeton, p.125. For a further example of the *topos* of the bad priest, see 'A Treatise of the Manner and Mede of the Mass' in the fourteenth-century *Lay Folks' Mass-Book or the Manner of Hearing Mass*, ed. T. F. Simmons, London,

> an over-zealousness for its value and purity; in short, from the explosive new devotion to the Eucharist, a force which carried some people into a head-on collision with the established Church.[67]

Shoreham also reassures parishioners that if an ill man vomits the host, God will stay in him to work salvation.[68] He addresses the highly problematic issue of the eating of Christ's body, explaining that it is taken in the form of bread and wine, as man would be unable to tolerate the sight or taste of Christ's actual flesh and blood (ll. 694-700). The fear that the eucharist resembles cannibalism can be traced back as far as Augustine's exposition of Christ's command:

> He, therefore, taught and admonished us with words of mystery that we should be in his trunk, under his head itself, in his limbs, eating his flesh, remaining [fast] in our union with him.[69]

Shoreham likens the inoffensive 'fourme' of bread [70] to a ruse which hides from man the reality of the body consumed. Whilst his instruction is based on the exposition of eucharistic symbolism, his emphasis is always on its practical application for parishioners.

De penitencia explains the three elements of the sacrament: 'Penaunce heþ maneres þre,/Þorȝ sorȝe, schryfte, and edbote.'(ll. 846-7) [Penance has three forms, repentance, oral shrift and satisfaction].[71] The process must continue throughout a man's lifetime (ll. 866-8). Most importantly, all sins must be confessed to a single priest, not a 'kantel [portion] to a prest/And a kantel to an-oþer' (ll. 906-7). Shoreham does not elaborate on his short instruction that a man must think 'Wet, hou, and wer. And wenne' (l. 910) since he provides strategic and systematic material for the confession of sin in *De decem preceptis* and *De septem mortalibus peccatis*. Sin must be fully and frankly confessed, not wrapped in silk but told in 'al þat rouȝe' (l. 914) [all its

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1879, p.132, where the unworthy priest's mass is 'as good to heere,/As Monk, Chanoun, Hermyte, or Frere'(ll. 140-141) [as good to hear as that of a monk, canon, hermit or friar].

[67] Gary Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, p. 57.

[68] The 'Stercoranistae' were early proponents of the idea that the host underwent normal digestive processes in the body of the communicant, Ibid., pp. 54-5.

[69] 'Hoc ergo nos docuit et admonuit mysticis verbis, ut simus in eius corpora, sub ipso capite, in membris eius, edentes carnem eius, non relinquentes unitatem eius'. St Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, Cl. 0278, tract. 27, par. 1, l.10. *CCL* [accessed 13/8/2012].

[70] This simple formula was 'the laconic lay equivalent of transubstantiation in all its complexities': Margaret Aston, *Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion: 1350-1600*, London, 1993, p. 47.

[71] The word 'shrift' is ambiguous in both modern and medieval English, being both the act of auricular confession and also the penance that is imposed.

roughness]. Should a man be in danger of death, he may confess to a layman: 'Schryf þe to anoþer felawe' (l. 917), and then repeat his confession to a priest if he survives. The Church tolerated lay confession *in extremis*, provided the penitent would have preferred to confess to a priest, and Shoreham reminds his parishioners that it should be undertaken only if death threatens.[72] Confession must be regular, otherwise sins may be forgotten (ll. 925-31). Shoreham reassures the penitent that it is better to suffer 'a lytel schame' (l. 941) now than on the Day of Judgement. Unshriven sin will be doubly punished but a sinner may be saved 'Þorȝ bare repentaunce' (l. 947) [by repentance alone] if he has no opportunity to confess. The vicar's advice is practical and targets specific lay concerns.

Shoreham explores the psychology of the penitent, explaining that contrition, in the form of shame and weeping, is necessary to the process of shrift; the priest may be sorry to cause pain but he acts like a physician. Shoreham advises that, if a man's own priest cannot shrive him, he should seek another (ll. 979-80). He consoles the lay penitent with the prospect of satisfaction after shrift and defines three kinds of penance: praying (for sins of the spirit), fasting (for sins of the flesh) and almsgiving (for both kinds) (l.1002-12). *De penitencia* indicates the growing responsibility of the individual sinner to direct his own personal, private penance. According to Shoreham, this may embrace a range of devotional observances. Penitential prayer, 'byddyng' may, for example, be expressed in many ways: in contemplation, reading, writing and listening to sermons and instruction with a contrite heart (ll. 1016-9). Fasting includes different forms of austerity inflicted on the flesh and almsgiving comprises corporal and spiritual works of charity (ll. 1020-36). These expressions of penance are directed by the individual conscience, 'þet inne-wyt', which is said in *De ordinibus ecclesiasticis* to symbolise the Christian man as the house of God (l.1501). Shoreham insists on the importance of the agency of conscience (ll. 1506-40), listing its virtues and comparing them with the life of the Church. For instance, conscience drives the devil away and cleanses the soul, like the door-keeper (ll. 1513-9), and it serves at the altar of devotion, like the priest (ll. 1527-32). Penitential practice may, then, find expression in private, spiritual acts which are guided by the individual conscience.

[72] The sacrament was, of course, incomplete without priestly absolution; see R. Emmet McLaughlin, 'Truth, Tradition, and History', p.46. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, lay confession became associated with Lollard sympathies; see Alastair Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature*, Cambridge, 2009, p.190, footnote 88.

Whilst modern scholarship frequently stresses the continuity of public acts of humiliation, as reflected in *Handlyng Synne*, Shoreham's emphases indicate that private penance was also embedded in lay practice and that clerical interest was developing in the interior processes of the penitent.[73] The evidence of *pastoralia* indicates that both public and private systems of confession and penance existed alongside each other at this period, albeit in a state of tension.

Shoreham writes that seven years' penance should be completed for one deadly sin but there is scarcely 'eny prest/ Þat peyne set so sore' (ll. 1042-3) [any priest that will enjoin such a severe penance]. In Shoreham's opinion, a priest may prefer to be considered too merciful and forgiving, rather than cruel.[74] Shoreham appears uncomfortable with this reluctance to apportion harsh penance, although it is congruent with advice given by authorities such as Thomas Aquinas:

> It is better that a priest should indicate to the penitent how great a penance should be imposed on him for his sins; nevertheless, he should enjoin a penance that the penitent may reasonably bear'.[75]

Shoreham also reasons that some priests enjoin only light penance because the sinner is willing to describe his sin in full (ll. 1051-5). He concludes that a priest must apportion some form of penance or no amends will be made at all and the sinner will have to work out the rest of his penance in purgatory. Care for the lay penitent is at the heart of Shoreham's guidance; many men, according to Shoreham, receive the sacrament in an unworthy manner wishing only to take the 'bare signe' (l. 1082) and some laymen are reluctant to accept the penance imposed.

It would be disingenuous to claim that Shoreham places little value on his priestly responsibility to oversee the penitential and moral conduct of his parishioners – the *Poems* provide evidence to the contrary – but it is not his primary or sole concern to

[73] Despite claims by Peter Biller, for instance, that modern scholarship on public penance has 'called into question the interiorisation of confession'; Biller, *Handling Sin*, p. 30.
[74] See: Alexander Murray, 'Confession as a Historical Source in the Thirteenth Century' in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to Richard William Southern*, ed. R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, with R.J.A.I. Catto and M. H. Keen, Oxford: 1981, pp. 275-322: 'what confessors learned in confession inclined them towards the moderating influence of Aristotelian ethics' (p. 320).
[75] Thomas Aquinas: 'melius est quod sacerdos poenitenti indicet quanta poenitentia esset sibi pro peccatis iniungenda, et iniungat sibi nihilominus aliquid quod poenitens tolerabiliter ferat'. *Quodlibeta I-XI*, Qu.3, q.13, art.1,cor, l. 54, p. 67, col.1, *CCL* [accessed 20/12/2011].

use the sacrament as a tool of social discipline and control.[76] Shoreham reveals a degree of sympathy and tact in dealing with the sinner, as does Bishop Quivil to a lesser degree.The parishioners of Chart Sutton are encouraged to recognise the dictates of their own conscience and their personal responsibility for wrongdoing. The development of such autonomy may, however, lead to disregard for the guidance of the Church, particularly when it concerns marriage – the sacrament with the greatest impact on the life of the laity.

Shoreham acknowledges the importance of matrimony in his lengthy section, *De matrimonio,* which consists of 580 lines (ll.1562-2142), roughly a quarter of the total 2240 lines in *De septem sacramentis*. His exposition is predicated on the parallel of earthly marriage with transcendental relationships: 'the tokne of the ioynyng/ Of God and holy cherche' (ll.1564-5) [the token of the union between God and holy Church] and 'by- tuixe god and holy folk' (l.1574) [between God and holy folk]. The symbolic nature of marriage had been established by St Paul:

> Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord… For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones…This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the Church.[77]

The centrality of the Ephesian analogy is crucial to Shoreham's depiction of the relationship between husband and wife as the symbol of the elevated relationship of the Christian with God, thereby endowing marriage with its sacramental status.[78] Just as the communal meal of the eucharist represents the unity of the parish, both living and dead, with God, so the key sacramental moment of the exchange of marital consent signifies the union of the human and divine. Shoreham's exposition of the symbolic nature of marriage strategically moves the rite from a temporal to a religious experience and justifies the presence of the priest in the sacramental act. The divine symbolism of the sacrament, however, sometimes sits uneasily with the discord and fracture intimated in Shoreham's practical counsel to his parishioners.

[76] This appears at odds with the views of scholars like Thomas Tentler who claims that 'sacramental confession was an integrated system of social control', *Sin and Confession,* p. xvii.
[77] Taken from the Epistle to the Ephesians 5, 22-32.
[78]. For the importance of the Ephesian analogy in the construction of symbolic structures, see David L. d'Avray, 'The Gospel of the Marriage Feast of Cana and Marriage Preaching in France' and d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons,* Oxford, 2001, p. 280 and *passim*.

Shoreham insists that marriage signifies the union of a couple for life (ll. 2131-2), thereby reflecting the Church's emphasis on monogamy and indissolubility within marriage. The normative shift in attitude and behaviour the Church had achieved amongst all sections of the laity included the powerful nobility whose marital customs in the early medieval period had been based on 'an aristocratic model, favouring legitimate marriage but allowing easy divorce, and tolerating the marriage of close relatives'.[79] *De matrimonio* promulgates the symbolic nature of marriage which was an important force for generating general acceptance of fundamental changes in the whole social institution of marriage, as David d'Avray suggests. He attributes the shift as being due, in no small measure, to the 'mass communication' of preaching in the thirteenth century.[80] Whilst the implementation of the Church paradigm of marriage was a considerable achievement, it came up against a degree of lay resistance and this, too, is reflected in *De matrimonio*.

The Church's insistence on exogamous unions had been reinforced by legislation on consanguinity in the early medieval period.[81] This emphasis had clashed with the aristocratic preference for endogamous unions which preserved family property and the dominance of the patrilineal line – but lay challenge gradually yielded to ecclesiastical mandate.[82] The rulings on the prohibition of marriage within the same family had been relaxed, for practical reasons, from within seven to four degrees of consanguinity – information is often found in visual representations, such as diagrammatic trees of consanguinity.[83] Even so, the laity would have still experienced difficulty in finding suitable marriage partners. Despite the importance of this legislation to his parishioners, Shoreham simply reiterates the rule of four degrees (ll. 1912-8, 1926-32) whilst placing far greater emphasis on the concept of spiritual affinity (ll. 1856 -1904) which creates a complex web of relationships through sponsorship in baptism and confirmation. It prohibits, for instance, the

[79] David L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage, Symbolism and Society*, p.14.
[80] Ibid., p.73. D'Avray lists the symbols created by marriage; e.g., 'Marriage is a powerful symbol of the union of the human and the divine'(p. 17).
[81] For the discussion of these developments, see: Georges Duby, *Le chevalier, la femme et le prêtre,* Paris, 1981, pp. 40-3, p. 303 and *passim*; Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, Cambridge, 1995, especially pp. 74-5 and 199-200.
[82] Constance Bouchard, 'Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Speculum*, 56 (1981): 268-87, concludes that the French nobility generally obeyed the rulings on consanguinity but that the structure of the nobility changed (287).
[83] See the tree of consanguinity with relationships inscribed in BL MS Harley 3241, f. 157.

marriage of the baptised with the godparent, or even with the godparent's spouse.[84] The symbolism of the spiritual community is thus maintained. Records show that the impediments imposed by spiritual affinity were occasionally cited in the courts. For instance, a case in Kent (1325) concerns John Mayde who confessed that he had had intercourse with his godmother, Johanna le Cokgeres. John received the penance of a pilgrimage to Santiago and Johanna was later fined 40 shillings.[85] In the case of Layburne-Stut (1352) in the York court, members of the community had challenged the marriage between John Layburne and Alice Stut on the grounds that John had sponsored Alice's son at baptism (it was unclear whether this was the case).[86] Lay people were clearly aware of the prohibitions of spiritual affinity.

Joseph Lynch points out that the medieval English laity had possibly never fully adhered to the prohibitions inherent in the concept of spiritual kinship. Before the tenth century in England:

> The Anglo-Saxon godparent complex differed markedly from Continental versions in its late and restrained concern about the sexual conduct of spiritual kin.[87]

Since the Anglo-Saxons practised same-sex sponsorship at infant baptism, marriage between sponsors was not possible.[88] The institution of spiritual kinship had developed a nexus of theology, politics and social relationships which was specific to the country.[89] Older attitudes, which disregarded the sexual taboos of spiritual kinship, might well have still been current in England and non-compliance with rulings was highly probable. Shoreham clarifies the impediments against marriage – between a godparent and the parents of the baptised, for instance – although a widow or widower can marry the godparent of their step-child (ll.1898-1904). Shoreham

[84] Affinity created by marriage or intercourse imposed further constraints on potential partners; see Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, Chapter XVI, where a series of diagrams show marital relationships permitted or prohibited because of affinity, e.g. *Affinitas ex carnali copula*, p. 59, diagram 7. Grosseteste also specifies that marriage is not allowed between those who have contracted 'Cognatio spiritualis' [spiritual affinity] 'per baptismum', 'per penitenciam' and 'per confirmacionem'; *Templum Dei*, p. 59, diagram 6.
[85] *Registrum Hamonis Hethe*, p. 224, dated Feb. 24, 1325 at Rochester. Joan is 'commatrem suam, que ipsum Johannem levavit de sacro fonte' [his godmother who held John at the holy font].
[86] Richard Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*, pp. 218-9, from the Register of Archbishop William Zouche (1342-52). Helmholz claims that consanguinity and affinity were only rarely cited in court evidence, pp. 86-7.
[87] Joseph H. Lynch, *Christianizing Kinship*, Ithaca, N.Y.; London, 1998, pp. 162, 168.
[88] Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe*, Princeton, 1986, pp. 205-6.
[89] Lynch, *Christianizing*, pp. 5, 230-34 and *passim*. For a general discussion of the formation of kinship networks and the reinforcement of existing social lines, see: John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, p.137.

reminds parishioners that while the common sponsorship of a husband and wife at baptism or confirmation is not absolutely prohibited, it is, in his view, against propriety (l.1905).[90] Implicit in this censure is a warning about the potential disgrace of a married couple should they become joint godparents, since by contracting spiritual affinity, they would be guilty of fornication within their marriage. If they continue to cohabit, neighbours would gossip about their immorality and Shoreham warns:

Ne wette
Schrewede tonge for te speke,
For sclaunder me schal lette. (ll. 1909-11)

[Do not sharpen knowing tongues to speak about this, for man will create slander.]

Shoreham emphasises the rulings on affinity, the sacramental and spiritual bonds of the Christian family, untouched by the discord of secular relationships. Whether his parishioners regarded these relationships in the same way seems unlikely.

Nonetheless, *De matrimonio* delivers wide-ranging advice on the marital difficulties that may have confronted parishioners and Shoreham acknowledges the gulf between spiritual ideal and lived experience. His knowledge of canon law is sound, however acquired – through university study, derived from diocesan constitutions or works such as the influential *Summa summarum* of William of Pagula.[91] We know of the link between Shoreham and Simon Mepham and the archbishop's statutes may have informed *De matrimonio*. Yet Mepham's short directive on matrimony gives none of the detail of Shoreham's exposition – even its introduction reveals its narrow focus:

[90] This was Gratian's teaching: 'Quod autem uxor cum marito in baptismate non debeat suscipere puerum, nulla auctoritate reperitur prohibitum. Sed ut puritas spiritualis paternitatis ab omni labe et infamia conseruetur inmunis, dignum esse decreuimus, ut utrique insimul ad hoc aspirare minime presumant. [Although a wife should not undertake to sponsor a child in baptism with her husband, it appears to be forbidden by no ruling. But in order that the spiritual purity of parenthood should be protected from all gossip and slander, we have ruled that they would do well to have little desire for this undertaking]; Gratian, *Corpus*, secunda pars, causa xxx, quest. iv, c.vi, p. 1104. Shoreham's *De confirmatione* also warns parents against sponsoring their own child (ll. 477-83).

[91] See Leonard Boyle, 'The *Summa summarum* and Some Other English Works of Canon Law' in *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law*, pp. 415-456. A copy of the long *Summa* was expensive and there is little evidence that it circulated among the lower clergy or was found in many parish churches (p. 425-6); British Library MS Royal 10 D X belonging to Reading Abbey is, for instance, a large deluxe edition. Yet Boyle found at least seventy copies of the *Summa* in circulation (p. 426) and other law books were held by libraries around the country. N.R. Ker lists BL MS Additional 21614, with Bracton material, as belonging to the Abbey of Glastonbury in the fourteenth century: N.R. Ker ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, London, 2nd edn 1964, p. 91.

'Concerning marriage which must not be solemnized without the calling of banns'.[92] The problem of clandestine marriage persisted for many years to come but it might be controlled by formal church solemnisation.[93]

Shoreham's instruction insists on openness in the performance of the rite so that the union is shown to be legal. *De matrimonio* orders that banns are to be published in church on three holy days (ll. 1941-3), the marriage must be correctly witnessed (l. 1676) and the marriage contract must be made before two witnesses (l.1707). A clandestine marriage followed by open avowal is valid, provided that the couple is legally entitled to wed (ll. 1709-22). William mentions no penitential penalties for failure to secure the solemnization and publication of banns, possibly in order to encourage errant parishioners to comply with the law.[94] He insists on compliance with long-established legislation which is, apparently, being ignored. This is substantiated by evidence from the accounts of consistory courts, such as a note in the register of Hamo, Bishop of Rochester, dated December 1320/ January 1321.[95] This tells of the marriage between John Hamecok and Maud, from Gillingham, who was related in the third degree to his late wife, Joan. The marriage had been solemnized in secret, at night, by John, a chaplain, who had since admitted his involvement to the court and submitted himself to God's grace. The episcopal court had adjourned on several occasions to decide on the matter, but John and Maud had failed to appear at the hearings. No further details are given about the fate of the chaplain or the couple.

Provided there was no other impediment to the union, a clandestine marriage might be valid, though illegal. John and Maud's marriage was, however, canonically invalid on grounds of consanguinity. The chaplain must have realised his wrong-doing but his motives are unknown. The redundancy of the priest's sacramentality may have

[92] Mepham's statute 'De matrimonio non solemnizando absque bannorum edicione' is approximately 130 words long and threatens non-compliant priests with three years' suspension from office; even solemnising a marriage outside a parochial church or chapel without a diocesan licence will incur a year's suspension. See the Constitutions of the Council of Westminster (1328/9) in Roy Haines, 'An Innocent Abroad: The Career of Simon Mepham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1328-33', *The English Historical Review*, 12 (1997): 555-96 (Appendix 2, p. 593). The statutes treat administrative details such as the observance of saints' feast days.
[93] This long-established ruling is treated in canon 51, Tanner, *Decrees*, p. 258. See, too, Gratian, *Decretum*, secunda pars, causa xxx, quest. v, c.ii, p. 1105.
[94] Quivil's chapter *De matrimonio* threatens excommunication for disobedience. See, too, Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation*, p. 27.
[95] *Registrum Hamonis Hethe*, pp. 206-7.

encouraged some priests to view marriage as a purely secular event, to be organised as the lay couple saw fit. We should not discount venality in some cases. John and Maud's motives, too, are unclear. They may have been unaware of the importance of their blood ties but, it is more likely that they feared objections might be raised at the calling of banns, and so they married in secret. Ruth Mazo Karras has suggested that couples also chose to marry in secret if the bride's dowry was insufficient as, without this, the marriage 'was likely to be considered a different type of union'.[96] There is a further possibility, of course: John and Maud cared little about the legality of their actions and believed their marriage contract was their own business – the couple had failed to cooperate with the Church officials and apparently felt no regret. Yet we may counter by arguing that the couple chose to have their union solemnized by a priest; they sought religious validation without, necessarily, accepting every detail of Church ruling on marriage.

This tale is not unique in the Rochester register, or indeed in the records of other dioceses; many couples demonstrated the same cavalier attitude towards the canon law of marriage and Church authorities.[97] Ruling on marital disputes was an important function of the courts and, as Richard Helmholz has demonstrated, the bulk of medieval marriage litigation was made up of petitions asserting the validity of an existing relationship, and seeking from the courts a positive decision in the declaration of the validity of the said marriage.[98] From the outset, clarity of intention was critical in establishing a valid contract: Shoreham insists it must be based on mutual consent, 'ryȝt assent of boþe' (l. 1570) and this is sufficient to create marriage (ll. 1632-4). He explains that words must be spoken: the immediately effective 'Her ich þe take' [I take you here and now] or the promise of future marriage: 'ich wille þe haue/ And þer-to treuþe plyȝte' (ll. 1653-4) [I shall take you [in marriage] and I pledge my troth to do so]. The indissolubility of *sponsalia de praesenti*: 'þat ferste ne faylleþ nauȝt' (l. 1658) [those first words never fail] contrasts with the possible failure of betrothal, *verba de futuro*: 'þat oþer may for sleuþe' (l. 1659) [the second form may always be put off]. A betrothal may also become void should one of the parties

[96] Ruth Mazo Karras, *Unmarriages*, p. 6.
[97] Richard Helmholz confirms: 'At Canterbury, most of the litigation preserved in the thirteenth-century *sede vacante* material concerns marriage'. At Rochester, between April 1347 and April 1348, sixteen out of thirty-four cases heard concerned marriage, *Marriage Litigation*, p.166.
[98] Ibid., p. 25.

consent to marry a third person. Should sexual intercourse have taken place, however, after the *verba de futuro*, the marriage would be complete and indissoluble: 'For þet compleþ þet spoushod / after þe by-treuþyng/ Þat hyt ne may (nauȝt) be ondon' [for that completes the marriage after the betrothal so that it may not be broken] (ll.1667-9). Shoreham again warns his parishioners against entering into promises of future marriage which are easily broken (ll.1674-80). Betrothals may also invalidate marriages contracted later, so that partners of the second union live in sin (ll.1688-701).

Shoreham addresses an extensive range of matrimonial rulings including the marriage of children. This was often bound up in complex arrangements of guardianship, such as the financial advantages of vendable wardships and the forced unions of wards with relatives of guardians.[99] Shoreham makes it clear that canon law imposes firm parameters on such marriages. Boys, for instance, must be aged at least fourteen, and girls twelve years of age (ll.1723-1743). Children may be betrothed at seven years of age although this makes 'none ryȝt weddynge' (l.1729) [no valid marriage], despite ritual bedding. Any marriage contracted between children may be dissolved unless they give their consent when they reach the age of puberty. The vicar insists a forced marriage is invalid – it must be an act of free will – but may be validated if followed by consensual consummation (ll. 1744-57).

Shoreham also treats the difficult subject of conditional contracts of marriage (ll. 1758-78). An honest condition merely delays the wedding until the condition is fulfilled, but should it be a 'wykked condicioun', the marriage must take place even if the condition is not met. The marriage contract is void if the condition implies a vile deed against the purpose of marriage (ll. 1772-8). Richard Helmholz provides examples of such conditions made in marriage contracts, citing, for instance, the case of John Bele and Margaret Wyk in York in 1418.[100] John had said that he would marry Margaret if she conceived after intercourse, which she had failed to do.

[99] For an example of the latter, see the case of Constance Brome in 1348 in Frederik Pedersen, *Marriage Disputes in Medieval England*, London, 2000, pp. 162-5. From his examination of fourteenth-century ecclesiastical courts at York, Pedersen concludes that lay people had a good grasp of the canon law of marriage.
[100] Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation*, pp. 47-57.

However, the court decided that the admission of a carnal relationship was sufficient to validate the marriage. Helmholz comments:

> It is perhaps an indication of the tenacity of many people's belief in the freedom to regulate their own matrimonial arrangements that such conditions continued to be made.[101]

Shoreham reminds members of the clergy in major orders, deacons and subdeacons, that, like monks, nuns and friars, they are not allowed to marry (ll. 1779-85). On the other hand, men who attempt to enter religious life are still bound by a betrothal they have previously made (ll. 1779-99).[102] Adulterers may marry only when their marriage partners die, provided they are not responsible for their death (ll.1800-13).

Shoreham outlines arrangements for disadvantaged members of the community. The deaf and dumb may marry through signs of consent (ll. 1639-45) and a leper may marry a non-leper by mutual consent (ll. 1814-34). If the latter have contracted *sponsalia de praesenti* or have consummated a betrothal, then they must cohabit until the sick spouse enters 'a spytel hous' (l. 1828). Yet by the fourteenth century, the number of cases of leprosy was in decline and there is no evidence that a *leprosarium* existed near Chart Sutton.[103] Shoreham's concern, as of other medieval commentators, may be simply the reiteration of codified instruction but parishioners would, nevertheless, be conscious of the threat of the disease and its consequences.

Popular depictions of medieval reactions to the disease have stressed the fear of leprosy, the isolation required and the severe legislation preventing lepers from entering towns. Several modern commentators view confinement of the sick to have been a punitive measure. R.I. Moore, for example, regards the harsh treatment of

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[101] Ibid., p. 51.

[102] For a discussion of the problem of marriages already contracted and the effect on entry to religion, see Ian P. Wei, *Intellectual Culture*, pp. 276-7.

[103] Nicholas Orme writes that approximately 68 newly established hospitals were recorded in England 1070-1150; Nicholas Orme and Margaret Webster, *The English Hospital, 1070-1570*, New Haven CT; London, 1995, p. 23. However, rural leper colonies, like those described in the West Country by Orme and Webster, did not exist in Kent; see Sheila Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England*, Dublin, 2004, p. 79. Sweetinburgh's map (p. 69) shows how hospitals were established in Canterbury, Dover and along the North Kent coast, on routes used by pilgrims and travellers. The nearest hospital to Chart Sutton was probably Sts Peter and Paul in Maidstone, founded (date unknown) by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface of Savoy (1217-1270), to house one chaplain and 10 poor persons, but not lepers.

lepers as a form of persecution.[104] Nicholas Orme also demonstrates how punitive laws might be – in Wales a leper who was renouncing the world was forced to pay heriot as if he had died and 'a woman could leave a leper husband and take her property with her'.[105] Yet *De matrimonio* attests to a more sympathetic attitude and proposes practical, humane arrangements for the sick: it affirms the indissolubility of the marriage contract and the continuation of married life until separation becomes necessary.[106] This realistic yet compassionate assertion is indicative of the diversity of responses generated by the illness at this time. Carole Rawcliffe describes how negative concepts of lepers and the disease in the medieval period were balanced by other heterogeneous interpretations and responses. She points out that, contrary to popular assumption, most leper houses were neither remote nor self-sufficient and some even shared facilities with local congregations.[107] In several respects those who suffered from prolonged sickness held a similar status to nuns and monks, since patient endurance of disease was held to purify the soul and facilitate its journey through purgatory. Lepers might thus overcome prejudice and fear, and later acquire considerable reserves of authority in the spiritual economy: they might be prevailed upon to expend their reserves to assist the passage of the soul of a benefactor.[108] Homiletic literature often stressed the spiritual merits to be gained by caring for the sick, as, for instance, Bozon describes Elizabeth of Hungary:

> Cele ke fut de si grant lyn
> Sovent se mit a tere enclyn
> Pur laver les pez de leprouses
> E beysa lur pez de quer douce.

[She, who was so nobly born, often knelt down on the ground to wash the feet of lepers and kiss their feet with a gentle heart].[109]

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[104] See R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, Oxford, 2006, especially pp. 42-57. On the other hand, it may be argued, prohibitions such as the rule of chastity imposed on inmates were not necessarily punitive; hospitals were religious establishments and had to maintain order: see Carole Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England*, Woodbridge, 2006, pp. 263-7.

[105] Nicholas Orme, *The English Hospital*, p. 26.

[106] In 'de coniugione leprorum' of the *Summa summarum* the writer also lists a similar set of rules for marriage concerning lepers: BL MS Royal 10 D X (Book 4, Chapter 8). Carole Rawcliffe confirms that many lepers stayed with their partners as required by Church rulings: *Leprosy*, pp. 267-70.

[107] Ibid., p. 258. The claim that *leprosaria* imprisoned the sick in remote institutions is often unwarranted.

[108] See, for example, Henry III's pardon to a leper, William de Hay of Hereford, in respect of a 10 mark fine imposed by the justices. This may be a charitable action or an attempt to become the object of the leper's prayers. See *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*: Henry III Fine Rolls Project, No. 133 (13 January 1250) http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk [accessed 14/7/2009].

[109] 'Life of St Elizabeth' in Nicholas Bozon, *Seven More Poems by Nicholas Bozon*, ed. M.A. Klenke, Louvain, 1951, ll. 67-70. The contrast of inner purity and outer infection also reflected Christ's rejection of the old Jewish law, especially with regard to lepers and social outcasts. Conversely, R.I.

Shoreham makes clear that, once a valid contract was made, both divorce and judicial separation *a mensa et thoro* were difficult to achieve and pressure could be brought on husband and wife to continue to cohabit. *De matrimonio* points out that only two errors may invalidate marriage: marrying a thrall thinking he or she is free (although if consummated, the marriage is valid), or mistaking the identity of the person who is being married (ll. 1840-55). Unless there was a specific and sufficient cause for divorce, both partners were obliged to fulfil their marital duties.[110] Yet Shoreham accepts the reality of marital breakdown and gives detailed advice to those who wish to separate. He focuses on the subject of impotence (ll.1954-74), weak grounds for separation, it might be assumed, since intercourse did not necessarily validate a marriage. James Brundage sums up the dilemma:

> Given that model [of Mary and Joseph], the canonists could scarcely hold that sexual relations were essential to all marriage relations. At the same time, especially considering the importance that they attached to the procreation of children…the canonists could scarcely maintain that the sexual relations of the spouses were irrelevant to marriage.[111]

Yet a marriage regularly solemnized might be annulled if one of the parties was impotent and had been so since before the marriage (ll. 1954-7).[112] If impotence was caused by bewitchment, Shoreham declares, the couple must live together for three years before seeking separation (ll.1968-74). The three-year trial period was generally accepted as sufficient and English courts attempted to provide evidence of male impotence.[113] Other proof of a husband's failure to consummate a marriage might be provided by the physical inspection of his wife to prove her virginity.[114] Impotence caused by bewitchment is deemed an important issue by Shoreham and figures in the

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Moore considers exaggerated expression of care of the afflicted as: 'one measure of the growing horror of leprosy': *The Origins of European Dissent,* London, 1977, p. 250.

[110] As Helmholz asserts, *Marriage Litigation,* p.103.

[111] James Brundage, 'The Problem of Impotence' in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage, Buffalo, N.Y., 1982, pp. 135-40 (p.135).

[112] Bronach Kane writes: 'Surprisingly, suits for annulment on the grounds of impotence have not received systematic analysis thus far', *Impotence and Virginity in the Late Medieval Ecclesiastical Court of York*, York, 2008, p. 6. Brundage cites three such cases, two in the Ely Consistory Court and one in Toulouse, 'The Problem of Impotence', pp.138-40.

[113] Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation*, pp. 87-9, describes the practice of English courts which appointed 'honest' women to attempt to stimulate a man deemed impotent - see the image of such an examination in Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore MS W 133, f. 277.

[114] Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2006, p. 62.

Decretum of Gratian.[115] Theologians and canon lawyers, however, rarely made mention of the condition, as Catherine Rider discerns:

> a wider tendency in medical and scientific writing from the twelfth century onwards to reduce the area of human experience attributable to the supernatural by looking for natural explanations first.[116]

Nevertheless, pastoral writers like Shoreham continued to find that the concept of magically induced impotence was a useful tool in their pastoral instruction.[117] It provided one of the few options open to parishioners for annulling a marriage and was acceptable to all parties. It was a trope of folklore which attached no guilt to the impotent and, being a temporary state, did not preclude the success of future relations.[118]

Shoreham suggests, too, that couples may, by mutual consent, take a solemn vow to be chaste in marriage, like Mary and Joseph (ll. 2043-65). He does not highlight any of the complexities and contradictions inherent in this ideal.[119] Adultery is the only reason a couple should separate, although both spouses must remain chaste during the other's lifetime (ll. 2071-2). Shoreham tells parishioners that they may not repudiate their wives except on the most serious of grounds – even bewitchment by another man does not constitute a valid reason (l. 2094). Other situations do not provide grounds for separation: ravishment, prostitution, remarriage in the belief the first spouse is dead or too long absent on pilgrimage (ll. 2109-14). If a wife is taken back after an adulterous relationship, she may not be repudiated (ll. 2115-21). Shoreham thus provides detailed information on marriage and clarifies two grounds for annulment or separation: impotence or adultery. *Matrimony* concludes with the reiteration of the need for mutual consent and of the symbolic importance of the sacrament.

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[115] Ibid., p. 2.
[116] Ibid., p.71.
[117] Ibid., pp. 105-6.
[118] Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation*, p.53-4, cites a case in Rochester (1443) where consummation with a later partner did not invalidate the annulment of John Forster's earlier unconsummated contract with Jane Burdon (4 years before). The court made no judgement and Helmholz comments: 'since both had married again, there were good reasons for leaving them alone' (p.54).
[119] See the fifth chapter: 'Spiritual Marriage and the Penitential Ethos' in Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock,* pp. 195-265. Elliott concludes that the move to chastity might have 'an empowering effect' for women. See, too, her section on the significance of the union of Mary and Joseph (pp.176-83). Like Brundage, Penny Gold demonstrates canonists' difficulties in categorizing Mary and Joseph's unconsummated union as a marriage: Penny Gold, 'The Marriage of Mary and Joseph in the Twelfth-Century Ideology of Marriage' in *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. Vern L. Bullough and James Brundage, Buffalo, N.Y., 1982, pp. 102-17.

The vicar's practical counsel suggests the disorder that may exist in human relationships and belies the transcendental nature of the marital bonds. This disjunction is apparent throughout *De septem sacramentis*: lay activity disturbs the vision of the stable parish which reflects God's presence on earth.

Lay devotion: *Pater Noster* and *The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary*

Unlike the vicar's sacramental exposition which provides wide-ranging guidance and advice for parishioners, Shoreham's shorter poems address the devotional and affective needs of the laity. This is not to suggest that the poems have no instructional purpose – they recount biblical narratives which listeners are encouraged to retain through the mnemonic strategies of verse, and they explain theological ideas such as the Assumption of the Virgin. Nonetheless, their main focus is on the creation of an emotional response in the contrite Christian. It is important to acknowledge the emphasis writers of *pastoralia*, like Shoreham, placed on the role of the affective in the enrichment of religious experience, especially in the formation of the penitential subject. Although exploration of this area of human experience was not a requirement of episcopal ruling, those who instructed the laity appreciated the potency of emotion in the development of lay religious understanding. Like Bozon's *Tretys*, Shoreham's *Pater Noster*, a version of the Hours of the Cross, evokes the pity of his listeners for Christ's suffering. A second short poem, *Five Joys*, reflects Marian devotion in an outline of Mary's life which has special appeal for the women of the parish.

Pater Noster combines a Latin original of the 'Horae passionis Domini' with 'Horae compassionis B. Virginis Mariae'.[120] The narrative of Christ's Passion is viewed through the emotions of his mother. As Sarah McNamer proposes: 'imagining that one is a woman…becomes a core mechanism for cultivating compassion in late medieval England'.[121] Each incident is dramatically heightened by its link to the canonical hours (beginning with Prime, l.51). A macaronic passage in Latin and English introduces each stanza and these interstices are composed of the beginnings

[120] For other examples of this combination, see *Patris Sapiencia* or *Horae de Cruce* in *Vernon, Minor Poems,* p. 37 and *Horae de cruce* in *Legends of the Holy Rood,* ed. R. Morris, London, 1871, p. 222. See, too, *Hore compassionis beate Marie virgi[n]is* in BL MS Egerton 2125, f. 155.
[121] Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation*, p. 18.

of prayers and of appeals to Christ and his mother.[122] This suggests that the poem was read to lay listeners who were invited to make individual response, creating a powerful and affective performance. The poem seeks to develop compassion for Christ's suffering though a detailed invocation of the Passion which employs graphic visualisation of the scene. The affectivity of Christ's Passion is deepened as, for instance, Mary is asked to express her feelings at the sight of Jesus, 'þy chyld', nailed to the cross 'Wyþ nayles gret and longe'(ll.100- 2).[123] The sorrow of the *mater dolorosa* is later depicted thus:

> Þat swerde persed þyne saule þo,
> And so hyt ded wel ofter;
> Þat was þy sorwe for þy child:
> Deþe adde be wel softer. (ll. 123-6)

[That sword pierced your soul as it continued to do long afterwards; such was your sorrow for your child. Death would have been much easier.]

As Michelle Karnes suggests, the Christian is not required to suffer physically but must experience the desire to suffer, inspired through constant meditation of the Passion which effects mental enlightenment.[124]

Mary retains her essentially maternal role in the happiness described in *The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary*.[125] The poem articulates the narrative of Mary's life with Christ through the joyous moments of the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection and the Ascension; the fifth joy is Mary's own Assumption into heaven 'wyþ greate melodye' (ll. 295-300). The Virgin is endowed with many regal virtues: she is the 'quene of heue[ne]'(l. 8), 'Ouer al erþe leuedy hys here' (l. 10) [she is the ruler of all the earth], and an 'emperysse' with power in hell (ll. 11-2).[126] Shoreham suggests his parishioners should ask for help from 'god and oure leuedy' (ll. 281-2). The Virgin is

[122] A similar pattern of interstice is found in other poems, such as *Horae de cruce* in *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. 222.
[123] Sarah McNamer, Chapter: 'Behold!' in *Affective Meditation*, p.134.
[124] Michelle Karnes, *Imagination, Meditation and Cognition in the Middle Ages*, Chicago, 2011, pp. 146-51. Karnes examines the tradition of the *Stimulus Amoris* (late thirteenth century) by the mystic, James of Milan, in the development of affectivity.
[125] Other versions of *Five Joys* are found in collections such as *Vernon, Minor Poems*: for example, *An orison to þe fyue ioyes of ure lady*, i, p. 133, no. XXVII, beginning: 'Marie Modur, wel þe bee!'- a much copied poem. See also *The Five Joys of the Virgin* in *Harley Lyrics*, p. 65, no. 27, beginning 'As y me rode þis ender day'. Examples are also found in Anglo-Norman: see *Les Joies Nostre Dame* in the MS Harley 2253, f. 75 and in BL MS Additional 44949, ff. 27v-29r. The joys were also a popular theme in Welsh vernacular poetry; see D. Simon Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*, Cardiff, 1986, p.38. Elsewhere different numbers of *Joys* are expounded; for instance, BL MS Additional 46919 contains *Nine Joys*, ff. 57-59.
[126] Mary is Queen 'of heuene, erþe and helle': *Vernon, Minor Poems*, i, p.125, l.162.

a powerful figure yet her divine nature co-exists with the humility of an ordinary woman.

When Joseph learns of her pregnancy, he refuses to allow Mary to be stoned as the law requires (ll. 97-102); he rejoices when the angel explains God's intervention and he is comforted by angels 'al day' (l. 107).[127] Christ is thus born into a normal family structure, although his birth is miraculous and described in a common medieval *topos*:

> Ase þe sonne passeȝt þorȝ þe glas
> Wyþ-outen on openynge. (ll. 125-6) [128]

[As the sun passes through glass without any opening]

Christ is a human baby and Mary gives him milk as a 'chyldes ry3te' (l.128). As she suffers at her son's Passion, Mary is comforted by angels announcing his Resurrection, a joy she shares with 'al hyre frendes' (l. 218). Mary understands the value of friendship as her happiness is expanded into a universal experience:

> For more hijs blysse god and clene
> Among frendes to habbe ymene,
> After sorȝynge and sore. (ll. 220-2)

[For joy is even better and purer when it has been shared between friends after sorrowing and pain]

The assumption of Mary into heaven was not witnessed by man, but Christ came with the angels to take his mother to heaven and she 'wente uppe.... In body and soule' (ll. 325-6).[129] The poem establishes that motherhood enhances Mary's position in

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[127] For this common medieval *topos*, see *The Gospel Story*, in which Joseph is reassured by an angel that the child is the son of God and he lives with Mary in 'clene weddynge'; *Vernon, Minor Poems*, p. 10, l. 334.

[128] This image is found in many versions of the birth of Christ, including Grosseteste's/Shoreham's *On the Virgin Mary*, ll. 73-4; and in Welsh poetry, Evans, *Medieval Religious Literature*, p. 38. See, too, *The Poet's Repentance*, ll. 20-22 in *Harley Lyrics*, p.35, no.6.

[129] The Assumption belonged to the 'groupe des vérités qui n'ont apparu que tardivement d'une manière explicite dans la tradition de l'église' [group of doctrinal truths which were articulated only at a late date in the tradition of the Church]: Martin Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge,* Vatican City, 1944, p. 4. Jugie traces its development from the Byzantine feast of the Dormition to the establishment of the Feast of the Assumption on 15 August. The doctrine was not, however, universally accepted. Whilst Alan of Lille believed that Mary's body did not putrify and was assumed, Innocent IV (d. 1254) thought it was pious, but optional, to believe in the Assumption (pp. 376-7). Thomas Aquinas was certain of the doctrine but Bonaventure (1221-74) was not (p. 400). Despite the uncertainties described by Jugie, the feast had been popular for many years. A long sermon, *The Assumption of the Virgin Mary* dating from 971, is found in *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. Morris, London, 1880, pp. 136-59. In *Mother of God*, pp. 303-9, Miri Rubin discusses the Assumption and coronation of Mary, and the visual representations that depicted her surrounded by angels. Henry Mayr-Harting traces the development from the spiritual to corporeal Assumption in 'The Idea of the Assumption of Mary in the West, 800-1200' in *The Church and Mary*, ed. R.N. Swanson, Woodbridge, 2004, pp. 86-111.

relation to her son whose sense of filial honour ensures his submission to her authority:

> To hyre worschipe hys yhelde
> For here moder-hede (ll. 23-4)

[He must worship her because of her motherhood]

The hierarchy of heaven is thus ordered by the dynamics of the family. Mary will plead on behalf of sinners and Christ will comply with her wishes 'for of hyre wombe he hys þat frut' (ll. 341-3) [because he is the fruit of her womb]. The uneven balance of power in the Virgin/Christ relationship is a commonplace of medieval poetry frequently demonstrated in strikingly realistic interplays between Christ and his mother that promote the Virgin's ascendancy over her son.[130] Through her maternal authority, Mary appears to provide a powerful source of help and succour to sinners. Blessed as a 'wyf and mayde' (l. 285), Mary is defined by her motherhood and is grounded in the reality of family life. Shoreham's female parishioners may empathise with this ordinary woman, who is also Queen of Heaven. The image of motherhood allied to the efficacy of Marian intervention in human affairs provides a potent incentive for devotion to the Virgin.

Shoreham's themes indicate the suitability of his work for a parish audience of both men and women. *Pater Noster* and *Five Joys* explore aspects of female experience which evoke affective and devotional responses from women, in particular. The *Poems* make no misogynistic comments that might alienate female parishioners, but depict a Christian community in which the sexes are equal.[131] Shoreham claims to have written *Five Joys* at the behest of the 'soster', but it is doubtful whether it was written specifically for an audience of nuns. Shoreham's depiction of the pleasures of female friendship would resonate strongly in a convent, but the poem's emphasis on the potency of motherhood is likely to have greater appeal to women with families. Both extraordinary woman and paradigm of simple maternal virtues, Mary stands as a

[130] See, for instance, *Dialogue between the Virgin and Christ on the Cross* in *Harley Lyrics*, p. 56, No. 20. Christ pleads with his mother to allow him to die: 'Moder, merci! Let me deye' (l.13), and she remonstrates at length with him.

[131] Apart from the reference to the archetypal weakness of Eve in *On the Trinity*, ll.727-32, Shoreham depicts both sexes as equally prone to sins of the flesh, so that in extreme unction oil is poured into the loins of a man and the navel of a woman as the respective sites of lechery; *De extrema uncione*, ll. 1191-7.

unifying symbol of compassion for the whole community and as an example for female parishioners.

Creation and original sin: *On the Trinity, Creation, the Existence of Evil, Devils, Adam and Eve etc*.

The final poem is described by the British Library catalogue as a 'short poem on the Deity, the creation and fall of man', despite 894 lines of verse. The poem does not treat the conventional lay syllabus such as the sacraments, Ten Comandments and Deadly Sins, but its instruction extends to wide-ranging and important doctrinal challenges and difficulties, such as the existence of God, the after-life, the nature of the Trinity, the role of fallen angels and the origins of sin. *On the Trinity* thus addresses a range of complex religious ideas which are not treated in the *pastoralia* I have earlier considered but Shoreham deems this to be appropriate material for his audience. Indeed, he goes even further as he introduces ideas and questions commonly found in scholastic teaching: not only recent developments in theology and natural philosophy but also the use of logic and reasoning which he encourages parishioners to apply in argument.

The study of theology and natural philosophy had developed remarkably in the preceding centuries. Towards the end of the eleventh century, Edward Grant notes 'a strong tendency to systematize and rationalize theology … despite considerable opposition'.[132] The influence of Aristotelian cosmology and metaphysics expanded greatly in the schools during the thirteenth century, thanks to works such as Aquinas' *Summa theologica* (1266-73). Edward Grant discerns in the seventy-two questions of the *Summa*:

> a changing approach to theology that was taking hold among theologians. Six of the articles, distributed over questions 52 and 53, have little or no connection with theology but seem to have been derived from natural philosophy.[133]

More extreme Aristotelian ideas and prejudices had resulted in what were considered challenges to the omnipotence of God: such as his inability to move the universe with a rectilinear motion or to create a plurality of worlds. In Paris, in 1277, Archbishop

[132] Edward Grant, *God and Reason in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 2001, p.277.
[133] Ibid., p.255.

Stephen Tempier reacted by condemning two hundred and nineteen propositions attributed to a group of philosophers in the Arts Faculty.[134] Some commentators have claimed that Tempier, with his insistence on God's absolute power, had freed Christian thought from dogmatic acceptance of Aristotelianism, thereby signalling the birth of modern science.[135] Whilst these views on the significance of the year 1277 may be challenged, the evolving liberation of scientific thought in the thirteenth century opened the way to discussion of previously prohibited ideas such as the existence of infinite space or of other worlds.[136] By the fourteenth century, the authors of commentaries on the *Sentences* 'reveal less and less concern for religion and more and more of an obsession with natural philosophy and logic'.[137] At the same time, new thinking was careful to reassert God's absolute power to do anything, short of the logically impossible. Shoreham bases his discussion of cosmological doubt and debate on these innovative scientific approaches; dissemination of the ideas of reinvigorated scientific imagination is central to the instruction of *On the Trinity*.

A number of the issues raised are highly challenging, such as the question of the pre-existence of God before the Creation (ll.259-60). Given the complexity of the ideas and concepts treated in *On the Trinity*, we might ask whether the text is intended for a clerical audience – the use of English is not necessarily indicative of lay listeners. Yet, unlike Bozon's poems which suggest that texts may find an individual learned reader,[138] *On the Trinity* makes no mention of the possibility of a literate public, lay or clerical. On the contrary, the internal evidence of the text implies that it addresses a group of unlearned listeners as is made clear in the first six stanzas which treat the problem of religious scepticism. Some men believe 'Þer nys no gode' (l. 5) [there is no God] and, despite arguments to persuade them otherwise, they persist in their

[134] Throughout the thirteenth century, attempts had been made to remove elements of Aristotle's work that were offensive to the faith. As early as 1210, lectures on his natural philosophy were banned at the University of Paris. Tempier's first condemnation was in 1270. The list of 1277 included 20 propositions attributed to Aquinas.
[135] Pierre Duhem, *Etudes sur Léonard de Vinci*, Paris, 1906-13, Vol.II, p. 412. For a brief history of Western Aristotelian thought, see Edward Grant, 'Aristotelianism and the Longevity of the Medieval World View', *History of Science*, 16 (1978): 93-106; and David C. Lindberg, *Beginnings of Western Science*, Chicago, 2007, esp. Chapter 10: 'Recovery and Assimilation of Greek and Islamic Science', pp. 225-54.
[136] Edward Grant, 'Late Medieval Thought, Copernicus, and the Scientific Revolution', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 23 (1962): 197-220 (200). Grant acknowledges Duhem's contribution to scientific historiography while not fully accepting his conclusions concerning the salutary effect of 1277 on scientific discussion.
[137] Grant, *God and Reason*, p. 207.
[138] See, for instance, my comments p.100 and footnote 28.

denial of the existence of God, heaven or hell (l.19-24). Shoreham now addresses his listeners in the second person:

> Ac ȝef þou wenst, man, þat errour
> Þat þare ne be no sauueour
> Ne oþer lyf (ll. 31-3)

[If anyone of you believes the mistaken idea that there is no saviour and no life hereafter].

This would be an unlikely question to put to a group of clerics and Shoreham continues that such an error may be the result of ignorance, 'de-faute of lore' (l. 34), again implying that he is addressing the laity. Shoreham proposes to prove the existence of God through logical argument. On the one hand, Shoreham claims, the world, which is heavy, must be held up by a universal force (ll. 43-8). He then advances the contrary argument: that the world, being solid and bottomless, does not require any support (ll. 49-54). The latter argument, he goes on, may be dismissed: 'By wytnesse of philosophye / And clerkes fele' (l. 56-7) [through the proof of philosophy and the skill of the scholar]. Shoreham's comment would be redundant for a clerical audience who are themselves 'clerkes' with experience of education, however limited. It serves, rather, to demonstrate the uses and benefits of dialectic thinking to the uneducated laity.

Shoreham reasons that the revolution of the sun, moon and stars around the world attests to the fact that the world cannot be 'endeles' (l. 70) [infinite].[139] The heavenly bodies pass under the South of the earth in order to rise again in the East (ll. 61-72). Thus the world which is round requires a force to support it and this, Shoreham rationalises, proves the existence of a supreme power holding up the world and the stars, 'a my3t of alle my3tte' (l. 76) [a might of all mights]. It is unsurprising that Shoreham, an educated man, believed the round or ovoid world was at the centre of a revolving universe. That he uses this in parish instruction as proof of the existence of

[139] The idea that the stars, including the sun revolve around the earth was well established at a much earlier date. See, for instance, *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion,* ed. Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, EETS s.s. 15, Oxford, 1995, pp. 116-9, section 'The Sun', lines 190-266. This manual for the use of young monks was completed in 1011. Thomas Aquinas states clearly that the world is round, *Summa theologica,* 11 a lae, q. 54, a.2 [obj 2], *CCL* [accessed 4/8/2010]. Another tradition claiming that the earth lay immobile at the centre of the cosmos was challenged by several scholars, particularly John Buridan, (c.1300-1361); see Dirk-Jan Dekker, 'Buridan's Concept of Time. Time, Motion and the Soul in John Buridan's Questions on Aristotle's Physics' in *The Metaphysics and Natural Philosophy of John Buridan,* ed. J.M.M.H.Thijssen and Jack Zupko, Leiden, 2001, pp. 151-64 (pp. 153-4).

God strongly suggests that the belief was widely accepted.[140] Shoreham's exposition of the workings of the cosmos might be compared with that of the anonymous writer of the *Pricke of Conscience* (first half of the fourteenth century).[141] The *Pricke* describes how 'som clerkes' have written that hell is enclosed in the middle of the earth, like the core of an apple or the yolk of a boiled egg (ll. 6442-52); in the same way the earth is 'ymyddes þe hevens þat gas obout'(l. 6454) [in the middle of the heavens that move around it]. Both writers have roughly the same concept of the world at the centre of the universe – Shoreham uses the information in his reasoning to prove the existence of God. His promotion of the methodology of scientific logic, argument and counter-argument suggests respect for his parishioners' intellectual powers.

Shoreham next expounds the nature of the Trinity, in particular the Holy Spirit which is divine wisdom (l. 80). He reiterates the Athanasian Creed (l. 113) which affirms the Trinity; 'one God in Trinity and Trinity in unity', and the incarnation of Christ; 'the son of God, is God and man'. Shoreham insists that the Son is begotten by the Father alone, not made or created (ll. 118-20) but he concedes that this is a difficult concept and that parishioners should not meditate too much on the mystery: 'Folye hyt hys to meche to þenche/ Of þe engendrure' (ll.121-2) [It is foolish to think too much about the begetting] – they should simply believe, as the Church requires (l. 128). This is not the only occasion that Shoreham will tell his lay audience that understanding of the mysteries is, inevitably, limited. Next, a case is built around the necessity for the existence of the Holy Spirit, 'Persone þrydde in trynyte' (l.143) [the third person in the Trinity], to bring love and concord into the universe (l.169). Shoreham insists on the doctrinal centrality of the Trinity and concludes that prolonged reflection on the mystery of the Trinity may detract from the majesty of God:

> Ȝef þou þenkest forþer hou hyt may be,
> Go nauȝt to niȝ hys maieste,
> To þenche amys. (ll. 220-2).

[If you reflect further about this matter, do not attempt to question the majesty of God with mistaken ideas]

[140] Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars and Orbs*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 626-30. There was, however, great medieval discussion whether the world was round or spherical.
[141] *The Pricke of Conscience*, ed. Richard Morris, London, repnt 2010.

Medieval commentators, like Shoreham, were careful to conclude that truth was on the side of faith in cases where it conflicted with reason and, as a pastor with *cura animarum*, he is careful to warn his parishioners of the dangers of reasoning taken to excess.

The poem addresses other cosmological questions of the day, such as the eternity of the world, which by the Middle Ages was deemed to be one of the key philosophical differences between pagan and Christian philosophers.[142] Shoreham poses a direct question: whether this world always existed or was it was created at some point: 'Wader þy[s] worlde euer were / Oþer a some tyme nere' (ll. 229-30). He insists that God's greatness entailed his creation of the world: 'he made hys werke' (l. 249) and he also suggests that: 'god nys nauȝt in þer worldle aclosed,/ Ac hy hys ine hym' (ll. 269-70) [God is not enclosed in the world but it is enclosed in him]. Medieval writers such as Nicolas Oresme (c.1320-82) also argued that, whilst the existence of other worlds is feasible, it was God's decision not to to create them and he speculated also about the possible existence of worlds within worlds.[143]

Shoreham goes on to discuss the Creation and original sin. Since God's creation is 'al senneles' (l. 306) [without sin], Shoreham questions why God permits evil to exist in the world.[144] He then offers a reason for the existence of evil: man seeks the state of perfect heavenly bliss but in order to achieve this he must struggle to overcome a foe:

> Ac nys no blysse ne no feste
> Aȝeys þe ioye of conquest. (ll. 349-50)

[But there is no happiness or rejoicing without the joy of conquest]

Sin originated, then, to provide a force with which man must wrestle. Shoreham envisages the cosmos as the theatre of struggle and contest against evil where man must attempt to achieve the reward of heaven; sin is thus, paradoxically, necessary to

[142] See Richard C. Dales, 'Discussions of the Eternity of the World during the First Half of the Twelfth Century', *Speculum*, 57 (1982): 495-508 (495).
[143] See the passage from his 'Livre du ciel et du monde' in Edward Grant, *Science and Religion, 400 BC-AD 1550: from Aristotle to Copernicus*, Westport, 2004, pp. 271-8.
[144] *De septem mortalibus peccatis* also questions why God allowed sin to exist, exposing man 'to suich meschyef / 'Þat myȝte hyt habbe undo' (ll.117-8) [to such sin, when he (God) might have destroyed it]. In a rare *exemplum*, Shoreham likens those who argue with God's will to a clay pot which complains to the potter that it has been broken and thrown away (ll. 129-36). The potter replies that the pot has returned to the earth which created it and Shoreham concludes: 'þat he let do,/He let hyt do wyþ ryȝte' (ll. 147-8) [whatever he allows to happen is right].

man's salvation. Although Mattias Konrath states that Shoreham's argument is 'quite singular',[145] Origen propounds a similar idea:

> And the Apostle says (II Tim. II, 5), "only those who have truly struggled will win their crowns". Indeed, how could there be a struggle, if there were none who resisted? … In the same way, how could courageous men be glorified, if there were no fearful cowards? [146]

Shoreham develops his argument that the attainment of heavenly glory required strife and the defeat of an enemy (ll. 362-3). The generation of strife required the existence of evil, which God could not create, and the task fell to Lucifer. Wishing to emulate God, Lucifer made war in Heaven along with his fallen angels and 'alle hy weren ydryuen out, /Wyþ lucyfer þat was so stout' (ll. 409-10). [They were all driven out with Lucifer who was so strong]. The angels who did not side with Satan became even stronger and can never sin.

From Lucifer's role as the creator of sin, Shoreham moves to a lengthy discussion of the nature and function of angels. The latter permeated the medieval Christian world and formed one of the most important points of contact between natural and supernatural orders in the continuity God-angels-creatures. Angels were regularly discussed in religious texts and were a formal part of the curriculum at the University of Paris and elsewhere. Theologians such as Aquinas (the Angelic doctor) and Bonaventure (the Seraphic doctor) developed Angelology, the science or philosophy of angels, and investigated their natures and their kinship with mankind – such study promised 'to illuminate anthropology'.[147] Questions about angels and their *mores* were customarily raised in university commentaries, often of a 'strange, even bizarre' nature.[148] Medieval theologians may have believed that they could resolve these implausible questions by the strict application of reason through logic and natural philosophy. Modern scholars also see the reflection of human states of mind in discussions of fallen angels.[149] *On the Trinity* claims that the dichotomy of

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[145] *Poems*, p. 240.
[146] 'Et Apostolus dicit quia "nemo coronatur, nisi qui legitime certaverit". Et revera quomodo erit certamen, si non fuerit qui resistat?... Unde viri fortes magnificantur, nisi existerent imbelles et timidi? Origen: *In Genesim homiliae* , Cl. 0198 6 (A), hom.1, par.10, p.12, *CCL* [accessed 2/4/2010].
[147] David Keck, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, New York; Oxford, 1998, p.16.
[148] Grant, *God and Reason*, p. 279.
[149] See, for instance, Alexander Murray, 'Demons as Psychological Abstractions' in *Angels in Medieval Philosophical Inquiry*, ed. Isabel Iribarren and Martin Lenz, Aldershot, 2008, pp.171-184.

good/fallen angels reflects the need for a contrast between good and evil, between heavenly bliss and the loss of heaven. Lucifer and his cohorts were, originally, destined to take part in the completion of the glory of Heaven, but they lost their right to eternal bliss and man now occupies their place (ll. 433-8). Shoreham justifies the eternal punishment of the fallen angels through an analogy with two contrasting kinds of earthly judge. The first judge condemns thieves 'for to ordeyne / Peys in londe' [to ensure peace throughout the land] (ll. 448-9). The second judge hangs innocent men and is condemned by Shoreham for deliberately spilling blood (ll. 451-6). Just as the good intentions of the first judge are highlighted by the example of the bad judge (ll. 445-62), so God's goodness and grace are accentuated by the evil of Lucifer who had been allowed to exist because good came from his wickedness (ll. 475-80). Shoreham admits that the nature of God's grace is inexplicable and openly declares his own ignorance before his parishioners:

> Ac wy he grauntеþ grace to one
> And soche and oþeren grauntyeþ none
> Segge ich ne kanne. (ll. 511-3)

[Why he grants grace to this one and that one, but grants none to others, I cannot say]

God decided that devils will breed violence and enmity (ll. 574-6) and Shoreham asks why they were not imprisoned in hell forever but allowed to terrorise mankind (ll. 577-82). In response he asserts that, when the angels left heaven, man was created to inherit their glory but he had to struggle to win it. Man could not, therefore, be created perfect (l. 603) but was subject to temptation, like Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden (l. 619 onwards). Shoreham declares that everything was premeditated by God, so that the tree in paradise was already a complex symbol presaging death and life to come: the death of man's innocence, the tree of life and the redemption of the Cross (ll.775-98). Mankind waited five thousand years and six months for the arrival of the redeemer. As all men are born in a state of sin, they must be baptised and so it will always be (ll. 853-8). The poem ends inconclusively at this point without developing the theme of redemption, which Shoreham promised earlier (l.796).

On the Trinity introduces a lay audience to themes debated in schools and universities, albeit mediated and reformulated in different ways. It encourages the audience to engage with problematic areas of cosmological and religious teaching and, provided

there is no conflict between faith and reason, stresses the need to examine and justify the ways of God.

Shoreham's poems thus encompass a wide range of ideas and beliefs, well beyond the scope of other *pastoralia*. In addition to the religious exposition of lengthy works like *De septem sacramentis*, Shoreham's shorter poems augment lay devotional experience by appealing to the affectivity of the individual Christian. The vicar also acknowledges the need to address women, who play an important role in parish life. At the same time Shoreham presents a vision of the communality of the Christian flock in the united body of the Church. He promotes the concept of the *societas christiana* in *De septem sacramentis* through an emphasis on the unifying role of the sacraments in the creation of a network of spiritual relationships on earth. Matrimony, for instance, is predicated not only on the union of man and wife but on the union of the human with the divine. The eucharist signifies not only the mystical relationship between God and man but also the unity of all Christians, the living and the dead. Shoreham's paradigm of a united Christian community is a potent and attractive ideal, but is constantly challenged by encroaching practical considerations, such as his advice about problems in fluctuating or fractured relationships, especially in marriage.

Far from stifling discussion of long-established rulings, Shoreham engages robustly with difficult areas of Christian doctrine and encourages parishioners to consider new ways of understanding Christian teaching. Instruction is at the heart of Shoreham's work but he envisages it as a means of extending lay comprehension beyond a narrow syllabus drawn up by senior clerics. By encompassing innovative ideas on the nature of the cosmos and promoting logical and rational thinking, Shoreham attempts a wider educative purpose which nurtures the autonomy of his parishioners. It is likely that a spectrum of religious belief and debate flourished amongst the laity of Chart Sutton – a situation facilitated by their vicar.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This dissertation has considered *pastoralia* which were produced with the intention of instructing and, perhaps, even entertaining lay audiences. Whilst I have concentrated on a close study of the form and content of vernacular *pastoralia*, my enquiry has been informed by an historical question: how did ecclesiastical agents set out to fulfil the Church's mission to foster a *societas christiana* for the salvation of souls? The Church had never before attempted to communicate so comprehensively with the laity and implementation of its aims, as formulated in the early thirteenth century, took many years. Recognising the need for lay instruction in basic Christian belief and doctrine, churchmen established a programme which led the efforts to widen lay participation in Christian life. This was accompanied by change across a broad range of religious activities: the liturgy, preaching, catechetical teaching, drama and visual art.

The Church's mission was – it appears to me – broadly successful. Robert Swanson suggests that by the fourteenth century: 'the redefined Christianity had been securely planted'.[1] William Pantin concluded that: 'the programme of religious instruction planned by the reforming bishops of the thirteenth century did succeed in teaching and indoctrinating certain sections of the laity'.[2] Vernacular *pastoralia* played a key role in this undertaking: first, by spreading the Church's vision of a world filled with symbol and meaning and, secondly, by expounding ecclesiastical doctrine and rulings.

In asserting their didactic function, vernacular verse *pastoralia* suggest that all they contain is stable homiletic material. In fact, they contain much more besides and are complex and volatile texts. Pantin added a telling rider to his comment above: 'if the devout and literate layman was something of a problem to the Church, he was also in some respects a product of the Church's own work'. The problem to which Pantin referred was that the Church's mission was, perhaps, only too successful and that some outcomes had clearly not been anticipated by the bishops when they drew up the early programmes of instruction. My study suggests that verse *pastoralia* contributed

[1] Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 91.
[2] Pantin, *English Church*, p. 250.

to the challenge, as Pantin has it, of the formation of the thinking lay Christian – who, I argue, was not necessarily literate. It was this devout layman who helped foment the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth-century argument on the suitability of the vernacular to transmit religious knowledge. Nicholas Watson locates the beginnings of unease with 'vernacular theology' in texts *circa* 1360, which acknowledged the problem of presenting 'an ever wider array of theological concerns to an ever larger and less clearly defined group of readers'.[3] The earlier verse *pastoralia* I have studied articulate no such doubts about the expansion of their own content and audience, but I believe they played a role in the creation of tension around issues of vernacular access to religious teaching.

The overarching aim of all *pastoralia* was to depict a world filled with Christian significance in which the Church was envisaged as the reflection of the spiritual and divine. It was crucial to present the laity with the vision of a religion that marked each stage of human life, gave meaning to experience and provided answers to questions related to the after-life. It was also important to characterise the Christian community on earth as united through its faith. Such was Shoreham's vision of his parish, a place where harmony reigned and a homogenous group of parishioners was bound together by religious beliefs and practices, putting aside personal difficulties and disagreements. This model of Christian society was based on a complex framework of symbols which reflected the relationship of the human with the divine, articulated principally through the sacraments. The eucharist, for instance, demonstrated the symbolic unity of the Godhead and mankind through the Son, and invited the congregation to participate in the celebration of the sacrament as an act of social cohesion. New relationships were created by sacramental affinity, like god-parenthood which, the texts suggest, should take precedence over blood relationships. The hierarchy of heaven was reflected in the estates of human society where the priest held a special position, as several writers reminded their listeners. The world was thus imbued with spiritual significance which was expounded through Christian doctrine.

[3] Nicholas Watson, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70 (1995): 822-64, p. 838.

To be a member of the Church required compliance with its rules which are set out clearly in *pastoralia* and which incorporate changes and developments in Church doctrine and practice, as these evolved in the high Middle Ages. Writers of *pastoralia* focused on the sacraments which marked the stages in a Christian's life: the initiation rites of baptism; matrimony solemnised by the priest; and extreme unction preparing for death. The importance of evolving private practices of confession and penance placed them at the heart of many pastoral texts. Shoreham and Mannyng provided a range of strategic tools, including the Ten Commandments and the Seven Vices, to remind the penitent of his sins when he examined his conscience.

Writers of *pastoralia* emphasised the desirability of leading a Christian life which imbued the sacrament of marriage, for instance, with significance and meaning. Their exposition emphasised the mystical nature of the ritual enactment and, whilst it also accommodated the secular, contractual obligations of the union, this ideal marriage reinforced the married couple's link with the divine. The liturgy was developed for the sacraement and symbolic rituals and objects were added to the church setting, such as the canopy mentioned in *Corset*. Writers depicted a refined occasion, unlike the clandestine marriages that some people still preferred since, as the texts suggest, the medieval laity was often reluctant to give up the practices of an earlier period. *Pastoralia* promulgated the Church's model of matrimony and clarified the requirements of canon law, but they also acknowledged the frequent failure of lay people to comply, a state of affairs widely reported in cases brought before the medieval courts. Scholars like Richard Helmholtz have established the frequency and complexity of matrimonial disputes that so perplexed and exasperated Bishop Quivil. William of Shoreham, in particular, expounded the finer details of the laws of marriage for his rural congregation, although he may well have underestimated parishioners' grasp of legal matters. Evidence of court proceedings reveals that some lay people had an excellent understanding of the law: the symbolic kinship of spiritual affinity was never intended to serve as a weapon in the courts but written testimony shows how it was, occasionally, exploited by the laity.

Despite the inevitable divergence of their religious emphases, writers of *pastoralia* were united in their censure of specific areas of lay conduct which, they insisted, required amendment: lay baptism and confession, in particular. The reiteration of

these concerns possibly indicates the prevalence of beliefs and practices that deviated from clear and established directives. The authors' complaints about failings in lay baptismal practices, for example, may reflect widespread non-compliance with Church teaching but, without independent evidence, it is difficult to assess the extent of the problem. Two interrelated practices in lay confession apparently troubled several writers: confession made to several priests and the division of sins into 'parcelles' so that confession is not made in full. In his exploration of these practices Mannyng cites the excuses made by lay people for taking liberties with the confessional system. The situation he describes is quite credible, but it does not prove that lay people were constantly offending. The correction of error is intrinsic to the aim of instruction, and censure may represent other factors at work: the attempt by writers to impose personal authority on their audience, habitual over-insistence on codified rules, the adoption of commonplace tropes including 'the evil of the times', the reflection of specifically clerical anxieties, or the displacement of a different concern. It is part of the pastoral function to exhort, confront and challenge the laity, so we should not take censure in *pastoralia* at its face value without some form of corroboration, nor should we dismiss it out of hand. Confession to a priest from outside the parish might well have offered the penitent certain benefits, such as a lighter penance, so this may have been a fairly regular occurrence. Our authors' admonitions may, however, be little more than the articulation of a generalised concern that confessional practices in the parish had become excessively lax after many years of mendicant activity in England. Moreover, whilst the texts promulgate private penitential practices, they also suggest that these co-existed with older forms of public penance. Mannyng, for instance, indicates that a number of layfolk may have clung to tradition and focused on the communality of guilt expressed in public forms of penance. On the other hand, both he and Shoreham explore the conscience and interiority of the penitent at length, demonstrating that private forms of penance were now well-established. Clearly the situation of an earlier period described by scholars like Sarah Hamilton still obtained: it was a period of transition for both forms of penance.

Thirteenth-century bishops had devised and codified a basic programme for lay instruction which was to be disseminated and mediated by well-trained men charged with the cure of souls. It embraced simple ideas about the faith – what to believe and

what to do – and did not include the finer details of theology and doctrine which might be easily misinterpreted by the laity. Whilst the reiteration of core beliefs was central to their purpose, writers of *pastoralia* exceeded this basic task by incorporating into their instruction an array of spiritual and temporal matters, well beyond the topics envisaged by Archbishop Pecham's syllabus or Bishop Quivil's statutes. Quivil's statute concerning the eucharist, for instance, emphasised details of the rite which were of practical importance to the clergy, but gave little advice as to how priests were to expound the sacrament to parishioners. Indeed, Quivil's exposition is brief and perfunctory, in sharp contrast to Shoreham and Mannyng's long commentaries on this complex sacrament. Moreover, pastoral writers discussed directives concerning marriage, which figured in books of canon law but were not included in the bishops' syllabus for lay instruction. William of Shoreham, in particular, offered extensive advice on all manner of marital contingencies, including the duties of a leper's spouse.

In an even more radical departure from the episcopal programme, our pastoral writers attempted to provide their listeners not only with basic information and rules of conduct, but also with strategies for developing reasoning and understanding. They recognised the emotional and intellectual potential of their audiences; they explored the interiority of the penitent and the role of affectivity in heightening religious experience. Simple acceptance of instruction by a lay person was not enough; the sinner might better understand the human predicament through emotion or reasoning. Bozon and Shoreham, in particular, offered material to enhance penitential and devotional practices and created space for reflection and contemplation. *Pastoralia* acknowledged the desire among the laity for greater involvement in the life of the spirit and in the pursuit of personal redemption. Instruction should, therefore, empower lay agency through a range of supportive methodologies. William of Shoreham demonstrates the advantages of the arts of logic and rhetoric in *On the Trinity*, anticipating that parishioners will benefit from exposure to other forms of learning besides basic religious instruction. He refers to new scientific ideas and recommends strategies to use in argument and debate. Robert Mannyng also moves beyond simple delivery of knowledge to create a pedagogic framework for religious instruction. His complex *exempla* can only be understood through the processes of analysis, assessment and judgement. Medieval dialectic invites the listener to enter a

dialogue with the text of *Handlyng Synne*, to work through the inconsistencies, contradictions and ironies presented, and to reach a conclusion about what does and what does not constitute moral truth. This nuanced approach aims to stimulate the listener's ability to think independently whilst opening the text to multi-faceted examination and interpretation, which in turn may lead to lay questioning and challenge.

Religious and temporal concerns are closely interwoven in *pastoralia*. All writers asserted their authorial independence by incorporating new themes into their texts, often arising from their amplification of religious instruction. Each work reveals individual emphases which often include matters of social significance – such as the status of the knight and his bride in *Corset* or the nature of gift-giving in the *Tretys de la Passion*. It may, of course, be argued that in the medieval context there was no separation of the spiritual and temporal and that, therefore, such concerns merely reflected the need for an appropriate social setting for the Christian's life on earth. Yet, as Sarah Beckwith, David Aers and Lynn Staley have demonstrated, Christian symbols also provided a framework for exploring and understanding human issues, such as personal identity, conflict and social upheaval. Writers also engaged in idiosyncratic undertakings and projects, like Robert Mannyng's promotion of an English language and heritage. Religious instruction frequently gives way to temporal themes which, far from being incidental, become the focus of the writer's commentary. Audience response may be destabilised as the text slips from religious to secular discourse and into lengthy digressions when authors pursue their individual interests.

All writers of verse *pastoralia* were conscious of the literary nature of their work. Whilst asserting high moral purpose, texts often revealed a desire to entertain their audiences. Medieval reading practices reconciled the opposites of textual teaching and literary pleasure, so it is not unusual to find comic touches in *pastoralia* side by side with serious discussion. Occasionally, however, humorous discourse appears to take precedence over religious commentary, as in Robert the Chaplain's extended word-play. Pastoral verse is subject to the pressure of its own literary objectives which may impose a set of expectations on the text that conflicts with its instructional purpose. Whilst Mannyng claims his *exempla* replace the trivial stories enjoyed by his

audience, his tales are also subject to the same constraints of literary narrative. *Exempla*, such as the *Bad Godfather*, often prove to be incompatible with the doctrinal truths they claim to illustrate, so that the unravelling of moral problems may expose Mannyng's listeners to ideas that are confusing or destabilising – a source of concern for all the writers who avoid describing the sins of 'privetye' for that very reason. Verse *pastoralia* are written in a literary register and care is given to the technical composition of poetry – particularly evident in Shoreham's complex rhyme schemes. They build on textual tradition, availing themselves of the authority of older texts and the creative opportunities offered by translation. Writers often adopt the themes and structures of well-known literary genres – chronicles, romance and chivalry – in order to popularise their own works. These literary objectives, however, frequently clash with instructional purpose. Bozon's *Tretys de la Passion*, for example, depicts protagonists who resemble heroes in popular medieval narratives. The lady is contrary and ungrateful like Guinevere in the *Chevalier de la charrette*; the king is both Christ and chivalric knight but this dual role proves to be unsustainable and the religious allegory unsatisfactory. Bozon's amplification of fictive devices and themes appropriates ideas and beliefs that may appear incongruent within his pastoral enterprise and may distort moral purpose. This fundamental tension in *pastoralia* adds to the complexity of the audience's response which, I have suggested above, is already destabilised by textual slippage. As Aaron Gurevich has concluded: 'in studying works of edifying literature one is constantly struck by a paradox: there is a clear contradiction between the general theme and its concrete realization'.[4]

Vernacular verse *pastoralia* were, then, innovative texts, with apparently few constraints on their content or form, apart from the omission of sexual sins. Writers of sacramental exposition often appropriated the conventional structures of episcopal statutes, but the content of all verse *pastoralia* was individual and distinctive – perhaps not quite as earlier bishops had envisaged. The latter had also imagined that provision of instruction would be based in the parish but the audience of *pastoralia* extended much further.

[4] Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, p.183.

While engaging the laity in the instructional process, each work was clearly informed by an individual vision of its audience. *Corset*, for example, addresses the chaplain's patron and his household and its themes reflect the relationship between writer and audience; many issues that Robert treats arise from – and are structured by – the particular circumstances he inhabits. Shoreham, too, writes for his parishioners, in particular. The audiences of the other two writers are less easily defined. We might imagine Nicholas Bozon addressing an urban, relatively prosperous public, but Mannyng's claim to write for a group of uncouth men is doubtful, an example of overstatement, possibly to emphasise moral purpose. His assertion may be queried in light of the intellectually challenging nature of his text and the demands it makes on his audience. The instruction of *pastoralia* is often erudite and requires familiarity with scriptural and cultural references, an attribute that would not be anticipated in a 'lewd' audience. For scholars such as Kate Greenspan, this suggests that texts were sometimes written with a clerical readership in mind.[5] This is a plausible line of reasoning – vernacularity does not exclude the clergy from the audience – but many *pastoralia* address topics, which have greater relevance to lay experience; the laws of consanguinity or the *mores* of elite women, for example. Mnemonic strategies, too, indicate works designed to support laymen in learning the essentials of their religion. Women are addressed only infrequently but textual themes often indicate the unannounced presence of women in the audience: Shoreham's poems, for instance, acknowledge implicitly the importance of the role of women and the parity of the sexes. Female listeners clearly attended readings of *pastoralia* and the depiction of women is multi-faceted: like men, they may be foolish and immoral but their lived experience links them with Mary as mothers and the complexity of their natures with Christ's canny lover. Writers' claims about their intended audience, however, frequently prove to be out of keeping with the evidence that unfolds in the commentary and we can only conclude that their public is broad and not clearly-defined.

Texts intended for a socially distinct group of listeners, such as *Corset*, were originally delivered in a specific setting but the forms and themes of many *pastoralia* indicate their suitability for different lengths of readings in wider contexts that might

[5] See p.144.

include the court of a local dignitary, the market place, parish church or festive gathering. Bozon wrote of elite feasts which required entertainment whilst Mannyng may have intended to take his work to the taverns frequented by 'lewd' men. As I have suggested above, writers' assertions about their intended audience often appear disingenuous and I would further argue that, since the texts were in the public domain, all the writers sought dissemination amongst wider audiences of men and women of differing social ranks, lay and religious. The authors are aware of the possibility of their work reaching new groups of listeners and readers, posterity even, as Robert the Chaplain explains in the *Miroir*:

> Si li auturs finist sa uie
> Bon escrit ne poet finir mie;
> Mais l'escrit par li parlera.[6]

[If the writer's life ends, it cannot be the end of a good piece of writing. The text will continue to speak for him.]

Like other writers of *pastoralia*, Robert is conscious of the independent existence of his text and he anticipates a future audience as yet unknown.

In all likelihood, the modest handbooks which contained the texts were carried around the country by mendicants or were shared and inherited by priests in different localities. We know that they found favour with their audiences since they were copied by scribes in different locations and at different times. Redactions of Robert Mannyng's work, for instance, continued to be made in the fifteenth century and included a version in a northern dialect. Such diffusion, however, leads to adaptation of the mutable vernacular text, depending on editor, scribe and reader – *Le char d'Orgueil* appeared in two very different versions in the Additional and Cambridge manuscripts. Robert Mannyng was well aware of *mouvance* in oral performance, complaining about changes made in the text of *Tristan* by Thomas of Erceldoun (the Rhymer). He regrets: 'If men it sayd as made Thomas. / But I here it no say' (*Chronicle* ll. 100-1) [If only people recited it as Thomas wrote. But I hear no-one speak it [as he wrote]]. In addition to the *mouvance* of the text, the response of an actual audience might be quite different from the writer's expectation. Bozon's rationale for writing *De bone femme la bounte* attested to this dilemma: he had not anticipated hostile female reaction to his anti-feminist material in *Le char d'Orgueil*

[6] *Middle English Mirror*, ed. Duncan and Connolly, ll. 469-71.

and was forced to recant. Whilst this might have merely been an authorial posture or an apology for a new poem, Bozon believed his claim had sufficient resonance and credibility to be aired in public. The vernacular pastoral text sought new audiences and settings where authorial control of textual material, dissemination and mediation no longer obtained. It was thereby subject to pressures and strains which challenged the stability of a single authoritative interpretation.

It seems highly likely that *pastoralia* found the new audiences they sought. Above all, the texts were inclusive: they did not address a particularly educated readership but were accessible to a wide public of both literate and illiterate listeners. As Brian Stock has shown, such texts required but a single literate to read aloud to the group, since they depended on the ability of the audience to listen and absorb instruction. Regardless of their standard of literacy, all members of the community were exposed to the ideas, concepts and practices of a textual culture. I would take issue here with Pantin's emphasis on the importance of literacy in the formation of his troublesome devout layman. The spread of literacy during the fourteenth century was certainly instrumental in the diffusion of knowledge but the majority of the population was illiterate and would remain so for many years. Access to books was, in any case, still very limited. The study of *pastoralia* demonstrates that it was not necessary to be literate in order to engage in religious discussion and debate. The essential requirement was the availability of a textual culture with wide appeal. That groups would coalesce in a textual community seems highly probable and these communities were not necessarily based in a parish church nor did they require instruction mediated by the priest. Works such as Bozon's *Char* invited discussion of religious, ethical and social topics amongst learned and non-learned alike. Even if some listeners had little experience of the complexities of allegorical discourse, others would point out its congruence with lived experience. After a reading, there might be further audience interaction by word of mouth since the basis for knowledge and behaviour would have been internalised. The inclusive nature of verse *pastoralia* exposed an ever-broadening audience to the culture of the book, to the exploration of modes of writing and to the development of ways of thinking.

Writers of *pastoralia* encouraged their lay listeners to become active learners, not merely passive recipients of instruction. In many ways the relationship might be

likened to that of teacher and apprentice, since clerical learning which specifically defined the clergy was transmitted to the laity and thereby narrowed the clerical-lay divide. Lay folk who read or listened to *pastoralia* could, in theory, become independent of the very writers who provided their instruction. The texts suggest that many lay men and women were deeply involved in learning about their religion. The devout layman was the product of the Church's instructional mission but he created a problem because he took his religion seriously, yet was sufficiently independently-minded to challenge doctrine and practice. He may have attempted to stretch rules upholding the conventional model of the Christian life without actually defying ecclesiastical mandate. The *pastoralia* I have examined exemplify a religious textual culture in which such a man, or woman, might learn to confront the complexities, contradictions and improbabilities of the Christian religion, yet still retain his or her faith.

Some thirty years after my later texts, Archbishop John Thoresby recognised the potential danger of vernacular preaching and instruction and, to counter this, issued his *Injunctions* and *Lay Folks' Catechism* (1357) in the Northern Province. By returning to Pecham's basic programme of instruction, Thoresby attempted to prevent the spread of unorthodox ideas amongst the laity through 'vernacular theology'. Some of the developments which Nicholas Watson sees in late-fourteenth-century vernacular texts are already discernible in earlier *pastoralia* considered here. They display an 'ever wider array of theological concerns' and have an increasingly 'less clearly defined' public. Surprisingly, there appears to have been little scholarly interest in the role played by these *pastoralia* in the debate on the suitability of the vernacular to transmit religious knowledge. The verse *pastoralia* I have studied contain material that is often overlooked but is highly relevant to the study of the early sources of late-medieval religious controversy in England. Further investigation into these *pastoralia* may well provide fresh insights into the sources of the debates and disputes that would beset the English Church in the fifteenth century.

Vernacular verse *pastoralia* are compelling and challenging texts which demonstrate the workings of what Eamon Duffy has described as 'a religious culture which was rooted in a repertoire of inherited and shared beliefs and symbols, while remaining

capable of enormous flexibility and variety'.[7] Flexibility was crucial to a system of religious instruction and practice which succeeded, for a remarkable number of years, in accommodating lay desire for greater freedom in the exercise of their religious beliefs within ecclesiastical structures of guidance and discipline. Flexibility was also a feature of *pastoralia* which frequently deplored the independence sought by the laity, while simultaneously facilitating lay autonomy through its instruction. These vernacular texts reflect the diversity and richness of lay religious experience in the high medieval period when – thanks to authors such as our subjects here – many men and women attained a deeper and more nuanced understanding of their faith than historians have sometimes recognised.

[7] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 3.

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APPENDIX A

Biblical and patristic citations in *Corset*

Old Testament: *Corset*	New Testament: *Corset*
Genesis I, 2: ll. 2409-18. The Creation and necessity of water to life. Genesis V: ll. 2419-26: continues into narrative of Red Sea and Flood. Genesis III, 21: ll. 2062-3. Adam given 'vils peals' to wear because he is unworthy. Genesis XIX, 15-26: ll. 29-52. Lot and tale of Sodom and Gomorrah. Numbers III, 5-13: ll. 1156-79. Creation of the caste of Levites. Numbers XV, 30: ll. 1433-6. Respect to be shown to priest's word. Psalms IX B, 6 (Septuaginta): ll. 2013-6. Words of fool – will not change. Psalms XXXI, 5: ll. 2234-42. Confession of David Psalms CIV,15: ll. 449-50. David defends 'crisz' [anointed]. Also found in 1 Chronicles XVI, 22. Proverbs V, 22: ll. 2131-2. Chains of sin. Isaiah XXVI, 18: ll.1617-20. Play on 'enfaunté' Isaiah LII, 1-2: ll. 2143-4. Chains of daughter of Zion released through confession. Isaiah LII, 11: ll.994-6. Vessels of God.	Unattributable: ll. 905-8. Short tale of 'mester Jhesus' curing insane. Matthew V, 4: ll.1835-6. Beatitude: 'they that mourn'. Matthew V, 13: l.1354. Salt of the earth. Matthew V, 48: l.1350. Priest must be perfect. Matthew X, 40; Luke X, 16; John XIII, 20: ll. 1419-22. Defence of priest: 'Whoever despises.' Matthew XIX, 6; Mark X, 8-9; I Corinthians VII, 10: ll. 116-28. Cites God, Paul and misattribution to 'saint Pere' on marriage. Matthew XXVI, 26-8; Mark XIV, 22-4; Luke XXII, 19-20: ll. 1237-8. Cites apostle on body and blood of Christ. Luke IV, 16-21: ll.795-802. Child Jesus reads from Isaiah. Luke XII, 35: ll.1355-7. Priest has loins girded and holding lamp. John VII, 12: ll.968-70. Acolyte is light of the world, like Jesus. Romans II, 4, 5: ll. 1740-6. Paul's words to sinners Romans X, 10: ll. 2159-60. Goodness in heart, mouth gives confession. I Corinthians IV, 9: ll. 535-8. Priest like angel in world.

Isaiah LVIII, 1: ll. 812-4. God tells prophets to speak out.

Ezechiel V, 1: ll. 668-71. Razor.

Ezechiel XVIII, 22: ll. 1716-7. Forgiveness for true repentant.

Zechariah II, 8: ll. 1423-4. Protection of priests; pupil of the eye.

Wisdom of Solomon IV, 8-9: ll. 1265-70. Nature of old age.

Ecclesiasticus V, 7: ll. 2269-76. No putting off repentance.

Patristic: *Corset*

Ambrose, *De Lapsu Virginis Consecratae*, Lib.I, viii: ll. 1496-526 (approx.). Long image of life as dangerous sea.

St John Chrysostom (Johan od la buche orine): ll. 2261-6. Paraphrase: sin continues to grow unless confessed.

I Corinthians VI, 16-7: ll. 291-4. Unity with harlot or with God. (based on Genesis II, 24).

I Corinthians XI, 3: ll.77-80. Cites 'Pol li ber'on subservience of women.

I Corinthians XI, 14: ll. 653-4. Cleric must have short hair.

I Timothy III, 8-13: ll. 1201-6. Paul speaks of deacons.

James V, 14-15: ll. 2289-94. Unction for the sick.

I Peter II, 9: ll. 557-66. Priests, like Peter, are the elected of God.

I Peter II, 16: ll. 387-90. Liberty as cloak of malice. Robert attributes this to Paul.

II Peter II, 2: ll. 263-4. False priests.

II Peter II, 22: l. 1647. Dog and vomit.

Revelation VIII, 6: ll. 1193-5. Trumpets of the Apocalypse.

APPENDIX B

Transcription: *Pus ke homme deit morir*, BL Additional 46919, f. 84r – 84v.

Editorial Note

Capitalisation, word division and punctuation are editorial. Scribal use of j, u and v have been standardised to modern practice. Editorial comments are indicated by brackets (…); expanded abbreviations by square brackets […].

(Rubric) Vous [pur]veez en ceste vie de soustenaunce en l'aut[re] vie.

1. [P]us ke ho[m]me deit morir
2. E de ceo secle dep[ar]tyr,
3. E aillurs saunz fyn meyndra,
4. Bone serreit ke chescun trossat
5. Les bens ke il en soun sak,
6. Kar jâmes ne revendra.

(Refrain): Enpense checun de espleyter/ Ke il ne perde le g[ra]nt louher/ Ke Deu p[ro]mis nous a.

7. Ceste vie n'est for dolur.
8. A peyne avera joye un jour
9. Ke de sa fyn ben pensera.
10. Ho (ms: hole)[m]me ho dolour de mer[e] nest,
11. E en dolour icy est,
12. E ho dolour departira.

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n]de espleyter/ Ke yl ne [per]de le g[ra]nt louher/ Ke Deu p[ro]mis nous a.

13. Ke vaut pouher e hautesce?
14. Ke vaut aver hou richesce?
15. Or e argent s'en irra.
16. Le corps ert mys en grose tere,
17. E li alme s'en va en heyre
18. Hou ceo ke cy glene a.

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] de espleyter/ Ke il ne [per]de le g[ra]nt louher/ Ke Deu p[ro]mis nous a.

19. S'avise chescun, e fra ke sage
20. Avau[n]t ke veygne au passage,
21. En queu bens s'afyera ?
22. Les benfez ke avera (margin corr.) fet icy
23. Prest les t[ru]vera devaunt ly,
24. Kaunt du secle dep[ar]tyra.

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] de espleyter etc.

25. Ke si cu[m] cely ke ben fet
26. Le ceel p[ur] louher, c[um] p[ro]mis est,
27. Recevera [de deu]
28. Ausi cely ke sa vie
29. Degaste en pecche e vylenye
30. En enfern demorra.

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] de espleyter etc.

31. Key fray li reys, baroun e counte,
32. Ke ne sevent ren de acounte,
33. Kaunt acou[n]ter covendra ?
34. Mes certes plusurs (f. 84v) averont hounte,
35. Kaunt nul contour put par counte
36. P[ur] ewus pleider la.

(No refrain)

37. Ke fray le prestre e li esveke,
38. Ly sage clerk, ly erseveke,
39. Ke taunt de acountes ap[ri]s a?
40. Kaunt la sou[m]me ert souztrete
41. De despensis e de recete,
42. Ly plus sage fou se tendera.

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] de espleyter etc.

43. Seyt ho[m]me veuz hou enfaunz,
44. Ja si fort ne wayllanz
45. Ke il ne mourra.
46. La mort tapit dedenz se gaunz.
47. Ke ly ferra de sa launz
48. Kaunt meynz quyde le prendera.

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] de espleyter etc.

49. Meuz vaut un ben devaunt la mort
50. Ke dis apres e plus confort,
51. L'alme kant s'en irra.
52. Kant l'alme ert dep[ar]tye,
53. Ne avera dounk[e] amye ne amye,
54. Allas, en ky s'affiera?

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] de espleyter etc.

55. Pur ceo checu[n] se p[ur]vee,
56. E ceo ke ay dit ne descreye,
57. Kar tout yssi serra.
58. Ceo ke ho[m]me avera cy overe,
59. Ayllours ly ert guerdonne.
60. Teu fet, teu louher recevera.

(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] etc.

61. Aust sygnefie ceste vie:
62. Le sage en aust fet sa quillie,
63. Par unt en l'an apres vivera.
64. E la petite formye

65. En este ne se oblie
66. Ben seyt ke yver apres vendra.
(Refrain): Enpense checu[n] etc.

67. Checun pense en sun corauge,
68. Li jevene e li veil de age,
69. En queus bens se afiera.
70. Checu[n] pense quey ad glene
71. E queus bens ad entasse
72. E que (ms: hole) bens o ly menera.
(Refrain): Checu[n] enp[en]sent etc.

APPENDIX C

Transcription: *Tretys de la Passion,* BL MS Additional 46919, ff. 38r -40v.

Cest tretys de la passion fist frer[e] Nicole boioun del ordre des frer[es] menours

1. Un rey esteit jadis ke aveit une amye (f.38 r)
2. La quele plus ama ke ne fit sa vie.
3. Coe parut boen en fet kaunt par gelusye
4. La mort en prit pur ly an sesoun establye.
5. Sa amye out en clos en un chastel fort
6. Hou ele out asset de solaz & cunfort.
7. Ja vynt un tiraunt e par un acord
8. Ove ly l'amena, si fit au rei graunt tort.
9. Ly reis ke fust gelous de sa cher amye
10. Sout ke par deceite out fet la folye ,
11. De ly se vout venger ke fit la gylerye,
12. E cele remener ke est de ly fuie.
13. Par poer de soun host hust hu sa volu[n]te
14. Saunz venyr en bataille a chival ou a pe,
15. Mes pur a trere le quer de cele alope
16. Par sey vout dereygnyr sun dreit en li clame .
17. Taunt fu de pruesce sun nun renome
18. Ke sa chyvalerie du tyraunt fu dote,
19. Dunt ja ne hust en champ au rey encuntre
20. Sy le rey ses armes en bataille hust porte.
21. Mes queyntement le fit li vaillaunt chivaler
22. Kar il prist les armes un sen bachiler
23. Ke Adam out a noun, si les fit rouler
24. E par une da[m]moysle se fist de ceus armer.
25. Il ent[ra] la chaumbre ceole da[m]moysele,
26. Ke de totes autres esteit la plus bele.
27. Il ent[ra] si coyntement sau[n]z noyse e favele
28. Ke nul ho[m]me le sout, fors ke soule cele.
29. La da[m]moysele ly arma de mout estraunge arm[ur]e :
30. Pur aketoun, ly bailla blaunche char e pure ;
31. Pur kadaz e cotoun, sanc mist en cuchure;
32. Pur quysoz e mustilers, ly dona la fourchure ;
33. Pur chauces de fer, de nerfs mit la jounct[ur]e
34. Les plates furent de os ke sistrunt a mesure
35. Le gau[m]bisoun de seye, la pel par desure.
36. De tote parz affit les veynes pur urlure. (f. 38v)

Pur bacyn a la teste, ly plaunta anapel.
Pur le atyr du bacyn, de denz mist le cervel.
Le aventail du hauberc esteit la face bel,
Ke privement en chaumbre laza la pucele.
Kaunt li reys fut arme, de chaumbre sen issyt,
De combatre au tyraunt fraunchem[n]t se p[ro]frit.
Le tyraunt ben la visa si le out en despit,
E par g[ra]unt en gres vers le rey se mist.
Meynt dur assaut le tyraunt dounke le fit
E ly douz chyvaler un poy de temps suffrit.
Le autre fu si egre & taunt le sour quit
Ke homage & servyse du chyvaler quit
'Avoy, sire, cruel Belyal, tu quers g[ra]nt hout[ra]ge'
Dit le chyvaler ke fu de feer corage.
'Unk[e] ne fut oye ke serf de seygnurage
Par poer demaundat s[er]vise & homage.
Hou est ta seygnorie ?' dit ly tyraunt,
'Unk[e] ne vy rey aler payn queraunt
Mes il pert ke seet de ly[n]gnage g[ra]unt'.
'Par ma curtesye, si vous fray taunt,
Rendus ore a mey e ieo vous sesiray
De teres & de tenemenz ke en ma baylle ay.
E mes en ceste vie ne vous greveray ,
Par si ke vous facet ceo ke dit vous ay
Unkore vos di, Belial, unkore vous defy ;
De tere ne teneme[n]t ren ne vous pry.
Pur ma chere amie suy ieo venu sy,
Ke vous me allopastes dunt ieo vous defy'
'Me avez ore defye' dit sire Belial,
'De ceo jour en avaunt vous geytrey p[ar] mal.
 Asseez hore un jour ou people comunal
Pur fere la bataille en montayne hou en val'.
Le jour fut asys par un vendredy
E le luy fut pris en mount ansy
Hou le chyvaler de soun enemy (f. 39 r)
Derener dut sa amie, cu[m] p[ro]mit out a ly.
Au rey fust amene un chyval sojurne,
De quatre manere de peil si esteit veree.
De cypres fut le corps , de cedre fu le pe,
Leschine fu de olive , de paume haut cryne.
Ly reys mounta tout a sun eyndegre,
Pur monstrer ke out dreit en chose chalange.
Sa sele fu trop dure & mout le ad anguse
Mes p[ur] l'amour sa amye la peyne ad oblye.

81. Le tyraunt envyroune li rey de sun host.
82. Ly rey ben aparceut lur bobanz e lur bost.
83. La banere de ses braz en [con]tre eus de clost
84. E boute avaunt le escu ke abay tut cel host.
85. Sun escu fu blaunk , estencele de goules ;
86. En chef la coroune de vergis espinouses ;
87. Blef la bordure ho quater seignes costuses
88. En my luy, la funtayne, ho les veynes euhouses (or, en houses).
89. Un heume out a la teste de chevus rubichez ;
90. Un hauberke en dosse d'escoryges maeleez ;
91. Un espeye au poyn de un clou de fer forgez,
92. E une launce de pacience fort et ben ferrez.
93. Ly tyraunt le regard, si out graunt dedeyn,
94. E le rey le suffry de t[ra]vailler en veyn.
95. Ben atendi houre de lever la meyn.
96. L'autre le sour quert de malencolye pleyn,
97. Si doune au rei du launce & p[er]ce sun escu.
98. Le cop fu si fort dunt ad le roy feru
99. Ke en cynk lus de corps sanc ad espandu
100. Lors quide l'autre aver le rey vencu
101. Fort fu cele estour kaunt si asemblerent
102. Ke la tere trembla & peres debriserent
103. La gent de tote part ly rey taunt surquerent
104. Ke tot a la mort en chaump le lesserent .
105. Cy put l'em dyre hou esteit soun host,
106. Ke dut au rey en tendre en contre l'aut[re] host (f.39 v)
107. Ja vous respondy ay brevement un most.
108. Le rey out si ordine ke nul ly fut de cost,
109. Kar soul voleit aveir la am[ur] de sa amye,
110. Ke soul enprist p[ur] ly teu mechef saunz aye
111. Si autre le hut eyde, lors fut departie
112. Le amur entre plusurs ke soul ad de[ser]vye.
113. Par taunt se mit soul le rey en[con]tre touz.
114. E pur ceo ke soul se mit entre mouz.
115. Ly tyraunt quide veindre le chivaler prouz.
116. Mes il par sa pruesce si les venqui touz.
117. I leva la launce k[i] soffraunce est dit,
118. La une mayn au tyraunt plenement tolit.
119. L'autre mayn par veidye va le chyvaler prouz [tut] si mit en respit
120. Taunt ke yl eut parfet ceo ke establyt.
121. Par tant ne lessa mye ly tremauveis lere.
122. Eyns p[ri]st le chivaler par le cote armere
123. Trestout le decyre, devaunt & derere ;
124. Ja pur ceo ly reys ne jauncha sa chere.

125. Kaunt la cote estraunge du rey degyse
126. Par la meyn au tyraunt fu si derire,
127. Lors estoyt ly rey de souz ben arme
128. En sa armure demeyne k[i] ly esteit devyse,
129. De joie & de vye tut dreit quartille.
130. De pussaunce e de saveir & de dreyture frette,
131. En le chef un sautour de haute dignite ;
132. Une bende en belif de inmortalite.
133. Kaunt ly tyraunt vit ke ceo fu ly reys,
134. Lors out le corage trop a malheys.
135. Il out wu avaunt en sun graunt paleys,
136. E conuseit sun poer e ses dreite leys.
137. Le chetif s'en fuy a graunt [con]fusion,
138. E le rey (inserted) descendy en un bas dounion.
139. La trova sa amye en cheytisson.
140. Ke merci ly requit de sa mes prisoun.
141. 'Syre', dit ele,'m[er]cy, chivaler alose, (f.40r)
142. De ceste lasse chetive preynne te pite.
143. Taunt ay mesfet a cuntre vostre gre.
144. Ne vous os regarder, de hounte enfrounte.
145. Vous me feistes riche, la ou povre esteye.
146. De robe me vestistes, ke plus valut ke seye.
147. La curtesie fu la vostre , la vyleynie fu meye,
148. Kaunt ove cruel tyraunt alai de vous ma veye.
149. Sire, en vostre verger, ou jadis m'en jhoye,
150. Par une fauce clef ly tyraunt quit sa preie,
151. Entra en parole e taunt me dauncye,
152. Ke a ly me assenty par p[ro]mes de nobleye.
153. Ove ly m'en alai, a mal houre le men.
154. Ke sy tost cu[m] entray la tere ke cleme seen,
155. En p[ri]soun cy me mit, sy cu[m] veet ben.
156. Unke pus ne oy joie, ne solace de nule ren.
157. Genti quer de rey, merci vous requer,
158. De ma fole enprise me voilles p[ar]doner.'
159. Doucement respount ly curteis chivaler :
160. 'E jeo vous p[ar]doyn fraunchement de quer.
161. Vus me avez couste mout cher hui ceo jour ;
162. Unk[e] fiz pur pyere ne entra tel estour.
163. Pus ke vous ay conquis p[ar] saunc e par suhour,
164. Ne vous pus refuser ke neez de moy socour.
165. Si vous avez hounte de aunciene folie,
166. Ore vous afyez en ma gelousye.
167. Kaunt, pur l'amour de vous, abandonay ma vie,
168. Pur vus remener ke esteies de mai fuie.

169. Regardez ma face, cu[m] est demanglee,
170. Regardez moun corps, cu[m] est pur vous plaee.
171. Avisez moun escu, cum est deberdile,
172. E ne quydez ja ke seez refuse.
173. Jadis vous donai fiaunce en prive,
174. Soulement ma amye fures dounk[e] nome.
175. Mes ore ma espouse serrez apele
176. De tous ke sevent e saverent la solempnete' (f.40 v)
177. Lors prent le rey sa espouse de prisoun,
178. Si la ameine ove li en bone sauvacioun,
179. 'Demorez', dit, 'icy une breve sesoun,
180. Taunt ke jeo returne pur mener vous a meisoun.
181. E ke seez plus sure en [con]tre l'aversere,
182. Verz vous retenez en luy de banere
183. Ma chemise de charres e ma cote armere,
184. Dount plus espaunte ke de fourche lere.
185. Al entre de la porte moun destrer allouhez,
186. Al entre de la chambre moun escu pendez,
187. Pres de vostre lit ma launce ferme fichez.
188. Sy ne avera gard de nules adv[er]sitez.
189. E sy vous garder ben ceo k[e] cy vous doune,
190. E me voillez amer si cu[m] reisoun doune,
191. Jeo vous frai reyne e porterez corone
192. En ma ryche tere k[e] tot vous abaundonne.
193. E kaunt vostre meynne tut ert assemble,
194. A vous revendrai en temps bon sesoune.
195. Sy vous amenerai a ma g[ra]nt cyte
196. Ou vous averez solaz &tous bens a plente'.
197. Jeo pry Deu ke Boioun veynne ben atyre,
198. En route ceste dame dount ay cy parle
199. Ke Jh[es]u n[ost]re rey, chivaler alosee,
200. Conquist en bataille ceo est humeine lignee. Amen

APPENDIX D

Transcription: *Le char d'Orgueil,* BL MS Additional 46919, ff. 66r-74r.

Cest tretys fist frere Nich. Boioun del ordre de frer[es] meno[u]rs

1. La reigne de pecche est estreite de haut lignage, (f. 66r)
2. La fille est Lucifer ke cheit de haut estage;
3. Si est apele Orguil, dame de graunt age,
4. Ele se ad fet un char de mult g[ra]nt custage.
5. La premere reo de son char de coruz est charpente
6. L'autre si est vengaunce ki quert enemite,
7. La terce si est baudour de sovenire mesfesaunce,
8. La quarte si est honte de verrai reconisance.
9. La bilette ke tient corusce si est surquidur[i]e,
10. La bilette qe tient vengaunce, malice endurie,
11. La bilette qe tient baudur, esperaunce de longe vie,
12. La bilette ke tient honte, amour de ceste vie.
13. Les liens de reos: amour de ceo secle sunt quers si lie sunt
14. Ke nule part pount genchir ver val ne ver munt,
15. De une part apenter coment il entryent poueres en ceo mund
16. Ne de autre part auiser coment il istrunt,
17. Ne ver val regarder lees puz de enfern parfund
18. Ne ver munt al ciel ou tutes les joies sunt
19. Mes touz jours se tenent en amour del mund
20. Plus sunt dur ke fer les liens dunt lie sunt.
21. L'un essuyl est rancur lunges tenu en quer,
22. L'autre inobedience ke ja ne se veot plier,
23. Le corps del char, covetise ke tut veot aver.
24. Le founz de char, avarice ke ren ne vut lesser.
25. La largesce ver munt: outrage e folie,
26. La estreitesce ver val: chinchesce e escrafonye.
27. Le cumble del char, ke ver val se plie,
28. Fause humilite en orgulus signefie.
29. Le trailliz a coste, ky a diverse juncture,
30. Si est fet de gilerie par diverse mellure.
31. Les clouz dorrez ke tienent la juncture,
32. Si est offre buffe ke mout unkore dure.
33. La cheyne ke tient le un chef, est amour de pecche,
34. La cheyne ke tient l'autre, obliaunce de De.
35. Le liens de fer, mal usage e trop use, (f. 66v)
36. Le clous de fer, mal conseil trop creu e ame.
37. Les pomeus del char devaunt e derere
38. Sunt les gros sermenz ke custerent ben cher,
39. Le cofyn del char ou le enclouer,
40. Bele p[ro]mesce e poi ou rien doner.
41. Le drap d'escharlete dunt le char est covert,
42. Est p[ri]ve mauveis e bon en apert,

43. Le drap entaille ke mult est overt,
44. Si est ho[m]me honure saunz sun desert.
45. Les taches dunt le drap al char est atache
46. Amour a sey meimes trop desordine.
47. Un wiket al un chef encuntre le vent
48. Si est celui ke est repris e (margin corr.) sun trespas defent.
49. Le wiket al autre part (underscored) chef p[ur] la veuwe de gent
50. Est cil ke se retret, kant hom li aprent.
51. Si nous volums saver quel est la peinture,
52. Ceo est ypoc[ri]sie en parole e en porture.
53. E quel est le drapel ke sauve la peinture
54. For de male compaignie puante englemure.
55. Ou la penture del char si est a tiel trop degise
56. Les eschu nuis nonclerie pur ester conu e prise.
57. Une lunge drap est mis p[ur] sauver la peinture:
58. Excusaciun de pecche ke mout unkore dure,
59. Kar plusurs ke atirent p[ur] ester ame et dient p[ur] cou[r]ture,
60. Ke p[ur] lur mariz le sunt ke ne ussent de autre cure.
61. Le quatre fenestres de regarder hors
62. Meint ho[m]me unt blemi de dens e de hors,
63. E si unt suylli vilement le corps
64. E la cheitife aime unt fet mal repos.
65. La p[ri]mere est despit ou felun regard,
66. L'autre est delit ou lecherus reward,
67. La terce est escharn asis de autre part,
68. La quarte est fole porture ke treit a male part.
69. Le cofyn de ceo char par dehors dutte,
70. Si est de bele p[ro]messe parole ahurne. (f.67r)
71. Mult i ad de favele mes trop poy de bunté.
72. Pur ceo sunt plusurs malement enginne.
73. Tous q[ui]dent trover le cofyn plein de or cumble,
74. Pur ceo ke il est de metal cointement lye,
75. Mes rien ne trovent fors hoinerie kaunt bon su[n]t serche;
76. Issi est de p[ro]mettur kant ben est esprove.
77. Le char covient cluter de aster surement;
78. Ceo fet ly maveis mentur ke tant sovent ment.
79. Ryen ne vult cunter fur par enoytement,
80. De fere les gens escuter e crere folement.
81. Rebatez les clous; rebatez, vous pleidurs.
82. Debatez les clous; debatez, vous tensurs.
83. Ferez de marteus, vous bon guerreurs.
84. Les chemyns ver enfern sunt durs e grevus.
85. Le char covient oyndre ke ja est atire;
86. Ceo fet li faus losengur de parole afile.
87. Par le oyndre de cetuy meint ho[m]me est soile,
88. Mes ke la noyse un poy seit asuuage.
89. Nule plest al orguillus destre losenge,
90. Mes k'il sache sanz desert k'il est prise.
91. D'entrer en ceo char une eschele seit mis;
92. Cely li fet ke mult enpire e va de mal en pis.

93. Tels i ad assez plus ke mil e dis,
94. Ke tous jours enpirunt taunt cum il sunt vifs.
95. Ore fet a saver ke la eschele amunte,
96. Par unt ceste dame sun char sovent munte,
97. Ceo est le desir ke taunt en richesce munte,
98. Deskes ke il eit itaunt ke ne sache acounte.
99. Le un bastun de l'eschele est singularite,
100. L'autre est veine glorie kant mult est honure,
101. La terce si est joie de estre mout douté.
102. Le quarte si est pour de estre pus reboute.
103. Pus entrent ceo char e mettent assez de fure,
104. C'est de eyser lur corps mettent trop de cure,
105. Ke ne pensent de la mort ke lur haste sure. (f. 67v)
106. Pur ceo lur avent souvent mesaventure
107. Ore cuchez un tapit cointe e burle
108. De yveresce et de gangle e de veine rise,
109. De carole e de treche, de vileinie e de curiosite,
110. De maldir e de juger tut jours entremelle.
111. Pus mettez les quareus ke ben sunt atirez,
112. De peresce e de tristour tut dreit quartillez,
113. De udivesce les bordures de feyntise endentez,
114. Cusus de sompnolence e de glotonie farsez.
115. A chescun cornire des quareus sunt quatre botuns;
116. Le un si est enuy de sovent oyr sarmouns,
117. L'autre si est pesentime de estre en oreisun,
118. Les autres deus sunt ignorance e necglicence par nun.
119. Ore covient un bahuz de mettre par desure,
120. Tut amunt le char p[ur] sauver de soillure.
121. Ceo est la ypocrisie ke cele par coverture
122. Tuz les pecchez par desuz, chescun sanz blemure.
123. Ore entrez les chevaus, quatre forz chacurs,
124. De trere avaunt le char al chastel de plurs.
125. Deu p[ur] sa merci doynt a tuz sucurs,
126. Avaunt ke il seient entrez, kar dunk n'i ad recurs.
127. Le un chival est I[n]pacience ke fort est a mener,
128. Ke quant qe fet ou dit ly est c[un]tre quer;
129. Maladie ou grevaunce nule ne put suffrer;
130. Pur ceo porte les lymons p[ur] luy endaunter.
131. La teste de cest cheval si est perte de denz,
132. Kar hom[m]e ke est inpacient ja ad perdu se sens;
133. Les biens ke il put fere, de lesser les i pens,
134. Si fet encuntre Deu e encuntre sun defens.
135. Sun frein, k'il porte en buche, si est grundelement;
136. Ceo ne put deporter, ne mie bonement,
137. K'yl ne voise grundilaunt mult i[n]pacient,
138. Ben roinant le frein e aguzant le dent.
139. Ceo cheval seit henir kaunt ben le p[re]nt a gre.
140. Sun henir si est blaspheme de mesdire de De, (f. 68r)
141. Kant pur nule perte de temporalite
142. Maudit sa vie e le temps k'il fu ne.

Cesti de sa cowe de ly tut hoste
La grace del seint esperit dount fu arose.
Si est de la bowe partut enbowe,
Il avereit ben mester d’estere wae.
Ore parlum de lymuns e quei ceo signefient:
Cruelete de baillifs ke les poveres lient,
Ke nule part pount genchir, mes a tere se plient,
Donnu[n]t lur deners e merci si crient.
L'autre cheval p[ro]cheyn ke devaunt ly treit,
Est apele Denaturesce, ke chescun jour trop crest;
Plus sovent est chace ke autre chival ne seit,
E prudeho[m]me p[ur] ceo le lest e dampne Deu le heit.
La teste de cest cheval, ke plus haut est asis,
Sunt les grauns seignours en seignurie mis.
Ceus ke sunt denatureus a lur povere amis
E reteinent lower de ceus ke lur unt servis.
Les piez de cest cheval sunt li maus enfauns
Ke trop sunt denatureus a lur nurisaunz.
Lur pere e lur mere vunt [con]trarianz,
E ne portent reve[re]nce a petiz ne a granz.
La cowe de cest cheval sunt les executurs
Ke mettent en ubliaunce les aunciens amurs,
Lessent les almes en peines e en plurs
E se vont joliver de autri tresurs.
Kant ly chetif est mort e gist sur la bere,
Hom le port a muster ou suriante chere
Le mettent en la terre e s'en vount arere;
L’alme demert en peine en la p[ro]fund chaudere.
Donc vent un bel amy si espuse sa bele,
Beit de soun tonel e tripe sa sautele,
Chaunte p[ur] l’alme va la la ridulele.
Autre eide n’avera de celuy ne de cele.
Pur Deu, seignours, p[er]netz garde taunt cu[m] estes en vie, (f. 68v)
Fetes ben pur vos almes, ne vous afiez mie
En amy ne en parent ap[re]s la departie.
Ceo ke lerrez apres vos, vifs destruit ert e seisie.
Ore avoum deus chevaus renablement descrit;
Le un si est inpacience dunt avaunt est dit.
Lautre est denat[ur]esce en fet e en dit.
Devisum ore le terz qe seit de mal elit.
Le tierz cheval tut adevanaunt est Deleaute,
Ke taunt ore regne e taunt haunte,
Ke sojorner ne put dymeyne ne feyre,
Ke chescun jour ne vout ver enfern sajorne.
Il n’est tut neir ne blaunc mes feraunt techele,
Kar plusurs en unt part de cest deleaute.
Ces sunt li clers, ces sunt li lais, ces sunt ly ordine.
Mult est ore cest cheval a surfet t[ra]vaille.
La teste de cest cheval sunt les un prelaz
Ke ren ne funt lur office mes querent lur solaz.

Des almes ne unt il cure nent plus ke de kaz
Pur ceo vunt les almes en enfern, alas.
La cowe de cest cheval ki en ordre est asis
Sunt les fauz religiouns ke en religion se su[n]t mis.
Autre chose ne querent fur munter enbailis;
Vaidreint plus a meisun pur garder les berbis.
Les euz de ceo cheval sont les maus sergauns
Ke ben aparceinent les defautes grauns.
Ren ne funt de amendes, mes vount avant passanz.
II freinent lur leute e failient de covenanz.
Le nariz de ceo cheval: menestral e chauntable;
Ore fet ben dire de vous; ore le tent tut fable.
Tant cu[m] vous ly donez, vous estes covenable.
E tant cu[m] vous cessez, il vous fet dampnable.
Les denz de ceo cheval, amount e aval,
Sunt les maus seisyns ke sunt paringal.
Il se entremanjent de parole mal.
Chescun fet a autre sovent tripal. (f.69 r)
La langue de ceo cheval est maveis mellur,
Ke par entre veisins si defet amur,
Par ses maveis cunteis dunt est [con]trovur.
Par li sunt les veisyns sovent en rancur.
Les orailles du cheval sunt les bedeus coranz,
Ke vount batant les rues des oraillez escutanz,
Si nule rien aveigne dunt seunt rien ganianz.
Pur freindre lur leaute ne durreint pas un ganz.
Les pies de cest cheval ke sovent vont clochant,
Sunt les seinz garcuns ke veinent hobilant.
Ren ne veillent fere de bon fur lur defendant,
Rerement a muster e tuz jours manjant.
Le ventre de cest cheval ou les ent[ra]illes
Su[n]t les fauz p[ro]voz ou lur fause tailles;
La u deivent les deners, mettent les mailles,
E wastent les bon blez e perdent les pailles.
Le quir de cest cheval, ke tut enclout le corps
Sunt les recenours ke meinent par dehors.
La vienent le viloters kant seignours sunt endors;
E ceus sunt les laruns e les porte hors.
La cuwe de cest cheval est mal meigne,
Par ki meint p[ro]dehom est, mult abesse,
Ke par nunchalerie, ke par deleaute
Si coment il retrer[ent] de apel honure.
La lure de cest cheval su[n]t les fauz marchanz,
Ke vount le trot au marche p[ur] fere deceites g[ra]nz.
Kant avera[n]t tut t[ra]vaille si serrunt recreanz,
Eschorchez de lur chateus, e girru[n]t la puanz.
Ore covient errer le cheval sojurne;
Ceo est le fauz advocate mult cher allue,
Pur henir e braer en cuntre verite,
E sustenir la partie ke tent a fausete.

Treis chevaus avoums, le quarte il nous faut.
Mes bien serra t[ro]ve eyns ke il aut.
Sun noun est Envye, ke plus des autres vaut (f.69 v)
De trere par devaunt, kar il est ben haut.
Mult est male beste cest cheval de envye;
Il n'y ad autre tel en tute ceste vye
Ke taunt se peine meimes p[ur] abreger sa vye;
Pur haster en enfern en ceo trahiz se plye.
II va roillant des oilz e hoche la teste,
Ne treit pas ov les autres mes cuntre eus moleste.
De autre mescheaunces si fit il g[ra]nt feste,
Kant en le broche, tant tost si ceste;
Nule rien ne vout maunger fur ke av[i] un,
Am[er]oke e jazerie, ceo est detraccioun.
Pus si est en bevere de mal suspecioun,
E de un torkaz conree de purpos feloun.
Kant autres s[u]nt en solaz, il est en tristur,
Mult li est g[ra]nt peyne de autres la valur,
Nule rien taunt het cu[m] comun honur.
Si vous preisissez autre par devaunt ly,
Il get aval la teste cu[m] eust l'esq[ui]nancy,
Kar il ly est avis ke vous despicez ly,
Pur coe ke vous preisez autre p[ar]devant, v[us] dy.
Kant envyous vient a une mangerie,
La ou il treve nule estrangerie,
Il volt cuntrefere la g[ra]nt seignurie;
Pur coe est la tere sovent enpoverie.
Ceo cheval est trop surfeytus e trop botavant.
Kar chescun p[ar] envye se met taunt avant
Deus jours ou treis a despendre tant,
Ke tut l'an apres il est meyns vaillant.
Ke dirrum de dames kant veinent a festes?
Les unes des autres avisent le testes,
Portent les bosces cu[m] cornue bestes;
Si nule est descornue, de ly font les gestes.
De braz font la joie kant entrent la chambre,
Mustrent les cov[re]ches de sey e de kambre,
Atachent les botuns de cural et de l'ambre, (f.70r)
Ne cessent de jangler taunt cu[m] sunt en chambre.
La demandent les browes, se seient al diner.
Jetent les barberes la buche pur overer;
Si entrast al hure un nice esquire,
D'un p[ri]ve escharn ne porreit failler.
Pus funt eles mander le bon chapun en payn,
E de bone volunte mettent la mayn.
Tut le desakent, estaunchent lur feyn,
E beivent ap[re]s un g[ra]ndesun hanap pleyn.
Deus vistes vallez en unt assez a fere,
Servir les tutes, chescune a plere;
L'un a la q[ui]sine lur viaunde a quere,

293. L’autre a la butelerie le bon vin a trere.
294. Kant eles unt dine tut a g[ra]nt leisir,
295. Se herdent ensemble de p[ri]vement parler.
296. L’une de l'autre en cerche le quer,
297. Si acune p[ri]veté puisse alocher.
298. Pur ceo, damoyseles, en tele assemble
299. Tenez la buche de mesure en seele,
300. Kar si hors de curs eiez rien cunte,
301. Vus serrez pur foles mult tost de eus juge.
302. Kant entrent la sale avalent le degre,
303. La sun en estrif lounges demore,
304. Les unes funt les autres sanz lur eindegre
305. Passer pardevaunt p[ur] estre honure.
306. Mult serreit bele nuriture, si venist de quer,
307. Ke chescune amast autre de bon amour enter
308. Mes eles unt envye kant veunt chevaler
309. Plus ov une k’ov les autres de parole dalier.
310. Kant a la table a maunger sunt asis,
311. Nule rien ne maungent de kancke la est mis.
312. Pur lur bel atil il lur est avis
313. Ke plus est aboute cele en porte la pris.
314. Kant eles unt mustre cest k’est devaunt,
315. Trevent en chesoun d'escoper en baunt, (f.70v)
316. K’em puise ver l’overaine g[ra]nt
317. Ke gist par derere, e musce fut avaunt.
318. Tele veinent a la feste pur estre avise;
319. Vaudreit plus a meisun, vous di p[ur] verite,
320. Kar ele est enchesun de mal e de pecche,
321. Kant sanz nule reisun trop est degise.
322. Kant levent de la table, ne di pas du manger,
323. Kar poy en unt maunge; ceo fist lur bon diner.
324. Entren dunc la chambre pur entresolacer.
325. De overaine e d’enchure covient dunk treter.
326. Chescune de autre aprent acune novelerie
327. E si estudient de lur sen de fere controverie.
328. Si taunt feissent de plere a deu cu[m] font p[ar] envie,
329. Ben lur serreit guerdone en pardurable vie.
330. Puys se vount a meisun, returnent de la feste,
331. E tant tost si changent la bele lusante teste.
332. Cele qe fu si fresche, ja devent si reste,
333. Ke le marchant se repente, ke achata cele beste.
334. Pus si funt la folie ke mult fet acharger:
335. Kant autre feze a feste deivent returner,
336. Ben lung temps avaunt covient depescer
337. Garlaundeches e treszurs e pus renoveler.
338. Dunk chaungent l’enchure e div[er]sent le champ,
339. Mettent la perles u plates furent avant;
340. D’ un liun recope un egle funt volant,
341. D’un cygne entaille un levre tapisant.
342. Mes ke lur atil ja si ben ne seit fet,

343. Kant une fez est veu, nule ren lur plest.
344. Tele est ore envye e taunt de orguil crest,
345. Ke la pover[e] chetive la riche cuntrefet.
346. Ore avoum les chevaus quatre fors chacurs.
347. Metez dunc les chevestres, avant k'il seient en curs.
348. P[er]nez tutes les gymples ke sunt de gaune colurs;
349. E les kev[i]ches a tut, ke sunt ben custus.
350. Ceo volt frer[e] Bozum, k'est ordinurs. (f.71r)
351. Les chevaus de chevestres serrunt muselez,
352. Kar il su[n]t breidifs e trop en coragez.
353. Ceo sunt les dames dekes as oylz bendez,
354. Pur sauver les de solail, ke ne seient escaudez.
355. Ceo chevaus en la buche portent un fer;
356. Ceo sunt ceste dameseles ke sanz nul mester
357. Bleysunt p[ar] cointyse p[ur] doucement parler,
358. De plere a lur amy e antrere lur quer.
359. Les colers des chevaus larges e granz
360. Sunt les colers p[er]cez trop desavenanz;
361. Mustrent les espaules p[ur] ceo ke il sunt blaunks,
362. E si ne donent regard cu[m] il serrunt tost puanz.
363. Ore mestez les astelers sur le beu colers;
364. Ceo sunt les urlures lusanz treschers,
365. De plates e de perles et de cural melles
366. E le bohces adesuz ove les cornes leves.
367. Cele ky les comenca mal hure fut ele nes
368. Kar par ceste controvure su[n]t plusurs dampnez.
369. E quident plere a lur amy e depleisent a deuz,
370. Kar par lur atissure si est meint ho[m]me engynnez.
371. Jeo ne suy pas encuntre ke les ne pount user
372. Et plates e perles et pan de meniver,
373. Mes la trespasent trop kant unt le corps si cher,
374. Ke tant de tens wastent p[ur] la char aorner.
375. De chescun houre del jour acunte rendrunt:
376. De matyn deskes al vespre coment despendu l'unt,
377. Ke ore se aforcent tant de plere a ceo mund.
378. Mult serrunt esgarrez kant a la mort vendrunt.
379. Ke dirrum dunke de celes ke sevent tant lungement
380. De atirer lur chef si utrainsement,
381. Ke dekes a terce a muster la paroche les atent.
382. Jeo di k'eles le com[per]unt si ceo facent sovent.
383. Ja sunt ore aparillez tut apurfil
384. Le char ov les chevaus et tut lur atil.
385. Mettez dunc les trahiz de quir ou de fil (f.71v)
386. Ceo est la male custume qe fet ho[m]me vil.
387. Pus ke tut est ore prest e ben aparillez,
388. Alouum un charure ke ben est apelez
389. Sire mestre meyveillus de proper voluntez;
390. Ke rien ne vout fere fur par sun eyndegrez
391. Ja ne crerra counseil fors soulement volunte.
392. Pur ceo est la charette par ly governe.

393. Jettez donke la sele sur Biard de Brie.
394. E quele est la sele fur surquiderie?
395. Le arscun p[ar]devant fol avanterie,
396. E le arscun par derer ke nul n'y contredye
397. Le sege de la sele si est nunchalerye,
398. Le quir dunt est covert de fole avouerie,
399. Le panel ke est par desuz de mal enticerie,
400. Emnburlee par dedens de sote quiderye.
401. L'un estru si est repos en orde ymagmacion.
402. L'autre est consentement de male temptacion.
403. Deus cengles sunt mis: demure delectacion,
404. E un peterel ben covert de cointe palliacion.
405. Le dosser en la sele de cureies est enclos;
406. Si est de maveys cunseil e de mal endos.
407. Ky eyment tut solaz e mout de repos,
408. Si cu[m] fet le dosser, kant il gist al dos.
409. Le croper de la sele sus la crope del cheval,
410. Si est la lunge treyne ke pent trop aval,
411. De cestes gentils fe[m]mes, dunt Deu prent a mal,
412. E nomeme[n]t de celes ke ne unt chambre ne sal.
413. E queus su[n]t les butuns tachez al cruper
414. Fors les petiz kenez ke dames unt si cher?
415. Sur la longe trayne les font mult suef cocher;
416. La u ne suffreyent pas un pover[e] del pe m[a]rcher.
417. U averoum ore un garcun al mestre charetter
418. De garder ses chevaus e ben conreer.
419. Il covient ke nous preygnoums un bon tav[er]ner
420. Ke chescun nut seit yvere eynz ke il voit cucher (f.72r)
421. Joie de pecche le devom nomer,
422. Kar il est penible de fere sun mester.
423. Il covient aver sele cesti bon garcun,
424. Pur le hon[ur] sa dame, reigne de honeysun.
425. Sa sele si est mise sur Wichard le felun,
426. Cely ke treit devaunt, dunt parle avoum.
427. Le garcun serra vestu de la livere sa dame:
428. De une bele cote de larecine e de blame.
429. Si avera une coyfe de mult orde fame.
430. E un wardecors de joberie ke pent sur la frame.
431. Il est ceint de une ceinture de la lute p[ar]feire,
432. E les barres i sont mises de treche amene,
433. Atache de tailles de fianz fiance.
434. Si porte la burse au taverne aticle.
435. Ore est p[re]st de mounter li tres bon garcun,
436. Meste pe en l'estru de large ambiciun,
437. E ferge de la verge de dep[ri]vaciun,
438. Kar il est en la veye de perdiciun.
439. Baylum al mestre chareter une verge en sa meyn,
440. Ky surt de la racyne de orgollouse greyn.
441. Manace est apele, dunt meynt ho[m]me est pleyn,
442. Ky ne seit for manacer kant il a dedeyn.

Au somet de la verge une corde pent,
Ke fet les chevaus tretre plus ferniclement.
Ceo sunt les paroles qe volunt cu[m] vent,
Wichuses e feluns, pur aboler la gent.
Ore s'en va la dame ov bele conpaignye,
Ov dames e dameseles e ov chevalerye,
Ove sergauns, ov macuers, ov esquierye,
Kar ele doute sun enemi la seynte p[re]cherye.
Les dames ke sunt ove ly su[n]t de haut lygnage,
La dame premere est Sorcere, ke est de conseil sage;
L'autre est Avotere, dame de g[ra]nt age,
La terce est dame Lechere, ke va a sun custage.
Ele ad set da[m]meseles en la chevaucherye: (f.72v)
Dammesele Porte-pecche, ke fet la p[ro]curacye,
Dammesele Sungeresse, ke creit en sungerye,
Dammesele Angelere ke atent la beaserie,
Dammesele Morne, ke porte chupe droupe chere,
Dammesele Volage, de sauvage manere,
Dammesele Wyvre, de parole amere,
Dammesele Echaunge, de amurs novelere.
Treus chevalers ad retenu en sa [con]pai[n]gnie.
L' un est apele Herege, mestre de de heresie;
L'autre est nome sire Symon, de symonye,
E le un est Torcenus, trop en sa deverie.
Devisums ore les armes a ces chevalers,
Ke sunt ov la dame muntez sur lur dextrers.
Lur escus a lur col mout tres beus e clers,
E si ne valenf mye o peyne seis deners.
L'escu moun sire Herege est de mescreaunce,
Ov une lunge deputaunce de la creaunce;
En le chef un sautorir de sutive decevaunce,
Ov treis pennes eschanus, a plusurs g[ra]nt nusaunce.
L'escu sire Symon si est de fin sable
Ov treis burses farsez de usure e de gable,
Le lambel sanz pite de poveres a la table
E une fesse engreille de conscience dampnable.
L'escu mun sire Torcenus si est de g[ra]nt renun;
Le chef si est de felonie e treis losenges de treisun,
Une espeye de homicide asis en l'un quartrun,
Florette de sac[ri]legie et de escommunicaciun.
La dame ad ses esquiers de mult bele nurit[ur]e;
Longes sunt en levanz, de messe ne unt il cure.
Vount giwer a tables e jurent sanz mesure;
De juner e de maunger ne regardent nule houre.
Chescun fol contrefunt en lur atiffure,
Sovent hautent la meyn de planer lur chevelure,
Mult lur greve sarmon, ja si poi ne dure.
Asotes sunt de femmes, ceo mustre lur porture. (f.73r)
La dame ad se chapelayns p[ur]sa chanterye,
L'un est apostat de mal apostasie.

493. L’autre est nigremauncer de nigremauncie.
494. Le tierce est irreguler, de chanter ne cesse il mie.
495. E si ad treis clerguns a sa chapele entitlez;
496. L’un si chante vileinie p[ur] fere les quers suillez,
497. L’autre gangle en eglise, p[ur] autre desturber,
498. Le tierce est trenche vers p[ur] matyns cyncoper.
499. Le senescal de se teres enpeche les gens a tort,
500. A reseivre les deners de rendre est mult fort.
501. Ceo comperu[n]t il mult cher, apres la cheitive mort.
502. E turne a g[ra]nt grevance ke avant esteit confort.
503. Le senescal de sun hostel la meine seet reprendre;
504. Mes tens ne volt regarder ne reisun attendre;
505. Tant se tent sage ke sovent se volt pleindre.
506. Ke la meigne ne seet nul ben, petit ne ly grendre.
507. Le tresorer la dame ne dei pas ublier.
508. Le tresur k’il ad en garde si est depenser:
509. De deux auns ou de treis coment se puet venger
510. Pur une petyte huynerie ke vaut pas un dener.
511. Le mareschal de sun hostel trop est mal engruyne;
512. Kant en ly demaunde le hostel par charite,
513. Plus li greve un super en tel manere done
514. Ke treiz repaz ou quatre en veine glorie waste.
515. Le panetyr ceste dame si est suspecion
516. Kar de chescun ke entre ou isse la meisun,
517. Conte ke il seit deleaus ou le tient a larun.
518. Sovent se feit a maleyse de petit enchesun.
519. Le boutelir la dame si est ben apris
520. De fere la gent tant beivre k’il seient suspris.
521. Grant solaz en a kant veit les uns enyvers,
522. Chanceler en ver le mur ou chair al palis.
523. Le aumener la dame fet la partie
524. De relief ke est remis apres la maungerie.
525. Aumoyne est la maleiscon ou escrafonie, (f.73v)
526. E les paroles quituses friz en baterie.
527. Le clerk ke tient ses curz ad une [con]diciun:
528. De mettre gens au livere sovent sanz resun;
529. Les autres sunt p[ar]jurs, e il est enchesun.
530. A mal houre fut nez si il n’eit confessiun.
531. La dame ad sa lavendere pur ly e sa meigne,
532. De laver lur atil qu[a]nt est de ren suille;
533. Cele est sa lavender ke pur dun done;
534. Autre sauve de blame pur garder le en p[ec]che.
535. La matrone ke suit la dame de estre a sa porture.
536. Si est cele ke volt peccher sanz aver engendrure.
537. La garce de sa chambre, ke tut ad en cure,
538. Si est la male conseillere a defere porture.
539. Les t[ra]venters la dame jâmes ne unt sogur;
540. Ces sunt les coveitus ki asparinent nul jur
541. Mes lur gens e lur chevaus mettent en labur
542. A Deu e a les seons si funt mult poi de honur.

543. Par la ou il quident gainer, il en perderu[n]t,
544. Kar de la ley encontre la quele i funt,
545. E de cheytifs t[ra]vaylauns pite ne unt.
546. Devant Deu au jugement mult dur respundrunt.
547. Le poleter la dame ky va de lu en lu,
548. De quere les noveltes, ou il seient su,
549. Si est la male pensee ke tant est esmu
550. D'aver les deliz ke turnent a ennu.
551. Le mestre k'ov la dame trop ad afere,
552. Kant ke les t[ra]venters seivent p[ar] tut quere,
553. Il le seit decouper e tant tost detrere.
554. Ceo est li mauveis heyr ke waste bele tere.
555. Le mestre k'ov la dame ke atire sa viaunde
556. Mal usage ad nun ke surfeit trop demaunde.
557. Chose ke porreit suffire il la fet trop grande.
558. C[um] nature solu[m] v[er]ite for mesure ne demande.
559. Le garcun de la q[ui]sine trop est embrowe,
560. E si lest par laschesse la vessele delave. (f.74r)
561. Ceo sunt les peccheurs ke ja unt ublie
562. De laver lur almes suilles de pecche.
563. Pur ceo, seignurs, hastum nous a confessiun,
564. Taunt cu[m] sumus en vye e le temps avun.
565. Kar par cele soule e par contriciun.
566. Lavez serrum surement de chescune polluciun.
567. Mes si nous seum teus ke taunt attendum
568. Ke les chevaus seient ferre de obstinaciun,
569. E les ferz atachez par desperaciun,
570. Ja n'esteut penser de trover pardun.
571. Kar cest la fyn de tuz pecchez e clef de p[er]diciun.
572. Ore vous dirrai mun conseil p[ur] bien eschaper:
573. P[er]nums cunge de la dame, si la lessum passer,
574. E turnu[m] nous a dextre par un estreit senter;
575. Cest de amer Deu e sur tute ren duter.
576. Prium ore le douz Jh[es]u ke tut ren put fere,
577. K'il dount n[us] sa grace, tant cu[m] sum[us] en tere,
578. Tele veye tenir, tele part detrere.
579. Ke venir pussum al pays ou ja n' avera guere.
580. Ky voudra cest escrit sovent regarder.
581. Il en avera matire de se confesser,
582. Tutes maners de pecchez put icy trover,
583. Fors soule p[ri]vetez ke ne sunt pas acunter.
584. Mes, allas, trop i ad icy de nos enemis,
585. Dunt nous sum[us] en ceo mund de tute parz asis.
586. De forclore la veye ke meyne a parais,
587. Icy sont assemble unz e vinz e dis. (Righthand margin) Nota num[erum] p[e]cc[at]o[rum] h[ic] recitato[rum].

NOTE: Although written in quatrains, the poem has three extra lines of verse: couplet rhyming -er is added (ll. 421-2) to quatrain (ll. 417-20) and l. 571 is linked to

preceding 8 lines by rhyme in –un and indicated in the manuscript by a right-hand side lateral stroke made by the scribe.