

DOCTRINA AND PREDICATIO:
THE DESIGN AND FUNCTION OF SOME PASTORAL MANUALS

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When discussing the religious education of the laity (and the preliminary instruction of the clergy who were meant to carry it out) there has been an understandable tendency to concentrate on the pulpit as the cornerstone of the didactic edifice. As Roy Haines puts it "it is clear that preaching was considered the fundamental didactic tool for reaching a wide audience".¹ This is indisputable, but the centrality conferred upon preaching has meant that there has been proportionately less attention paid to other methods of catechesis; methods which the episcopal legislation of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century in England clearly thought essential parts of the *cura animarum*. The instructions to gather together and teach the young, for example, are worthy of attention. If the priest needed help for pulpit exposition, he was presumably just as needy in small-group teaching. Richard Poore, in his influential Salisbury statutes instructs his clergy: "Pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant . . .",² and the Exeter statutes add to this ". . . vel saltem instrui faciant ab expertis",³ perhaps a reference to the teaching of the rudiments of the Faith in schools, a practice finally forbidden by Arundel in his constitutions of 1408. Similar rulings on the instruction of children can be found in most of the major constitutions. In addition, of course, the laity were to be examined and instructed when they came to confession. William of Blois in his Worcester statutes of 1229 requires the clergy to instruct the laity in the Articles of Faith before confession and in the Deadly Sins afterwards, and similar inquisition and instruction is envisaged by Mirk in the confessional paradigm included in his *Instructions for Parish Priests* written early in the fifteenth century.⁴ Again the injunctions are widely repeated and Mirk may serve as proof of their continuing implementation.

Parents were also involved in catechesis. John Gervais says that parents should be encouraged to aid their children in reading and singing the psalter (presumably reinforcing the work of the song schools and other primary schools), while Poore's statutes state that parents should be encouraged to ensure that their children were adequately instructed in the basic truths of the Faith.⁵

The importance of this legislation lies as much in the diversification of teaching methods which it involved as in the formulation and codification of a fixed syllabus. Just as the twelfth- and thirteenth-century developments in sacramental theology encouraged the development of *summae* and handbooks of penitential canon law, so

the episcopal legislation of the thirteenth century in England (itself a response to the stimulus to reform provided by the Lateran Council of 1215) gave rise to and encouraged the development of a distinct manual literature, aimed at the parish clergy who were expected to implement the new theological and doctrinal developments despite labouring under the twin handicaps of limited latinity and almost total ignorance of canon law.⁶ The simpler manuals of pastoral theology that are the concern of this paper avoid penitential niceties and canonical subtleties, concentrating rather on the practical problems of the *cura animarum*. Several important influences on their format and contents can be isolated.

First, the handbooks and tracts published by the bishops themselves. Initially they accompanied the decrees, although in the case of Stavensby's penitential tracts they often circulated independently in clerical miscellanies.⁷ These were working texts, not reference books - in some dioceses clerics were expected to commit them to memory or to submit to examination on them from the arch-deacon.⁸ Poore wanted his decrees rapidly distributed "ut sacerdotes ipsos frequenter habentes pro oculis in ministeriis et dispensationibus sacramentorum sint instructiores".⁹ These simple *summulae* (and even the mere syllabus provided in many decrees) created a kind of structural norm for manuals well before Pecham's post-hoc codification, and the distribution system created within dioceses to circulate decrees and manuals may have aided the circulation of unofficial manuals, and certainly increased the number of clerical commonplace books in circulation. These miscellanies may themselves have influenced the shape and design of eclectic compilations like the *Speculum Christiani*, which evolved into a kind of clerical *vademecum*.¹⁰

Second, and more speculatively, the use of schools in catechesis has interesting implications. The tendency towards verse reading texts in the grammar school curriculum created a taste for such texts among the clergy, as the miscellanies show. One manifestation of this taste is that many large Latin *summae* also circulated in condensed verse form, like the *Summula Raymundi*, a metrical abridgement of Raymund of Pennaforte's massive canonical work.¹¹ These verse renderings are often equipped with glosses on the main text. In England, the most popular theological poem was probably the *Poeniteas cito* which, as well as being part of the regular collection of didactic reading texts (the *Octo Auctores*), circulated widely in clerical miscellanies because of its valuably economic presentation of penitential commonplace. The popularity of such texts is worth remembering when considering the comparable popularity of vernacular poems such as the *Speculum Vitae* which also provided convenient and easily memorable formulations of basic doctrine, and of course the didactic flexibility displayed by many of the vernacular lyrics.¹²

Finally, the developing emphasis on the role of parents and teachers in the instruction of children (and, where appropriate, servants) clearly led to a demand for handbooks among the laity, and the evidence of free movement of pastoral manuals between clergy and laity in the fifteenth century suggests that this may have influenced the compilers of later pastoral manuals. For example, John Drury of Beccles, a schoolmaster, wrote a *Tractatus de modo confitendi* for

his pupils in Lent 1434 probably, as Meech says "intended to sum up a long course of oral instructions". Drury uses the traditional Latin mnemonic tags found in penitential *summae* of all shapes and sizes. Further, there is, of course, the example of Peter Idley's *Instructions* written for his son, which displays an almost professional command of the materials basic to pastoral instruction.¹³ The fifteenth-century vernacular version of Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* (which in its original Latin form is a masterpiece of compact instruction geared specifically to assisting the humbler members of the parish clergy) exemplifies the ambiguity of address that the developing lay taste for manuals gave rise to. At the outset of the poem, using the analogy that the priest's body is the temple of the Lord as the basis for an architectural allegory, the poet says of the tract "to prestes will it best befall" (which itself refuses to exclude the possibility of lay use) while at the end the poet's peroration begins with a rhetorical flourish:

Lerde and lewe, seclere and clerke
 I rede 3he sette 3oure hertes entere
 And in 3oure mynde þes wordes 3e marke (769-71)

thereby opening up the poem to a much wider audience. How right was McFarlane when he wrote that "the literate laity were taking the clergy's words out of their mouths".¹⁴

II

In the light of the variety of functions which the manuals were meant to fulfill, it is perhaps surprising that so many are lumped together under the heading of "Preaching Manuals". Not only does this generalised description do little justice to the versatility of the books, but also it can be positively misleading. As an example, let us take several writers' comments on the *Speculum Christiani*, a work which enjoyed enormous popularity in the fifteenth century and survived for a successful re-incarnation in print. Pfander in his article on pastoral manuals includes a brief discussion of the *Speculum Christiani*, and claims that "some sections are cast into finished sermon form", without specifying which sections of the work he means.¹⁵ We shall return to this claim later, but it is clear that he sees the text as functioning primarily as a preaching aid. He quotes the citation of Pecham's *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* in the work's prologue and points to the injunction to expound the syllabus four times yearly, claiming that this illuminates the function of the rest of the work. In fact he seems to have failed to recognise the integrity of the quotation from Archbishop Pecham's decrees and assumes that it is part of the compiler's rubric on the use of the book. But this misunderstanding of the purpose of the Pecham citation is by no means uncommon among commentators on the text. The work's editor, Gustav Holmstedt, claimed that the first four *tabulae* were "directly modelled upon the contents of chapters IX-XIII of John Peckham's *Constitutiones*".¹⁶ The parallels he quotes are confined to the prologue and the second *tabula* and even in this limited sample he is forced to admit that the source of the ninth and

tenth commandments is not Pecham but the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. His claims for direct modelling are thus hardly convincing. In the first four *tabulae* the compiler covers the basic syllabus of religious knowledge (the Creed, the Decalogue, the Deadly Sins, the Works of Mercy and the Virtues) and inevitably parallels much existing writing on the same subject, but this is not enough to prove textual indebtedness.

Professor Boyle admits as much when he writes that "The editor of the *Speculum* has not shown that it is really a commentary on *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*". He claims that the work is "simply an extension of the Pecham programme", which is perhaps no more than an admission that the work contains much more than the basic syllabus.¹⁷ This is, of course, true, although it is worth pointing out that the *Speculum* contains no reference to the "septem gracie sacramenta" required by Pecham. Bloomfield cites three manuscripts, each of which he describes as a *Compilatio super constitutionem Johannis Peckham*.¹⁸ Boyle identifies these as manuscripts of the *Speculum Christiani*. However the three manuscripts are not copies of the *Speculum* but of the *Cibus Anime*, a radically different text used extensively by the compiler of the *Speculum*. Both works open in a similar fashion, so the false identification is not surprising, although the works are very different in style and *ordinatio*. In fact only one manuscript of the three (Lambeth Palace Library MS 460) actually precedes the text with a full citation of *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*.¹⁹ The citation of Pecham in the *Speculum Christiani* may suggest the original design of the text but as we shall see, its development soon left behind this putative framework. In fact it may be misleading to attribute too much importance to the presence of Pecham. Its inclusion may be no more than a convenient way of fulfilling the various fifteenth-century requirements that priests should possess a copy of Pecham's decree. It may have been included as part of the work's aim of providing a complete but compact manual for clerical use.

Owst described the *Speculum* as "another manual drawn up explicitly for preachers with its crude rhymes and medley of Latin and English", and most recently David Jeffrey in his work on Franciscan Spirituality in the English lyric follows Pfander and argues that the Pecham decree can be seen as an accurate description of the intended use of the work. He says that it was "primarily designed for the advantage of the mendicant evangelist".²⁰

If we examine these various claims a little more closely we may be able to cast some light on the real function of the work. First, Jeffrey's contention that the book was used by mendicants (which is supported by its editor's claim that the book probably had a Franciscan provenance, a claim based largely upon the argument that the text cites Pecham and that Pecham was a Franciscan!). In the, admittedly scanty, evidence of ownership and circulation of the *Speculum*, there is no sign of mendicant ownership. The clerical owners all appear to be secular priests (with a surprising concentration of ownership at York Minster).²¹ Furthermore, the tone of admonition in the prologue warning priests to be active in teaching the people suggests that the text is aimed as much at the clergy as

for their use. Indeed the eighth *tabula* includes chapters on tithes, a discussion of the three things needed by curates (light, sight and salt) and of the four types of priests, which suggests an audience among those with the *cura animarum*, and an intention to instruct them - the section on the mass vestments is headed "Qualiter vestes sacerdotales instruunt sacerdotes".²²

Owst's claim that the "crude rhymes" indicate a preaching function is more difficult to challenge, as is Pfander's suggestion that parts of the work are in finished sermon form. The mnemonic rhyme tags which introduce the discussions of the Commandments and the Deadly Sins might suggest that they were included with a view to aiding pulpit exposition, although given the, admittedly idiosyncratic, evidence of *The Ploughman's Paternoster*, and the less individual treatment of didactic material in the lyrics we perhaps ought not to rule out the possibility of their use in confessional instruction or indeed in small-group teaching.²³ Given the prevalence of Latin mnemonics in penitential literature, and other pastoral aids we should also avoid assuming that the vernacular rhymes were for the benefit of the laity alone. However the rhyme tags occur in only two of the eight sections so their presence in the work can not be considered overwhelming evidence in favour of a homiletic function. Furthermore the basic structure of the work is a *catena*-like string of citations from scriptural and patristic authorities with little or no connecting argument, so it is difficult to see how the putative preacher was intended to use these authorities. Pfander's claim can only apply to *tabula* 1 (the Creed), *tabula* 5 (on penance and confession) and *tabula* 7 (the so-called verse sermon). *Tabula* 1 ends with an appeal to the congregation "Nolite, karissimi, fidem catholicam uiolare", but quickly degenerates into unconnected *auctoritates*.²⁴ Otherwise it is a bald listing of the clauses of the Creed and could be used in any didactic context. The fifth *tabula* begins "My dere frendes, I zou pray, / Foure thynges in herte bere away." but changes to the singular form "dere frende" in the course of its exposition. Its concern with sin (including elaborate sin lists) and its concentration on penitential cleansing, on despair and presumption and on the pains of hell and the joys of heaven suggest that it is designed more for confessional use than for public exposition. This is especially true of the final exhortation "Ecce, karissime, nunc habes ante te bonum et malum, lucem et tenebras, diem et noctem, potes eligere, quod vis". The intimacy of tone here is striking. The basic schema for this *tabula* is remarkably similar to the structure of chapter 6 of Rolle's *Form of Living* and Miss Allen has suggested that they may have a common source.²⁵ This would tend to support the work's design for use in contexts other than public exhortation. Once again the problem of the string of authorities gathered together in no specific order, indeed largely reproduced in the order in which they were quarried from various parts of the *Cibus Anime*, and the presence of many short, tangentially related paragraphs, present a problem for those wishing to argue for a homiletic intention, which is less pressing if the *tabula* was intended for reference or for use in less formal teaching situations.

Similarly in *tabula* 7 the verse text is interspersed with patristic authorities which serve as a gloss on the text. If the

poem were intended for formal recitation the glosses would be superfluous. The key to this text's presence in the compilation lies in the fact that it provides an easily memorable summary of the contents of the rest of the compilation, including mnemonic listings of the Decalogue and the Deadly Sins. In this case the poem operates like the verse reading-texts discussed above or like the *Poeniteas cito* or *Summula Raymundi*, and the *auctoritates* can be compared with the glosses which often accompanied the verse texts. The poem is explicitly aimed at priests with cure "He calls everi man a kynge / That has cure or governinge" and criticises them for not teaching and for vainglory.²⁶ This attitude is consistent with the remarks on clerical responsibility made in the prologue. Once again, I do not wish to deny the possibility of homiletic recitation, but merely wish to suggest that the text may have a range of functions and that we should be flexible in our approach.

The relationship between the *Speculum* and the *Cibus Anime* is involved, and I shall be dealing with it in detail elsewhere; but it is worth drawing attention to the significant differences existing between them. The *Cibus Anime*, of which thirteen manuscripts are now known, is a large traditional *summa* divided into books and chapters, containing no English verses. There are two versions, the first consisting of two books on the Decalogue and on the Deadly Sins and related topics. The longer version adds exhortations and discussions of eremitical life and condemnations of the mendicants which suggest a monastic (possibly Carthusian) origin.²⁷

There can be no doubt that the *Speculum Christiani* (a title also given to the *Cibus Anime* in one manuscript) is a deliberate and highly self-conscious reworking of material from the *Cibus* and other sources with the intention of producing a compact practical working manual.²⁸ What is most surprising about this remodelling is the change of structure from the rigorously subordinated framework of books and chapters with elaborate analytical tables of contents of the *Cibus Anime* to the loose-limbed and roughly articulated structure of the *Speculum* with no tables of contents or indices. There is a rough list of contents at the beginning of the work, but this is vague and imprecise and only indicates the general contents of the *tabulae*, and is, in any case, tucked away between the prologue and the first *tabula*. Apparatus is minimal - usually only a running title indicating the *tabula* number. It is not impossible that the *Cibus Anime* is intended as a preaching aid. Its apparatus makes the material readily accessible and the title itself is reflected in a quotation from Gregory in the work's opening chapter: "Cibus mentibus est sermo dei".²⁹ Perhaps significantly this quotation is omitted from the *Speculum Christiani*. Further, following the tradition of Alan of Lille and Robert Basevorn, the compiler of the *Cibus Anime* distinguishes between preaching and teaching. Traditionally the distinction is based on the nature of the audience. Alan says:

Preaching must be public because it is not done for the benefit of one but of many: if it were offered to one person only it would be not preaching but teaching . . . preaching is an instruction for many given openly to teach them about their way of life: teaching is offered

to one person or a group for the purpose of adding to their knowledge.

Robert similarly distinguishes between teaching many (*predicatio*) and few (*monitio/collatio*).³⁰ The *Cibus Anime* maintains the distinction:

Magna differentia est inter predicacionem et doctrinam. Predicacio est, ubi est convocacio sive populi invitacio in diebus festivis in ecclesiis seu in aliis certis locis et temporibus ad hoc deputatis, et pertinet ad eos qui ordinati sunt ad hoc et iurisdictionem et auctoritatem habent, et non ad alios. Informare autem et docere potest unusquisque fratrem suum in omni loco et tempore oportuno, si videatur sibi expedite, quia hoc est Elemosina, ad quam quilibet tenetur.³¹

It is clear that the episcopal injunctions discussed earlier have here given new life to the distinction and have caused it to be modified slightly. But in the context of the *Cibus Anime*, surrounded by quotations like the Gregorian "Cibus mentibus est sermo dei", the homiletic side of the equation is given greater emphasis.

In the *Speculum Christiani*, however, the distinction is removed from its place in chapter two and placed at the opening of the work, shorn of its contextual support. The material from the opening chapter of the *Cibus Anime* is displaced and follows later, and references to preaching are minimised - the authorities cited concentrate more on ignorance and the need to conquer it. A quotation from Chrysostom not found in the *Cibus Anime* at this point is included to indicate the power and above all the versatility of the Word of God:

Verbum dei docet ignorantes, terret contumaces, animat laborantes, confortat pusillanimes, deficit magnatos et sanat peccato vulneratos.³²

It seems to me that the rearrangement undertaken by the compiler of the *Speculum* alters the thrust of the distinction between preaching and teaching by removing it from a context where homiletic intent was implied, and represents a liberation of purpose and a recognition that this new compilation could serve equally well in any didactic context.

The decision to use the *tabula* as the basic unit is hard to justify. It makes casual reference difficult unless the user is intimately acquainted with the text, and this in itself suggests a different intention than that behind the more conventional *Cibus Anime*. One possible explanation is that the work should not be regarded as an organic unity (either a commentary on Pecham or a preaching handbook) but as a series of loosely articulated units having no causal relationship with each other - in effect a compendium of eight (or possibly more) quasi-independent texts, supported by *auctoritates* drawn from a common source, but designed to serve different aspects of the *cura animarum*, to provide an instant miscellany. It is interesting to note that as many as ten manuscripts

of the work contain no other text of any size, which might support the contention that the text was regarded as being self-sufficient. There are analogues for this loose articulation of different texts in *tabulae*. The most striking occurs in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 132, which contains a fragment of the *Speculum Christiani*. This manuscript, clearly a clerical miscellany, includes three texts which are described as being *tabulae*, and which are linked together by rubrics. The first is a moralisation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream from the Book of Daniel and consists of vernacular couplets followed by Latin *auctoritates*.³³ The second text provides a paradigm for the examination of conscience, to discover whether the soul is formed in the image of God. Again the vernacular text is accompanied by Latin citations from patristic sources. The third text is headed by a rubric: "Dis ys the disposicion of þe tabyll at our lady auter yn þe cathedrall kyrke of yorke" and describes the five ways in which the virgin is "ymagened". The *tabulae* are linked together by connecting rubrics and at the end of the third the series is rounded off on a colophon "Explicit quedam tabula et finis". What makes this group of texts particularly interesting for a study of the *Speculum Christiani* is that the Latin authorities supporting the vernacular texts are apparently drawn from the *Cibus Anime*, although the exact extent of this indebtedness is at present uncertain.³⁴ Thus we have the intriguing situation of two independent works supporting vernacular texts with material from the same Latin source and structuring the final product in the same way. It is tempting to assign this triptych to the compiler of the *Speculum Christiani*, but confirmation of this must await further research. *Tabulae* are also frequently found in schematic presentations of the rudiments of the Faith, as in the popular *Tabula Fidei Christiane*, a brief listing of twenty-one basic tenets which describes itself as a "bona et utile tabula". There is also a *Tabula de utilitate oracione dominice* which presents a schematic summary of the standard arguments on the Lord's Prayer. The manuscripts of Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* similarly make much use of tabular form.³⁵

Thus although the design and function of the *Speculum Christiani* are by no means crystal clear, a case can be made for liberating it from the shackles of exclusively homiletic use.

III

Another opportunity to examine a pastoral manual as it were at the design stage is provided by John Gaytryge's translation and expansion of Archbishop Thoresby's instructions for the Province of York issued in 1357.³⁶ Thoresby's instructions are not remarkable for their contents which are commonplace and rudimentary, but because they mark a significant stage in the evolution of the vernacular pastoral manual by conferring official approval on and encouraging the circulation of a vernacular version of his Latin original.

Gaytryge's expansion of the Latin text contains several significant modifications to the original instructions which suggest a movement to a greater flexibility of usage. The first occurs right at the outset of the work where Gaytryge, like the compiler of the

Speculum Christiani, discusses knowledge, ignorance and the responsibility of the learned to teach. As his modifications here are indicative of his whole approach to the work of "translating", it is worth examining them in some detail.

Gaytryge opens by placing the teaching function of the church in a wider spiritual and historical context. Man was originally created with reason and with knowledge of Himself by God, but this gift was lost by the sin of Adam and Eve, and we, as their children, have that sin visited upon us. In contrast to the post-lapsarian state, their knowledge was instinctive, a gift from God:

And all the knawng þat we have in þis world of him,
Is of heryng and leryng and techyng of othir,
Of the lawe and þe lare þat langes till halikirke . . .
(27-9)

This teaching should be learned and followed as the true way to everlasting life, but the world is full of people who are "nought wele ynogh lered to knawe god almightyen".³⁷ This homiletic preamble, ending with criticism of the clergy who neglect their duty of teaching their parishioners, although a loose rendering of the formal, almost rhetorical lament for ignorance which opens Thoresby's Latin instruction, is more specific in its explanation of the church's teaching function. The directness is understandable in a work which was to be used primarily for the instruction of the laity who could not be relied upon to know or understand the basic premises of the Church's attitude to teaching and salvation. The value of instruction and the need for salvation can be taken for granted by Thoresby who is more concerned with the implementation of the programme than with discussing its rationale. Of course Gaytryge's discussion is simple and unsophisticated but it provides a suitable prologue to the announcement of Thoresby's programme. His will is "that al men be saufe and knawe god almightyen" and is now seen against a background of the scheme of salvation and his syllabus, produced "for commune profet", is presented as a valuable aid to gaining heaven.³⁸

This preamble is followed by a statement of the work's structural principle:

The lawe and lore to knawe god allmightyen
That principali mai be shewed in this sex thynges (51-2)

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

My dere frendes, I þou pray,
Foure thynges in herte bere away.

where the four headings provide an umbrella for a discussion of all

the important issues concerning sin and penance.³⁹ A similar structural principle is used in the *Directorium Simplicium Sacerdotum* (also known as *Quinque Verba*) which, basing itself on a Pauline text, provides five headings under which are discussed the major premises of the Faith.⁴⁰ There is a clear pedagogic value in announcing at the outset of a didactic work the scope and subject matter of the treatise.

Gaytryge's work is intended to serve as a paradigm for religious education at home as well as in church. The laity are encouraged:

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

and clearly lay access to the work is seen as plausible. Gaytryge changes the target of the passage in Thoresby's original about culpable ignorance (where publication of the text is intended to prevent priests avoiding their catechetical duty) and re-states the principle, aiming it primarily at the laity:

And forthi that nane sal excuse tham
Thurgh unknalechyng for to kun tham,
Our fadir the Ercebisshop of his godenesse
Has ordayned and bidden that thai be shewed
Openly on Inglis omonges the folk. (72-6)

The other modifications undertaken by Gaytryge alter the order of the rudiments, perhaps under the influence of other manuals of a similar nature. The changes he introduces are largely practical - as for example in the section on Penance where the Latin formulation is intended to assist the priest in the administration of it and the vernacular version is primarily intended to educate the laity.⁴¹ Elsewhere (as in the discussion of "trouthe" [Faith]) he expands on his original and improves the didactic value of the sparse Latin account provided by Thoresby.⁴² Throughout he reveals his sensitivity to the needs of his audience and transforms an episcopal directive into a real, pragmatic and helpful manual.

Gaytryge's apparent awareness of the flexibility of his translations and the ambiguity of its appeal (being valuable to clergy and laity) is reflected in many of the manuscript colophons. The Lambeth copy of the expanded text, for example, records that Thoresby sent the instructions to all the vicars in his province "ad predicandum parochianis illorum", and other manuscripts refer to the work as a "sermo" or "predicacio".⁴³ However the colophon in the Thornton manuscript, where the text shows signs of having been "personalised", specifies that the intention of the work is to teach "how scrifte es to be made and whareof and in how many thyngez solde be consideride".⁴⁴ This illuminates the private aspect of the work. Certainly the surrounding texts in the manuscript indicate Robert Thornton's interest in meditation and personal devotional techniques, which suggests that he may have used Gaytryge's instructions as a

framework for personal private meditation and as a prelude to Confession. However it is also very likely that Thornton, as well as using his collection of texts for personal reading also made the book available for the general edification of his family (and possibly his servants, as the episcopal legislation sometimes required). Indeed recent work on the punctuation of the manuscript suggests that the text may have been punctuated to assist oral performance. Here again Gaytryge's manual has a valuable role to play at the level of fundamental instruction, and in Thornton's compilation it is assisted by works such as the *Speculum Ecclesie*, the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and simple treatises on the Commandments, the Gifts of the Spirit and the Lord's Prayer, and a fragment of the *Prick of Conscience*.⁴⁵

Gaytryge's comment on the importance of parents educating their children, reflecting as it does the injunctions of the thirteenth-century, and itself reflected in the text's inclusion in Thornton's family library, serves as a valuable reminder that manuals in the fifteenth century had increasingly varied demands made upon their resources.⁴⁶

NOTES

- 1 R.M. Haines, "Education in English Ecclesiastical Legislation of the Later Middle Ages", *Studies in Church History*, 7 (1971), 161-75; for this comment see 173. My indebtedness to Haines' work will be apparent throughout this section.
- 2 Statutes of Salisbury I (1217x19), c.5, *Councils and Synods*, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964), p.61. Subsequent references to *C & S*. See the discussion in Haines, 172. An important but neglected analysis is C.R. Cheney, "Some Aspects of Diocesan Legislation in England during the Thirteenth Century", in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford, 1973); still of some value for the backgrounds of the bishops is M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934).
- 3 Statutes of Exeter I (1225x37), c.2, *C & S*, p.228; Haines 172, n.3.
- 4 Statutes of Worcester II (1229), c.8, *C & S*, p.172; *Instructions for Parish Priests* by John Myrc, ed. E. Peacock, EETS, OS 31 (1868 revised 1902), ll. 805-1398; *John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. G. Kristensson, Lund Studies in English, 49 (1974), uses the same base manuscript as Peacock and corrects transcription errors. The EETS edition is used here because of its greater accessibility.
- 5 Statutes of Winchester III (1262x65), c.59, *C & S*, p.713; Statutes of Salisbury I (1217x19), c.5, *C & S*, p.61; on the song schools see N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), pp.60-8 and 245-7.
- 6 On the background to the manual literature, the basic works are P. Anciaux, *La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence au XIIe Siècle* (Louvain, 1949); P. Michaud-Quantin, "A Propos des Premières Summae Confessorum", *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 26 (1959), 264-306 and *Sommae de Casuistique et Manuels de Confession au Moyen Age (XII-XVI Siècles)*, *Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia*, 13 (Louvain, 1962); L.E. Boyle, "The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and some other Works of William of Pagula", *TRHS*, 5th ser., 5 (1955), 81-110; D.L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 134ff., discusses the influence of *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* on pastoral manuals; W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955). For vernacular manuals see E.J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des Péchés dans la Littérature Religieuse de l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1940); H.G. Pfander, "Some Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in England and Observations on Chaucer's Parson's Tale", *JEGP*, 35 (1936), 243-58.
- 7 Haines, 163-4; Alexander Stavensby published tracts on Confession and the Deadly Sins in his Statutes of Coventry (1224x37), *C & S*, pp.214-26; Roger de Weseham, also of Coventry, issued a set of *Instituta* during his episcopate (1245-56), printed in C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941, repr. with new intro. 1968), pp.149-52; Walter de Cantilupe published a penitential tract which has not survived and specified its use in his Statutes of Worcester III (1240), cc.35 and 97, *C & S*, pp.305 and 320; Bishop Quivel of Exeter produced a penitential *summula* and published it with his Statutes of Exeter II (1287), *C & S*, pp.1061-77.
- 8 Statutes of Worcester II (1229), c.51, *C & S*, p.179; Haines, 166.
- 9 Statutes of Salisbury I (1217x19), c.114, *C & S*, p.96. Similarly pragmatic sentiments are expressed by Richard Wich who encourages his clergy to have his Constitutions "sepe pre manibus et pre oculis", and rules that "omnes sacerdotes in episcopatu nostro curam gerunt animarum has constitutiones

omnes habeant in libellis suis scriptas, eoque diligenter observent . . .", Statutes of Chichester I (1245x52), c.79, C & S, p.467.

- ¹⁰ The diocesan distribution system is suggested in Poore's instructions about the publication of his Salisbury statutes, c.114, ". . . provisuri nichilominus quod prescriptas constitutiones transcriptas et correctas habere faciant decanis et decani sacerdotibus aliis (infra festum proximum Sancti Michaelis)", C & S, 96; Cheney, *Synodalia*, pp.45-6, discusses the mechanics of dissemination; *Speculum Christiani*, ed. G. Holmstedt, EETS, OS 182 (1933).
- ¹¹ On this genre of theological poems, see F.J. Ghellinck, "Medieval Theology in Verse", *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 9 (1914), 336-54; F.V. Taberner, "La 'Summula Pauperum' de Adam de Aldersbach", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 7 (1938), 69-83; P.A. Walz, "S. Raymundi de Penayfort auctoritas in re paenitentialia", *Angelicum*, 12 (1935), 346-96, especially 388.
- ¹² On the *Octo Auctores*, see Orme, pp.103-4; William de Montibus (died 1213) may have been the author of the *Poeniteas cito* and certainly developed the use of didactic verse in the teaching of theology (adapting its use to grammatical training) through his *Versarius* and through his position as Chancellor of Lincoln with responsibility for the theological school. See H. Mackinnon, "William de Montibus, A Medieval Teacher", *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), 32-45.
- ¹³ S.B. Meech, "John Drury and his English Writings", *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 70-83, the remark quoted is on p.74; *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, ed. C. D'Evelyn (Oxford, 1935).
- ¹⁴ The vernacular *Templum Domini* is printed in R.D. Cornelius, *The Figurative Castle* (Bryn Mawr, 1930), pp.90-112; K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972), p.204.
- ¹⁵ Pfander, 247.
- ¹⁶ Holmstedt, pp.clxxxii-ii.
- ¹⁷ L.E. Boyle, "A Study of the works attributed to William of Pagula with special reference to *Oculus sacerdotis* and *Summa Summarum*", unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1956), p.379.
- ¹⁸ M.W. Bloomfield, "A Preliminary List of Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices", *Traditio*, 11 (1955), 306.
- ¹⁹ Folio 1r - folio 4r.
- ²⁰ G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p.291; D.L. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality* (Nebraska, 1975), pp.197-200.
- ²¹ Holmstedt, p.clxxix. On owners of *Speculum Christiani* manuscripts, see M. Deanesly, "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *MLR*, 15 (1920), 349-58; and *Testamenta Eboracensia III*, Surtees Society, 45 (1864), pp.159 and 199.
- ²² Holmstedt, pp.5-7 and 173-81.

- 23 Printed in *The Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse*, ed. C. Sisam (Oxford, 1970), pp.514-21.
- 24 Holmstedt, pp.13-15.
- 25 Holmstedt, pp.74 and 123; H.E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, MLA Monograph Series, 3 (New York, 1927), pp.404-5.
- 26 Holmstedt, p.133.
- 27 British Library MS Harley 237 bears the press mark of Mountgrace Charterhouse, but it is impossible to say whether the book was written there or merely acquired later.
- 28 Oxford, Balliol College MS 239 precedes the text of the *Cibus Anime* with a table of contents headed *Kalendarium Speculi Christiani* (f.27r); all quotations from the *Cibus Anime* are taken from this MS, a copy of the two-book version of the work.
- 29 Balliol 239, f.28r. Chapter 62 of Book 2 (*De doctrina*) discusses the importance of preaching *ad status* in a manner apparently geared to assist potential preachers.
- 30 Alan of the Isles, *A Compendium on the Art of Preaching; Preface and Selected Chapters*, trans. J.M. Miller, in *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric* ed. J.M. Miller, M.H. Prosser, T.W. Benson (Bloomington, Indiana, 1973), p.230; Robert of Basevorn, *Forma Praedicandi*, in Th. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi*, Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales d'Ottawa, 7 (1936), p.238.
- 31 C.2, Balliol 239, f.28v. J. Leclercq, "Le Magistère du Prédicateur au XIIIe Siècle", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinales et Littéraires du Moyen Age Latin*, 15 (1946), 105-47, prints various discussions of the nature of preaching and the sins possible through incorrect or unauthorised preaching. One such discussion occurs in a series of notes taken by a student at Paris between 1240 and 1250, which includes the quaestio: "Item quaeritur si peccet praedicans si non sit missus . . . Ad hoc dicendum quod est praedicatio quae est expositio articulorum sicut in symbolo continentur. Hujusmodi enarratio ad omnes pertinet. Est item expositio litteralis intellectus in doctrina quae est secundum pietatem, et haec est annexa ordini diaconatus et presbyterii. Item est expositio intellectus tropologici et allegorici et haec pertinet ad illos qui habent officium". (116-7). The hierarchy of expository activity envisaged here provides an interesting comparison with the distinction made in the *Cibus Anime*, and repeated in the *Speculum*.
- 32 Holmstedt, pp.3-5.
- 33 *IMEV*, 3373. The moralisation is based on Daniel ii, 25-49.
- 34 The *tabulae* run from f.63v to f.70r. I will discuss the relationship of the *Cibus Anime* to the *Speculum Christiani* and to these texts in my forthcoming Oxford thesis "The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual, with particular reference to the *Speculum Christiani* and some related texts".
- 35 The *Tabula Fidei Christiane* is found in London, British Library MS Additional 15237, f.55r-57r; the *Tabula* on the Lord's Prayer occurs on f.78v of the

same manuscript. In London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 460, there is a similar *Tabula* devoted to the sacraments (f.120r - 123v). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 631 consists entirely of *tabulae*; a *Summa de Modo Praedicandi* which tabulates eight methods of making a good sermon; a *Concordancie Bibliotheca*, and a beautifully executed copy of the *Templum Domini*. The term *tabula* is also used for alphabetical indices to larger works, see M.B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book", in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R.W. Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 115-41. Parkes points out (132) that in some cases these *tabulae* circulated as works in their own right.

- 36 *The Lay Folk's Catechism*, ed. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, EETS, OS 118 (1901), prints the Latin text and the translation as preserved in the Archbishop's Register and it is to these that I shall refer because of the authority granted them by their official preservation.
- 37 Simmons and Nolloth, p.4.
- 38 Simmons and Nolloth, pp.4-6.
- 39 Holmstedt, p.74.
- 40 1 Cor. xiv, 19: "nevertheless, in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others, than ten thousand words in a tongue". (RSV); a similar *schema* is used by Thomas Brinton, see *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-89)*, ed. M.A. Devlin, Camden Society, 3rd. ser., 85 and 86 (London, 1954), pp.301 and 445.
- 41 Simmons and Nolloth, pp.64-6. Gaytryge, following Thoresby, recommends that the confessional should be used to examine the religious knowledge of the laity, using the "six things" as a basic *schema*, illustrating its value in another didactic context (p.22, 11.67-68).
- 42 Gaytryge adds the standard Latin mnemonics for the Works of Mercy (Simmons and Nolloth, pp.70 and 76) and adds the Spiritual Works of Mercy to the syllabus (Simmons and Nolloth, p.74) again probably under the influence of other manuals.
- 43 Simmons and Nolloth, p.xvii; A.C. Cawley, "Middle English Metrical Versions of the Decalogue with reference to the English Corpus Christi Cycles", *Leeds Studies in English, New Series*, 8 (1975), 129-45, especially 130-2 and nn. 6-10.
- 44 The Thornton text is printed in *Middle English Religious Prose*, ed. N.F. Blake, York Medieval Texts (London, 1972), pp.73-87.
- 45 D.A. Lawton, "Gaytryge's Sermon, *Dictamen*, and Middle English Alliterative Verse", *Modern Philology*, 76 (1979), 329-43, which also includes a partial account of some of the textual modifications in other copies of the work. The context of Gaytryge's work can now be studied in the recent facsimile, *The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS 91)*, introduction by D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen (London, 1975).
- 46 I should like to thank Professor R.H. Rouse for helpful comments on the paper in its original form. Any errors and inaccuracies are my own responsibility.