TEACHING THE CREED AND ARTICLES OF FAITH IN ENGLAND: LATERAN IV TO *IGNORANTIA SACERDOTUM*

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Abstract

Title: Teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in England: Lateran IV to *Ignorantia sacerdotum*

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This study examines how English laypeople and clergy of lower ranks were taught the basic principles of Christian doctrine as articulated in the Apostles' Creed and Articles of Faith. Chapter one addresses the theological and historical background. Over the course of the twelfth century, school-based theologians came to place an increasing emphasis on faith as a cognitive state while at the same time moral theologians sought to make sure that all Christians had a basic participation in the life of the Church. These trends led to an effort by the Church as an institution to make sure that all Christians had at least a basic understanding of the Christian religion. Chapter two examines how the episcopate carried out a drive to ensure this basic level of understanding through the venues of councils, synods, and deanery and archdeaconry meetings. In all three of these venues, the requirements of making sure the laity know the Creed and Articles of Faith were passed on to parochial clergy, and through these clergy to the laity.

Chapter three concerns one particular aspect of presenting the basics of doctrine to the laity, viz., preaching. An examination of a sample of three works of religious instruction for clergy and three sets of model sermons shows how parochial clergy, Franciscans, and Dominicans preached the basics of Christian doctrine. The distribution of the manuscripts of these works shows a broad distribution among parochial clergy, Augustinian canons, and Franciscan and Dominican friars. Such a broad distribution suggests that the Augustinian canons may have been carrying out a good deal of pastoral care and catechetical instruction and that the

ready access of preaching aids to clergy indicates that those with responsibility of preaching Christian doctrine to laypeople would have had resources available to do so.

Chapter four concerns vernacular literature as a means of religious instruction. Most thirteenth-century literature of religious instruction was in Anglo-Norman, a language spoken and read by aristocrats, clergy, and the upwardly mobile. Three Anglo-Norman works, the *Château d'amour* by Robert Grosseteste, the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse* by Edmund of Abingdon, and the *Manuel des pechez* by William of Waddington all contain the foundational Christian doctrines contained in the Articles of Faith. The manuscript distribution of all three show that they were owned by both clergy and laity, indicating that they served as teaching aids for clergy, and also that they served to provide laypeople who could afford copies of them with unmediated religious instruction. The broad conclusion of this thesis is that the available evidence shows that the basic principles of Christian doctrine were available both to the lower clergy who would preach and teach the Creed and Articles of Faith and also to the laity who would receive this preaching and instruction.

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Table of Contents

Introduction

When a baby is baptized in one of the churches of the Worldwide Anglican Communion that share a common progenitor in the Church of England, the priest reads to the child's parents and godparents Cranmer's admonition to teach the child the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Cranmer himself took this admonition from the English Church's Sarum *manuale*, and this practice in particular goes back to earlier baptismal *ordines* that themselves go back to the Carolingian period and the Fathers of the Church in a time before Christian missionaries set foot in England.[1]

Of course, learning to recite a thing and learning what a thing means are two entirely different creatures. Many an American schoolchild has recited the words of the Pledge of Allegiance, "and to the Republic for which it stands," and wondered who exactly this Richard Stans is and why he occupies such a place in the school day. And indeed, it is uncontroversial that prior to the drawing of the Reformation's confessional battle-lines, there was less emphasis on the lay believer being able to know and articulate doctrine as long as the believer had a heart disposed to obeying the Church and living well.[2] Taking such a view further, one encounters no less a leading light than Sir Maurice Powicke stating that the belief and practice of the rank and file of baptized laypeople in medieval Christendom was "the literal paganism of the natural man."[3] Such a statement recalls the Romantic search for an Anglo-Saxon paganism covered by

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[1] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 166-87. On Carolingian *ordines*, see Susan Keefe's *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2002).

[2] On how faith was treated in the medieval Church, see John Van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom," in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 19-67. On the concern of Innocent III primarily for humble submission to the Church, see especially Leonard Boyle, OP, "Innocent III and Vernacular Versions of Scripture," in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History 4, eds. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood (Padstow: Blackwell, 1985), 97-108.

[3] Maurice Powicke, *Christian Life in the Middle Ages and Other Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), 3.

only a thin veneer of Christianity, which itself recalls the Protestant polemic of the Middle Ages as a time "when all our fathers worship't stocks and stones."[4]

And yet, these Middle Ages that were allegedly scarcely Christianized produced the universities that midwifed the thought of reformers like Luther, Calvin, and Loyola. This Christendom that allegedly lacked much in the way of true belief alongside a tissue of superstition produced a range of men of obvious brilliance and erudition, from St. Thomas Aquinas to Gabriel Biel. Thirteenth-century England was no exception: Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, Robert Kilwardby, Richard Fishacre and Adam Marsh were all born as laymen whose parents and godparents were admonished at their baptism to teach them the Creed.

In this study we shall examine how English laypeople and modestly-educated clergy learned the basic doctrines of the Christian religion as expressed in the Apostles' Creed and Articles of Faith. We cover the period between two landmarks in the history of the western Church as a whole and the English Church in particular, viz., the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and Pecham's 1281 council of Lambeth, whose ninth canon, *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, formed the foundation of most English catechetical programs through the end of the Middle Ages.[5] We note a strong movement on the part of clergy, from the Pope and Council to the episcopate to archdeacons, deans, and parish priests to make sure that each lay Christian have a sound understanding of the faith into which he or she was baptized.

This religious instruction, although important, was a means to an end, namely that "all men…be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth."[6] For such a reason, people needed a

[4] E. G. Stanley, *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1975); John Milton, Sonnet 18, in *The Complete Poetry of John Milton*, ed. John T. Shawcross (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1971), 241-2, l. 4.
[5] Eamon Duffy's *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 53-87 discusses the pastoral works produced under Pecham's reforms and their impact on parish life through the end of the Middle Ages.
[6] 1 Tim. 2:1.

knowledge of their final end in God, and an understanding of God "beyond opinion and short of knowledge" that came from faith.[7] The desired end on the part of reforming clergy was for people to reach the beatific vision. But as theologians noted, faith is necessary only in this life, when the knowledge of God is obscure, like a dim reflection in a mirror of polished metal.[8] In the age to come, faith will pass away, but love will remain: as the Apostle notes, out of faith, hope, and love, the greatest of these is love.[9]

As such, the good deeds that come from a love of God and neighbor receive primacy in the pastoral theology of medieval churchmen. Indeed, even after the period in which theologians and canonists came to place an increasing emphasis on the intellectual dimension of faith, most thinkers were willing to accept that if a believer had implicit faith, the desire to obey God and his Church, then such a submission made up for a lack of precise knowledge.[10] Thus, although this study primarily emphasizes how churchmen sought to inculcate the doctrinal knowledge that is a key component of faith, we emphasize here that an intellectual faith was always secondary to a charity manifested in love of God and one's neighbor.

The plan of this study is to begin with the theological and historical background, in which we trace the developments of faith understood as an epistemic state over the period leading up to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Chapter 2 covers the efforts by the English episcopate to direct teaching of the Creed and Articles of Faith through the venues of councils, synods, and deanery and archdeaconry meetings. The third chapter covers doctrinal preaching. We examine

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[7] Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis Christianaei Fidei, Patrologia Latina* 176 Cols. 183-617, trans. as *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)* Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1951), 1.10.2, *PL* Col. 330C.

[8] See, for example, Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae, editio tertia ad fidem codicum antiquiorum restitute* (Grottaferrata: Editiones Colegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), 3, d. 26 c. 4.

[9] 1 Corinthians 13:13.

[10] On medieval theologians' discussion of explicit and implicit faith, see Reginald M. Schultes, OP, *Fides implicita: Geschichte der Lehre von der fides implicita und explicita in der katholischen Theologie* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1920).

the content of sermons, when and where these sermons took place, and how these sermons related to the supplementary literature designed to help clergy preach on the Creed and Articles of Faith. The fourth and final Chapter looks to works of vernacular literature of religious instruction, primarily in Anglo-Norman, and how the content and distribution of these works shows a laity both interested in and with access to unmediated religious instruction. We conclude with some thoughts on future directions in which this scholarship could proceed.

A discussion of the teaching of the Creed and Articles of Faith needs to begin with a look at some of the scholarship on these particular articulations of Christian orthodoxy. The history of the Creed itself has been masterfully examined with the tools of higher textual criticism beginning with Kattenbusch's late nineteenth-century study and following with Kelly's *Early Christian Creeds* a half century later.[11] Recently, Liuwe Westra's magisterial (if unimaginatively titled) *The Apostles' Creed* has served as a capstone to these works so that we can now definitively say both how the Creed came into existence out of the liturgical prayers of the early Church and how it came to be a foundational text of Christian orthodoxy.[12]

Although investigation of the Creed began with nineteenth-century Germans, studies on orthodoxy as articulated in a series of Articles of Faith would have to wait. In his 1953 "The Apostles and the Creed," Bühler briefly discusses the history of the Christian tradition that one Apostle contributed each clause to the Apostles' Creed.[13] Hödl's 1962 "Articulus Fidei" and Goering's more recent "Christ in Dominican Catechesis: The Articles of Faith" point out that although the idea of one clause of the Creed for each Apostle that putatively wrote it was old, the

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[11] See Ferdinand Kattenbusch, *Das apostolische Symbol; seine Entstehung, sein Geschichtlicher Sinn, seine ursprüngliche Stellung im Kultus und in der Theologie der Kirche; ein Beitrag zur Symbolik und Dogmengeschichte* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1894-1900), and John Norman Davidson Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (London: Longmans, 1950).
[12] Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).
[13] Curt F. Bühler, "The Apostles and the Creed," *Speculum* 28:2 (1953): 335-9.

formulation of a set of Articles that serve as the primary units of Christian doctrine was itself a product of the schools of the twelfth century. Goering likewise notes that these Articles of Faith would come to have a prominent place in the literature of lay catechesis in the following century.[14] Guyot's discussion of the Articles of Faith (and their apostolic attribution) also recognizes the connection of the Creed and Articles of Faith in the literature of pastoral care.[15]

Study of the literature of pastoral care has a long and venerable tradition, going back to the French and German scholars of the history of theology. Since much of the literature of pastoral care largely concerns the practice of confession and penance and has less by way of basic dogmatic instruction than one might imagine,[16] much scholarship on this literature was perforce part of a study of the history of moral theology as part of a larger history of theology in general. The names that of course loom large in the history of pastoral theology are those of Anciaux and Michaud-Quantin.[17]

As we note below, the primary locus in which the Church as a multinational institution came into contact with the vast majority of Christian lay believers was the diocesan synod, and so the constitutions of these synods are crucial for understanding how the clergy were required to teach the Creed and Articles of Faith. In 1940, Arnould was already making use of the synodal

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[14] See Ludwig Hödl, "Articulus fidei: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Arbeit," in *Einsicht und Glaube*, ed. Joseph Ratzinger and Heinrich Fries (Freiburg: Herder, 1962), 358-76, and Joseph Goering, "Christ in Dominican Catechesis: The Articles of Faith," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, eds. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 127-138. Hödl's discussion of the Articles of Faith primarily concerns the Articles in the context of how twelfth- and thirteenth-century schoolmen discussed the nature of faith and its commonality through the period of the Old and New Covenants.

[15] Bertrand-Georges Guyot, "L'attribution des articles de foi aux apôtres dans la littérature pastorale latine des XIIIe-XIVe siècles" in *Pensée, image et communication en Europe médiévale. A propos des stalles de Saint-Claude*, ed. Pierre Lacroix (Besançon: ASPRODIC, 1993), 179-84.

[16] See, for example, Leonard E. Boyle, OP, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30-43, pg. 34.

[17] Paul Anciaux, *La théologie du sacrement de pénitence au XIIe siècle* (Louvain: Université catholique, 1949), and Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au Moyen Âge (XII-XVI siècles)* (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1962).

constitutions of English bishops to contextualize the Anglo-Norman *Manuel des pechez*.[18] The foundations of the study of the institutions of the English Church had been laid by earlier generations of scholars like Haddan and Stubbs and A. Hamilton Thompson. The master of the study of English *synodalia,* after whose work the field has remained largely dormant, was Christopher Cheney.[19] By tracing the origin of the diocesan synod in thirteenth-century England and (along with Sir Maurice Powicke) editing the constitutions of these synods, he laid the groundwork for scholars to employ synodal constitutions as a historical source on daily life in medieval England.[20]

Shortly after Cheney's initial study of the thirteenth-century English synod, and indeed, before he had even completed his edition of the synodal constitutions, scholars turned to synodal statutes to study church life in late medieval England. D. W. Robertson, for example, employed these statutes to show regular English preaching over the course of the thirteenth century.[21] One of the most significant scholars after Cheney to make use of the synod was the man who would go on to be the Anglophone world's leading scholar of the literature of pastoral care over the course of the second half of the twentieth century, Father Leonard E. Boyle, OP. His approach

[18] Émile Jules François Arnould, *Le manuel des péchés* (Paris: Droz, 1940), 8-27.
[19] Christopher Cheney, *English Synodalia of the XIIIth* Century, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968). For an earlier generation of scholarship, see, for example, A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). Prior to Maurice Powicke and Christopher Cheney's *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church, II: AD 1205-1313* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), the most recent edition of such documents was found in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland,* eds. Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869-78).
[20] In his "Some Aspects of Diocesan Legislation During the Thirteenth Century," in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), Cheney notes the usefulness of diocesan synodal statutes to the historian. Roy Martin Haines, in "Background to an Endemic Problem," in *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 129-37, takes a similar approach to this study's, using the statutes of English synods to show how parochial clergy received their basic theological training.
[21] D. W. Robertson, "The Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England," *Speculum* 24:3 (1949): 376-88.

to *pastoralia* can be characterized by his close examination of the manuscripts and texts of the works themselves and his care to read the texts on their own terms.[22]

The study of the literature whereby the clergy of the Church came into contact with the lay population as a whole fit in with the social-historical turn of the 1960s and 1970s. In a time of general unrest and the triumph of social democratic parties in Europe and North America, medievalists, like many other scholars, took a greater interest in "the people," the vast majority of the population apart from lay rulers and the prelates of the Church. In the field of ecclesiastical history, this emphasis found expression in an increased emphasis on so-called popular religion.[23] Certain of the *annalistes* turned to the study of popular religion to look for evidence of an only partially Christianized folk culture. Jean-Claude Schmitt, for example, argues that apotropaic uses of the Creed that appear in the *exempla* of Étienne de Bourbon show a clergy accommodating itself to a laity with a popular understanding of the Creed's power that did not match the clergy's understanding of the same.[24]

Over the next few decades, social-historical and pastoral-theological scholarship in many cases appeared together in showing us the life of the Church as experienced by the laity. Boyle's student Goering, currently the reigning scholar in the field of pastoral literature, published his first examination of the English parish in the thirteenth century in *Pathways to Medieval*

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[22] Father Boyle worked in the medium of the article more than in that of the book. The collection of his articles in *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education, and Canon Law, 1200-1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981) has some of his most influential articles, particularly his work on William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis*. His brief "Popular Piety in the Middle Ages: What is Popular?" *Florilegium* 4 (1982): 184-193, shows a deft touch in addressing the *annaliste* notion of a *foi savante* as opposed to a *culture folklorique* by showing that when encountering an infinite God, all understanding, learned or unlearned, is drastically inadequate.

[23] John Van Engen's "The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem," *American Historical Review* 91:3 (1986): 519-52, has an excellent *précis* of the developments of the last century of the historiography of the study of the medieval Church, especially in the competing narratives of the institutional historians, theologians, and the *annalistes*. See especially pgs. 535-7 for his discussion of the "downward trend" in the study of medieval Christianity.

[24] Jean Claude Schmitt, "Du Bon Usage du Credo," in *Faire Croire: Modalités de la Diffusion et de la Réception des Messages Religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 337-61, pg. 353.

Peasants, a volume edited by none other than the great social historian J. A. Raftis.[25] We do take care so as not to give too much privilege to the historiographical trends of the later twentieth century: in the 1940s and 50s, after all, both Moorman and Pantin were writing about the life of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English Church as it was lived down to the level of the lay peasant.[26]

In a study on teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith (as with any study on the transmission of doctrine from clergy to laypeople) we will encounter preaching. The literary and historical study of preaching and sermons goes back to the magisterial works of A. Lecoy de la Marche and G. R. Owst,[27] but the field of sermon studies truly came into its own in the later twentieth century. Scholars like Richard and Mary Rouse, Jean Longère, Nicole Bériou, and David d'Avray have each produced thorough and erudite accounts of the preaching of the thirteenth century, especially the preaching found in Latin sermon collections from medieval Paris.[28] Much of this outstanding scholarship has come about thanks to J. B. Schneyer and his *Repertorium*. Scholars now have access to a thorough (if not always accurate) catalogue of the manuscripts of most medieval sermons written from 1150 to 1350.[29] The reigning authorities on the medieval sermon north of the Channel are Spencer and Wenzel, although like Owst before them, they tend to concentrate on the vernacular sermon literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth

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[25] Joseph Goering, "The Changing Face of the Village Parish II: The Thirteenth Century," in *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, ed. J. A. Raftis (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 323-33.
[26] See John Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), and William A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955).
[27] A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1886), G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), and Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961).
[28] On the recent historiography of sermon studies, see Phyllis B. Roberts, "Sermon Studies Scholarship: The Last Thirty-Five Years," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 43 (1999): 9-18.
[29] J. B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters, für die Zeit von 1150-1350* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-1990).

centuries.[30] As for preaching the Creed specifically, the study that shows the most commonality with (and which indeed was something of an inspiration for) this one is Jean Longère's 1991 "L'enseignement du *Credo*," in which Longère examines French synodal and conciliar decrees on preaching the Creed from the Carolingian period to the end of the thirteenth century.[31]

Scholarship on vernacular literature used to teach the Creed and Articles of Faith has been rather light: Gordon's "The Articles of the Creed and the Apostles" notes how the Articles of Faith and their attribution to the Apostles appears in much vernacular literature of religious instruction, but for the most part English language discussions of such literature have usually concentrated on Middle English of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[32] Legge mentioned religious literature in her survey of Anglo-Norman literature.[33]

Vernacular didactic literature has received much recent attention from a different perspective than that of either traditional church history or literary history. Over the last three decades, scholars in medieval studies have, under the influence of feminism both inside and outside of academia, paid increased attention to the role of women in the Middle Ages.[34] In the field of Anglo-Norman literature, this emphasis on women has led scholars such as Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, Susan Crane, Renate Haas, and others, to examine vernacular literature as part of a culture that constructed separate spheres of the male, Latinate,

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[30] H. L. Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Siegfried Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); and Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
[31] Jean Longère, "L'enseignement du *Credo:* Conciles, synodes et canonistes mediévaux jusqu'au XIIIe siècle," *Sacris Erudiri* 32 (1991): 309-342.
[32] See James D. Gordon, "The Articles of the Creed and the Apostles," *Speculum* 40:4 (1965): 634-40. There has been a dissertation on thirteenth-century vernacular literature in the teaching of doctrine, Medora Sale's "Vernacular Didactic Literature in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1974), but we see little in the way of monographs on this subject.
[33] Mary Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 176-275.
[34] On the rise of feminist scholarship in medieval studies, see especially, Paul Friedman and Gabrielle Spiegel, "Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies," *American Historical Review* 103:3 (1998): 677-704, pgs. 694-6.

and scholastic, and of the female, vernacular, and domestic.[35] A series of conferences in the 1990s on women and Christianity which started out to look at the androcentric nature of the faith eventually came to the conclusion that "much of…medieval Christianity actually occurred in the household rather than in church or another officially designated sacred space."[36]

In the subsequent pages of this study, we hope to take inspiration from these prior scholars. We hope that their erudition, their attention to detail, and their methodological sensitivity should allow us, by standing on their shoulders, to gain a bit more insight into the means by which a thirteenth-century English layperson learned those foundational doctrines of the Christian religion found in the Apostles' Creed and Articles of Faith.

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[35] See especially Susan Crane's "Anglo-Norman Culture in England, 1066-1460," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature,* ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 35-60; Crane, "Social Aspects of Bilingualism in the Thirteenth Century," *Thirteenth-Century England* 6 (1997): 103-15; Renate Haas, "*Femina*: Female Roots of 'Foreign' Language Teaching and the Rise of Mother-Tongue Ideologies," *Exemplaria* 19:1 (2007): 139-62; Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, eds., *Household, Women, and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Women's Formal and Informal Traditions of Biblical Knowledge," in *Saints, Scholars, and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies*, ed. Mathilde van Dijk and Renée Nip (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 85-109.

[36] Lisa M. Bitel, review of *Household, Women, and Christianities* on listserve *The Medieval Review* September 7, 2007.

Chapter 1. Theological and Historical Background

Scholars have long recognized the importance of the Fourth Lateran Council to the cultural and religious history of Western Europe. Indeed, it represented a capstone of Pope Innocent III's efforts to "extirpate vices and foster virtues, correct abuses and reform morals, suppress heresy and strengthen the faith…[and] encourage princes and Christian peoples to aid and maintain the Holy Land."[37] The Council's program of reform of the life of the church covered many aspects of religious life, from the moral correction of clerics to the procedures of ecclesiastical courts.[38] The council touched the life of every Christian with its twenty-first canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which required everyone, lay or clerical, to confess, be shriven, and take the sacrament of the Eucharist at least once a year. Just as important as *Omnis utriusque sexus* is Canon I, *Firmiter*. This canon is a statement of the fundamental principles of the Christian faith and the first such statement of faith issued as part of the canons of a council since the great ecumenical councils of the late Roman Empire.[39] The two canons demonstrate the pastoral desire on the part of the Pope and the attendees of the council to reform both faith and morals.

The 412 bishops and about 800 abbots and priors who had attended the council carried the reform program enshrined in its canons back to their respective homelands and began to

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[37] "ad extirpanda vitia et plantandas virtutes, corrigendos excessus, et reformandos mores eliminandos hereses et roborandam fidem…et inducendos principes et populos Christianos ad succursum et subsidium terrae sanctae." Innocent III, "Vineam Domini," *Patrologia Latina* 216 Col. 824B, quoted in Leonard Boyle, OP, "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England,* ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30.

[38] Canons of Fourth Lateran Council, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, trans. and ed. Norman P. Tanner (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), pp. 230-271, cc. 7, 8, 14-18, etc.

[39] John W. Baldwin, "Paris et Rome en 1215: Les réforms du IVe concile de Latran," *Journal des Savants* 1 (1997): 99-124.

implement it shortly thereafter.[40] Many of the issues requiring reform had been brought to the Pope by the episcopate after he had instructed the bishops to enquire about necessary reforms in their dioceses.[41] It has acquired something of the force of a cliché that 1215 thus marks a watershed—"1215 and all that" as Peter Biller puts it.[42] The administrative reforms of the council had some success; the reforms that had the greatest impact were those dealing with the religious life of the laity.[43] *Omnis utriusque* is unequivocal in its decreeing that every baptized Christian must participate in the sacramental life of the Church. So, too, does *Firmiter* emphasize the importance of lay participation in the sacraments: This participation brings everyone to eternal life through both "right faith and right actions."[44]

Right actions need a foundation of right faith. The episcopal directives that followed in the wake of Lateran IV in England reflect the importance for the Christian's life of a right faith as well as of sound morals.[45] They not only emphasize lay participation in the sacraments, but also convey a renewed emphasis on making sure that every layman know the Apostles' Creed and Articles of Faith.[46] These efforts reached their culmination in England in 1281, with archbishop of Canterbury John Pecham's Council of Lambeth, whose ninth canon, *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, requires that every priest give his lay parishioners a quarterly vernacular exposition

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[40] See Baldwin, "Paris et Rome," 99.
[41] John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 317.
[42] Peter Biller, introduction to *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages*, ed. Peter Biller and A.J. Minnis (Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 1998), 30.
[43] Marion E. Gibbs and Jane Lang argue in *Bishops and Reform: With Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 174-9 that in the century following the Council, in England Innocent III's reform program largely foundered. Whatever the impact of the efforts of improving the clergy, *Omnis utriusque sexus* was at least the efficient cause of regular confession, which for the next eight hundred years remained an integral part of Catholic faith and practice.
[44] "fidem rectam et operationem bonam." Lateran IV, c. 1.
[45] For how the reform program was implemented in England, see Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, 105-30 and C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 31-32.
[46] See Chapter 2 of this study.

of, *inter alia*, the Articles of Faith.[47] Teaching the Apostles' Creed was nothing new, but the idea that the Creed as encompassing the basics of the Christian faith could be broken down into a series of discrete articles that formed the foundational bases of the faith was.[48] Moreover, making sure that every lay Christian knew the Creed was intimately tied up in the program of moral reform. Faith was, in the thought of the time, both an epistemic state and a virtue, and so those basic points of knowledge necessary for a believer's salvation were caught up in the behavior necessary for the same. Didache and kerygma function in tandem.

To some extent, this combination of faith and morals has always been the case. The same biblical canon has both "For if thou confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thy heart that God hath raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved,"[49] and "But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead?"[50] In the first two generations of the Church, proclamation of the faith was probably limited to brief summations such as "Jesus is Lord," "Jesus is the Christ," or "Jesus is God's son."[51] By the second century, in light of the controversies over Gnosticism, brief Rules of Faith appeared, declaring the necessity of believing that Jesus Christ had indeed come into the flesh and was son of God. Liuwe H. Westra has suggested that these *regulae fidei* eventually merged with the baptismal formula, and, by the Fourth Century, the Apostles' Creed had gone from playing a liturgical role to defining what

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[47] *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church, II: AD 1205-1313*, eds. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 2.900.

[48] Joseph Goering, "Christ in Dominican Catechesis: The Articles of Faith," in *Christ Among the Medieval Dominicans: Representations of Christ in the Texts and Images of the Order of Preachers*, eds. Kent Emery, Jr. and Joseph Wawrykow (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 127-138, Ludwig Hödl, "Articulus fidei: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Arbeit," in *Einsicht und Glaube*, eds. Joseph Ratzinger and Heinrich Fries (Freiburg: Herder, 1962), 358-76.

[49] Romans 10:9.

[50] James 2:20.

[51] Liuwe H. Westra, *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, History, and Some Early Commentaries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), 70.

doctrine was necessary for salvation. The Creed had several regional variations, and reached its vulgate form in the Carolingian period.[52]

From the fourth century, the Apostles' Creed has been seen as foundational to Christian life. In fourth-century Gaul, the Council of Arles required that baptized heretics be tested on the Creed, and the 506 council of Agde required it to be taught to catechumens.[53] During the Carolingian period, many councils, synods, and episcopal letters present the Creed (along with the Lord's Prayer) as the foundational knowledge required of every believer.[54] Across the Channel, the Church in England of the Anglo-Saxon period followed that of Gaul in requiring knowledge of the Creed as the minimum requirement for the Christian. Ælfric of Eynsham showed an especially strong concern that the laity be properly catechized in the basics of the Christian faith.[55] Likewise, Wulfstan (*df*. 1023), whose homilies enjoyed a broad circulation—there are eighteen extant manuscripts—urged that every Christian know at least the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer.[56]

This present study takes 1215 as a benchmark because of how clear the canons of the Council are that, by the universal law of the Church, all laymen are regularly to take part in the sacraments of their faith. Because the opening canon of the council is a declaration of the non-negotiable tenets of the Christian religion, we contend that this mandated participation in the life of the Church required a grounding in at least the basic fundamentals of the faith. Moral and

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[52] Ibid., 73.
[53] Jean Longère, "L'enseignement du *Credo*: Conciles, synodes et canonistes mediévaux jusqu'au XIIIe siècle," *Sacris Erudiri* 32 (1991): 310.
[54] Rosamond McKitterick's *The Frankish Church and Carolingian Reforms* (London: Swift Printers Ltd., 1977) is still a good reference on the reform program of the Carolingian Church and those aspects of it that might be thought of as "catechetical." More recently, Susan Keefe's *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2002) has a comprehensive account of those "catechetical" works meant for the education of clergy and instruction of believers that came about as a result of the Carolingian reform program.
[55] See especially Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon, England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 51-4.
[56] *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 165-8.

sacramental reform rested on a dogmatic foundation. The implementation of the practice of the Western Church as a whole in England is the object of our study. In order to see how a reform movement centered around rectifying the way of life of all believers also entailed giving them all a firm understanding of the basic tenets of their faith, it is first necessary to examine how faith and morals were intimately tied together in the thought of the English Church's ecclesiastical reformers. Understanding this thought requires an examination of the theological background to the practice of thirteenth century Church life, namely the theology of the schools of the twelfth century.

The two twelfth-century developments that most concern our discussion were those of the systematization of theology and of canon law.[57] They both took place in a school environment, and both would have an immense influence on how the daily practice of Christian life was experienced throughout Christendom. The theology of the schools of Paris is particularly relevant.[58] Pope Innocent III, as Lothario di Segni, had attended the schools of Paris in the 1180s, and his contact with the moral theology of the schools had a strong impact on his thinking in terms of both faith and sacraments.[59] The Christology of *Firmiter* reflects the terminology of the schools of Paris, and more specifically, that of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, the dominant textbook of the schools.[60] Many of the most zealous reforming bishops of thirteenth-century

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[57] The secondary literature on the intellectual developments of the twelfth century is vast. One of the most recent useful *accessus* to the historiography can be found in Marcia Colish's "Remapping Scholasticism" (Twenty-First Étienne Gilson Lecture, Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, ON, 3 March 2000).
[58] The schools of Laon and Chartres in particular also played a substantial role in the formation of what would, by the thirteenth century, come to be an international theology. For Laon, see both Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 46-82, and Sir Richard W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, Vol. 2, *The Heroic Age* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 25-48.
[59] Baldwin, "Paris et Rome," and *Masters, Princes, and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and his Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 1.315-43.
[60] Philipp W. Rosemann, *Peter Lombard* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 119, Marcia Colish *Peter Lombard* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 246, 434.

England who took part in the council or implemented its program had attended the schools of Paris.[61] Stephen Langton taught theology in Paris in the 1180s, and in 1206 was made Cardinal by Pope Innocent III shortly before being made Archbishop of Canterbury.[62] His one-time associate from the schools of Paris, Thomas of Chobham, produced one of the most influential confessional manuals of the thirteenth century and later and worked as an official of Bishop of Salisbury Richard Poore, who himself had studied under Langton.[63] The reforming bishop Alexander Stavensby studied and taught on the continent (if not in Paris) before rising to the episcopate,[64] and Benedict Sansetun, bishop of Rochester from 1215 to 1226, was also a master in Paris.[65] So too had numerous ecclesiastical officials further down the hierarchy studied in the schools. Thus even those theological texts that would have had little use outside of the classroom nevertheless reflect the basic outlooks, mindset, and theological language, that is to say the mentalities of many of the reforming clerics. Moreover, as Sir Richard Southern has noted, one goal of the scholastic enterprise of the twelfth century was for a systematization of the knowledge that came from the Fathers and a millennium of the Church's sojourn in the world in order to restore society, but more importantly to aid the salvation of the individual believer.[66] Dom Leclercq indicates that the principle difference of the monastic and cathedral school was that the cathedral school had a focus that was primarily pastoral.[67] These schools thus had as

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[61] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, 50.
[62] For Langton's work as an exegete (and how his thought as an exegete affected his actions in the political arena), see especially Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, 249-63. See also F. M. Powicke's *Stephen Langton* (London: Merlin Press, 1965), Nicholas Vincent's *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), David Carpenter's *The Minority of Henry III* (London: Metheun, 1990), and others.
[63] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 31.
[64] Nicholas Vincent, "Master Alexander Stainsby," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46:4 (1995): 615-640, pgs. 46-7.
[65] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform,* 27-8.
[66] Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*, vol. 1, *The Foundations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 30-4.
[67] Jean Leclercq, OSB, "The Renewal of Theology," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, eds. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable with Carol D. Lanham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 68-87, pg. 79.

their end the *cura animarum* as practiced in the Church's care for her lay flock. Indeed, at the foundation of all ecclesiastical enterprises of this time was how to bring the Christian faithful, and perhaps all men, to their eternal salvation.

If the theology of the schools expressed how those members at the upper pinnacle of the ecclesiastical hierarchy thought about the divine, the Canon Law of the Church shows us how much of this thought was implemented. The work of theologians often reflects a thinking through of matters of faith and morals, but it is the canons of the church, the councils and synods, and the answers of appeals by popes that contain those dogmas that are what Catholic Christians are required to practice and believe. As such, the work of the canonists presents a "practical theology," the application of the work of the schools to those matters touching on the everyday life of the believer.[68] Examining the two together can show us how churchmen handled the theory and practice of religious instruction.

We shall avoid discussing faith anachronistically. During the religious strife of the Early Modern period, faith came to be defined almost exclusively in terms of intellectual assent to a series of propositions, a definition that to some extent it has maintained down to the present day.[69] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, by contrast, churchmen understood faith differently. Scholars with approaches as divergent as Jean Claude Schmitt and John Van Engen have recognized that any understanding of the term "faith" by people of the time would have

[68] John Van Engen, "From Practical Theology to Divine Law: The Work and Mind of Medieval Canonists," in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Munich, 13-18 July 1992*, eds. Peter Landau and Joers Mueller (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997), 873-896.

[69] John Van Engen, "Faith as a Concept of Order in Medieval Christendom," in *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 19-67, p. 46. See G.R. Evans, "Robert Kilwardby, Gabriel Biel, and Luther's Saving Faith," in *The Medieval Theologians* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001) for a discussion of the segue from faith as understood in later scholasticism to Luther's and the Reformers' ideas of what constituted saving faith.

been polyvalent.[70] Van Engen, using the writings of medieval churchmen on the subject of faith, makes a tripartite distinction between its cognitive, ethical, and ritual elements.[71] This distinction is particularly useful in that in the twelfth century, both the cognitive and ethical understandings of faith came increasingly to the foreground in the thought of the school-educated clergy.

"Faith" would have referred to both a virtue and to a state of mind. Ever since Martin of Braga had classified the cardinal and theological virtues, Faith, along with Hope and Love, had been understood as one of the three "theological virtues," the virtues which come from supernatural grace.[72] Of course, this faith was a virtue that like hope would pass away in the consummation of the age at the beatific vision, when the saved behold God face to face, no longer seeing a dim reflection as in a mirror, when only charity remains.[73] That said, the Church's primary concern was with shepherding their faithful through the pilgrimage of life on earth, in which state faith remained a key, indeed, the foundational component of the Christian life. The Church militant needs to deal with the issues of life in the current age, most of which will not trouble the Church triumphant.

What Van Engen calls the "ritual" aspect of faith, faith as participation in the sacraments of the Church, had formed a solid underpinning of Christian life from the end of the Empire through the Carolingian period, and on into the central Middle Ages. Saint Augustine of Hippo had held that the faith of a community was what provided the necessary Christian faith to an infant being baptized. Baptism and the pledges of the godparents were how the child received

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[70] See Jean Claude Schmitt, "Du Bon Usage du Credo," in *Faire Croire: Modalités de la Diffusion et de la Réception des Messages Religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 338-61, pp. 338-40, and Van Engen, "Concept of Order," 21-3.
[71] Ibid., 23 ff.
[72] *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977-1999), s.v. "Tugend."
[73] I Corinthians 13:13.

the "sacrament of faith," its sign. The faith received by the infant in baptism was a "character," a distinct mark on the soul of the child to allow him or her to progress to maturity in the Christian faith.[74] This understanding of faith as a sacrament, a pledge binding the community of the faithful that applied its saving power to the infant, appears in St. Augustine of Hippo, and received wide distribution from its place in Gratian's *Decretum*.[75]

That faith was a foundation of the Christian life was already well understood. The eleventh or twelfth century pseudo-Augustinian *De vera et falsa poenitentia* has in many respects a feel that is closer to the Carolingian penitentials than the works that would later follow it, and it opens with a declaration that without a foundation of faith, there is "nothing which might be good."[76] Starting from the later eleventh century, commentators began to address in explicit terms what exactly it meant to have faith. As Van Engen observes, the question of what it means in Hebrews 11:6 that without faith it is impossible to please God itself had until then received little detailed treatment aside from enumerations as to how Enoch's faith had pleased God.[77] The beginning of the twelfth century saw several influential schoolmen take up the question of what it meant to have faith, and this discussion quickly took up faith's cognitive component. As it came to the foreground, it remained closely tied to the other two elements, the sacramental and the ritual, with the result that the three together were understood to be necessary to each other. Ecclesiastics who militated for moral reform thus required a dogmatic foundation.

David Luscombe has argued that in the twelfth century, one can discern an Abelardian "school," albeit one whose theological works enjoyed a comparatively modest circulation.[78] In

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[74] Van Engen, "Concept of Order," 25.
[75] Augustine, *De libero arbitrio,* 3.23, quoted in Gratian, *Decretum* D 4 de cons. cc. 7-8.
[76] "nihil est quod bonum sit," *De Vera et Falsa Penitentia*, *Patrologia Latina* 40 col. 1113.
[77] Van Engen, "Concept of Order," 39.
[78] See David Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), and more recently, "The School of Peter Abelard Revisited," *Vivarium* 30 (1992): 127-38.

spite of the relative paucity of direct influence, the notoriety of Peter Abelard's works and ideas often led others to engage with his thought. What is germane to our discussion is that in his treatment of Christian life he strongly emphasized the interior state of the individual Christian. It is of course well known how he treated this issue in his *Ethics*, arguing that evil came from intention to do wrong, from "contempt of God."[79] It follows that repentance comes from a contrition based on a "sorrow of the spirit," which comes from a realization of what it means to show this contempt of God in light of his goodness.[80] This emphasis on the mental state of a believer applies just as much to his treatment of faith. Abelard's *Theologia scholarium*, produced later in his life, is an attempt at a systematic theology that never entirely got off the ground.[81] In it, he foregrounds the cognitive dimension of faith, presenting what he believes every Christian needs to know to be saved.[82] His *Theologia* defines faith as the "estimation of things not appearing, that is to say not subject to the corporeal senses."[83] This definition of faith as *existimatio* shaped the way that his academic generation and those that followed discussed faith. Hugh of Saint-Victor's discussion of the nature of faith, for example, was very possibly taken up in response to Abelard's.[84] So whatever his direct influence, he indirectly influenced Hugh, and thus western Christendom as a whole down through the succeeding centuries.

Abelard's thinking on faith as contained in his theological works was that while it did not reach the realm of cognition (which concerns present things), the objects of faith are shown to

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[79] Peter Abelard, *Ethics*, ed. and trans. David E. Luscombe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 56 ff.
[80] "dolor animi," Ibid., 86-9.
[81] Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 2.493.
[82] Ibid., 493.
[83] "existimatio rerum non apparentium, hoc est sensibus corporeis non subiacentium." Peter Abelard, *Theologia scholarium*, eds. E. M. Buytaert and C. J. Mews, CCCM 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), 318.
[84] Georg Englhardt, *Die Entwicklung der dogmatischen Glaubenpsychologie in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik: Vom Abaelardstreit (um 1140) bis zu Philipp dem Kanzler (Gest. 1236)* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1933), 17; Luscombe, *Peter Abelard*, 184-6.

exist by the presence of a belief in those things not appearing,[85] and the Creed is what stipulates those *non apparentia* that it is absolutely necessary for a Christian to believe.[86] His Creed commentary is thus more useful for presenting a condensed picture of his thinking on faith than his *Theologia*, as the former discusses what had been and would be held as the foundational standard for what the Christian needed to know. Of the two manuscripts in which it survives, one was held in the library of Saint-Victor,[87] and so we can at least conjecture that this condensed version of his thought stands in the chain of discussion that leads to the Victorines. Every Christian, says Abelard, should "know and retain in memory" the Creed and be able to "promptly recite its words."[88] Every lay Christian needs not only to know the words of the Creed, but also to be able to understand their meaning, since the Creed is so concise in its meaning that anyone, no matter how dull or barbaric can understand it, and so great that a complete knowledge of it is sufficient to bring everyone to eternal salvation.[89]

Even for a layman the need to know the Creed requires more than a simple recitation of the words. Faith is of the heart more than of the mouth; he cites the third canon of the Council of Chalon-sûr-Saone that what is confessed with the mouth must be believed in the heart.[90] We should note that his commentary is addressed to "fratres," and so we are to some extent passing out of the domain of knowledge felt necessary to the layman. Nevertheless, Abelard's language is strong enough that how he understands the necessity of the cognitive aspect of faith probably

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[85] Stephan Ernst, *Gewissheit des Glaubens: Der Glaubenstraktat Hugos von St. Viktor als Zugang zu seiner theologischen Systematik* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1987), 18.
[86] Ibid., 20.
[87] Luscombe, *Peter Abelard*, 184-6.
[88] "…habemus tam Symbolum fidei, quod dicitur apostolorum, quam Orationem Dominicam ab omnibus communiter Christianis debere sciri, et memoriter retineri, ut promptius queant frequentari," Peter Abelard, *Expositio symboli quod dicitur apostolorum*, *Patrologia Latina* 178 col. 617D.
[89] "Nullus autem de stoliditate sensus, vel tenuitate ingenii causetur, quia haec tam parva sunt, ut nemo tam hebes et barbarus sit, qui hoc dicere, et verbis omnibus enuntiare non possit, tam magna, ut qui horum scientiam pleniter capere potuerit, sufficere sibi credatur ad salutem perpetuam," ibid., col. 618D.
[90] Ibid., col. 619A.

applies to everyone. He writes that to profess the words of the Creed without a sufficient understanding, "is not far removed from a lie."[91] Things heard must lead to things understood. We should take these expressions in context with his ethical work, which requires that contrition come from an understanding of one's intent in having sinned and the consequences of the sin. Peter Abelard was a man who believed in the necessity of a solid understanding of those things pertaining to the Christian life.

Abelard's commentary is also noteworthy for the sources outside of the Creed itself that he draws upon. He of course refers to the scriptural admonitions that a person must believe in Jesus Christ to be saved.[92] In addition to the scriptures,[93] the authority on which he draws to emphasize the necessity of understanding the Creed is that of several councils of the Frankish Church over the preceding centuries. He cites the councils of Chalon-sûr-Saone, Rheims, Paris, and Agde[94] with the intention of emphasizing his position on the absolute necessity of the believer understanding the contents of the faith. He lays the foundation of his argument as much on the canons of the Church as he does on the Bible. This interplay of the juridical, the canon-legal, and the theological will be a factor throughout the period covered by our study. This close relationship is unsurprising. It was only gradually over the course of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries that the work of the canonists and theologians drew apart.[95] At the time that Abelard was writing, the Church's canonists had not yet become an intellectually distinct community. The way both canonists and theologians thought, then, had a continual

[91] "Non enim longe est a mendacio, qui quod nescit profitetur," ibid., col. 620D.
[92] Romans 10:9, for example.
[93] And Plato. We are, after all, dealing with Peter Abelard.
[94] Abelard, *Expositio symboli, PL* 178 col. 619A-619B.
[95] See Van Engen, "Practical Theology," 876.

impact on the practices of the Church—indeed, texts of canon law were often cited by theologians and vice versa until well into the thirteenth century.[96]

Peter Abelard died in a Cluniac habit in 1142 or 1143. At about the same time, canon law was to see the beginning of its systematization, the "classical age" of canon law that would run from 1140 to the mid-fourteenth century. By the 1140s, the Church had built up close to a millennium's worth of authoritative pronouncements, and, in the eleventh century, several collections of canons, most notably those of Burchard of Worms and Ivo of Chartres, were drawn up, but these collections were often disorganized and unsystematic.[97] In order to address this deficit between the sheer volume of the Church's authoritative pronouncements and the ability to draw upon them, around 1140, a man in Bologna named Gratian (who may have been a monk) drew up the *Concordance of Discordant Canons*. Gratian's *Decretum* was a collection of most of the canons known to date that attempted to harmonize those canons that disagreed with each other by means of dialectical reasoning and to systematize what was known at the time.[98] Although never authentic in the technical sense, it became the textbook of Bologna's faculty of Canon Law shortly after it was written.[99] As such, it was studied, cited, and referenced not only by canon lawyers, but by almost any churchmen who studied in the schools. With the exception of its opening discussion of the nature of Law itself, the *Decretum* deals little with theory. What it instead covers is the practice of the Church, the law of Christ's community on earth.

In the twelfth-century work of Gratian and those decretists who followed in his footsteps, the discussion of faith concerns primarily its sacramental component. Almost all discussion of the Creed takes place in the context of baptism. Citing the African Doctor, the *Decretum* holds

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[96] Ibid.
[97] James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law* (New York: Longman, 1995), 37-8.
[98] G. R. Evans, *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2002); 56-7, Brundage, *Canon Law*, 47.
[99] Brundage, *Canon Law*, 48-9

that the faith of the community has salvific value for a baptized infant.[100] The sacramental is nevertheless also bound up in the cognitive, and thus as the child grows up, the godparents must be diligent in teaching the Creed.[101] The *Decretum* also cites the Council of Agde that the Creed is to be preached by all churches on the octave of Easter.[102] Christians baptized as infants were to learn the Creed from their godparents. Many of the canons cited by Gratian, however, date from (or purport to date from) the early years of the Church, when most of those baptized were baptized as adults who had been through a long catechumenate. The 363 x 364 Council of Laodicea cited in the *Decretum* requires that baptizands learn the Creed and be tested on it by the priest or bishop.[103] What does this requirement mean in an age when most Christians (outside of converted Jews and those coming into the faith on Christendom's frontiers) were baptized at birth? The gloss to this canon provides something of an answer.

The ordinary gloss to the *Decretum* enables us to catch a glimpse of how these canons were understood in the classroom. Compiled sometime before 1217 by Johannes Teutonicus and supplemented by Bartholomew of Brescia around 1245, it reflects how the *Decretum* was taught in the schools, and indeed, it was cited in the courts with an authority almost equal to that of the text of the *Decretum*.[104] When the *Decretum* speaks of baptizands who are to learn the Creed, the gloss indicates that they are to learn it in the vernacular ("vulgariter") and by memory, without any recourse to books or other memory aids.[105] Since at the time of the gloss's writing, an infant baptizand knew neither Latin nor any vernacular, nor how to read,[106] this requirement almost certainly refers to young adults who have yet to be confirmed. The Second Council of

[100] Gratian, *Decretum* D 4 de cons. cc. 7-8.
[101] Ibid., D. 4 de cons. c. 105.
[102] Ibid., D. 4 de cons. c. 56.
[103] "Baptizandos oportet fidei symbolum discere, et quinta feria ultimae septimae vel episcopo vel presbitero reddere," D. 4 de cons. c. 58.
[104] Brundage, *Canon Law*, 201
[105] Gl. Ord. Ad Decretum Grat. D. 4 de cons. c. 58, v. *reddere*.
[106] Nor indeed how to eat solid food.

Braga as cited in the *Decretum* requires that bishops making visitations make sure that priests understand the baptismal *ordo* and the mass, and that they teach catechumens the Creed.[107] In addition, "the plebes" of the diocese are to be gathered together and have the bishop preach to them "to flee the errors of idols or diverse crimes…and that they not do what they would not have others do unto them and that they believe in the resurrection of all and the Day of Judgment."[108] The wording of the gloss with respect to this canon even more tightly binds faith and morals. It does not say that bishops are to teach morals *and* correct belief and a right faith, but rather that lay people are to flee idolatry and mortal sins *so that* they have a right faith.[109] When the term "idolatry" appears elsewhere in the *Decretum*, it usually refers to the worship of pagan gods by the neighbors of Old Testament Israel.[110] Thus a flight from idolatry is a proper worship of the Triune God. Morals, worship, and "right faith" are a unified whole. The term "rectam fidem," applied both to doctrine and morals, is the same that appears in *Firmiter*, which was issued almost contemporaneously with the gloss.

The decretists, too, can tell us something of how the canons in the *Decretum* were understood in the context of life in contemporary Christendom. Rufinus's *summa* on the *Decretum* exercised a broad-ranging influence throughout western Christendom. It issues from a classroom context, and so does not necessarily prescribe implementation as much as it works to clarify the canons themselves. In his discussion of the canons of *De consecratione* pertaining to baptism, Rufinus touches on those previously cited canons on teaching the Creed to baptizands. In responding to a canon that says that infants who cannot yet speak are to have others profess

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[107] C. 10 q. 1 c. 12.
[108] "Errores fugiant ydolorum el diversa crimina…et quod noli sibi fierei alteri ne faciant, et ut credant resurrectionem omnium et diem judicii," ibid.
[109] "Fugiant idolatriam et omnia mortalia crimina et quod noli sibi fieri alteri ne faciant, ut fidem rectam teneant. Gl. Ord. Ad Decretum Grat. C. 10 q. 1 c. 12, v. *Placuit*.
[110] See, for example C. 4 q. 2 cc. 18, 13 when "idolatry" refers to the worship of alien gods by the peoples Abraham left behind and Solomon's worship of foreign gods, respectively.

the faith for them,[111] he indicates that children who are seven or older are to make the profession of faith for themselves.[112] In emphasizing that those people over the age of seven are to make a proper profession of faith, there is an implication that a proper understanding of the principles of the faith into which the believer is baptized is vital to the sacrament. As a decretist, he shows less concern with the theory of faith behind the sacrament of faith in baptism. With the exception of his noting that faith makes the believer faithful,[113] he is primarily concerned with what the canons themselves require.

Rufinus wrote in the twelfth century, when, “the impossibility in the minds of contemporary students of making a sharp separation of law and theology is plain enough.”[114] By the time the gloss was written, the period of that confusion was drawing to a close. When the “classical period” of canon law began with Gratian’s first recension of his *Decretum*, Roman Law references were almost entirely absent, but over the course of the *Decretum*’s expansion over the next two decades, legal references gradually crept in.[115] Van Engen argues that the period from 1180 to 1234 marks the stretch of time over which the methodology and organization employed by the decretists came to increasingly reflect Roman Law as taught by civilians than theology as taught by theologians.[116] Rufinus’s work comes during that period before the break, and he, along with Simon of Tournai, and Huggucio, for example, shows a strong influence of Hugh of Saint-Victor.[117]

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[111] D. 4 de cons. c. 74
[112] Rufinus, *Die Summa decretorum des magister Rufinus*, ed. Heinrich Singer (Paderborn : F. Schöningh, 1902), 566.
[113] Ibid., 569
[114] Evans, *Law and Theology*, 57.
[115] Anders Winroth, *The Making of Gratian’s* Decretum (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 157.
[116] Van Engen, “Practical theology,” 879
[117] Roger Baron, “L’influence de Hugues de Saint-Victor,” *Recheres de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 22 (1953) : 56-71, pgs. 64-5.

Hugh of Saint-Victor's career was almost contemporaneous with those of Gratian and Peter Abelard, but while Abelard was, until the final years of his life, self-aggrandizing and controversial, Hugh was self-effacing and respected.[118] His discussion of faith takes place in the context of the issue raised by Abelard in his *Theologia*, namely the definition of faith as an epistemic state. Abelard's discussion of faith had not caused the amount of controversy that his discussion of the Trinity had, but his use of the term "existimatio" to describe faith caused some consternation in that he seemed to be discussing a mental state that was to some degree uncertain.[119] Hugh of Saint-Victor clarified the definition of faith, discussing it in the context of the Christian life as a whole. His *De sacramentis Christianae fidei*, written in 1131 or 1132, attempts to present a comprehensive picture of the fall and restoration of man as played out in salvation history.

Just as with Abelard, Hugh's discussion of faith emphasizes the cognitive element. For him, the restoration and salvation of fallen man in the Age of the Church come about by a triad of faith, sacraments, and good works.[120] Moral behavior is necessary, but it must be accompanied by faith and participation in the sacraments. "These three so cling together that they cannot have the effect of salvation if they are not simultaneous."[121] The faith that is a foundation of a life of good works and sacraments is "the beginning of good and the first step of his restoration."[122] Hugh's definition of the cognitive component of faith improves on Abelard's, abandoning Abelard's use of "existimatio," along with its uncertainty.[123] Hugh works

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[118] Southern, *Humanism*, 2:58-90. For a good introduction to Hugh, cf. Dominique Poirel, *Hugh de Saint-Victor* (Paris: Cerf, 1998), which also discusses the state of scholarship on Hugh and the Victorines.
[119] Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 494
[120] Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis Christianaei Fidei, Patrologia Latina* 176 Cols. 183-617, trans. as *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)* Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1951), 1.9.8, *PL* 176 Col. 328A.
[121] "Quae tria ita cohaerent ut salutis effectum habere non possint si simul non fuerint," ibid.
[122] "intuitum boni, et principium restaurationis ejus," ibid., I.X.9, *PL* 176 Col. 342D.
[123] Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 494-5.

to make the psychological definition of faith less ambiguous. As with other theologians, he starts from St. Paul's definition of faith as "the evidence of things that appear not."[124] These things may be absent, but they are present to the mind with a presence that is more concrete than that of "existimatio."[125] Rather, faith as a psychological state is "a kind of certainty in the mind of things absent, beyond opinion and short of knowledge."[126] This definition of faith as an epistemic state, a certainty that nonetheless falls short of complete knowledge, was much more satisfactory to contemporaries, so much so that it became the *locus classicus* for how to think about faith's cognitive dimension, and over the next century and a half was widely cited by both canonists and theologians.[127]

Cognition is only one part of faith. Another is the affective response to those things believed. The affection is, for Hugh, the substance of a faith of which cognition is the matter.[128] Cognition becomes genuine belief only when consent with belief is added to knowledge.[129] This response of the affect, the charity that completes faith, requires that the object of the affective response be known and understood, since there must always be an object of the faith, a known thing, to have the attention directed to it.[130] Knowledge of the object of faith, however, does not necessarily involve a complete grasp of the Church's theology, to say nothing of a comprehensive understanding of Trinitarian metaphysics. What is truly necessary is the same sort of faith that has existed throughout both Old and New Covenants, namely, to believe in God

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[124] Hebrews 11:1.
[125] Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 494-5.
[126] "Fidem esse certitudinem quamdam animi de rebus absentibus, supra opinionem et infra scientiam constitutam," Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, 1.10.2, *PL* Col. 330C.
[127] See, for example, *Summa Hostiensis super titulis decretalium* (Lyon: Jacques Herion, 1542), f. 4rb; Alexander of Hales, *Summa theologica* (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1948), 4:1072b; Bonaventure, *Commentarii in quatuor libros sententiarum*, in. 3 *Sent.* 23 c. 1.4, pg. 481a.
[128] "fides in affectu habet substantiam, quia effectus ipsa fides est; in cognitione habet materiam, quia de illo et ad illud quod in cognitione est, fides est," Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, 1.10.3, *PL* 176 Col. 331C.
[129] Ernst, *Gewissheit*, 49.
[130] Hugh of Saint-Victor, *De sacramentis*, 1.10.3, *PL* 176 Col. 331D.

as the Creator and Redeemer.[131] Under the old covenant, the prophets and patriarchs had known by divine revelation of the coming incarnation and sacrifice of Christ. The rank and file of the Hebrew people, by contrast, did not know the actual circumstances of how Christ was to be incarnate, only that a redeemer would come.[132] Their faith was sufficient for salvation if they had faith in those who did know the actual circumstances of Christ's coming. Likewise, Christian believers knew these things as a dim reflection in a mirror, but could know them through the sacraments of faith, pledges of God's grace possessed by earthly believers. The cognitive element is absolutely necessary, but more important is the affective element, for a response in devotion to the things that are known.[133] So *simplices* need not understand the whys and hows of God's triune nature or the hypostatic union, they need only humbly submit to those who do understand these things and tell the simple that they are to be believed. This treatment of faith as a combination of both humble submission to the Church as well as a knowledge of certain key elements of the Christian religion would be taken up on and elaborated on down through the end of the Middle Ages.

Hugh was enormously influential in his own right, but he was even more influential through Peter Lombard, an Italian from Lucca whom we first see in Paris with a letter from St. Bernard of Clairvaux introducing him to Gilduin, prior of Saint-Victor in Paris, and recommending him for study there. [134] It is highly likely that he studied under Hugh of Saint-Victor during Hugh's final years—he certainly shows a thorough familiarity with Hugh's *De sacramentis,* and it has been stated that he owes the inspiration, "and often the text," of his work

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[131] Ibid., 1.10.5-6, *PL* 176 Col. 333D-339D.
[132] Ibid., 1.10.7, *PL* 176 Col. 340A.
[133] Ibid., 1.10.4, *PL* 176 Col. 332C.
[134] The most thorough explication of Lombard's thought can be found in Marcia Colish's magisterial *Peter Lombard*. Philipp Rosemann's *Peter Lombard* offers several userful counterpoints and supplements to Colish's work.

to Hugh.[135] He may have begun teaching as early as a few years after the death of Hugh, and in the 1150s he drew up his four books of the *Sentences*, a systematic collection of patristic and biblical authorities that presented a schematized version of the entire Christian faith. He completed the final redaction of the *Sentences* between 1154 and 1157, and was bishop of Paris from 1159 until his death in 1160.[136] Within a few decades of his death, the *Sentences* had become the textbook of the schools of Paris, and its commentaries formed the basis of almost all scholastic theology for the following four centuries.[137]

The Lombard's discussion of faith is in the context of the theological virtues, starting his discussion with the question of whether Christ had the virtue of faith.[138] Although he does not cite Hugh verbatim with respect to faith as an epistemic state, he nevertheless comes down squarely for the Victorine position.[139] Like Hugh, Lombard takes the definition of faith from Hebrews 11:2 as his foundation for how to talk about faith psychologically.[140] Faith is a knowledge of unseen things that pertain to religion, which are made present in the heart by being seen intellectually.[141] These objects of faith are to some extent grasped and understood,

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[135]See Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 16-17 and Matthew Doyle, "The Career and Students of Peter Lombard" (Ph. D. diss., University of Toronto, 2006), 59-62. See also Baron, "L'influence," 63
[136] Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 25.
[137] Southern, *Scholastic Humanism*, 2:145, Marcia Colish, "From the sentence collection to the *Sentence* commentary and the *summa*: Parisian Scholastic Theology, 1130-1215," in *Manuels programmes de cours et techniques d'enseignement dans les universités médiévales,* ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut d'Études Médiévales, 1994), 9-29. As late as Grosseteste's tenure as Master of the Sacred Page, the *Sentences* lacked the place on the Oxonian curriculum that they had in Paris almost from the outset [James Ginther, *Master of the Sacred Page: A Study of the Theology of Robert Grosseteste, ca. 1229/30-1235* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 73], but since most ranking English clergy who could attended the schools of Paris means that Lombard's influence on English ecclesiastical thought was as pervasive as in France (and indeed, throughout Western Christendom).
[138] Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctae, editio tertia ad fidem codicum antiquiorum restitute* (Grottaferrata: Editiones Colegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), 3, d. 23, c. 1 ff.
[139] Colish, *Peter Lombard*, 497.
[140] Lombard, 3 *Sent.* 23 c. 8.1.
[141] "His verbis evidenter traditur fidem ipsam in corde hominis ab ipso homine videri…intellectualiter," Ibid., c. 7.3.

although not as they will be in the consummation of things in the Beatific Vision. "[Faith] cannot concern something of which one is entirely ignorant."[142]

The faith that assents intellectually to those things concerning religion is only the first step towards the Christian's salvation. Indeed, this faith is the same faith of the demons who "also believe and tremble."[143] Lombard takes the division of belief into *credere deum*, *credere deo*, and *credere in deum* and uses it to distinguish between saving faith and mere intellectual assent.[144] Faith is an unformed quality of the mind[145] until it is completed by charity, that is, "credere in deum," when the believer responds by placing his or her trust in Jesus Christ in *dilectio*, in love.[146] This faith, completed by the love that results in good works, is saving faith, the faith that justifies. It is in this classical understanding of faith completed by love that Lombard addresses what it means for faith to be the foundation of all other virtues, noting that while faith is the foundation of every virtue and good work, it is not the foundation of charity.[147] For Lombard, charity is much more than a virtue; it is rather identified with the Holy Spirit Himself and thus the source of all virtues and every good work in the life of the Christian.[148] Knowledge of what is contained in the Christian faith is frequently temporally prior to charity, and thus the faith that is not a virtue, the faith that is mere knowledge, precedes charity, which then causes a mere intellectual assent to become the theological virtue.[149]

What level of belief and understanding is necessary to have this reaction of love? Lombard's response is, as with the discussion of the cognitive aspect of faith, remarkably similar to Hugh of Saint-Victor's. He discusses this question in his treatment of the faith of the ancients

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[142] "Non potest esse de eo quod omnino ignoratur," ibid., 3 *Sent.* 24 c. 3.2.
[143] James 2:19, quoted in Lombard, 3 *Sent*. 23 c. 3.4
[144] Ibid., c. 4.
[145] Ibid., c. 4-5.
[146] Ibid., c. 4.
[147] Ibid., c. 9.2.
[148] "Caritas enim Spiritus sanctus est," ibid. See Rosemann, *Peter Lombard*, 139-43.
[149] Ibid., c. 9.3.

and its soteriological efficacy. Like Hugh, he says that the prophets and Patriarchs knew explicitly of the coming incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, but that the simple Hebrews knew of this only as a mystery, by trusting those to whom the full truth of what was to come had been revealed.[150] In the Church, Lombard acknowledges that there are those whose understanding of the Christian religions is highly limited. These people "cannot distinguish and explain the articles of the Creed, but believe all that is contained in the Creed."[151] Their understanding does not have to be great, but, as with the ancient and Carolingian canons of the Church and the writings of Abelard and others, in order to have saving faith, a Christian must "believe all that is contained in the Creed."

Although Lombard's formulation is thus the same as that of the Church before him, it is more fully explained in that not only does he articulate that all Christians must believe the Creed, but that belief involves an understanding of these things. He also joins cognition with love and good works, as both are necessary for the salvation of the believer. *Caritas*, the Holy Spirit himself, is the foundation of the theological virtue of faith, which thus reaches its completion in *dilectio*. In order to have the response of *dilectio* by the work of the Holy Spirit who is himself *caritas*, the believer needs to know what he or she is responding to. This understanding of faith as knowledge temporally prior to *caritas* and *dilectio*, but founded in the former and completed in the latter would, through Lombard's place in the curriculum, leave its mark on the thought of school theology for the next several hundred years. Distinction 25 of Book Three of the *Sentences* would also become the locus for most subsequent discussions of what sort of faith was necessary for the layman to be saved.[152] Theologians and canonists both developed the distinction between implicit and explicit faith, so that, under the formula of "credo quod credit

[150] Ibid., 3 *Sent.* 25 c. 2.2.
[151] "articulos Symboli distinguere et assignare non valent, omnia tamen credunt quae in Symbolo continentur," ibid.
[152] See Van Engen, "Concept of Order," 40-1

ecclesia," certain of them allowed broad latitude for what was needed to be believed. In general, the foundational requirement was to believe in the Triune God and in Christ's passion, death, and resurrection.[153]

The latter part of the twelfth century saw a change in how the theology of the schools was worked out. While several towering figures in Paris (and Laon) had dominated the thought of Paris in the first half of the century, in the second half, this intellectual activity was divided into what Landgraf, Smalley, and Baldwin (the latter two with reservations) describe as differing "schools."[154] Broadly speaking, these were made of people influenced by the Victorines, by Gilbert de la Porée, and Peter Lombard, although this distinction traces general trends more than anything else, as people of the various schools cite each other with a fair degree of regularity.[155] Among these schools, much subsequent influence of the thought and practice of Western Christendom could be traced to a theological circle that did not fit clearly into any of the three (although Smalley puts it closest to the Victorines), namely that of Peter the Chanter.[156] Peter the Chanter probably came from the petty nobility from the region of Houdenc and received his schooling in Rheims. By 1173 he is attested as being in Paris, and by 1183 was Chanter of Notre Dame cathedral. He taught as a master in Paris until his death in 1197.

His influence followed several routes. In the first place, in his own time, he was widely recognized for his expertise on theological matters and his advice was often sought, and his *Verbum abbreviatum*, a compendium of his thought, survives in over eighty-five manuscripts.[157] Through his teaching in Paris, he influenced a circle of scholars who studied and taught there

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[153] Van Engen, "Concept of Order," 36-47, and Reginald M. Schultes, OP, *Fides implicita: Geschichte der Lehre von der fides implicita und explicita in der katholischen Theologie* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1920).
[154] See, for example, Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 1:47-9.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid., 1:48, Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, 196-9.
[157] Ibid., 1:17, 2:247

before going back to their respective homes throughout Western Christendom, where his influence "spread like a ring of ripples produced by a pebble cast into a pond."[158] As this study primarily concerns England, we should take special care to note Thomas of Chobham and Stephen Langton among the members of his circle. Thomas of Chobham was in Paris by 1178, where he studied under Peter the Chanter before eventually returning to England around 1190 or 1192, and in 1208 he was elected subdean of Salisbury. From around 1222 to 1228, he was back in Paris, and after that he returned to England where he lived out the remainder of his life, dying between October 19, 1233 and February 17, 1236.[159] His *Summa confessorum* enjoyed a wide distribution in Western Christendom north of the Alps, playing a prominent part in the diffusion of Parisian moral theology.[160] He was also influential (if less directly) in that he was subdean of Salisbury cathedral when Richard Poore enacted his influential diocesan statutes.[161] Stephen Langton is perhaps most widely known for his battles with King John, but his influence in Paris was greatest through his work commenting on the Bible and *Sentences*.[162] His English influence comes not only in the political realm, with his work towards the Magna Carta, but also in his reforming synodal legislation that he enacted as archbishop of Canterbury. Richard Poore, whose Salisbury statutes would be so influential,[163] was a student of Langton in Paris. As influential as Peter the Chanter was through those members of his circle who worked throughout western Christendom, his greatest influence was perhaps from that in the 1180s, one of his students was a Lothario di Segni, who would later achieve lasting fame as Pope Innocent III.[164]

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158 Ibid., 1:17.
159 For the life of Thomas of Chobham, see Franco Morenzoni, *Des Écoles aux Paroisses : Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1995), 13-21.
160 Ibid., 23
161 Ibid., 165.
162 The best and most recent treatment of the life and oeuvre of Langton is Riccardo Quinto's *Stefano Langton e la tradizione delle sue opere* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994). See also Chapter 5 of Smalley's *Study of the Bible.*
163 See Chapter 2 of this study.
164 Baldwin, "Paris et Rome," *passim.*

Peter the Chanter and his circle drove an increased emphasis on practical morality during the later decades of the twelfth century.[165] Not only the Chanter and his circle, but also the general tenor of the schools at the time meant that the environs around Paris saw an increase in the practice of regular lay confession.[166] This increase in confession and an academic environment dedicated to issues of morality is relatively uncontroversial. This practice would lead up to *Omnis utriusque sexus*, but even apart from the decree of the Pope and council, the trend was towards an increasing focus on the work of pastoral care.[167] In the work of these theologians morals necessarily include faith, since the two form an inseparable pair.

The two principle sources for the thought of Peter the Chanter (and thus his "circle") are his *Verbum abbreviatum* and *Summa de sacramentis et animi consiliis*. Both date from the 1190s and thus represent the maturity of his thinking.[168] In dealing with the theological virtues, the *Summa* deals little with faith, but rather concentrates on the sacrament of penance, and the relations between charity and contrition, penance, and the restoration of a state of grace.[169] When he does discuss faith, it is in the context of baptism. In the tradition of St. Augustine of Hippo, he acknowledges the soteriological efficacy of the faith of a child's parents, and as in the ancient practice of the Church, the godparents are required to give the child a knowledge of the

[165] Baldwin, *Masters Princes, and Merchants*, 48.
[166] 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*, eds. R. H. C. Davis and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 275-322, p. 280.
[167] See Leonard Boyle's "The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179-1215," in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. Filippo Liotta (Siena: Accademia senese degli intronati, 1986), 45-56.
[168] For a discussion of the manuscript tradition of the *Verbum abbreviatum* and *Summa de sacramentis*, see Appendix II of Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*. See also his review of Monique Boutry's edition of the "long version" of the *Verbum* in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 57:1 (2006): 78-85. As I am discussing the influence of Peter the Chanter and his circle, I am going to draw on the edition of the *Verbum* to appear in the *PL*, since it reflects the "vulgate" version which survives in the greatest number of manuscripts, while the edition in the Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis represents a branch of the tradition that enjoyed little circulation.
[169] See *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, ed. Jean Albert Dugauquier (Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts 1954), 2:3-219 for his treatment of the sacrament of penance.

cognitive foundation of the faith, viz., a knowledge of the Creed.[170] He is insistent that the godparents not merely teach the child to recite the Creed "like a girl teaches a parrot or magpie to speak," but rather that it be known and understood.[171]

Peter's most thorough discussion of the nature of faith is found Chapter 92 of his *Verbum abbreviatum*. The two most important aspects of the Chanter's treatment of faith for the current discussion are that he insists in faith as the foundation of all other virtues and that he emphasizes its cognitive component working in tandem with the ethical. Faith has the primacy of all the Virtues, generating in its turn hope and charity as Abraham begat Isaac and Isaac Jacob.[172] This faith he speaks of is the faith that is believed by a supernatural grace, and is thus a supernatural gift beyond reason. Reason may be able to prove God, but it is only by faith that the believer can accept that God is triune, and only by faith that the believer can accept that Jesus Christ exists truly in the bread and wine of the Eucharist.[173] This faith that comes from grace—indeed, faith alone of all the Virtues comes only from God[174]—entails believing and accepting certain truths. "In certain things, nevertheless [faith] both believes and to a certain extent understands, requiring in all articles faithful and sound rather than courtly and pleasing (or philosophical) words."[175] Belief in Jesus Christ is the foundation of all virtues, without which other virtues are useless.

This faith is both a belief in Jesus Christ, and also a trust and obedience in the same. Indeed, for the Chanter, moral behavior necessarily follows from understanding the implications of what it is to believe in God. He rebukes the Christian who fears and makes every effort to

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[170] Peter the Chanter, *Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*, 3:501
[171] "sicut puella docet gabionem uel picam loqui," ibid.
[172] Peter the Chanter, *Verbum abbreviatum*, c. 92, *PL* 205 Col. 266D.
[173] "Credit enim Deum trinum et unum, penetrat coelos, credit Dominum Jesum sub nubilo panis sumi et manducari," ibid., Col. 267A.
[174] Ibid., Col. 267B
[175] "In quibusdam tamen et credit, et aliquatenus intelligit; in omnibus articulis requirens potius fidelia et sana verba, quam curialia et placentia, vel philosophica," ibid., Col. 267A.

please a human judge if in danger of judgment but does little or nothing for the supreme judge.[176] One who will trust a doctor when the body is sick but does not trust God when the soul has been rendered sick by mortal sin does not truly believe in him.[177] The dead faith, the faith of the demons, the faith that one has when one believes that God exists but neither trusts nor obeys, is not faith. Rather, it is a "a simulation, a dream, a suckling, and a custom."[178] His usage of these terms is telling. In describing that which has the appearance of faith, he calls it not only a dream and a simulation, but also a custom. By using the term "custom" to dismiss false faith, the Chanter is foregrounding the ethical and cognitive dimensions of faith at the expense of the cultic. A faith that is mere custom, a force of habit of one raised in Christian Europe, is a useless dead faith, without saving power. This belief in a faith that must be grounded in a firm understanding of those things believed is also present in his belief that the baptized must learn to fully understand the Creed rather than simply reciting it.

As a master in Paris, Stephen Langton followed Peter the Chanter's theological program.[179] His treatment of faith can be seen in his commentaries both on *Sentences* 3.25 and Hebrews 11:1. We should exercise caution in discussing school commentaries with respect to the world outside of the school. They are, however, helpful in that they determine how *magistri* and their pupils would have had their thinking shaped, and thus can point to how they would carry out church governance outside of the confines of the academy. On faith, Langton notes that belief comes from a supernatural grace: just as in the use of reason a syllogism compels belief, so too does the grace of faith cause the Christian to believe those things which might seem

[176] Ibid., Cols. 268D-269A
[177] Ibid., Col. 269A
[178] "simulatio, somnium, nutritura, et consuetudo," ibid., Col. 270C.
[179] Quinto, *Stefano Langton*, 2.

improbable to reason.[180] To accede to such propositions, however, requires that certain things be known in the intellect before faith can respond to them. "Indeed," he writes, "a certain understanding precedes all faith. How could I believe something unless, although not fully, I understood what it should be, so that I believe?"[181]

At around the turn of the thirteenth century, we see the articulation of an additional way to think about the basic principles of the Christian faith that was added to discussions of the cognitive dimensions of faith. Since the time of the ancient Roman Empire, the Apostles' Creed had been used for the bedrock of what every Christian needed to know and profess.[182] At the turn of the thirteenth century, theologians and canonists formulated the notion that the Christian faith could be reduced to a set of fundamental principles in which the whole of the faith was contained; these principles were called the Articles of Faith.[183] The terminology of "articles" of the Christian religion can be seen earlier in the twelfth century. Peter Lombard speaks of "all the articles contained in the Creed," and Peter the Chanter speaks of faith requiring faithful words in "all the articles." Likewise, Stephen Langton's commentary on Hebrews speaks of "certain articles" being believed. Shortly afterwards, we see some early formulations of what exactly these articles are in the works of William de Montibus and in a Parisian *Summa* on penances.

William de Montibus was an Englishman who had taught in the schools of Paris in the 1170s and returned to England to teach in the schools of Lincoln Cathedral in the 1180s.[184] As chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral, he produced a broad range of writings for students studying

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180 "Sicut enim syllogismus inducit aliquem et quodammodo cogit ad concedendam conclusionem, quam prius negebat, sic si aliquis articulus videbatur alicui incredibilis ante fidem, habita fide statim concedebat, quod prius negebat." Stephen Langton, Commentary on Hebrews 11:1, in Enghardt, *Die Entwicklung*, 424.
181 "Omnem enim fidem precedit aliquis intellectus. Quomodo enim possem credere aliquid, nisi etsi non plene intelligerem ita debere esse, ut credo." Stephen Langton, Commentary on 3 *Sent.* 23 c. 7, in *Der Sentenzenkommentar des Kardinals Stephan Langton*, ed. Arthur Landgraf (Münster: Aschendorff, 1951), 131.
182 See above, pp. 4-5.
183 See Goering, "Articles of Faith."
184 Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), 13.

theology, writings which enjoyed a fairly wide manuscript circulation following the twelfth century. His *Tractatus Metricus* makes reference to the twelve Articles of Faith written by the Twelve Apostles.[185] The notion that each apostle had contributed a sentence to the Creed goes back at least to the fourth century, and this association of twelve Apostles and Twelve Articles of the Creed also appears in Lothario di Segni's work on the mass.[186] William's *Numerale*, a guide to the basics of a theological education organized by numbers, dates from the early years of the thirteenth century. Under the heading of the number twelve, he says that there are "twelve articles of faith" and then explains what each article is.[187] William has gone a step beyond simply speaking of the fact that there are "articles of faith" and endeavors to say what they are. From around this point, theologians and canonists would increasingly discuss what the articles were, taking them to be the "irreducible elements of the Christian revelation."[188]

Dating from around the same time that William was writing his works in England is a Parisian *Summa de penitentiis iniugendis* of uncertain authorship. This work is one that is canon-legal and juridical in its approach—the bulk of its citations come from the *Decretum*—and is concerned primarily with sin and penance.[189] In the section between that on good works and that on canonical penance, the author writes about the number of articles of faith and what they are.[190] He says that he cannot find this number determined in any authority, but ventures to outline seven, and adds that they may just be described as those things which are contained in the Creed. This discussion is significant both because, as Goering notes, this is one of the first instances in which we see the notion of the Articles of Faith as discrete units, and also because of

[185] William de Montibus, *Tractatus metricus*, in Goering, *William de Montibus*, 162-78, pp. 177-8.
[186] Goering, "Articles of Faith," 128.
[187] William de Montibus, *Numerale*, in Goering, *William de Montibus*, 236-60, p. 259.
[188] Goering, "Articles of Faith," 133.
[189] Master Richardus, *Summa de penitentiis iniugendis*, unpublished edition in progress. I am grateful to Joseph Goering for allowing me use of his text of this *summa*.
[190] Richardus, *Summa* 6, quoted in Goering, "Articles of Faith," 128.

the type of work in which it occurs.[191] The *summa* is a highly practical (if somewhat poorly organized) work, and one that is based on canon law. As such, it demonstrates the degree to which those things which need to be understood and believed are placed together with those things that are to be done, and indeed, the following section notes that after the things he has discussed beforehand, the justified sinner must do good and shun evil.[192]

As Goering and Hödl note, subsequently thinkers of the thirteenth century would often bring up the question of what and how many were the Articles of Faith.[193] For the purpose of our discussion, more significant than discussions over what exactly the articles were or how many they were is that they served as a useful heuristic when it came to communicating the basics of the faith. Several of the works to be discussed in subsequent chapters take both the Creed and the Articles of Faith as their starting point for what needs to be taught.

A foregrounding of knowledge and doctrine as the necessary foundation of a moral Christian life was laid by the schoolmen of the twelfth century. Among those who passed through the schools of Paris during the predominance of Peter the Chanter was Lothario di Segni, who, in 1198, was elected as Pope Innocent III.[194] Innocent III's concern with extirpating heresy is of course well known.[195] So too is the expansion of the papacy's religious and political influence on his watch. Since the publication of *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?* the scholarship concerning his pontificate has moved from a discussion of Innocent III as

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[191] Goering, "Articles of Faith," 127-8.
[192] "Dici potest quod homo post iustificationem duas partes iustitie obseruare tenetur, scilicet abstinere a malo et facere bonum, " Richard, *Summa* 7.
[193] Hödl, "Articulus fidei," 367-73; Goering, "Articles of Faith," 128-33.
[194] Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 315-43.
[195] The bibliography on Innocent III is immense. Brenda Bolton has been especially helpful in bringing to light Innocent the pastor. See her *Innocent III: Studies on Papal Authority and Pastoral Care* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1995). Baldwin's "Paris et Rome" makes clear how strong the connection was between the thought of Peter the Chanter and Innocent. Keith Harold Kendall's dissertation, "Sermons of Pope Innocent III: The Moral Theology of a Pastor and Pope" (Syracuse University 2003) has a good discussion of the historiography of Innocent as pastor. For the most recent treatment of Innocent III in general, see John C. Moore's *Innocent III: To Root up and to Plant* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

politician and canon lawyer to that of Innocent as theologian and his understanding of the Pope as the pastor to all Christendom. Innocent III's fight against heresy was part of a larger effort at moral reform. Indeed, the language he uses in *Vineam Domini* uses patristic language of personal moral improvement when he speaks of a "file" to grind away vices.[196] When he seeks to make sure that right faith is understood in Christendom, he understands this faith in terms of a humble submission to the Church, a faith that does not contumaciously resist correction. For example, when it came to his attention that certain laymen were reading the Bible on their own in Metz, his approach was not to demand that these activities cease, but rather to counsel the local ecclesiastical authorities to make sure that the members of this Bible study were willing to submit to correction if necessary.[197] His fight against heresy took the approach to faith of the schools in which he had studied. Christians could not reject the truths of the triune nature of God, the transcendent and immanent creator, but a humble obedience to the Church, Christ's body on Earth, was just as, if not more, important than right belief. Innocent's work on moral reform was part and parcel of a trend based around the schools of Paris that had been ongoing for several decades.

Innocent III died shortly after the conclusion of the Lateran council and the issuing of its canons. But shortly after his death, they became foundational documents for a movement of moral reform throughout Western Christendom. This moral reform required morals based on right belief perfected in love. In the subsequent chapters, we shall see how in the wake of this program the English clergy laid the dogmatic foundation of moral reform in working to make

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[196] Alberto Melloni, "*Vineam Domini*—10 April 1213: New efforts and Traditions; *topoi*—Summoning Lateran IV," in *Innocent III and his World* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 63-73, pg. 68.
[197] See Leonard Boyle, OP, "Innocent III and Vernacular Versions of Scripture," in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, Studies in Church History 4, eds. Katherine Walsh and Diana Wood (Padstow: Blackwell, 1985), 97-108.

sure that every Christian layperson know the Creed, often as it was formulated in terms of the Articles of Faith.

Chapter 2. "Let them see to the observance of these things…publishing them in episcopal synods…" Bishops, Councils, and Synods.

The years surrounding the Fourth Lateran Council saw the work of the Parisian moral theologians enshrined into the common law of the Church. Those same years, however, were less than auspicious for the Church in England. The island had endured a papal interdict from 1208 to 1213, and a civil war that lasted well into 1217, a war whose aftershocks continued well into Henry III's minority.[198] In addition to their pastoral responsibilities, the men of the English episcopate had the task of holding together the institutions of the kingdom of England in the face of the fractious political infighting of the minority of King Henry III. Under the vigorous supervision of the papal legates Guala and Pandulf, the bishops of the time set to the restoration of physical and spiritual damages with a will. Four new bishops were appointed in the first two years of the minority, and Archbishop Langton returned to England and was reconciled with those churchmen with whom he had fallen out as a consequence of split loyalties in the civil war.[199]

An Episcopal Program of (Moral and Dogmatic) Reform

Nine English bishops had been present at the Fourth Lateran Council, and upon their return and the filling of the vacant bishoprics, they took up a program of moral, dogmatic, and administrative reform. Eighty years ago, Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang argued that although the Fourth Lateran Council had reflected a theological movement with the goal of reforming the Church throughout western Christendom, it did not necessarily result in something like a unified reform program among England's bishops: their efforts, according to Gibbs and Lang, fell far

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[198] For the interdict, see Christopher Cheney, "King John and the Papal Interdict," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 31 (1948): 295-317. On the Civil War's conclusion, see Chapters 2 and 3 of David Carpenter's *The Minority of Henry III* (London: Meuthen, 1990), and Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 134-172.
[199] Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, 165-8

short of a concentrated push for moral reform.[200] They further remarked that the episcopate's "decrees relating to dogma…call for a very special study, and as this would have only very slight bearing on the reformation of the Church in England…we shall not attempt it."[201] As the preceding chapter has shown, however, in the school-based moral theology that had such wide-ranging influence, the dogmas underlying morals were crucial to the entire project. So we should address their assertion that all that resulted was "a certain effort…too tentative to bring about a fundamental and spiritual reformation in the English Church."[202] In light of the intervening eight decades of scholarship, we ought to at least tentatively re-examine whether the judgment of Gibbs and Lang still stands as to the ultimate failure of the English episcopate to follow through on a program of moral reform.

In discussing such a program, we ought to raise first the question as to whether we can speak of a single English episcopate during the period of 1215 to 1281. When speaking of nearly ninety men spread out over seventy years, two provinces, and sixteen dioceses, is there enough commonality among the program of its members to speak of it in any kind of broad terms? The character of the various bishops between the years around Lateran IV and Pecham's Lambeth constitutions varied immensely: saints, *magistri*, and a few monks jostled with *curiales* and Lusignans.[203] We can nevertheless follow a skein of interest in ecclesiastical reform throughout the period. There were obviously saints and men of known personal sanctity—three bishops of the period, Thomas Cantilupe, Edmund of Abingdon, and Richard of Droitwich all were

[200] Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272: With Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), 130.
[201] Ibid., 137.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid., 185-99 has what is still a useful overview of the backgrounds of the English bishops during the reign of Henry III.

officially canonized.[204] In addition, there were bishops of reforming zeal, such as Stephen Langton, Robert Grosseteste, Walter Cantilupe, and of course Robert Kilwardby and John Pecham, men whose single-mindedness of purpose often made admirers and bitter enemies for them.[205] When we turn our gaze away from these lights of sanctity and towards men of more worldly and prosaic interests, administrators, *curiales,* and even Aymer de Valence, a man known to be "arrogant, violent, and rapacious,"[206] we encounter men who nevertheless were diligent pastors and administrators.

That much is uncontroversial. Indeed, one key fact noted by Gibbs and Lang is the extent to which secular administrators, under the influence of both their fellow bishops and socio-cultural expectations became excellent administrators of their dioceses—the example of Beckett was still very much in peoples' minds.[207] More recent scholarship has only borne out this conclusion. Walter Gray and Peter des Roches, for example, were trusted favorites of King John and owed their positions as archbishop of York and bishop of Winchester to his favors—they

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[204] For the life of Thomas Cantilupe, see David Carpenter, "St Thomas Cantilupe: His Political Career," in *St Thomas of Cantilupe Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. Jancey (Hereford: Hereford Cathedral, 1982), 57-72, repr. in *The Reign of Henry III* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 293-308. For St. Edmund of Abingdon, see C. H. Lawrence, *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), and Richard of Droitwich is covered in C. H. Lawrence, "St Richard of Chichester," in *Studies in Sussex Church History*, ed. M. J. Kitch (London: Leopard's Head Press, 1981), 35-55.

[205] These bishops all have extensive bibliographies. Grosseteste is well-covered by Sir Richard Southern's *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), and James McEvoy's *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), and his work as a pastor is covered by Leonard Boyle's "Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979): 3-51. Quinto's *Stephano Langton* is the current authority on Stephen Langton. Kilwardby and Pecham are covered in Ellen Mary Frances Sommer-Seckendorff, *Studies in the Life of Robert Kilwardby O.P.* (Rome: ad S. Sabinae, 1937), and Decima L. Douie, *Archbiship Pecham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952); more recent discussions of Kilwardby and Pecham can be found in Simon Tugwell, "Kilwardby, Robert (***c.***1215–1279)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004 < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4571, accessed 25 March 2009>, and Benjamin Thompson, "Pecham [Peckham], John (***c.***1230–1292)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Oxford University Press, 2004 < http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4571, accessed 25 March 2009>.

[206] John Robert Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 127-8.

[207] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform,* 17.

were *curiales* and power brokers.[208] As bishops, although they were involved in the rough and tumble power politics of the English court, they nevertheless carried out programs of moral and administrative reform. Gray was the first archbishop of York to keep a register. A possible reason that he did so was that Lateran IV (which he had attended) required that absentee rectors keep records of their activity—he might have taken this required record-keeping and expanded it to keeping records of all clergy instituted to livings in the province.[209] As archbishop, he was conscientious about presentations, collations, and indulgences.[210] Likewise, Peter des Roches was derided as "the warrior of Winchester...sharp at accountancy, slack at the Gospels."[211] And yet, as a bishop, he was conscientious in promoting the project of moral reform envisioned by Lateran IV and his more personally pious colleagues. He took the same steps as they in cracking down on the practice of local churches holding rowdy drinking parties known as scotales to raise money, filled vacancies in ecclesiastical offices, moved markets from Sundays to weekdays, and forbade tournaments.[212] Even Aymer de Valence, considered by contemporaries to be morally the worst of the lot, was, as bishop-elect, a competent administrator and even pastor in his diocese through his suffragans and diocesan officials.[213]

Side by side with politician bishops were the zealous reformers. These reformers came from overlapping circles of friends and colleagues. Several had studied in Paris at the end of the twelfth century: Langton, Sansetun, Poore, and possibly Stavensby had been academic

[208] The political rise of Gray is covered in Lee Wyatt's "The Making of an Archbishop: The Early Career of Walter de Gray, 1205-1215," in *Seven Studies in Medieval English History and Other Historical Essays Presented to Harold S. Snellgrove*, ed. Richard H. Bowers (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1983), 65-74, and that of des Roches in *Vincent, Peter des Roches*, 47-113.
[209] Lee Wyatt, "Walter de Gray, Archbishop of York, 1205-1255" (Ph.D. diss., Mississippi State University, 1974), 50.
[210] Ibid., 49-76.
[211] Quoted in Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, 57.
[212] Ibid., 172-5.
[213] H. W. Ridgeway, "The Ecclesiastical Career of Aymer de Lusignan, Bishop Elect of Winchester, 1250-1260," in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honor of Ruth Harvey*, eds. John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 148-77, esp. pp. 157-60.

colleagues.[214] Stavensby himself was a close friend of Robert Grosseteste,[215] who himself was part of a close circle of like minded men, made up of himself, Walter Cantilupe, Richard Gravesend, the famed friar Adam Marsh, and Simon de Montfort.[216] These men had an outsized influence on English affairs. Grosseteste and Gravesend were bishops of Lincoln, the largest diocese in England, and all were closely involved with England's magnates and participated in the ebb and flow of mid-thirteenth-century English politics.

Bishops as ecclesiastical reformers came from the ranks of the saints, the saintly, *curiales*, and even the bad. These reforming bishops' principle tool for inculcating the fundamentals of Christian dogma, the Creed and Articles of Faith, in the lay people of their diocese was the diocesan synod. We can follow their program of lay education through the practices and the statutes of these same thirteenth-century synods.

The Synod

As Cheney noted, it was in the diocese that the lay members of the Christian Church came into contact with what, in the century and a half after the Gregorian Reform, had become an international institution, directed from the top by the Pope and Council.[217] The authoritative conciliar canons that were the common law of Western Christendom found their individual and localized expression in the statutes of a diocese.[218] The Fourth Lateran Council outlined how the council and synod should express the law of the Church in the diocese and parish. *Sicut olim*, the council's sixth canon, calls for the archbishop of each province to hold an annual provincial council, where he will promulgate the "canonical rules, especially those which have been laid

[214] See above in Chapter 1.
[215] Nicholas Vincent, "Master Alexander of Stainsby," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46:4 (1995): 615-640, pg. 626.
[216] For a discussion of this social circle, see Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, 80
[217] Christopher R. Cheney, *From Becket to Langton: English Church Government, 1170-1213* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1965), 119.
[218] Cheney, "Some Aspects of Diocesan Legislation During the Thirteenth Century," in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 186-8.

down by this general council [i.e. Lateran IV]."[219] The bishops of the province are then, taking the decrees of provincial councils, to legislate the observance of these decrees in annual diocesan synods. These bishops are to be suspended from office if they fail to hold these annual synods.[220] Like much of the work of the council, *Sicut olim* did not so much legislate new practice as confirm existing trends in the western Church.[221]

The synod, in general, served as an annual or biennial gathering by the bishop of all diocesan clergy with the cure of souls, and its goal was inquiry into and correction of abuses, instruction of clergy, and legislation.[222] By the late middle ages, the fifteenth-century canonist William Lyndwood defined it as an assembly of the priests and *senes* of a diocese that a bishop was required to hold annually.[223] Two and a half centuries after Lyndwood, in 1748, Pope Benedict XIV gave the primary reasons for the diocesan synod as being the correction of depravity, the instruction of the ignorant, and the formation and promulgation of statutes.[224] The process by which the synod achieved these particular definitions was a gradual one—up until the twelfth century, it was defined loosely, and earlier *ordines* for the celebration of a council

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[219] "…canonicas regulas et maxime quae statuta sunt in hoc generali concilio relegentes," Tanner, ed., Canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, c. 6.
[220] Ibid.
[221] This is, for example, the case with regular confession. See Alexander Murray, "Confession before 1215," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 6th Series* 3 (1993): 51-81, pg. 62.and also Joseph Goering, "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession," *Traditio* 59 (2004): 175-227.
[222] Christopher Cheney and Odette Pontal provide excellent summaries of the canonical purpose of the synod and its historical development in Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed., (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 1-33 and Pontal *Les statuts synodaux françiase du XIIIe siècle. Tome I: Les statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'ouest (XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1971), 1:xxv-lxii. For a more recent treatment of episcopal legislation and the evolution of the diocesan synod, see Joseph Avril, "L'évolution du synode diocésain, principalement dans la France du Nord, du Xe au XIIIe siècle," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1988), 305-25, and his "L'institution synodale et la législation épiscopale des temps Carolingiens au IVe concile du Latran," *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 89 (2003): 273-307.
[223] Quoted in Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1.xxv.
[224] "Primo, ut depravata corrigantur: secundo, ut ignorantes instruantur: tertio, ut regulae morum, statutaque formentur: quarto, ut quae in provinciali synodo decreta sunt, in episcopali publicentur," Benedict XIV, *De synodo diocesiana*, quoted in Cheney, *English synodalia*, 4.

often use the term "council" when referring to a synod.[225] Over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the definitions of canonists and the practices of bishops brought about a more concrete distinction between the council, a gathering of bishops, and the diocesan synod, a gathering of the lower-ranked clergy and non-exempt abbots.[226]

The diocesan synod began as an offshoot from the provincial council of the early Church, when the archbishop of a province would gather his clergy in order to address issues of faith as well as administrative concerns in both the province and the Church as a whole.[227] In the fourth and fifth centuries, especially in the more rural areas of the Western Empire, the provincial council gave way to the *presbyterium,* a gathering of the clergy of a diocese by the bishop with the goal of passing judgments and making decisions necessary to the well-being of the Church.[228] The first gatherings that we know of to match the definitions that later canonists would give for the diocesan synod were those of Auxerre in 585, and that of Canterbury in 597.[229] During the Carolingian period, both ecclesiastical legislation and practice established the diocesan synod as a gathering of the clergy of a diocese under their bishop.[230] Throughout the Carolingian period, such synods were held regularly both in England and France.[231] During the chaos and mayhem of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, however, the synod and provincial council became sporadic. With the Gregorian reform and subsequent decrease in violence in Western Christendom, the synod again came to have greater prominence, thanks in part to its

225 Avril, "L'institution synodale," 275.
226 Ibid., 276.
227 This development happened alongside the Church's gradual adoption of a territorial government in a framework that matched that of the Roman state. Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:xxiii-xxv.
228 Ibid., 1:xxv.
229 Ibid., 1:xxxviii-ix.
230 Avril, "L'institution synodale," 277-88 discusses the institution of the diocesan synod as well as the practice of Carolingian bishops of issuing *capitula*, their directives to the clergy of their dioceses in their synods.
231 Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:xl-xlvi.

promotion in the canonical work of Ivo of Chartres.[232] In twelfth-century England, the synod often served the purpose of providing a venue for the bishop to read out his solemn acts and to resolve litigation dealing with the church.[233] The practice of using it to make known the decisions of the larger church seems to have ceased, or rather, not to have revived with the general revival of the synod concomitant with the Gregorian Reform.[234] In the wake of *Sicut olim*, the English episcopate sought to revive the practice of using the synod to promulgate the decrees of the councils of the Church.[235] By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the litigious element of the synod had moved to the ecclesiastical courts, which left the diocesan synod as the principle locus whereby the clergy at the level of chaplains, vicars, and parish priests would encounter the international church of which they were a part.[236] A synod was both the place to transmit the work of the Church as a whole to its lower ranking clergy and a place where the bishop of a diocese legislated. The bishop had the authority to issue binding legislation in the synod by decree, subject only to the law of the province and Church as a whole.[237] A large part of the synods' focus was legislation concerning the church's pastoral work.

As with many movements to whose prime matter Lateran IV gave form, the council and synod as a venue for moral and dogmatic reform took inspiration from the thought and work of twelfth-century reformers, and none more so than the churchmen of northern France in general and the colleagues of Peter the Chanter mentioned earlier in particular. The end of the twelfth century in France saw "une grande activité conciliaire," to legislate doctrine and morals and condemn heresy.[238] Robert of Courson had studied under the Chanter and often served as a

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232 Ibid., 1:li-ii
233 Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 26.
234 Ibid, 31.
235 Ibid.
236 Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 31.
237 Ibid., 8-10.
238 Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:liv. See also Avril, "L'institution synodale," 295-301.

Papal judge-delegate. He became a papal legate in 1213, at which point, he convoked a series of councils in Paris, Rouen, Bordeaux, Clermont, Montpellier, and Bruges over the course of 1213-1215.[239] The legislation issued at these councils put into practice much of what he and his colleagues had envisioned as moral theologians in Paris at the turn of the thirteenth century.[240] This legislation found echoes in Stephen Langton's diocesan Canterbury synod that took place in 1213 or 1214.[241] A few years earlier, Eudes de Sully, bishop of Paris from 1198 to 1208, had issued synodal statutes that enjoyed a broad influence in his diocese and elsewhere; his statutes were copied at least two other times before the 1216 x 1219 Synodal of the West, which reflected the more recent work of Lateran IV, became more influential, and even after that, his work heavily influenced French synodal statute-making.[242]

The thirteenth century would be the great age of English diocesan legislation. Gibbs and Lang doubted that annual synods were taking place; several decades of work by Christopher Cheney have shown that although we cannot be certain how often synods were taking place, they happened with relative frequency. [243] The evidence that synods were taking place comes from both incidental references in other sources (chronicles, privileges of exemption from attending synods, and the like) and the surviving statutes themselves.[244] Between Stephen Langton's Canterbury statutes of 1213 or 1214 and Gilbert of St. Leoford's 1292 Chichester statutes, there are some thirty-two sets of extant conciliar canons and synodal constitutions.[245] The extant manuscripts of these synodal statutes are only a tiny fraction of those that were originally issued

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[239] Baldwin, *Masters Princes, and Merchants*, 20.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Christopher R. Cheney, "Statute-Making in the English Church in the Thirteenth Century," in *Texts and Studies*, 138-57, pg. 143.
[242] Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:lxxvii
[243] Cf. Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, 147, and Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 18.
[244] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 18-19.
[245] Following Cheney in "Textual Problems of the English Provincial Canons," in *Texts and Studies*, 111-137, pg. 114, we refer to the rulings of a provincial council as "canons" and to statutes of bishops below the archiepiscopal level as "constitutions."

and circulated.[246] In addition to the evidence from statutes, chronicles, documents executed in synods, and references to excuses for absence from a synod provide additional evidence of the occurrence of diocesan synods in the thirteenth century.[247] By the fourteenth century, English bishops mostly ceased to issue original statutes, and instead, the existing constitutions were re-copied (and sometimes re-issued by bishops) throughout the dioceses of Canterbury and York, often under spurious attributions.[248] In 1430, canonist William Lyndwood drew up his collection of the provincial legislation of the province of Canterbury.[249] The conciliar and synodal statutes that he put in his *provinciale* had already gone a long way to serving as the *jus commune* of the English Church.[250]

In England as in France, bishops required that clergy subject to them possess copies of their synodal statutes in *libri* (or *libelli*) *synodales*.[251] These statutes were sometimes ordered to be transcribed in a missal or other liturgical books for ease of reference.[252] Most often, however, they were issued to clergy as unbound quires (which would be easy to carry), and bishops required the clergy to carry these notebooks to annual synods for correction.[253] Archdeacons and rural deans would often issue these *synodalia* to the clergy under their charge. The vast majority of these booklets were for regular consultation; moreover, most never made it into codices and are thus lost to us from the wear and tear of eight hundred years.[254] As a result, the many extant manuscript copies of thirteenth-century *synodalia* only scratch the surface of what was originally issued.

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[246] Cheney, "Statute-Making," 150.
[247] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 18-19
[248] Cheney, *English* Synodalia, 36; Cheney, "Some Aspects," 191. For the problem of attribution dating the bishops' constitutions, see Cheney, "Textual problems."
[249] Christopher Cheney, "William Lyndwood's *Provinciale*," in *Texts and Studies*, 158-184.
[250] Cheney, "Textual problems," 112-113.
[251] Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:lxvi-lxvii.
[252] Ibid., 44.
[253] Cheney, "Statute-Making," 151-2
[254] Ibid., 150.

As noted above, the idea of dividing the elements of the Christian faith as contained in the Creeds into distinct Articles was rather new.[255] So too was the doctrinal formulation of the seven sacraments of the Church. These developments were, moreover, a product of the cathedral schools and nascent universities, two institutions to which a parish priest or chaplain would have had little access.[256] Since the Council required that priests be familiar with the nature and administration of the sacraments and, with *Firmiter*, the creed of the Fourth Lateran Council, which stated the fundamentals tenets of belief of the Christian Church, it was necessary that those charged with the cure of souls themselves have access to this information.[257] Although Honorius III's 1219 letter, included in Gregory IX's 1234 *Decretales* as *Super specula*, allowed clerics to study theology and keep their benefices, the primary application of this provision was probably for sending cathedral clergy to schools so as to provide these schools with a continuous supply of *magistri*.[258] Pope Boniface VIII's *Cum ex eo*, which would provide a means by which clerics could attain a university education, lay at the end of the thirteenth century, and the seminary system did not come about until the Council of Trent.[259] The priest himself would often have received little education apart from an apprenticeship in carrying out the sacraments and serving as the steward of the local *cultus*.[260] The bishops intended the statutes as a bridge

[255] See Chapter 1 of this study.

[256] This access, however, increased over the course of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. See, for example, Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 148-50.

[257] Canon 27 of Lateran IV requires that, either himself or through another, a bishop instruct an ordinand in how to carry out the offices and sacraments of the Church. On the educative purpose of synods, see, for example, Pontal, 1:lxi, 1:lxxi; Roy Martin Haines, "Background to an Endemic Problem," in *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 129-37.

[258] Leonard Boyle, OP, "The Constitution 'Cum ex eo' of Boniface VIII," *Medieval Studies* 24 (1962): 263-302, pp. 264-6.

[259] Ibid.

[260] Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto: Pontofical Institute for Mediaeval Studies: 1994), 62-3. The fourteenth-century *Oculus sacerdotis*, meant for the use of parish priests, says that a strong command of Latin is less important than a good age and character: Leonard Boyle, OP, "Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth-Century England," in *The Fourteenth Century*, eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard S. Levy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), 19-32, pg. 19. Even with the

between the formulations of the international Church and the parochial clergy, and thus to the layman.

The Statutes—Circulation

The statutes of thirteenth-century English synods show us the English episcopate's program of inculcating doctrine throughout England and across the sixty-six years covered in this study (1215-1281), showing a great deal of cross-fertilization, not only in the province of Canterbury, but also that of York.[261] Cheney has admirably traced the main lines of descent and influence into what were, roughly speaking, two principle collections of constitutions that had the greatest influence throughout England. These lines of ancestry follow the two circles of reforming episcopal colleagues noted above.[262] The first of the highly influential set of statutes was that of Bishop Richard Poore, who issued statutes as bishop of Salisbury between 1217 and 1219. Most statutes follow his influence until the Lincoln diocesan legislation of Robert Grosseteste issued around 1239. Closely related to (and almost contemporaneous with) his statues are the 1240 Worcester statutes of Walter of Cantilupe.

Richard Poore produced his 1217 x 1219 statutes under the influence of the moral theology of Peter the Chanter's circle, Eudes's Parisian statutes, and of course the Lateran Council.[263] For the next twenty years, they influenced many other statutes that were either copied from them wholesale or borrowed from them. The statutes were re-issued by Poore when he was preferred to Durham in 1228, and Stephen Langton's diocesan statutes of 1213 x 1214 (but not his provincial canons of 1222) were a nearly exact copy of them. Later bishops of

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implementation of various programs to ensure that the priest had a basic level of knowledge, the priest's primary duty was still cultic and would remain so down through the end of the Middle Ages

[261] Cheney, "Statute-Making," 139.

[262] See above, pg. 47.

[263] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 53-7; Cheney, "The Earliest English Diocesan Statutes," *English Historical Review* 75 (1960): 1-29, pgs. 1-18.

Salisbury like Robert Bingham (bishop from 1229 to 1246) borrowed from him, as did Richard of Droitwich, papal legate and bishop of Chichester from 1244 to 1253. Peter des Roches issued statutes that were fairly original, but also borrowed from Poore. William of Brewer's 1225-1237 Exeter statutes also borrow heavily from them.[264]

The other most influential set of diocesan statutes in thirteenth-century England was that of Robert Grosseteste. The statutes survive in twenty-five known manuscripts, far and away the largest number of any collection of episcopal legislation.[265] Due to the large size of Lincoln diocese, it is likely that Grosseteste rarely subjected the clergy of his diocese to annual synods.[266] Grosseteste rather delivered his instruction to the clergy of his diocese in several different ways. He performed frequent visitations accompanied by friars.[267] In these visitations, he would seek out problems in the diocese that needed corrections and have friars preach to the people in what Sir Richard Southern has described as "a mixture of royal eyre, sheriff's tourn, and itinerant preaching mission."[268] In addition to these visitations, he would have the priests of an archdeanery or deanery gather, and there he would preach to them, providing them with the instruction necessary for them to serve as pastors.[269] His statutes heavily influenced those of Walter Cantilupe, which two sets of statutes served as the raw material for most other statutes on down through the end of the thirteenth century.[270] Later bishops drew both on the statutes of Cantilupe and Grosseteste as well as those earlier statutes of Poore and the canons of both the provincial and ecumenical councils. William Bitton I's statutes of Wells, possibly issued in

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[264] For the above paragraph see Chapter 3 of Cheney's *English Synodalia*. Cheney updated his work on the influence of Poore's *synodalia* in "The Earliest English Diocesan Statutes."
[265] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 110-1.
[266] Ibid., 118.
[267] Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 259.
[268] Ibid.
[269] *Councils and Synods*, 1:263.
[270] Cheney originally thought that Grosseteste's statutes were derived from those of Cantilupe, but later came to the conclusion that the reverse was the case, *English Synodalia*, vi-vii.

1258, draw heavily on all of those sources, as do those of Richard of Droitwich for the diocese of Chichester.[271] Nicholas of Farnham's 1241 x 1249 Durham II statutes draw heavily on both Poore, who had been bishop of Durham, and on Grosseteste.[272]

The work of the episcopate in issuing synodal statutes remained fairly constant throughout the mid-thirteenth century. Unlike the opening decade and a half of the thirteenth century, when the chaos of the civil war between John and the future Louis VII together with the interdict had severely hampered the work of the Church, the work of the episcopate and lower clergy continued mostly uninterrupted throughout the century, even through 1250s and 1260s, when conflicts between King Henry III and Simon de Montfort and his party split the episcopate as well as the realm. John Gervais, a Montfortian and bishop of Winchester from 1262 to 1268, issued his statutes between 1262 and 1265, at the height of the Baron's War, but they say little of the political disturbance, and rather closely follow the reforming work of the prior *synodalia* from which he borrowed.[273] The issuing of synodal statutes only slowed in the 1270s and 1280s because from the end of the thirteenth century through the end of the Middle Ages, English bishops would have existing statutes copied and re-issued.[274] Indeed, a great many of the extant manuscripts of the *synodalia* that have come down to us come from late manuscripts, indicating their continued importance in the later English church.

The Statutes—Content

The synodal statutes from the period of 1215 to 1281 show a great degree of commonality with respect to teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith. The earliest synodal statutes we are discussing, Stephen Langton's diocesan statutes of 1213 x 1214, command that

[271] Ibid., 84-9, *Councils and Synods*, 1:451
[272] *Councils and Synods*, 1:422.
[273] The statutes are heavily influenced by those of Grossteste and Cantilupe, Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 103-5.
[274] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 36.

every priest be zealous in admonishing parishioners to learn the Creed and the Our Father, since "every adult Christian should know them."[275] This study closes in 1281 with Pecham's conciliar canons that call for a quarterly exposition of the Articles of Faith by parish clergy.[276] Prior to Pecham's second council of Lambeth, with the exception of Langton's 1222 Council of Oxford, whose fifteenth canon echoes the language of *Inter caetera*, which required bishops to regularly preach to the people of their dioceses, the canons of councils say little about instructing people in matters of dogma.[277] Rather, the work of the councils is primarily dedicated to correcting abuses, dealing with complaints of clergy about abuses (usually financial) by laymen, and ensuring that the sacraments are properly administered. Otto's legatine council of 1237, for example, dealt with administration of the sacraments, the ordination of priests, appointment of vicars, and clerical behavior.[278] The legatine council of 1239 dealt with clerical complaints over lay behavior towards the Church, and Archbishop Boniface's 1257 council dealt primarily with the defense of ecclesiastical liberties.[279] With Pecham, whose canons conclude our study, we see conciliar canons take up the issue of instructing priests and laypeople in greater detail than any prior councils. Pecham had studied at Oxford before becoming a Franciscan, and then moved to Paris, where he eventually taught as a regent master. *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, Canon IX of his 1281 Lambeth Council, may have been based on a pastoral manual by Walter of Bruges, under whom he had studied and who eventually became bishop of Poitiers.[280] Although what parish priests are to teach their flocks appears only in the 1222 Oxford conciliar canons (and this canon

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[275] "quilibet christianus adultus…scire debet," *Councils and Synods*, 1.31.
[276] Ibid., 2:900.
[277] Cf. *Councils and Synods*, 1.110, c.15, and Canons of Lateran IV, c.10.
[278] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 120; *Councils and Synods*, 1:245-59, especially cc. 2-6, 4, 10, etc.
[279] *Councils and Synods*, 1.280, 534-9.
[280] Douie, *Pecham*, 134-5. Although Pecham's arrangement of the Articles of Faith is similar to Walter's [Cf. Walter of Bruges, *Un traité de théologie inédit de Gautier de Bruges, Instructiones circa divinum officium* (Bruges: L. de Plancki, 1911), 22-5], this arrangement was common enough among theologians of thirteenth-century Paris that one cannot say for certain whether the line of influence between Walter and Archbishop Pecham was direct.

only says that they are to receive the "nourishment of God's word"[281]), Pecham's *Ignorantia sacerdotum* is by no means novel. Rather, it has a strong precedent in the synodal statutes and the treatises appended to these statutes of the previous seventy years. Even though Pecham's enumeration of the Articles of Faith owes more to the University of Paris than their more common enumerations used by English bishops or those following William de Montibus, his outline of the dogmas necessary for priests to instruct their parishioners served as a capstone to the previous *synodalia* of the thirteenth century.[282]

Poore's 1217 x 1219 statutes of Salisbury come near the beginning of the period covered in this study; these statutes and their derivatives reflect the moral theological work of the next generation after Peter the Chanter. While Bishop of Salisbury, Poore's subdean was Thomas of Chobham,[283] and it is highly likely that the two collaborated in the composition of the diocesan statutes.[284] Poore's statutes themselves reflect an understanding of the basic doctrines of the Christian Church defined in terms of Articles of Faith. The third, fourth, and fifth constitutions of Poore's Salisbury statutes emphasize the combined necessity of a proper understanding of the faith and a moral life, noting that a right faith comes from a good life, but that this faith requires a knowledge and profession of the basic dogmas of Christianity—"without faith it is impossible to please God, and just as a body without spirit is dead, so too faith without works is dead."[285] The constitutions require that all clergy hold to a "right faith, often instructing [their] parishioners in the Articles of Faith, without which there is no salvation."[286] Rather than define seven, twelve, or fourteen specific articles of faith, the constitution presents the faith that all

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[281] *Councils and Synods*, 1.110.
[282] On the enumerations of the Articles of Faith used by English bishops and those used by Paris faculty, see Goering's "Articles of Faith."
[283] See Chapter 1 of this study, pg. 34.
[284] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 54.
[285] "sine fide impossibile est placere Deo, et sicut corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita fides sine operibus mortua est." Hebrews 11:6 and James 2:20, quoted in *Councils and Synods*, 1:61.
[286] "...fidem rectam teneatis, parochianos vestros in articulis fidei, sine qua non est salus, sepius instruentes," ibid.

clergy must know and teach to their parishioners in terms of its definition in *Firmiter*.[287] The subsequent constitution requires priests to make known the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Hail Mary.[288]

The episcopal legislation of the thirteenth century outlines procedures for how education, both clerical and lay, is to take place. The chief locus for the instruction of the parish priest occurred in the chapter meetings of the rural deanery or archdeaconry. A diocese was usually divided into archdeaconries and the archdeaconries into rural deaneries, over which presided archdeacons and rural deans, respectively.[289] These meetings would often be more *ad hoc* than the diocesan synod, and often dealt with the business concerning the administration of the Church's moral law as well as the affairs of the deanery in general.[290] Richard Poore's Salisbury statutes require that the archdeacon explain the "exposition of the Catholic faith promulgated in the general council" in the meetings of the archidiaconal chapters.[291] The archdeacons are themselves to instruct the priests in "simple words," and then the priests are to instruct their parishioners in these articles in "their native language."[292] William of Blois's Winchester Statutes of 1229 order that every chaplain with the cure of souls bring his copies of the synodal statutes to future synods for reading and correction.[293] Robert Grosseteste made sure that his clergy attended meetings of archdeaconries and deaneries. Walter Cantilupe's 1240 Worcester statutes require that priests attend decanal chapter meetings and be quizzed on the treatise he

[287] Cf. *Councils and Synods*, 1:61, c. 4 and Lateran IV, c. 1, ll. 1-5.
[288] Ibid.
[289] For the organization of the archdeaconry and deanery, see A. Hamilton Thompson, *Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages: Archdeacons and Rural Dean* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944). More recent work on the evolving canonical position of the archdeacon in the eleventh and twelfth centuries can be found in Winston Black, "The Medieval Archdeacon in Canon Law, With a Case Study in the Diocese of Lincoln" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2007).
[290] Jean Scammell, "The Rural Chapter in England from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 86 (1971): 1-21, pg. 10.
[291] "expositionem fidei catholice in generali concilio promulgatam," *Councils and Synods*, 1:61.
[292] "simplicibus verbis…in domestico ydiomate" *Councils and Synods* 1:61.
[293] Ibid., 1.179.

appended to his statutes.[294] Nicholas Farnham's 1241x1249 synodal statutes similarly require that in archdecanal chapters, "or as often as is necessary," the archdeacons explain the Catholic faith as laid out in the general council, i.e., *Firmiter*.[295] The 1239 x 1256 Ely statutes require that every candidate for ordination be examined as to whether he knows the seven deadly sins, the Decalogue, and the greater and lesser (i.e. the Apostles' and Nicene) creeds, as do William Bitton's 1258 statutes of Bath and Wells.[296] Alexander Stavensby's 1224 x 1237 Coventry statutes provide for priestly education not only by means of the chapter meeting, but also in his canon which echoes those of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, which mandate that every cathedral church have a grammar master with a benefice in order to teach poor boys free of charge.[297] Stavensby requires that there be those who know how to teach doctrine wherever the training of scholars occurs throughout the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.[298] This constitution also makes allowances for those who might not be able to afford the education provided in these schools, by urging ("we wish") that poor scholars be given the job of carrying holy water to rural areas throughout the parishes of the diocese to earn enough money to support themselves.[299] Once the basic knowledge of the priest had been assured—Innocent IV, writing as a canonist, noted that a priest needed to know "a little more" than a layman[300]—he was to communicate this knowledge to his parishioners.

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[294] Joseph Goering, and D.S. Taylor, "The *Summulae* of Bishops Walter de Cantilupe (1240) and Peter Quinel (1287)," *Speculum* 67:3 (1992), 576-94, pg. 578. See below, 65-72, for a discussion of the treatises appended to synodal statutes.
[295] *Councils and Synods*, 1:424
[296] Ibid., 1:516-17, 609-10.
[297] Canons of Lateran III, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman Taner (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), I:211-25, c. 18; Canons of Lateran IV, c. 11.
[298] *Councils and Synods*, 1:211.
[299] Ibid., 1:211
[300] "aliquantulum plus," Innocent IV, *Commentarii Innocentii Quarti Ponti. Maximi super libros quinque decretalium* (Frankfurt, 1570), 3, cited in Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Über die Bildung der Geistlichen im späten Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 50-1.

Most statutes show that the bishops or their staff who drew them up had in mind at least a four-tiered system of educating the laity. The first step was for children to be educated in the Creed and Articles of Faith by their parents. That religious instruction begins in the home had been commonly understood well before the period under discussion. In Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval*, written in the mid-twelfth century, the idea is already in place that parents provide their children's religious education. In the famous episode when young Perceval encounters a knight and thinks him an angel, he drops to his face and recites, "his entire Creed that his mother had taught him."[301] Moreover, we read in the romance that Perceval's mother did not just teach him the creeds, but also taught him a detailed description of the events of the passion.[302] Saints' lives as well show us that religious education began at home. In his life of St. Edmund of Abingdon, Matthew Paris writes that the future bishop received the "love and fear of Christ" along with his mother's milk.[303] Both accounts reflect that the narrator assumed (and almost certainly expected his audience to assume) that the primary locus of religious teaching was the home. Even in the case of a bishop-saint whose Parisian education the hagiographer emphasizes, the first education he received was from his mother.[304] Women in general and mothers in particular often took a strong directing role in the religious life of lay households, from basic catechesis to the commissioning of books of devotion in more highly placed aristocratic families.[305]

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301 "trestoute sa creance…Que sa mere apris li avoit," Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Roman de Perceval ou le conte du graal*, ed. William Roach (Geneva: Droz, 1959), 156-8.
302 Joseph Goering, "Religious Instruction for and by the Laity," forthcoming.
303 Matthew Paris, *Vita Sancti Edmundi*, ed. C.H. Lawrence in *St. Edmund of Abingdon: A Study in Hagiography and History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 223.
304 The hagiographies of the two other bishop saints from the period under discussion, Richard Wych and Thomas Cantilupe, mention little of their childhood apart from the traditional *topoi* of a piety exceeding that of their peers before describing their entry into school. *Acta Sanctorum* April, I:278 C-D and October, I:544 D.
305 On the role of women in the late medieval household, see especially the essays of Part II of *Household, Women, and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, eds. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

Richard Poore's Salisbury statutes of 1217 x 1219 enjoin parents to instruct their children in such matters, "to the extent that God shall inspire them," which is the same phrase he uses instructing priests to teach their parishioners the Articles of Faith.[306] Indeed, Bishop Poore's statutes assume that parents should be teaching their children the Creed, saying that priests should admonish negligent parents that they give their children religious instruction.[307] Although the teaching of the Creed was required of parents, the constitution states that parents are "frequently negligent" in these matters and thus acknowledges that parents and godparents were something of a "weak link" in the chain of transmitting the fundamentals of Christian doctrine. William de Montibus lists as one of the "errors of the laity" as believing that it is not necessarily a sin for godparents to fail to teach their children the Creed.[308] That bishops had to legislate that the priests themselves should be tested to make sure that they know the basics of the Christian faith indicates that the requirement that parents be the first providers of religious instruction was often followed more in breach than observance.

To make up for this gap, the bishops who drafted the synodal statutes envisioned a second tier in the process of the religious education of children, viz., for the priests themselves to provide this education.[309] Moreover, since the systematizing of the seven sacraments and the articles of faith was fairly recent at the time of the English bishops' statutes, even if the parents and godparents did their prescribed job of teaching their children the Creed, the priest would

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[306] "Prout Deus eis inspiraverit," *Councils and Synods*, 1:61. Cf. cc. 3 and 5.
[307] Ibid.
[308] "Sacerdos ad fontem baptismi patrinis iniungit ut baptizatum doceant orationem dominicam et simbolum id est 'Pater noster' et 'Credo,' et ipsi ex negligentia omittunt, nunquam non delinqunt?" William de Montibus, *Errorum eliminatio,* in Goering, *William de Montibus,* 156.
[309] On the subject of clergy providing lay catechesis, Chapter 2 of Eamon Duffy's *Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580,* 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), is a useful reference. Although it covers a period later than the one discussed in this study, the program of later medieval catechesis followed the outlines of *Ignorantia sacerdotum* and the rest of the episcopally mandated dogmatic instruction discussed in this chapter. See also Joseph Goering, "The Thirteenth-Century English Parish," in *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities*, ed. John Van Engen (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2004), 208-222.

probably need to further instruct his parishioners (and himself be instructed) in the newer ways for the Church to articulate her dogma.[310] The two most influential series of statutes, those of Poore and Grosseteste, both require the priests of their dioceses to teach the children of their parish. Poore's 1217 x 1219 statutes enjoin that archdeacons provide parish priests with the basics of the Christian faith and that these priests then "frequently call boys together and teach or have taught one or two in the aforesaid" (i.e. the Creed, and Paternoster).[311] This instruction is to take place in the parishioners' native language. Grosseteste's statutes likewise order that the boys of the diocese be "diligently taught and know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Hail Mary."[312] The Winchester III statutes of John Gervais, which draw most of their content from William Raleigh's Norwich and Winchester statutes and Bitton's 1258 statutes of Wells, require priests and vicars to make sure that all the children of their parish know the Credo, the Paternoster, and the Decalogue.[313]

The third layer of the system of instruction of the layman would have been instruction from the pulpit.[314] William of Raleigh's Norwich statutes of 1240 or 1243 indicate that the priest is to expound on the Articles of Faith every Sunday.[315] Richard Wich's mid-century[316] Chichester statutes direct that "in preaching" priests frequently expound the Articles of Faith.[317] And of course the Lateran Council itself urged that bishops provide their flocks with the

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[310] D.W. Robertson, "The Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England," *Speculum* 24:3 (1949): 379.
[311] "Pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant in predictis," *Councils and Synods*, 1:61. That the second part of the order is that priests can have the Creed and Paternoster taught rather than doing so themselves might indicate that others besides the priest were teaching these to the children of the parish.
[312] "diligenter doceantur et sciant orationem dominicam, et symbolum, et salutationem beate viriginis," *Councils and Synods*, 1:269.
[313] Ibid., 1.701, 1.713
[314] For a more detailed discussion of preaching the Creed and Articles of Faith, see Chapter 3 of this study.
[315] Ibid., 1:346.
[316] 1245 x 1252.
[317] *Councils and Synods*, 1:455.

"nourishment of God's Word,"[318] and that if they could not do so themselves, then they were to appoint men "mighty in word and deed" to do so. Canon fifteen of Langton's 1222 provincial council of London recalls the language of *Inter caetera*, using the same language in reference to nourishment and the word of God and applying it not to bishops, but to the priests of a diocese.[319] And of course the set of canons that closes our period orders the priest to expound the articles quarterly, either himself or with the aid of another.

The fourth tier of teaching the Creed and Articles of faith was that of what we might call "remedial instruction." Although every adult was required to know the Creed and Articles, the statutes make allowances for a lack of this knowledge. The most common place of remedial instruction envisioned by the bishops was in confession. This is unsurprising for several reasons. In the first place, since *Omnis utriusque sexus* required that every Christian take part in the sacrament of reconciliation at least once a year, confession was one venue in which the priest was reasonably certain to encounter all members of his flock. In addition, as noted above, the moral theology of faith and works required that a moral life to which the Christian was called rest upon a foundation of faith. Thus the confessional, where the priest worked to cure the failings of his parishioners' moral conduct was also a natural location to correct deficiencies of faith.

This interplay of the moral and dogmatic is apparent in two of the principle *summae* written up in this period that received wide distribution. Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum* was read throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries and is extant in hundreds of manuscripts.[320] Thomas counsels that the when the confessor receives the

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[318] Canons of Lateran IV, c. 10.
[319] Cf. *Councils and Synods*, 1:110 c. 15 and Canons of Lateran IV, c. 10.
[320] Franco Morenzoni, *Des Écoles aux Paroisses: Thomas de Chobham et la promotion de la prédication au début du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1995), 23-4.

penitent, after making sure that the person confessing is truly repentant, he is to make sure that he or she has a correct faith. If the penitent does not know the Lord's Prayer and Creed, then he or she is to learn the two as quickly as possible before receiving further penance.[321] Everyone is to be asked whether "they know without subtlety and at least superficially those articles contained in the Creed."[322] The confessor must quiz the penitent on each article contained in the Creed. Raymond of Penafort's *Summa de paenitentia* is canonical rather than theological in its orientation. It also requires that before assigning penance, the penitent be tested to make sure that he or she know the Credo, Paternoster, and Lord's Prayer.[323] This recommended practice of the school texts also appears in the synodal statutes of the bishops. Des Roches requires in his 1224 Winchester statutes that priests giving penance make sure that the penitent know the Lord's Prayer and Creed, "at least in their own language."[324] Grosseteste requires that penitents be "diligently examined" so that the priest can verify whether they know the Lord's Prayer, Creed, Hail Mary, and how to make the sign of the cross.[325] Raleigh's statutes of Norwich and, after his preferment, Winchester II, have the same basic requirement.[326]

Treatises Issued by Bishops

Unlike Poore's statutes, which include the text of *Firmiter* as the fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith, the statutes of Grosseteste and Cantilupe do not outline the principles of doctrine necessary for their flocks—having been written in an age when the literature of pastoral care was becoming increasingly available, the statutes assume that much of what needs to be taught, both in dogma and the sacraments, will be learned elsewhere than from the texts of the

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[321] Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum,* ed. F. Broomfield (Louvaine: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1968), 242.
[322] "…si sciant saltem superficialiter illos articulos qui continentur in symbolo sine subtilitate," ibid., 243.
[323] Raymond of Pennafort, *Summa de paenitentia*, eds. Xavier Ochoa and Aloisio Diez (Rome: Commentarium pro religiosis, 1976), 830.
[324] *Councils and Synods*, 1:134 c. 53.
[325] *Councils and Synods*, 1:269.
[326] Haines, "Endemic problem," 136; *Councils and Synods,* 405 c. 10.

statutes themselves.[327] The statutes did, after all, have the requirements for properly administering the sacraments.[328] During the course of the thirteenth century, in response to the initiatives of the Church as expressed in the Lateran Council and the work of individual bishops, churchmen produced a flood of works designed to provide the necessary education for those who would be involved in the cure of souls.[329] One particular subspecies of this literature of pastoral care was a series of treatises drawn up by bishops that would be issued along with their synodal statutes.[330] They usually contained the basics both of what the parish priest himself needed to know and what he needed to teach to his parishioners. Bishops Alexander Stavensby, Walter Cantilupe, and Roger Weseham all had tracts that circulated with their synodal statutes or independently.[331] Stavensby's 1224 x 1237 statutes require that his treatise be kept along with the statutes, and Cantilupe's 1240 statutes require that his tract, "be copied out by all chaplains and also observed in hearing confessions."[332] Roger Weseham's may have circulated with a series of statutes that are no longer extant.[333] In addition, Robert Grosseteste wrote *Templum Dei*, a short pastoral manual covering the Articles of Faith, the Sacraments, and some of the basic principles of canon law; although not mentioned in the text of his statutes, *Templum Dei* may have circulated with them.[334] These tracts all go back to a group of episcopal colleagues from the first half of the thirteenth century. Grosseteste and Stavensby were close friends, who

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[327] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 118.
[328] Cheney, "Some Aspects," 192.
[329] Leonard Boyle, OP, ""The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*," ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30-43, pg. 31. Goering, *William de Montibus*, 58.
[330] Goering and Taylor, "*Summulae*," 576-7; Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus*, 91-5.
[331] Cantilupe's was originally thought to have been lost, though Goering and Taylor have shown that it is the same tract as circulated with Bishop Peter Quinel's 1287 Exeter statutes, Goering and Taylor, "*Summulae,*" 576-91. Weseham's *Instituta* are published in Appendix 2 of Cheney's *English Synodalia.*
[332] "scribi ab omnibus…capellanis et etiam observari in confessionibus audiendis," *Councils and Synods*, 1.305.
[333] Goering, and Taylor, "Summulae," 577, fn. 6.
[334] Ibid. *Templum Dei* is edited by Goering and Mantello (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984).

worked together and corresponded on pastoral care in their dioceses.[335] So too were Cantilupe and Grosseteste friends and colleagues. Roger Weseham originally came from Grosseteste's household and indeed succeeded him as lector to the Oxford Franciscans.[336]

Alexander Stavensby's, Grosseteste's, and Cantilupe's treatises primarily concern the practice of confession. Indeed, Stavensby has little to say about the fundamentals of dogma, but instead coaches the priest on how to carry out a full confession. He tells the priest how to explain confession to a layman, telling him that he must be truly penitent and have a desire not to sin in the future.[337] After the penitent has confessed everything, the priest is to enquire further to see if there are sins that have been omitted, and once the confession is completed, the priest is to assign a suitable penance. Such an emphasis on confession rather than dogma is not surprising. Faith understood as a cognitive act served as the foundation of a believer's salvation, but it was only the beginning. Mortal sin and the consequent rupture of the state of grace that it caused would often have been a much more pressing concern, since that would undo all of the work of the Christian in right faith and right actions:

> Indeed, when the soul is dead, then it becomes food of the devil, whence it says: "If you accede to sin, the teeth of the lion will grab you, his teeth killing souls…" [Ecclus. 21:12] But if the miserable soul remains in the teeth until it is perfectly chewed up and sucked into the belly of the devil, it will never be drawn out, for in hell there is no redemption.[338]

Although Stavensby's treatise has nothing to say about what knowledge the layman may need, in his statutes he requires that laypeople be admonished to recite the Creed twice daily, and that

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[335] Vincent, "Stainsby," 626.

[336] Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), 48; M. J. Franklin, "Wesham, Roger of (*d.* 1257)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29066], accessed 17 Sept 2008.

[337] *Councils and Synods*, 1.220

[338] "Quando vero anima est mortua, tunc efficitur cibus diaboli, unde idem dicit: Si accesseris ad peccata, suscipient te dentes leonis, dentes eius interficientes animas…Set si maneat inter dentes misera anima usque dum perfecte masticetur et in ventrem diaboli trahiciatur, nunquam extrahetur, quia in inferno nulla est redemptio," *Councils and Synods*, 1.215.

they be compelled to learn it,[339] so knowledge of it was clearly a priority as part and parcel of the directives that he issued to his clergy.

Throughout his life, Robert Grosseteste showed a strong concern that the lay flock of the clergy receive the necessary care for them to prosper in the Christian life and arrive at eventual salvation. To this end, not only did he take an active hand in directing the clergy of his diocese, but he also produced several works of literature on pastoral care.[340] Of these, *Templum Dei*, which Christopher Cheney called “daunting and prolix,”[341] enjoyed the broadest circulation, being extant in close to ninety manuscripts. It runs for approximately seven folios in most manuscripts and is laid out in *distinctiones*, schematized outlines that had branching diagrams of related topics.[342] It is a guide to both pastoral theology and the sacrament of penance, and is divided into two parts. The first part discusses the Christian as the temple of God, and man as both a spiritual and physical temple, a body and soul.[343] The second part discusses the maintenance of these metaphorical temples by means of the sacrament of penance.[344]

Grosseteste describes the foundation of the spiritual temple as faith, whose twelve stones are the twelve Articles of Faith.[345] He provides a clear and discrete linkage of the dogmatic and the moral, which is all the more elegant for the brevity of *Templum*. The work calls on the confessor to examine the penitent with respect to the theological virtues, and, in his discussion of

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[339] Ibid., 1.213.
[340] See S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 121-41; Leonard Boyle, “Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care,” in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies 8. Proceedings of the Southeastern Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Summer 1976*, ed. Dale B. J. Randall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), 3-51; Siegfried Wenzel, “Robert Grosseteste's Treatise on Confession, *Deus est*,” *Franciscan Studies* 30 (1970): 218-293; McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, 140-5; and Joseph Goering, “When and Where did Grosseteste Study Theology?” in *Robert Grosseteste: New Perspectives on his Thought and Scholarship*, ed. J. McEvoy (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), 17-52.
[341] “Aspects,” 190.
[342] For the *distinctio*, see Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus florum *of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 7-9, 68-70.
[343] Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, Chapters 1-5.
[344] Ibid., Chapters 6-22.
[345] Ibid., 2.1

the virtue of faith, he again lists the Twelve Articles, but does so in showing how each Article needs to correspond to a practical exercise of virtue so that faith is completed in love.[346] So, the belief in the Triune God as creator and sustainer of the universe must be completed by adoration, blessing, and worship of this God.[347] Corresponding to the Article to be believed, namely that Christ took his flesh from the virgin Mary and was born fully God and fully man, the Christian must, "conceive Christ in penance and good will, and give birth to Christ through good works coming from a good will."[348] All twelve Articles correspond to an exercise of virtue.

Templum may have had a larger intended audience than that of priests. In Lincoln as in other dioceses, responsibility for instructing the parish priest often fell on the archdeacons and rural deans. For such officials, the discussion of the Articles of Faith and Virtues and Vices contained in it under an easily accessible and outlined format would be well-suited for brief lectures on Christian doctrine in the meeting of an archidiaconal or decanal chapter. It would also have been useful as a guide to an archdeacon or dean who was quizzing a priest. Just as several statutes mentioned above require that laypeople know the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments at least in their native language, so does the section on the examination in the virtue of knowledge note that the three are "necessary to laymen" and these "at least in the mother tongue."[349] Likewise, *Templum* requires that priests know at least the sacraments, penitential canons, and the homilies of Gregory, so that they can preach the Gospel to the

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[346] See Lombard above in Chapter 1.
[347] Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 7.14
[348] "In penitencia et bona uoluntate Christum concipere, et per bona opera egrediencia a bona uoluntate Christum parere, " Ibid., 7.15.
[349] Ibid., 10.3

people.[350] Such is a level of knowledge on which an archdeacon would have tested a priest or taught him in chapter meetings.[351]

Although possibly originally intended for use by archdeacons, *Templum Dei* found users at all levels of the Church. The extant manuscripts can be traced to the libraries of almost every religious order in England: Benedictines, Canons Regular, and the mendicants all had copies in their libraries.[352] One manuscript of *Templum*, Cambridge Emmanuel 27, which also contains Grosseteste's statutes, [353] comes from one of the few medieval manuscripts whose ownership can be traced to a parish church (that of Sompting in Sussex).[354] In addition, its small size would have made it, along with *libelli synodales* and smaller treatises, easily portable and thus more accessible for personal study.

Cantilupe's treatise, *Omnis aetas*, also concentrates on confession, and is clearly based on Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*. It concludes with a discussion of the articles of faith that the priest is to teach the penitent, "here written down according to how certain people record them."[355] The numbering and ordering of the Articles of Faith follows *Templum Dei* directly, as does its discussion of the sin of pride and the circumstances to be taken into account during confession.[356] After enumerating the articles, Cantilupe requires that "The priest needs to teach the layman that he learn and know the Symbol, namely the Credo, at least in his mother

[350] Ibid., 10.4.
[351] Winston Black has argued that since *Templum* discusses irregularity of ordination and sins such as simony it might have been intended for archdeacons acting in their capacity as the so-called *oculus episcopi*. "Grosseteste the Archdeacon and the *Templum Dei*" (Paper presented at 40th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, May 6, 2005).
[352] Neil Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964), 3, 4, 20, 23, 48, 72, 78, 91, 136, 154, 156, 159, 180, 184, 196.
[353] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 114-15.
[354] Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 223.
[355] "secundum quod quidam commemorant," *Councils and Synods*, 2:1076.
[356] Fritz Kemmler, *"Exempla" in Context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne"* (Tübingen: G. Narr, 1984), 193-6.

tongue."[357] The stipulation of learning it in the mother tongue applies only to the Creed. Such a requirement goes back to Peter the Chanter,[358] and also appears in Richard Poore's and Peter des Roches's statutes.[359] That such emphasis is placed on the layperson knowing the words at least in their own language strongly indicates that the goal of the bishops and their staff who had drawn up these statutes and treatises was not simply to have an ability to recite, but for an understanding of the basic parts of the faith, the intellectual foundations that are necessary for the perfection of the Christian life in love and good works.

Roger Weseham, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield from 1245 to 1257 produced the *Instituta*, an outline of the fundamentals necessary for a priest to know and to teach his flock.[360] They present the sacraments, the Virtues, the petitions of the Lord's Prayer, and the Articles of Faith. This little work, which takes up two manuscript folios, indicates a strong concern that the Christian life be grounded on a foundation of faith. Without Jesus Christ, says Weseham, there can be no salvation, and to found one's life on the rock of Jesus Christ requires faith.

> We thus desire that through you and us, faith in Jesus Christ, operating through love [*dilectio*]… become known to those placed under us, not only in Latin, but rather in their native language, in words known and suitable, to the extent that God shall inspire you and us."[361]

What follows is a list of the Articles of Faith that are to be taught and preached. It does not follow the more contemporaneous arrangements seen in the schools of Paris and later Oxford, which give divide the Articles according to the humanity and divinity of Christ,[362] but rather it follows the older ordering, that seen in William de Montibus's *Numerale*, and Richard of

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[357] "Debet etiam sacerdos docere laycum quod credat et sciat symbolum, scilicet Credo, saltem in lingua materna," *Councils and Synods*, 2:1076.
[358] See Chapter 1.
[359] *Councils and Synods*, 1:61, 124, quoted above, pgs. 55, 61.
[360] The *Instituta* are printed in Appendix 1 of Cheney's *English Synodalia*.
[361] "desideramus quod fides Iesu Christi operans per dilectionem…per nos ac per vos…subditis nostris innotescat, non solum in ydiomate latino, immo in proprio ydiomate sub verbis magis notis ac congruis prout deus vobis ac nobis inspiraverit," Weseham, *Insituta*, 150.
[362] See Goering, "Articles," 130.

Wetheringset's related pastoral summa *Qui bene praesunt*,[363] which give twelve articles in an order depending upon the Apostles' Creed, although elaborating the dogmas contained therein.[364] So Weseham elaborates more than the wording of the Creed—instead of just confessing belief in one God the Almighty Father, he also indicates that this God is triune, three in persons, and one in substance.[365] Likewise, he indicates that the Church's sacraments are efficacious for salvation as a part of the Articles, although the sacraments themselves are not mentioned in the Creed.[366]

With respect to the fundamentals of Christian dogma for which they were meant to provide instruction, they tend to show a certain evolution over the decade or so between the work of Stavensby and that of Cantilupe and Weseham. Alexander Stavensby's is only a tract on moral instruction—while it is rather thorough in showing how a semi-educated priest is to handle the sacrament of confession, it has little discussion of the Creed or Articles of Faith as such. *Templum Dei* opens with a discussion of the Articles of Faith, and *Omnis aetas* closes with an explanation of how a layman is to be taught the Articles. Weseham's *Instituta* is meant primarily to instruct clergy and then laity in the principles of the Christian faith. Stavensby's treatise on confession, Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*, Cantilupe's *Omnis aetas*, and Weseham's *Instituta* all show a common goal of making sure that priests understand the principles of the faith that they are to teach and can administer the sacraments.

Comparison to French Statutes

This desire on the part of bishops to use synodal decrees to instruct their priests is not limited to England—French synodal statutes also show the use of *libelli synodales* for

[363] See Chapter 3.
[364] Cf. Weseham, *Instituta*, 150-151, and William de Montibus, *Numerale*, 259.
[365] Weseham, *Instituta*, 150.
[366] Ibid., 151.

instruction. The English synodal legislation of the thirteenth century is both full of local detail[367] and also reflects the practices of the international Church at the time. South of the Channel, French bishops also issued synodal statutes over the course of the thirteenth century that required priests to ensure that every layman in their flock knew the fundamental principles of Christian dogma. [368] A brief comparison of English synodal statutes with those of France of the *langue d'oïl* shows a basic commonality between the two, reflecting as they do an international concern on the part of the western Church to ensure that all Christians, lay and clerical, were receiving a basic moral and dogmatic education.[369]

Eudes de Sully issued synodal statutes for the diocese of Paris around 1203, which were copied in the 1208 constitutions of Bishop Galon, and then by his successor as bishop of Paris, Guillaume de Seignelay.[370] Eudes's statutes influenced earlier statutes of the English Church, particularly those of Richard Poore; they naturally have a similar emphasis with respect to teaching of the Creed and Articles of Faith. These statutes order that the Articles are to be presented to parishioners as part of the preaching of their curate. On Sundays and other feast days, "in some part of the sermon, let them faithfully present to the people the symbol of faith [i.e. the Creed]. And let them diligently distinguish the Articles of Faith and confirm the people in each of them."[371] There is only one substantive difference between these statutes and those of England, which is that Eudes's statutes say that the Creed and Articles of faith are to be taught

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[367] Cheney, "Some Aspects," 185-6.

[368] For a thorough discussion of teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith in French councils and synods, see Jean Longère, "L'enseignement du *Credo*: Conciles, synodes, et canonistes mediévaux justqu'au XIIIe siècle," *Sacris Erudiri* 32 (1991): 309-41.

[369] We are avoiding ecclesiastical legislation that concerns lands of the *langue d'oc*, because the Church's concerns there were unlike those of contemporary England, with a powerful and entrenched heresy and ecclesiastical efforts to re-assert orthodoxy in the face of the organized violence of the Albigensian Crusade and the normal battles for political power involving the Spanish Kingdoms, France, and the English King.

[370] Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:lxxv-lxxvii.

[371] "In aliqua parte sermonis proponant fideliter populo symbolum fidei; et eis diligenter distinguant articulos fidei et in singulis confirment populum," Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:84.

"because of heretics."[372] Such a concern would be more pressing in France, where even north of the Midi, the heresy of Master Amalric of Benes still flourished until its fiery ending in 1210.[373] England, by contrast, saw little heretical activity with the exception of a Cathar who arrived in 1210, attempted to preach his faith, and was promptly burned.[374]

The synodal of the West was originally issued 1216 x 1219 in Angers, but its statutes were repeated throughout France over the course of the thirteenth century in le Mans, Nantes, Poitiers, Rouen, and Tours.[375] The final third of the synodal's statutes, from constitutions 123 to 134, provides a complete outline of the faith in the Trinity, the Incarnation, the seven sacraments, the capital vices, and the works of mercy. This section is a part of the original issue and of subsequent issues of the synodal, [376] and is "un véritable programme, sans équivalent dans le texte parisien [i.e., of Eudes's statutes]."[377] These constitutions not only require that parishioners learn the Creed and Articles of Faith, but also outline exactly what components of the faith are to be taught, so "priests are to be expressly held to teach that the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are three persons and those three persons are one God and one person is not another."[378] They must teach that Christ became incarnate of the Virgin Mary not by human operation, but by the Holy

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[372] "propter hereticos," Ibid.
[373] For the Amalrician heresy in Northern France, see G. Dickson, "The Burning of the Amalricians," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40:3 (1989): 347-69, and J. M. M. H. Thijssen, "Master Amalric and the Amalricians: Inquisitorial Procedure and the Suppression of Heresy at the University of Paris," *Speculum* 71:1 (1996): 43-65.
[374] We have precious little information concerning this Cathar aside from a mention in the London chronicle, *Councils and Synods*, 1.100, fn. 5. Although there was less concern in England with heresy than in France, the commonplace that England had little concern with heresy until the Lollards has recently been challenged by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton's *Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006). See especially pgs. xx-xxiv of her introduction for a timeline of events related to heresy in thirteenth-century England. See also Dyan Elliott, "English Exceptionalism Reconsidered," *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007): 753-7. Even Kerby-Fulton has noted, however, that what heterodox movements there were in England were both imported from the continent and took place on a smaller scale.
[375] Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1:105-6
[376] See both Pontal's apparatus and pgs. 109-31 of *Les statuts* for a discussion of the manuscript tradition of the statutes of the synodal of the west.
[377] Longère, "L'enseignement," 316.
[378] "tenentur docere expresse, quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus sund tres persone et ille tres persone sund unus Deus et una persona non est alia," Pontal, *Les statuts*, 1.226-8, c. 123.

Spirit, and that He was fully man and fully God.[379] The statutes likewise explains Christ's torture, crucifixion, death, resurrection, and ascension.[380] In the French synodal, the details of the dogma that priests are required to teach are included in the text of the statutes themselves. Until Pecham's *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, the English practice differs somewhat—English bishops often appended to the statutes the treatises on what a priest needed to teach his flock, but they were not a part of the constitutions.

Guiard of Laon's Cambrai statutes of 1238 x 1240[381] echo a practice that is ordered in a variant of the manuscript tradition of Poore's Salisbury statutes. As with other works of moral theology, in his statutes Guiard associates instruction in the Creed with the sacrament of penance, requiring that penitents who are ignorant of the Credo, Paternoster, and Ave Maria are to learn them as part of confession.[382] The priests are to "assign as penance to those who know them [i.e. the Creed, Paternoster and Ave Maria] that they teach the aforesaid to others who do not know them and that they assign educated men to men and women to women…"[383] This practice of laymen and –women teaching other laypeople the Creed is similar to one that appears in certain manuscripts of Poore's statutes, which seems to indicate that bishops on both sides of the channel were thinking of educating the laity in the foundational principles of the Christian faith in similar manners. Two sets of corrections to Worcester Cathedral Library Q 67 represent alternate recensions of Poore's statutes.[384] Since the corrections to Worcester Cathedral Library Q 67, which Cheney designates A^2 and A^3, represent corrections to a draft of the constitutions by

[379] Ibid., 1:228, c. 124.
[380] Ibid., 1:228-30, c. 124.
[381] Longère, "L'enseignement," 317.
[382] Joseph Avril, *Les statuts synodaux du XIIIe siècle. Tome IV: Les statuts synodaux de l'ancienne province de Reims, Cambrai, Arras, Noyon, Soissons et Tournai* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1995), 4:57
[383] "Eis autem qui recte ista sciunt, injungant nomine penitentie ut doceant predicta aliis qui nesciunt et assignent viris viros eruditos et feminas feminis…" Ibid.
[384] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 59-60.

the staff of a bishop's chancery,[385] they probably reflect the practices of one of the bishops re-issuing these statutes. The text of constitution 5 of A^3 matches the text of this constitution in Oxford Corpus Christi 360 and the Durham version of Poore's statutes contained in Durham Cathedral Library C. II. 13.[386] Since two of these manuscripts match corrections by the chancery of a bishop, they could possibly reflect a variant of the manuscript tradition that points to a practice employed by later bishops of Salisbury and Durham who re-issued these statutes. Constitution 5 as it appears in this variant require that those who have been taught the Creed then teach it to others: "Let [the priests] frequently gather together the boys and instruct or have instructed one or two of them who shall instruct others."[387] The similarity of these two statutes seems to indicate that at least certain school-educated members of the French and English clergy were familiar with a pedagogical practice that might be called, "training the trainers."

Synodalia and the literature of Preaching

Langton's 1222 canons of Oxford and Pecham's 1281 *Ignorantia sacerdotum* both call for preaching; many of the synodal statutes described in this chapter also require that priests preach the Creed and Articles of Faith to their parishioners. The various means of fostering an educated parish clergy, be it through deanery meetings or by providing financial aid in attending schools, or through written works of instruction like *Templum Dei*, *Omnis aetas*, and the *Instituta*, were meant to insure that parochial clergy were well-informed enough to be up to this task. The treatises that accompanied bishop's statutes were only one kind of pastoral manual of the sort seen in the later Middle Ages. Richard of Wetheringsett wrote a work entitled *Qui bene praesunt*, which contains directions on how to preach both the Articles of Faith and the sins that

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[385] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 60.
[386] See Cheney's *sigla* for and descriptions of the manuscripts in pgs. 57-8, and the apparatus in fn. q of pg. 61 of *Councils and Synods* for this particular textual variant.
[387] "Pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant qui alios instruant," *Councils and Synods*, 61, fn. q.

Christians were to shun.[388] In addition to a guide to how to preach the Articles of Faith, preachers often produced model sermon collections so that clerics would not have to produce their own sermons but would have a source of inspiration in their own preaching. These two media, the guide to preaching and the model sermon, were each meant to provide the cleric with the means by which he might preach and teach faith and morals to his flock. In the next chapter, we shall examine some of this literature and in so doing, we shall also examine more fully the place of the parish priest in the education of the laity, and of his often times helpers, rivals, and sometimes absentee rectors, the Friars and Augustinian canons. It is these churchmen, friar, canon, and priest in contact with the layperson, to whom our study now turns.

[388] See below, 88-97.

Chapter 3. "Those Things Pertaining to Faith and Morals Shall be Frequently Preached: The symbol of Faith, which Contains Twelve Articles..."

Throughout the period from 1215 to 1281, the English layperson had a strong involvement in the life of the Church. The vast majority of this activity was what we might call "cultic," centered around the various rituals of daily life and the cycle of the liturgical year, involving blessings of various objects, marking stages of one's life, and devotion to the saints.[389] Over the course of the thirteenth century, an episcopally driven reform program increasingly strove to supplement this cultic religiosity by instilling a foundational level of doctrinal knowledge in every Christian believer, from the meanest serf to the most powerful magnate. The obstacles facing this program, however, were daunting. Most of the clergy whom the layperson would encounter were often little more educated than himself, keepers of the local *cultus* rather than educators in a more modern sense of the word.[390] As the century progressed, the parish priest was gradually brought into line with the requirements of the Church as a whole, although even by the end of the period, a parish priest was far more a man of his local parish than of the multi-national institution of the Western Church.[391] Over the course of the century, he would acquire more and more aid from a literature of pastoral care that had its origins in the cathedral schools of the twelfth century and began to appear during the inter-conciliar period, the years

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[389] Joseph Goering, "The Changing Face of the Village Parish II: The Thirteenth Century," in *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, ed. J. A. Raftis (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 323-33, and Goering, "The Thirteenth-Century English Parish," in *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities*, ed. John Van Engen (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2004), 208-22. See also C. H. Lawrence, "The English Parish and its Clergy in the Thirteenth Century," in *The Medieval World*, eds. P. Linehan and J. Nelson (London: Routledge, 2001), 648-70, and Andrew Brown, *Church and Society in England, 1000-1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), especially Chapter 3. John Moorman's *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945) is still quite useful as well.

[390] Goering, "Thirteenth-Century Parish," 209.

[391] Ibid., and Lawrence, "English Parish," 662-6 discuss the gradual improvement of the scholarly education of parochial clergy over the course of the thirteenth century.

between Lateran III in 1179 and Lateran IV in 1215[392]; between Lateran IV and the end of the thirteenth century, a flood of such works had appeared.[393] Bloomfield and Guyot's directory of works of this sort shows over ten thousand *pastoralia* that had been produced by the end of the Middle Ages.[394]

While the parish priest was the principal religious figure in the life of most English laymen, the thirteenth century saw a development that fundamentally altered the structure of the medieval Church, the arrival of the Mendicant Orders.[395] The men of these orders, dedicated to a life of "apostolic poverty," preached and heard confessions, supplementing the work of and competing (sometimes acrimoniously) with parish clergy. These new orders were not the only ones involved in the cure of souls. More than a century before, the orders of Canons Regular, living according to various rules, the most popular of which was the so-called rule of St. Augustine, appeared in Europe, serving smaller foundations than monastic houses, and playing a more explicitly missionary role than the black monks, themselves forbidden from engaging in pastoral work.[396] All of these orders, and many others besides, would have a role in the catechetical formation of the believer.

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[392] Leonard Boyle, O.P., "The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179-1215," in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, ed. Filippo Liotta (Siena: Accademia senese degli intronati, 1986), 45-56.

[393] Leonard Boyle, O.P., "The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 30-43.

[394] Morton W. Bloomfield, *et al.*, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100-1500 A.D.: Including a Section of Incipits of Works on the Pater Noster* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1979).

[395] A good general introduction to the arrival of the mendicants in medieval Europe can be found in C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (New York: Longman, 1994). For more detailed histories of the medieval Franciscans and Dominicans, see John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968); Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006); William Hinnebusch, *A History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500* (Staten Island: Alba House, 1966).

[396] Most discussions of the Canons Regular and pastoral care still refer back to John C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London: S.P.C.K., 1950). Chenu's "Monks, Canons, and Laymen in Search of the Apostolic Life," in *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century*, trans. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 202-38 discusses the canons regular and their interaction with the laity of twelfth-century western Christendom. Marjorie Chibnall, "Monks and Pastoral Work: A Problem in Anglo-Norman History," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 18:2 (1967): 165-72 discusses monks exercising the cure of souls.

Synodal legislation required that parents, godparents, and parish priests teach children the foundations of the Christian faith, namely the Creed and Paternoster, and required priests to ensure that parishioners who had come to them for confession know the Creed and Articles of Faith. It also required that they preach these doctrines to their parishioners.[397] Both the orders of Friars Minor and Friars Preachers served on the front lines of the Lateran's program to find suitable preachers of Christian doctrine.[398] In order to arrive at an understanding of how these goals were carried out, we are going to take a sounding of representative samples of the works produced to aid priests, canons, and friars in the cure of souls generally and the preaching of doctrine specifically. We shall examine works produced for the erudition of parish priests and Dominican and Franciscan friars, respectively, alongside model sermon collections produced for each of the same.[399] For works produced for priests, we will examine the summa *Qui bene praesunt* of Richard of Wetheringsett alongside the Latin sermons produced by Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris from 1160 to 1196. For works for Franciscan friars, we will examine the treatise on the Articles of Faith produced by John of la Rochelle alongside his model sermons, and for the Order of Preachers, we will compare William Peraldus's discussion of faith in his *summa* on the Virtues and Vices to his model sermons. In so doing, we hope to achieve an understanding of preaching the Creed and Articles of Faith both in theory and in practice, and the relationship between the intellectual formation of priests, canons and friars with their preaching practice. In addition, through an examination of the codices of these works, we hope to be able to come to some conclusions as to who owned and used these works and how much circulation

[397] See Chapter 2 of this study.
[398] Bert Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction Before the Council of Trent* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pgs. 3-6; William Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 77-89.
[399] Because the Carmelites, Austin Friars, and Friars of the Sack produced very little sermon literature that can be shown to have circulated in England and because of their lesser reach compared to their more well-known brethren, we are not going to examine them in this study.

they had through thirteenth-century England, and to what extent English lay believers were instructed in the Creed and Articles of Faith.

Secular Clergy and Canons Regular

Since the parish priest was required to teach the Creed and Articles of Faith, we may well ask how familiar he himself may have been with them. We have previously noted the treatises that bishops appended to their synodal statutes and on whose contents the priests were examined by their archdeacons. Lawrence, Goering, and Boyle have all noted that the parish priest of thirteenth-century England was probably not a great scholar by any stretch of the imagination.[400] Indeed, the ignorance of the parish priest was something of a commonplace in the period's literature of ecclesiastical reform, from Geoffrey Babion's assertion that most priests were more ignorant than their flocks to Gerald of Wales mocking the priest who does not understand the pericope of the mass readings.[401] Robertson, by contrast, argued that the thirteenth-century priest carried out a great deal of doctrinal preaching in accordance with the requirements of the episcopate.[402] Let us note in the discussion of the capability of the priest to teach doctrine to his parishioners that his educational capability increased throughout the thirteenth century.

One of the earliest records we have of a visitation in which we encounter the education of a parish priest is found in a visitation in 1220. In this examination, the priests whom the dean examines on their Latinity fail rather miserably, which Lawrence cites as an example of the unlearned state of certain parish clergy.[403] Boyle, who was always sensitive to note the pitfalls

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[400] Goering, "Changing Face," 329; Goering, "Thirteenth-Century English Parish," 211-2; Lawrence, "English Parish," 662; Leonard Boyle, "Aspects of Clerical Education in Fourteenth-Century England," in *The Fourteenth Century,* eds. Paul E. Szarmach and Bernard S. Levy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), 19-32, pg. 19.
[401] Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 138-40.
[402] Robertson, "Frequency of Preaching," 387-8.
[403] Lawrence, "English Parish," 662.

of applying modern standards of erudition to the medieval cleric,[404] notes that William of Pagula's fourteenth-century *Oculus sacerdotis*, a work produced for the erudition of parish clergy, advises that while ordinands should be tested on a basic level of literacy, the primary criterion for the ordination of a priest should be his moral character.[405] All of these sources tell us that throughout the thirteenth century the parochial clergy would have had some difficulty in reading even the most rudimentary of theological instruction. In the early years of the period discussed in this study, the priest's primary education would have been in a song school, where a young cleric-to-be would have learned how to read the words of the liturgy but not necessarily the grammar, i.e., the Latin behind them.[406] Over the course of the thirteenth century, education changed in several ways. In the first place, the basic song school gradually dwindled in importance with the rise of specialists in polyphony confined to the cathedral churches.[407] Literacy and education were likewise increasing across all social strata in England at the time. Nicholas Orme notes thirty-six known schools of all types in England by the end of the twelfth century; by the end of the thirteenth century this number had almost doubled to seventy, and these numbers do not reflect the smaller informal schools that did not make it into the records.[408] In addition, over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, what Clanchy calls the "literate mentality" increasingly took hold in English society, with everyone from bishops and local nobility down to more prosperous peasants increasingly making use of written records, and

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[404] In "Popular Piety in the Middle Ages: What is Popular?" *Florilegium* 4 (1982): 184-193, Boyle notes that rather than apply a model of *foi savante* opposed to popular religion, we might rather note that in the sacrifice of the mass, the most learned cleric and most ignorant peasant were both encountering the notion of a God who was, apart from revelation, beyond all human understanding.

[405] Boyle, "Aspects of Clerical Education," 19.

[406] On the song school as a place of basic education, see Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools From Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 64-6.

[407] Ibid.

[408] Nicholas Orme, "Schools and Society from the Twelfth Century to the Reformation," in *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1989), 1-21, pg. 5.

this mentality was accompanied by a rise in the literacy of those using those records.[409] While much of this increase in education doubtless went to training clerics who would staff the royal and ecclesiastical bureaucracies, the increase in opportunities for basic instruction in reading and writing must have had at least a "trickle down" impact on those English clerics who learned the rudiments of grammar and remained in the service of their parish church.[410]

The incumbent of a thirteenth-century English parish church was its rector. This rector might not be an individual person. Over the course of the twelfth century, an increasing number of churches were granted to monastic houses, and these monasteries would serve as the collective rector, often keeping most of the tithes for themselves and appointing a poorly paid vicar to carry out the administration of the sacraments.[411] Even if the rector was a human being, he was often (if not usually) non-resident, with the rectorship serving as a means of income for those in the service of the royal or ecclesiastical bureaucracy: in a pre-modern state, the tithe was probably the most reliable means of generating an income for a useful civil servant.[412] The advowson, the right to present the candidate to be rector, was thus often a useful tool for its lay owners to distribute largess in a manner that had little or nothing to do with the spiritual well-being of the parishioners.[413] Non-resident clergy who accumulated several rectorships, although common, do not tell the entire story. While dispensations for holding several benefices were common through the end of the Middle Ages, reform-minded bishops often strove mightily to

[409] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).
[410] See Lawrence, "English Parish," 655.
[411] See, for example, Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 245-8.
[412] Lawrence, "English Parish," 655.
[413] On the institution of the advowson, see, Peter M. Smith, "The Advowson: The History and Development of a Most Peculiar Property," *Ecclesiastical Law Journal: The Journal of the Ecclesiastical Law Society* 5:26 (2000): 320-339.

limit non-residence and pluralism.[414] Walter Bronescombe, for example, ordered his archdeacons to make sure to enforce bans on pluralism.[415] In addition, from as far back as the twelfth centuries, bishops sought to ameliorate problems of non-residence by requiring non-resident rectors to appoint vicars to carry out their pastoral functions.[416]

The rector of a parish church was likely to be at least somewhat well-educated at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the likelihood of his education only increased as the century went on. Franco Morenzoni has noted that between 1219 and 1253, the registers of Lincoln diocese show an increase in the number of rectors with the title of *magister* in every archdeaconry but Bedford.[417] By 1253, almost twenty percent of the rectors in the archdeaconries of Northampton and Huntingdon were *magistri*.[418] Moreover, although the numbers of vicars with that title show a slight decrease over the same period, there are thirty-one vicars with the title of *magister* as well.[419] The term *magister* itself is somewhat equivocal: It could refer to a teacher of grammar, to a recognized *magister in artibus* at a university, or one who had attended a cathedral school or university.[420] What it does indicate is someone with the capability to make use of the literature of pastoral care. An attendance of a school or university was of course often a springboard into a career that would leave a rural (or even urban) parish far behind. Attendance at a school, however, need not have meant saying farewell to the life of the parish. Honorius III's decree, *Super specula*, as noted previously, allowed beneficed clergy to attend the schools, although the clergy making use of it often went on to careers as school

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[414] On the issue of non-residency and pluralism see Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 150-60, and Lawrence, "English Parish," 657-8.
[415] *The Register of Bishop Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter, 1258-1280*, ed. O. F. Robinson (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1995), no. 1248.
[416] On the institution of the vicarage, Reginald A. R. Hartridge's *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930) is still the best source.
[417] Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 149.
[418] Ibid.
[419] Ibid., 150.
[420] Orme, *Medieval Schools*, 163-8.

masters.[421] We see instances of English bishops in the period 1215-1281 who dispensed rectors to study theology or canon law for periods of around three years but required them to return to their dioceses. Bishop Walter Giffard's exiguous register has one record of a rector being ordered to appoint a suitable vicar for as long as he studied theology.[422] St. Thomas Cantilupe was a vigorous prosecutor of pluralists and non-residents, but allowed twenty-three rectors to receive a dispensation of non-residence to study theology and canon law.[423] Bishop Godfrey Giffard of Worcester also dispensed frequently for the study of theology.[424] What is notable about these bishops is that they give dispensations of limited durations. The expectation seems to be that these priests will return to their parishes after they have done their stint in the schools. Although we cannot draw too many conclusions due to the small number of surviving bishops' registers, we might also note that as the thirteenth century goes on, the number of bishops dispensing for attendance at schools but also requiring an eventual return to the parish increases. These men, dispensed to study theology and canon law, were receiving far more than the ability to read the tracts that would be produced by a bishop and then served as the basis for a series of *ad hoc* examinations by deans and archdeacons. These dispensations allowed for a thorough understanding of the doctrines of the church that priests were required to teach their lay flocks.

Both cathedral schools and universities served as a major component in the provision of pastoral care. Many works of pastoral literature were probably used as school texts.[425] Their target audience, however, was those involved in the cure of souls rather than those aiming to

[421] Boyle, "*Cum ex eo*," 264-6. See pg. 53 of this study above.
[422] *The Registers of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1265-1266, and of Henry Bowett, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1401-1407*, ed. Thomas Scott Holmes (London: Harrison and Sons, 1899), pg. 11.
[423] *The Register of Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford (A. D. 1275-1282)*, eds. R. G. Griffiths and W. W. Capes (Hereford: Wilson and Phillips, 1906-7), pgs. 8, 29, 41-2, 45, 101, 120, 125, 134-5, 136, 157, 176, 188, 189, 190, 194, 212, 235, 290.
[424] *Episcopal Registers, Diocese of Worcester: Register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, September 23rd, 1268, to August 15th, 1301*, ed. J. W. Willis Bund (Oxford: James Parker and Company, 1902), pgs. 2-3, 5, 13, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 40, 45, 47, 50, 54, 58, 63, 74, 90, 91, 92, 96.
[425] Goering, *William de Montibus*, 69.

move up the career ladder in either royal or ecclesiastical bureaucracy. Boyle noted that the quodlibital disputations of St. Thomas Aquinas, one of the greatest speculative thinkers of the thirteenth-century university system, were primarily concerned with issues of pastoral care.[426] A school-based work like Thomas of Chobham's *Summa confessorum* was indeed a daunting tome, but it was written by a man who not only served as a subdean, but also vicar of Sturminster.[427] A man such as Thomas of Chobham may have been a product of the schools and their environs, but he was probably familiar with the issues and concerns of parochial clergy.[428] As early as Lateran III in 1179, the canons of the council required that cathedral schools take in "poor boys" and educate them for free or for a reduced charge, and this sentiment is echoed in the synodal statutes of the thirteenth-century English episcopate.[429] Such policies suggest a concern for having educated pastors of the Church, especially as the Lateran Council speaks of this education in terms of those things that "lead to the progress of the soul."[430]

Further down the educational ladder throughout the course of the thirteenth century, most priests would have received an education that at least allowed them to sound out the text of the liturgy and the canon of the mass. A lifelong acquaintance with the Latin of the liturgy would almost certainly have resulted in at least something of an understanding of its content. If we assume for the sake of argument that Clanchy is correct that a constant familiarity with the liturgy may have given even the illiterate layman at least some understanding of the Latin language, we ought to assume that a cleric who spent much more time with that same liturgy would have had at least a rough and ready familiarity with the Latin he read, if not a full

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426 Leonard Boyle, OP, "The Quodlibets of St. Thomas and Pastoral Care," *The Thomist* 38 (1974): 232-256.
427 Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 136.
428 Ibid.
429 Canons of Lateran III in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 211-235, c. 18.
430 Ibid.

comprehension of the works of Donatus.[431] Returning to Morenzoni's work with the episcopal registers of Lincoln diocese, let us note that that diocese was known for the reforming zeal of its episcopate. Even in Lincoln, the number of presented candidates for rector and vicar who were rejected for gross lack of educational qualification or required to attain the rudiments of grammar before taking up their office is surprisingly small.[432]

As for how much preaching, whether doctrinal or otherwise, actually took place, the record is spotty. Moorman argued that, "In the thirteenth century the sermon was a rare event."[433] In response to this assertion, Robertson noted the frequent requirements of preaching in thirteenth-century *synodalia* and used them to argue that preaching actually took place fairly regularly.[434] Later scholars, while avoiding either extreme, have tended to cautiously note the lack of capability of the parish priest to deliver any more than the most basic of sermons due to his lack of education.[435] We shall review some of the broader evidence of preaching in thirteenth-century England before moving into a discussion of the particulars of certain texts.

Preaching was already taking place in the Anglo-Saxon period, and Ælfric and Archbishop Wulfstan (*df*. 1023) produced a series of homilies at the turn of the eleventh century.[436] The existence of these sermons and their broad manuscript circulation indicates that they found a ready audience among clergy seeking to inculcate Christian doctrine in their lay flocks. Even after the Norman Conquest and the degradation of the status of English, these sermons enjoyed something of an afterlife in their continued recopying on down through the

[431] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 234-40.
[432] Morenzoni, *Écoles aux paroisses*, 161 fn.
[433] Moorman, *Church Life in England*, 77.
[434] Robertson, "Frequency of Preaching," 376-88.
[435] Note primarily Goering, "Changing Face," 329; Goering, "Thirteenth-Century English Parish," 211-2; Lawrence, "English Parish," 662; and Boyle, "Aspects of Clerical Education," 19-20.
[436] J.E. Cross, "Vernacular Sermons in Old English," in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverly Kienzle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 561-96, pg. 563.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[437] The survival of these vernacular sermons indicates that there was probably a great deal of preaching beyond these surface indications.

In Lincoln diocese in the thirteenth century, when Robert Grosseteste gave permission to his wealthier parishioners to establish private chapels, he did so on the condition that they attend mass at their mother church on Christmas, Easter, Candelmas, All Saints Day, the Assumption, and those Sundays on which "preaching to the people" or "solemn preaching" (the exact wording varies) takes place.[438] This reference to preaching in the parish churches of the diocese is more than a diplomatic formula. When, for example, we encounter Richard Poore granting one of his parishioners the right to a chapel and chaplain, the reference to attendance of solemn preaching at the mother church is absent.[439] Neither does St. Thomas Cantilupe make such a requirement.[440] These references to preaching in the registers of Grosseteste coupled with a lack of such references in similar documents in the registers of other bishops indicate that Grosseteste at least intended for preaching to take place in parish churches throughout his diocese, if not every Sunday, at least on major feasts. Elsewhere too we see signs of preaching in thirteenth-century England. Walter Bronscombe frequently granted license to preach in his diocese (usually to hospitals preaching for alms) during his time as bishop of Exeter (1258-1270).[441]

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[437] Spencer, "The Middle English Sermon," 616.

[438] *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, episcopi lincolniensis, A. D. MCCXXXV-MCCLIII, necnon Rotulus Henrici de Lexington, episcopi Lincolniensis, A. D. MCCLIV-MCCLIX* (Horncastle: W. K. Morton and Sons, 1914), pgs. 11, 25, 38, 174, 189, 208, 215, 258-9, 260, 265, 350, 455, 473. Moorman also notes this mention of solemn preaching, although he argues that since this solemn preaching takes place principally on major feast days of the Church, the practice reflects the relative rarity of preaching on other occasions. Moorman is, as usual, something of a pessimist. Robertson, in "Frequency of Preaching," 387, argues that these references to preaching indicate that sermons took place every Sunday. It seems, however, that to argue that "Sundays in which solemn preaching takes place" means every Sunday pushes the evidence beyond what it will bear.

[439] Cf. *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, 11, 25, 38, etc., and *Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City and Diocese of Salisbury, in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, eds. W. Rich Jones and W. Dunn Macray (London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1891), 115.

[440] *Register of Thomas de Cantilupe*, 292.

[441] *Register of Walter Bronescombe*, Nos. 22, 47, 48, 102, 104, 122, 218, 223, 235, 245, 274, 295, 326, 329, 412, 457. Although preaching that is principally asking for money is not the same thing as pastoral preaching, an appeal for money was often a part of at least moral preaching, which is one of the reasons that St. Bonaventure noted that

Although the records we have of the possessions of parish churches of the thirteenth century are only fragmentary, we can note from the visitations of churches belonging to St. Paul's cathedral from the middle of the thirteenth century (1249-52) that one church, that of Kirkby, possessed a "good homiliary," containing sermons of the liturgical year from Easter through Septuagesima.[442] By the end of the century, in 1297, an additional church of St. Paul's, that of Heybridge, also possessed a book containing a collection of pastoral literature and a collection of sermons of saints' days, while Kirkby still possessed a sermon collection.[443] One church out of fifteen and then two out of twenty-three is not enough of a sample size to make any definitive judgments. These numbers at least suggest that certain parish churches kept materials on hand that would help their priests to preach sermons. The English parishioner of the thirteenth century would have heard at least some preaching over the course of the liturgical year.

Richard of Wetheringsett's *Qui bene praesunt*

This study ends with Archbishop Pecham's 1281 requirement that parish priests preach quarterly on the Decalogue, sacraments, and Articles of Faith. As we have noted in the previous chapter in our examinations of English and French *synodalia*, this requirement was nothing new in the thirteenth century. The priests who received these mandates had works of instruction produced by their bishops and distributed by their archdeacons and deans to help them in their tasks and also had access to a considerable literature of pastoral care. Many of the *pastoralia* produced at the beginning of the thirteenth century dealt with administration of the sacraments, particularly that of penance.[444] Right around the time of the Fourth Lateran Council and the

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some people feared meeting a Franciscan friar as much as they feared meeting a robber. Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 145.

[442] *Visitations of Churches Belonging to St. Paul's Cathedral*, ed. W. Sparrow Simpson (1895; repr., New York, 1965), 31.

[443] William H. Campbell, "'Dyvers kyndes of religion in sondry partes of the Ilande': The Geography of Pastoral Care in Thirteenth-Century England" (D Phil Thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2006), 62-3.

[444] Boyle, "Fourth Lateran Council," 34-5.

beginning of a campaign in earnest to inculcate the foundations of Christian dogma in the laity, we see a work designed to help the parish priest preach on the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and the Sacraments, Richard of Wetheringsett's *summa Qui bene praesunt.* Written sometime between 1215 and 1220, this work is extant in sixty-five complete and partial manuscripts.[445] Richard took much of his source material from the works of William de Montibus, an Englishman who taught in the schools of Paris in the 1170s and returned to Lincoln in the 1180s.[446] The works of William de Montibus were school texts, which made little concession to the abilities or lack thereof of clergy further down the educational ladder.[447] *Qui bene praesunt*, by contrast, is simple and accessible enough that it can be read with even a rudimentary Latin education. It possibly influenced Robert Grosseteste's *pastoralia* and remained popular in England through the end of the Middle Ages.[448]

Richard himself was possibly the same Richard Grant who was briefly archbishop of Canterbury from 1229 to 1231 before dying on a visit to the papal curia, and was very likely a student of William de Montibus and rector of Wetheringsett. If he was the same Richard Grant, he was known to Alexander of Stavensby for his learning, and had great ambition for ecclesiastical reform as archbishop of Canterbury.[449] He obviously shared his fellow Lincoln ecclesiastics' desire to make sure that all priests were teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith, and he clearly meant for the priest to employ *Qbp* in order to preach the Articles to the laity. He takes the twelve Articles of Faith listed in the *Numerale* of William de Montibus and uses them as much more than a useful division, but instead as a teaching tool, a means by which "rude

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[445] Goering, "Qui bene presunt," 153; Greti Dunkova-Bruun and Joseph Goering, unpublished list of *Qui bene praesunt* manuscripts. I want to express my thanks to Drs. Dunkova-Bruun and Goering for allowing me access to their ongoing work on their edition of *Qui bene praesunt*.
[446] Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus*, 13. On William de Montibus, see Chapter 1 above
[447] Goering,*William de Montibus*, 69.
[448] Goering, "Qui bene presunt," 143.
[449] C. H. Lawrence, "Grant, Richard (*d.* 1231)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11283, accessed 20 May 2009].

minds" might be inculcated with the basics of Christian doctrine.[450] That *Qbp* is meant to help a priest teach doctrine to his lay flock via preaching is clear from its opening declaration from 1 Timothy 5:7, "Let the priests that rule well, be esteemed worthy of double honour: especially they who labour in the word and doctrine."

Richard takes up the discussion of implicit and explicit faith, the distinction between what doctrine the cleric needs to know in detail and what doctrine the layman needs. Less instructed laymen need to believe firmly what the Church believes.[451] This requirement is one of humble submission, but this submission in belief also requires that laypeople know those Articles of Faith believed by the Church. The contemporary *Summa de arte praedicandi* of Thomas of Chobham indicates a similar attitude on the part of the more educated and reform-minded clergy, that "all the Articles of Faith are to be preached to all commonly, both the greater and the lesser."[452] As with the schoolmen who discuss faith more theoretically, Richard holds that faith is a quality of mind informed by charity.[453] The good works that spring from charity are a necessary part of the believers' salvation, but the mental quality of faith means that the Christian needs the cognitive foundation. The scriptures manifest the Christian faith, and then reasons or arguments (*rationes*) strengthen it with "*exempla*" from the scriptures such as the Virgin Birth and Crucifixion of Christ.[454] In addition to the authorities of Scripture, the less educated can be instructed in the Articles of Faith by similitudes, a series of illustrative comparisons as a means to help them understand basic principles of Christian doctrine.

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[450] Cf. William de Montibus, *Numerale*, in Goering, *William de Montibus*, 259, and Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, British Library Royal 9. A. XIV, fol. 19vb.
[451] Ibid., fol. 19ra.
[452] "Omnes fidei articuli, sunt predicandi omnibus communiter, maioribus et minoribus," Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de arte predicandi*, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis 82 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), 277.
[453] Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, London BL Royal 9. A. XIV, fol. 19rb.
[454] Ibid., fol. 19va.

Doctrines to be preached by a combination of *auctoritates* and *rationes* reflect a renewed emphasis on preaching and how to preach dating from the late twelfth century. The movement of moral reform that began in twelfth-century Paris eventually coincided with a preaching revival throughout northwestern Europe. This revival was primarily demand driven, as can be seen from those preachers appearing at the turn of the thirteenth century such as the Waldensians and Humiliati who either fell afoul of ecclesiastical authorities or at least aroused their suspicion.[455] But this demand was taken up by the clergy. Not only did scholastic masters such as Peter the Chanter and those associated with him take up this task, but so too did those further down the ladder. Jacques de Vitry tells us the story of Fulk de Neuilly, a French parish priest at the turn of the thirteenth century, who attended the lectures of Peter the Chanter and then went on to preach movingly to his flock, and who gained such a reputation that he eventually preached the Fourth Crusade at the invitation of Pope Innocent III.[456]

Preaching had of course been an integral part of the Christian kerygma since the beginning of the Church. From the late Roman Empire until around the turn of the thirteenth century, the primary style of preaching had been the homily, based on an exegesis of the text of the scripture contained in the pericope.[457] In the past, it has been argued that by the Carolingian period homilies were used primarily for monastic devotional reading rather than preaching, but the last generation of scholarship has shown a broad distribution of both homiletic and catechetical materials throughout the Carolingian period, so laymen might have received a rather

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[455] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 239-43 has a good description of this social context.
[456] The story of Fulk, and how he represented a larger preaching revival in northwestern Europe, is told in Jacques's *Historia occidentalis*. See Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement des maîtres de la parole: la prédication à Paris aux XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut d'études Augustiniennes, 1998), 46.
[457] John Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1983), 24-30.

thorough preaching and catechesis.[458] In Anglo-Saxon England, already precocious for use of the vernacular in literature, the extant vernacular homilies seem to demonstrate fairly regular preaching to the laity.[459]

A new type of preaching emerged in the early thirteenth century. It was centered not on the traditional homily, but on a new style of sermon known as the *sermo modernus*.[460] The *sermo modernus* owed a great deal of its structure to the classroom. This new style of sermon was accompanied by a series of manuals on preaching known generally as *artes praedicandi*.[461] The question as to whether the texts of the *artes praedicandi* influenced the preaching of the *sermo modernus* or the *artes* were primarily descriptive of current practices is a vexed one. The *artes* tend to have a rather meager circulation in manuscript form, but when we look at model sermons and even *reportationes* of existing sermons, the text of the sermons tends to follow the outlined prescriptions of the *artes praedicandi*.[462] Without specifying the causal relationship between the sermon and *ars praedicandi*, we might note that they both reflect a new style of sermon to be preached in the dawn of the thirteenth century. In the *sermo modernus*, in contrast to the earlier, more exegetical homily, the preacher would take a single line of text, usually

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[458] Longère, *La prédication médiévale*, 35-54 gives a good overview of Carolingian homiliaries and preaching practices. Both McKitterick and Zink argue that the Carolingian homilies may have been used for preaching to laymen and -women. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church*, 187-90; Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris: Éditions Champion, 1976), 87-9. Susan Keefe's *Water and the Word*, esp. 143-55 shows a broad distribution of sermons for use in baptismal *ordines*, which demonstrates the availability of the basics of Christian doctrine to priests if not their parishioners.

[459] On preaching in Anglo-Saxon England, see Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, and J. E. Cross, "Vernacular Sermons in Old English," in Kienzle, *The Sermon*, 561-96.

[460] Richard A. and Mary Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the* Manipulus florum *of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1979), 44.

[461] See, for example, Marianne G. Briscoe, *Artes Praedicandi* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), but cf. Siegfried Wenzel's scathing review of Briscoe, *Speculum* 69:4 (1994): 1124-6. See also Phyllis Roberts, "The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon," in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002) 41-62; Th.-M. Charland, OP, *Artes praedicandi: Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge* (Ottawa: Institut d'Études Médiévales: 1936).

[462] David L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 78. Roberts, "The *Ars praedicandi*," 46 fn. 16 acknowledges the small number of manuscripts of many *artes*. Briscoe, *Artes praedicandi*, 72, notes that whether the *artes* influenced sermons is an open question. Wenzel, in *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric*, 61-100 argues that the forms of sermons written in later medieval England matched the prescriptions of the *artes*.

drawn from scripture, as the *thema* and basis of the sermon. He would elaborate the *thema* by means of "dilation," which could be an exposition on the various senses of a word or idea found in the text, giving their metaphorical senses or linking them with other passages of scripture, or fleshing out the arguments being made with a triad of *rationes, exempla,* and *auctoritates*.[463]

Richard's *Qbp* is not an *ars praedicandi* with a guide to how to structure the sermon around the *thema*, protheme, and dilations. It is designed for a priest who might not be delivering a homily based on *distinctiones* flowing from a single *thema*, but instead outlining the fundamental principles of the Christian faith to his flock. While the *sermo modernus* may have been quite popular in the more urban settings of western Europe, it is likely that the more basic form of preaching, the simple explanation of the pericope and doctrines of the faith, was the beginning and end of the homiletic venture of the parish priest. Indeed, while *Qui bene praesunt* presents aids by which a priest can preach the Articles of Faith to his parishioners, *sermones moderni* on the Creed and Articles of Faith tend to be rare among the literature of the model sermon collection.[464]

The *Qbp* does show a relationship to the practices of the *artes praedicandi* in their exhortation to explain doctrine by *rationes*, *exempla*, and *auctoritates*. Richard backs up each Article of Faith with a series of authorities, most of which are drawn from scripture. So, for example, when confirming the doctrine of the Incarnation, he quotes St. Paul speaking of Christ: "Concerning his Son, who was made to him of the seed of David, according to the flesh," as well as the Prophet Isaiah's "Behold, a virgin shall conceive."[465] For the passion, he quotes Isaiah's

[463] Nicole Bériou, *L'avènement*, 134-139, M. Michèle Mulchahey, *"First the Bow is Bent in Study…": Dominican Education Before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 404-5.
[464] d'Avray, *Preaching,* 82; Roest, *Franciscan Literature,* 9. See below, pg. 97, for the model sermon collection.
[465] Isaiah 7:14, quoted in Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, BL Royal 9. A. XIV, fol. 20rb.

description of the Suffering Servant.[466] In his discussion of the twelfth Article, the Sacraments of the Church, he provides a verse of scripture for each one: Penance with Joel 2:12, "Be converted to me with all your heart," the Eucharist with Psalm 77:25, "Man ate the bread of angels," and so forth.

After his discussion of authorities, he presents a sequence of similitudes, which he uses as a teaching device meant for "rude minds."[467] Most of these similitudes are drawn from the *similitudinarium* of William de Montibus, which can be taxonomically related to that well-known medieval homiletic work, the *exemplum* collection.[468] Over the course of the thirteenth century, *exempla* came to be gradually separated from the sermons in which they had originally appeared and to be recorded in collections to be of aid to the preacher. After 1250 the production of these works multiplied greatly, and the period from 1250 to 1350 was something of a golden age of written *exemplum* collections.[469] The *exempla* of Jacques de Vitry originally began as part of his sermons, but within a few decades of his death were circulating independently.[470] By the mid-thirteenth century, Dominicans Humbert of Romans and Étienne de Bourbon wrote of the *exemplum* not only in the traditional manner of a story that illustrates a moral point, but even as almost incarnational, rendering Christian doctrine concrete and understandable to the layman in the same way that Christ's Incarnation made the triune God understandable to humanity.[471]

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[466] Isaiah 53, quoted ibid., fol. 20va.
[467] Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, BL Royal 9. A. XIV, fol. 19vb.
[468] The two best starting points for the study of the medieval *exemplum* are Claude Bremond and Jacques Le Goff's *L'"exemplum"* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), and Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, eds., *Les exempla medievaux* (Paris: H. Champion, 1998).
[469] Bremond and Le Goff, *L'"exemplum,"* 59.
[470] Ibid.
[471] Alan E. Bernstein, "The *Exemplum* as 'Incorporation of Abstract Truth' in the thought of Humbert of Romans and Stephen of Bourbon," in *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History Dedicated to Stephen Kuttner*, ed. by Laurent Mayali and Stephanie A.J. Tibbets (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990), 82-96.

Bremond and Le Goff attempt to establish a precise definition of the *exemplum* as opposed to the similitude. They argue that the *exemplum* differs from the similitude in that the *exemplum* is a narrative story that is meant to get a point across, whereas the similitude is instead a comparison, the difference being one between “The Kingdom of heaven is like…” and “A certain peasant was given a position of authority by a king…”[472] The *exemplum* can be drawn from popular folklore, oral stories, or stories from the Bible, antiquity, or the *Lives* of the saints.[473] This distinction is somewhat problematic in the earlier literature of the sermon, and William wrote his *Similitudinarium* in the late twelfth century, before the *artes praedicandi* and *exemplum* collection became widespread.[474] Thomas of Chobham’s *ars praedicandi* devotes little space to *exempla* as named, but does say that the properties of things can be used to illustrate truths about the Christian faith, how the *visibilia* of the world point to the *invisibilia Dei*.[475] Although in the later *artes praedicandi*, *exempla* are usually part of the *auctoriates/rationes/exempla* triad, as late as the fourteenth century Thomas of Waleys speaks more of similitudes than *exempla* in his *ars praedicandi*.[476]

In the sermons of the early thirteenth century, the similitude and *exemplum* can often be very close indeed. Louis-Jaques Battaillon has shown, for example, that an extended comparison can often take on the narrative flavor of an *exemplum* that lays out a story and then ties it in to a moral or dogmatic aspect of Christian doctrine.[477] Two of the similitudes that Richard and William employ to explain the resurrection of Christ are those of the phoenix which immolates itself and is reborn from the ashes and the pelican that revives its slain young with its own

[472] Bremond and Le Goff, *L’“exemplum,”* 154-8.
[473] Ibid., 39.
[474] Goering, *William de Montibus*, 307.
[475] Kemmler, *Exempla in Context*, 76-9; Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de arte predicandi*, 279. Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 288-9 also notes contemporary practices of using the properties of things for preaching illustrations.
[476] Quoted in Bremond and Le Goff, *L’’exemplum,”* 31.
[477] Louis-Jacques Bataillon, “*Similitudines* et *exempla* dans les sermons du XIIIe siècle,” in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Studies in Memory of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 191-205.

blood.[478] Both of these can be understood in terms of a comparison, but both also appear in several *exemplum* collections of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[479] The stories of the phoenix and pelican both had a considerable antiquity, and reflect one particular stream of *exemplum* literature, one which uses learned accounts of the natural world and cuts them down into a brief narrative that could then be used for a homiletic illustration.[480] At times, Richard even refers to William's comparisons as "*exempla*" rather than similitudes, even though their use of comparative adverbs such as "sicut" removes them from the category of *exemplum* in the schema of Bremond and LeGoff. These "*exempla*" compare the divinity of Christ in his human flesh to light in the sun, a nut in a shell, honey in a honeycomb, and manna in a golden urn.[481] Other "*exempla*" about the Nativity contain comparisons rather than narrations, in this case to green and red in a rainbow, and gold and silver in electrum.[482]

Richard wrote that the three most important of the articles of faith to teach were the Incarnation, Passion, and Second Coming.[483] The similitudes that he provides for these are short and lack much in the way of technical terminology. They are designed to explain the doctrines clearly to a lay listener. The Holy Trinity is described in terms of the sun giving off fire, heat, and light, while Christ's Incarnation is described in terms of a ray of light through a glass window: Just as the light from a sunbeam enters, fills, and passes through glass and leaves the glass unharmed, so too did the divine nature incarnating in the Blessed Virgin Mary leave her virginity intact.[484] *Qbp* also deals with the difficult question of Christ's divine nature in his death and resurrection. Peter Lombard discusses this issue by noting that Christ was present as a

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[478] Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, BL Royal 9. A. XIV, fols. 21rb, 21vb.
[479] Frederic C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia Akademia Scientiarum Fenica, 1969), nos. 996, 3657, 3755.
[480] Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 288-9.
[481] Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, BL Royal 9. A. XIV, fols. 20vb-21ra.
[482] Ibid., fol. 21ra.
[483] Ibid., fol. 21ra.
[484] Ibid., fols. 20vb-21ra.

soul in Hell, as a person in the Tomb, and as God he was omnipresent.[485] Richard describes the state of affairs by noting that when a tree is cut down, the sunlight that it took in is unharmed even when the trunk is cut.[486] In such a way, a theological doctrine of considerable weight and importance is explained in a way that both maintains the fundamental points of the article but does so without recourse to the technical theological language that might be beyond both the parish priest and his flock.

The Sermons of Maurice de Sully

Qbp is a guide for a cleric who might produce his own sermons on the Articles of Faith for his parishioners. A much more common work than such a guide to producing a sermon was the model sermon collection.[487] These were written mostly in Latin and intended not so much to be read from as to guide the preacher in constructing a sermon.[488] Longère has argued that, since a Latin manuscript would have been difficult to read in front of a large assembly, a preacher would probably have preached a sermon that he had read and committed to memory rather than preaching and translating as he read from a manuscript.[489] A set of sermons redacted in the late twelfth century that enjoyed a considerable textual afterlife in thirteenth-century England was the sermon collection of Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris from 1160 to 1196.[490] The opening

[485] Lombard, 3 *Sent.* 22.
[486] Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, fol. 21ra.
[487] While the *artes praedicandi* may have had an exiguous circulation, the number of model sermons produced over the two centuries from 1150 to 1350 occupies eleven volumes of Schneyer's *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters, für die Zeit von 1150-1350* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1969-1990). D'Avray, in *Preaching*, 78-9, 98, 121-3 notes that while model sermon collections may have come from redactions of *reportationes* and original sermon notes, once they circulated as models, they did so as part of a standardized collection of sermons based on the liturgical year or the saints.
[488] Most sermons were preached in the vernacular, but written in Latin because of its status as an international and standardized language, Nicole Bériou, "Les sermons latins après 1200," in Kienzle, *The Sermon*, 382-4. Over the course of the fourteenth century, sermons in English became increasingly common. See H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), and Spencer., "Middle English Sermons," in Kienzle, *The Sermon*, 597-660.
[489] Longère, *La prédication*, 158-9.
[490] On the sermons and preaching of Maurice de Sully, see John Longère, "Maurice de Sully: l'évêque de Paris (1160-1196), le prédicateur," in *Notre Dame de Paris. Un manifeste chrétien (1160-1230),* ed. Michel Lemoine

sermon of this collection briefly summarizes the doctrines found in the Apostles' Creed, but the entire collection contains sermons touching on the basic fundamentals of Christian dogma.[491] These sermons are generally simpler than the *sermo modernus* discussed above. They are built around a single *thema*, but are closer in style to the older homily, with an explanation of the passage of scripture from which the text is drawn followed by a moral exhortation based on the text itself.[492]

Maurice's sermons were quite clearly intended to be preached to a lay audience. Although Longère has shown that his Christological terminology can be traced to the school of Laon, Maurice's sermons lack the sort of reference to ancient or modern *auctoritates* that one might find in a school text.[493] Likewise, each sermon's opening does not assume a knowledge of the scriptural text discussed, but instead outlines and discusses what is occurring in the passage. In his Epiphany sermon, for example, before giving the moral exhortation for the Christian to honor Christ with a life of service as the Magi honored him with gold, frankincense, and myrrh, Maurice first summarizes the account of their visit to Herod the Great and Herod's search for the infant Christ.[494] Like Richard, he also uses illustrative comparisons to teach aspects of doctrine. In *Qbp*, for example, Richard compares the Harrowing of Hell to an eagle diving down and snatching up a fish. Maurice also uses the image of Christ as a bird of prey, in this case comparing Christ looking from heaven and seeing people dead in their sins to a vulture that descends from the heights to feast upon the flesh of a cadaver.[495]

(Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 27-68, especially 45-68, and also Beata Spieralska, "Les sermons attribués à Maurice de Sully," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 51 (2007): 95-8.

[491] Longère, "Maurice de Sully," 51-66.

[492] Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets*, 62.

[493] Longère, "Maurice de Sully," 52.

[494] Maurice de Sully, Epiphany, "Cum natus esset Dominus Jesus," Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Latin 13659, fols. 47r-48r.

[495] Cf. Longère, "Maurice de Sully," 54, and Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt*, BL Royal 9. A. XIV, fol. 20vb.

Maurice's sermon on the Creed shows his concern both for inculcating doctrine and for seeing that doctrine properly applied to the life of the Christian. He explains how God the Father created the heavens and earth from nothing, and then how God the Son took on human flesh from the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that he sustained suffering and death under Pilate to redeem humanity. The second half of this sermon then cautions the Christian to apply these beliefs properly. True faith believes in and knows God—this required belief and knowledge is clearly more than intellectual assent, for he accuses the false Christian of corrupting faith in Christ by engaging in "magical or necromantic" practices.[496] For Maurice, such syncretic practices give the lie to the statement that one believes in and honors God. He sees right practice as a natural outgrowth of the faith of a Christian, and indeed, as what differentiates true faith from false. Elsewhere, he notes that to hear the words of God means "not just to perceive them with the bodily ear, but prudently to understand them with the sense of the heart, to retain them in memory, and to complete them in works."[497] But just as faith without works is dead, so too are works without faith.

In his Creed sermon, Maurice notes that God the Son took on human flesh from the Blessed Virgin Mary. In his sermon on the *thema* "In the evening you shall eat flesh, and in the morning you shall have your fill of bread,"[498] his discussion of the Incarnation goes into more detail. He says that God would have to become man since there could be no other remedy to man's fallen state but from God. This language echoes that of St. Anselm and his formulation of the Incarnation in terms of a necessity for a God-man to redeem humanity, but without reference

[496] Maurice de Sully, "The Creed," *Maurice of Sully*, 18. Such an exhortation to steer clear of magic and necromancy finds an echo in Weseham's *Instituta*, which call for priests to preach the Articles of Faith and also to teach their parishioners to shun magic; see Weseham, *Instituta*, 152.
[497] "Verba autem Dei audire est non tam aure corporis percipere, sed et sensu cordis prudenter intelligere, memoria retinere, opere complere," Maurice de Sully, First Sunday in Passiontide, "Qui est ex Deo," Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 13659, fols. 57v-58r.
[498] Exodus 16:12.

to the scholastic problems raised.[499] He further points out that the Father could not become incarnate, since it would not be right that a God who was from nothing with respect to his divinity should be from something with respect to his humanity.[500] He also argues that only the Son could become incarnate, because if the Holy Spirit were to be incarnate then confusion would arise from there being two Sons in the Trinity.[501] Maurice also emphasizes Christ's two-fold Advent, his first at the Incarnation, and his second as the judge at the end of time.[502] This sort of discussion from the pulpit shows a clear and direct concern that the layperson understand the words of the Creed that he was required to know as part of his baptism. Maurice clearly means for his sermons to inspire listeners to expand their practice of the Christian faith from participation in *cultus* to an understanding of the doctrines of the faith and a fulfilling of these doctrines in love and good works. In one sermon he even notes that without love (*dilectio*), simply going to Church and taking part in the sacraments is insufficient for salvation.[503]

That Maurice's sermons both reached a broad lay audience and were also accessible to that same audience seems likely from the language of the sermons and their short length. Charles Robson argued that Maurice's sermons, since they were meant for a lay audience, had originally been written in French and were subsequently published in Latin, but Robson's hypothesis is no longer the accepted consensus.[504] Maurice originally wrote the sermons in Latin, as did the writers of most model sermons that were usually preached in the local vernacular.[505]

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[499] Quoted in Longère, "Maurice de Sully," 52. The literature on St. Anselm's doctrine on the Atonement is vast. For a discussion of how this doctrine gained circulation over the thirteenth century, see Michael Robson's "The Impact of the *Cur Deus Homo* on the Early Franciscan School," in *Anselm: Aosta, Bec and Canterbury*, eds. D.E. Luscombe and G.R. Evans (United Kingdom: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 334-47.
[500] Longère, "Maurice de Sully," 52.
[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid., 55-6.
[503] "Divina sacramenta participando sumunt; faciunt haec et multi reprobi sunt quoniam ea ex dilectione Dei non faciunt." Maurice de Sully, First Sunday after Easter, "Quia vidisti me, Thoma," BnF lat.13659, fol. 61r.
[504] Spieralska, "Les sermons attribués à Maurice de Sully," 95-8.
[505] Bériou, "Les sermons," 382-4; d'Avray, *Preaching*, 90-5; O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 163.

This collection was translated into Old French shortly after it was written, and in at least one known instance, several of Maurice's sermons were also translated into the Kentish dialect of Middle English sometime around the mid-thirteenth century.[506] That the sermon collection was so quickly translated serves as yet another indication that it was meant for use by clergy preaching to the laity. So also does the short length of the sermons. Although he may call those who cry out, "For God's sake, please finish your sermon!" sons of the Devil,[507] Maurice (and his translator) make accommodation to his and his readers' listeners. The French version of the sermons tend to run for around fifteen minutes,[508] which is short enough to keep a listener from losing track of the argument or becoming bored (or heckling).

Circulation—Maurice's Sermons and *Qui bene praesunt*

Maurice's sermons enjoyed a broad manuscript circulation north of the Channel, as did *Qui bene praesunt.* In at least one case, Oxford, New College, MS 145, the two share a codex, indicating their complementary purpose in providing both the raw materials and polished models for preaching on Christian faith and morals.[509] The evidence of manuscript circulation indicates that both works received a broad circulation not only in thirteenth-century England, but through the end of the Middle Ages.

Many of the codices containing Maurice's sermons and *Qbp* indicate that these works were used by clergy exercising the cure of souls in general, and by parochial clergy in particular. Of *Qbp*'s sixty-two manuscripts, at least one, Cambridge, Emmanuel College, MS 27 can be traced to a parish church, that of Sompting in Sussex.[510] The presence of *Qbp* in the codex

[506] Spencer, "Middle English Sermon," 616-7; Robson, *Maurice of Sully*, 63.
[507] "Ite, pro Deo, et inceptum servitium perficite," Maurice de Sully, First Sunday in Passiontide, "Qui est ex Deo," BnF lat. 13659, fol. 58r.
[508] Longère, "Maurice de Sully," 49.
[509] John Longère, *Les sermons latins de Maurice de Sully, évêque de Paris (†1196) : contribution à l'histoire de la tradition manuscrite* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), 262.
[510] Ker, *Libraries*, 223.

suggests that it was meant for a priest carrying out pastoral work, as does the fact that it contains Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*.[511] While this manuscript is the only one that can be definitively shown to have been owned by a parish church, there is evidence that others too were used by parochial clergy. Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 15 has a note on folio 15r indicating that it was donated by the rector of a parish church to the Franciscans of Stanford.[512] Without getting into the question of whether or not the rector was resident and performing pastoral work in his parish, both the fact that he owned a work whose primary purpose was for the education of the laity and was conscientious enough to donate such a work to the friars seem to indicate that he did at least some work towards fulfilling his obligations to exercise the cure of souls.

Other codicological evidence also indicates that parish priests possessed copies of the *Qpb*. Six extant manuscripts of *Qbp* each share a codex with synodal statutes. Since all parish clergy were required to keep copies of their own *synodalia*, the presence of *Qbp* in such manuscripts suggests that at least sometime in the later Middle Ages, the same parochial clergy required to keep synodal statutes also possessed copies of *Qbp*. At least one of these codices containing *Qbp* and synodal statutes was very probably owned by a priest. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 360, dating from about 1300, has Richard Poore's Salisbury statutes. The text of these statutes in this manuscript has, in Cheney's words, "very many stupid mistakes."[513] Rather than fault the Latinity of its compiler, we might rather ask the question of what this lack of grammatical facility indicates about him. We have already noted that a priest often had a Latin education that was at best rudimentary; such an educational level might enable him to copy out the statutes of which he was required to possess a copy, but not to preserve him from

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[511] Joseph Goering, introduction to Robert Grosseteste, *Templum Dei* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 1-24, pgs. 16-18.
[512] Stanislai Ceglar, SDB and Pauli Verdeyen, SJ, introduction to William of St. Thierry, *De sacramento altaris*, Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis 88 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 27, 34.
[513] Cheney, *English Synodalia*, 58.

grammatical errors. Moreover, most people who received a Latin education learned how to read the text of the Latin language, but not much writing beyond a very basic level; how to write well in Latin and how to read well in Latin were two different skill sets, and an education in one did not necessarily include education in another.[514] A priest with such an education, in reading rather than writing Latin, might very well be able to read the Latin text of Richard's *summa* even if his copying would by no means rise to the level of a professional scribe. Although Richard draws much of his source material from the works of William de Montibus, his own Latinity is much more paratactic than William's, and thus not terribly difficult for a reader with even a rudimentary grasp of the Latin language.

Certain codices of *Qpb* show a close association of school texts and pastoral care. British Library, MS Royal 9. A. XIV is largely given to matters of pastoral care. It contains not only *Qbp*, but also the statutes of Robert Grosseteste and works on administering the sacrament of confession. It also contains glossed works on the decretals.[515] Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 349/542 has *Qbp*, William de Montibus's *Peniteas cito peccator*, commentaries on the *Sentences,* the entirety of Book IV of the *Sentences,* and the synodal statutes of an unidentified English diocese.[516] We may well ask whether or not manuscripts like these last two would have been used by any parish priest, since a priest who had studied that level of theology would not be terribly likely to return to work in a rural parish. Even so, we ought to note that in certain diocese, rectors were being dispensed to attend a course of study in the schools but required to return once they had finished.[517] Although the actual use of *Super specula* by

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514 Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 192-3.
515 Clark, "Practical Summa," 38. It also contains Dominican Simon of Hinton's *Summa juniorum*. That it contains such a text might suggest an ownership by someone in the OP, but this supposition ought to be tempered by the observation that it also contains synodal statutes. Since the mendicant friars were exempt from the diocesan chain of command, it stands to reason that perhaps this codex was owned by someone for whom these statutes were binding.
516 Cheney, "Early *synodalia*," 18-23.
517 See above, 81-3.

resident clergy was probably rare, a priest taking a dispensation to study advanced theology and then returning to his parish was by no means unheard of. A codex containing canonical decretals and *pastoralia* might indicate more than anything a pastor striving conscientiously to know and make use of the Church's authoritative pronouncements.

Two codices of *Qbp* and Maurice's sermon collection, respectively, show signs of ownership by cathedral libraries. Worcester Cathedral MS F 71, a mid-thirteenth century manuscript, contains the statutes of Alexander Stavensby, a glossed book of Exodus, sermons, and an *exemplum*.[518] It was probably owned by the cathedral itself, and the entire focus of the volume is strongly pastoral. *Qbp* is not the only catechetical work in this codex: It also contains the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustoduniensis, a twelfth-century work written to help a cleric provide the basics of theological instruction to his lay flock. At least one manuscript of Maurice's sermons was probably owned by a cathedral library. Oxford, Merton College, MS 249 was probably in the Rochester cathedral library until Bishop Thomas Trellick sold it in the fourteenth century.[519]

Books in cathedral libraries would have been accessible to clergy engaged in pastoral work. We have evidence that parish priests in the later Middle Ages often borrowed books from the libraries of institutions like cathedrals.[520] In addition, at least in the case of St. Paul's Cathedral, the personnel of the Cathedral sought to make sure that their clergy had access to pastoral literature: Kirkby's homiliary was donated to the church out of the Cathedral's holdings.[521] Books owned by cathedrals would almost certainly have been accessible to a conscientious priest or vicar.

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518 *Councils and Synods*, 1:207.
519 Longère, *Les sermons latins*, 62.
520 James Westfall Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 375.
521 *Visitations of Churches Belonging to St. Paul's*, 31.

Two of the codices of Maurice's sermons also share manuscripts with *synodalia*. Oxford, MS Bodley 443 contains Stephen Langton's 1213 x 1214 Canterbury statutes in a manuscript not noted by Cheney.[522] That it contains *synodalia* and Sully's sermons suggest that the book had a strongly pastoral/homiletic focus. So too does its collection of *exempla* on folios 102vb to 104vb and a schematic layout of *distinctiones* on the structure of the Bible, degrees of kinship, and the like.[523] It is the work of a cleric who could afford to have the manuscript bound all at once. If not a vicar, he may have been a rector who was well off, theologically educated enough to produce a series of theological and canonical notes, and willing to preach Christian doctrine. Not only the collection of synodal statutes, but also its liturgical documents suggest ownership by a secular clerk, since the consuetudinary that it contains starting on folio 138 is of the Sarum Rite, which was in use throughout much of thirteenth-century England. The mendicants, by contrast, employed the use of the Roman curia and Premonstratensian canons.[524]

Another English manuscript of Maurice's sermons containing *synodalia* is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1280. The entire work is almost certainly meant for pastoral use. It is small, a mere 11x15 cm, as small as the portable books of sermons carried by the mendicant friars.[525] It contains not only the Anglo-Norman texts of Maurice's sermons, but also Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* as well as two other anonymous works on the Creed and Paternoster and a collection of *exempla*. It is almost certainly the work of secular clergy, since it is decorated with red, blue, and green ink, while blue and red illumination tends to be the primary

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[522] Longère, *Les sermons latins*, 88-9.
[523] Oxford Bodley 443, fols. 102vb-104vb, 136v.
[524] John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 31.
[525] For a discussion of these books, see David d'Avray, "Portable *Vademecum* Books Containing Franciscan and Dominican Texts," in *Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt (1908-1979),* eds. A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1980), 60-4.

indicator of mendicant production.[526] In addition to the *pastoralia*, this codex contains miscellaneous medical information, including both a guide to the most auspicious times to perform phlebotomies and a charm to ease childbirth.[527] Both of these are the sort of day to day concerns that would be encountered by the same sort of parish priest whom synodal statutes ordered to admonish women not to sleep with their infants in order to avoid smothering them.[528]

The collection found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 149 has a characteristic that indicates that it was possibly used by a priest at the parochial level. Maurice's Latin sermons are in an eight-leaf quire whose outer leaves show extreme wear. This quire's binding into the rest of the codex is looser than other groupings of quires, which indicates that it may have originally been an unbound notebook that was sewn into the codex by its compiler. When parish priests kept books of any sort, the records indicate that they were often unbound. Liturgical books are frequently listed in visitations as badly bound or unbound, and we know that parish priests often kept synodal legislation in the form of notebooks.[529] Indeed, it is likely that a fairly large number of Maurice's sermon collections circulated in England as unbound quires. His sermon collection in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg I 5 was also a parchment notebook before eventually being bound into a codex.[530] Books that were written as unbound parchment quires were extremely perishable; such books in everyday use could have a lifespan of as short as

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[526] Mary O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 51* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 106-7.

[527] On charms in general, see Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006). On the charms in Oxford Bodleian Ashmole 1280, see Mary P. Richards, "A Middle English Prayer to Ease Childbirth," *Notes and Queries* 27 (1980): 292.

[528] See, for example, *Councils and Synods*, 1.70, 1.136, 1.214, 1.235, etc.

[529] The extant visitation records frequently refer to the books of parish churches being "unbound" or "badly bound," *Visitations of Churches*, 5-7, 8, 9, 16, 17, 18-20. See also Cheney, "Statute-Making," 151-2, and John Shinners, "Parish Libraries in Medieval England," in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O. P.*, eds. Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 207-30, pg. 219.

[530] Longère, *Les sermons latins*, 259.

fifteen years.[531] That two such notebooks of Maurice's sermons from the thirteenth century have survived suggests a much broader circulation of this collection in this form than has come down to us.

The Canons Regular and the Circulation of Maurice's Sermons and *Qbp*

The parish priest, of course, was by no means the only figure in the period from 1215 to 1281 whom we might encounter exercising the cure of souls. The eleventh century saw the beginnings of the canons regular, clergy who lived communally in a monastic lifestyle.[532] They often took over the running of smaller collegiate churches, and their endowment was often more within reach of nobles of modest means who could not provide the expected financing necessary for wealthier orders.[533] Of the several different orders of canons regular, those following the so-called rule of St. Augustine had a great impact on western Europe.[534] Unlike the Order of St. Benedict, whose monks were canonically forbidden to exercise the cure of souls, the Augustinian canons had a mission that involved both a cloistered "apostolic life," with communal intercessory prayer on behalf of their patrons and Christendom at large, and a more evangelical and pastoral component.[535] While the canons regular on the continent often served churches associated with their order, fewer did so in twelfth-century England.[536] In the northwest of

[531] Shinners, "Parish Libraries," 219.
[532] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 160-1.
[533] Ibid., 164-6.
[534] Ibid., 162-3.
[535] Chenu, "Monks, Canons, and Laymen," 213-19. Chibnall, in "Monks and Pastoral Care," 171, notes that at least in the twelfth century, there may have been some monks providing services such as the Eucharist in churches owned by monasteries but frequented by laypeople. Caroline Walker Bynum's *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979) shows that in the twelfth century, canons regular saw themselves as having a pastoral role, whereas monastic spirituality showed little or no concern for teaching and preaching to the laity.
[536] Ludovicus Milis, *L'Ordre des chanoines reguliers d'Arrouaise: Son histoire et son organization, de la fondation de l'abbaye-mere (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471)* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1969), 319-20.

England, regular canons often served an unambiguously monastic role, engaging in a cloistered, prayerful existence in the countryside.[537]

Less practice of pastoral care, however, does not mean no practice of pastoral care. In the southeastern part of the country (the dividing line being the River Trent), regular canons tended to be in urban foundations.[538] While they may have mostly neglected the care of souls, in many towns, they had a presence if not in the town itself, then on its direct outskirts, and were often a strong part of the religious life of a town. They frequently appropriated the advowsons or rectorships of parish churches and often were responsible for the physical structures of these churches.[539] The church of St. Thomas in Oxford, for example, which was served by the Augustinian canons of Oseney abbey, was a parish church.[540] Dickinson has shown that we have scattered evidence of canons regular serving the parochial churches held by their houses during the thirteenth century.[541] With respect to the foundation of Dunstable, for example, we occasionally see the curacy of a parish church granted to a canon of the house.[542]

An excellent example of canons regular carrying out doctrinal preaching appears in the life and writings of Alexander of Ashby. Ashby was a modest Augustinian priory in Northamptonshire in Lincoln diocese. Alexander, its prior from 1195 to his death in 1208 or 1214, traveled throughout the shire and diocese preaching to both cloistered religious and laity.[543] Not only did Alexander preach, but it is clear from his writings that he understood the mission of the canons regular to be preaching Christian doctrine. He produced a short guide to

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[537] David Postles, "The Austin Canons in English Towns, c. 1100-1350," *Historical Research* 159 (1993): 1-20, pg. 3.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Ibid., 16
[540] Ibid., 12.
[541] Dickinson, *Canons*, 238-9.
[542] Ibid., 237.
[543] Franco Morenzoni, introduction to Alexander of Ashby, *Alexandri Essebiensis opera theologica*, Corpus Christianorum continuatio mediaevalis 188 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), vi.

preaching entitled *De artificioso modo predicandi*, which explains how to compose and deliver a sermon from the *thema* to the concluding prayer and also contains several models to illustrate what a proper sermon would look like. In addition to this *ars praedicandi* (one of the earliest examples of the genre), he also wrote two collections of model sermons. These collections are particularly illustrative of his desire to see that canons regular and ordained clergy in general were preaching Christian doctrine. They contain sermons such as one devoted to those who are not normally able to attend Church, which lays out the basic moral requirements of a Christian in a short sermon that could be delivered in a few minutes.[544] Likewise, he has a sermon on the Apostles' Creed, which may well have in mind an audience of less formed clerics so that they can know the foundations of Christian doctrine and, thus armed, better inculcate their lay flocks with this doctrine.[545] The prologue to the first collection emphases that although few priests preach, they are nevertheless required by their office to do so.[546] It is addressed to an unnamed priest whom Alexander desires to encourage in his preaching. Alexander intends for this priest to preach to his flock with the sermons that Alexander has written for him and, through practice of these sermons, eventually to get into the habit of making his own sermons.[547] The prologue to the second collection indicates that it was sent to the same person, and that Alexander has by this point become exasperated with the priest's continued lack of preaching:

> What are you thinking by delaying in work so necessary? What pertains more specially to a pastor than to feed his flock? What, then, shall I say of you except…that games, or work, or the drinks of Lethe have perniciously turned you aside from the most excellent work of your office?[548]

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[544] Alexander of Ashby, *Sermones*, in *Alexandri Essebiensis opera theologica*, 359-61.
[545] Ibid., 381-90.
[546] Ibid., 133.
[547] Ibid., 134.
[548] "Qua differs fronte tam necessario operi operam dare? Quid specialius pertinet ad pastorem, quam pascere gregem? Quid ergo de te dicam, nisi quod…te ab excellentissimo opere officii tui perniciose auertunt aud ludi, aud labores, aud pocula Lethes?" Ibid., 219.

The prior offers the second set of sermons to counter the recipient's laziness, again offering hopes that he might preach.

Whatever the fate of the priest to whom Alexander sent his model sermons, the sermons themselves had a relatively robust manuscript circulation over the course of the thirteenth century, surviving in seven known copies.[549] Of those, BL MS Royal 7. A. IX, owned by the Augustinian foundation of Southwark, also contains *Qbp* and *Templum Dei*.[550] All of these texts being contained in a single codex used by the canons regular indicates that at least some of the canons took seriously the missionary aspect of their order.

Southwark priory's ownership of BL MS Royal 7. A. IX is part of a larger pattern of evidence of the Augustinian canons providing doctrinal preaching to English laymen that comes from their possession of copies of Maurice's sermons and Richard's *Qbp*. Contemporary catalogues show that the Augustinian houses of Leicester and Lanthony Secunda near Gloucester owned six other copies of *Qbp*.[551] Leicester Abbey in particular owned a large number of *pastoralia*—by the end of the Middle Ages, these works occupied almost an entire lectern in the library.[552] Leicester's collection might not be unusual. While *Qbp*'s presence amongst the canons seems confined to the libraries of Leicester and Southwark, the sermons of Maurice de Sully have a broader representation in the libraries of the canons regular. Of the manuscripts of sermons by Maurice de Sully circulating in England whose provenance can be ascertained, two of the sets of Latin sermons came from the libraries of Augustinian foundations: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 26 from the priory of St. Thomas at Stafford, and Oxford, Bodleian

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[549] On the manuscripts of Alexander's sermons and his *De artificioso modo praedicandi*, see Morenzoni's introductions to the editions of these works in *Alexandri Essebiensis opera theologica*, 15-20, 120-4.

[550] Ker, *Libraries*, 180; Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London: British Museum, 1921), 165-7.

[551] Teresa Webber and A.G. Watson, eds., *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons* (London: British Library, 1998), 75, 271, 251-2.

[552] Teresa Webber, "The Books of Leicester Abbey," in *Leicester Abbey*, eds. Joanna Story, Jill Bourne, and Richard Buckley (Leicester: The Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society, 2006), 127-46, pg. 131.

Library, MS e Museo 222 from Darley, an abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[553] Of the eight thirteenth-century manuscripts of Maurice's sermons of English provenance in Anglo-Norman or continental French, two can be definitively traced to a medieval library, and one of these manuscripts, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 36 comes from an Augustinian foundation, the priory of Lanthony Secunda.[554] Augustinian houses are also known to have allowed parochial clergy to borrow from their libraries: Lanthony's medieval catalogue records that the vicar of Cherington had borrowed five books, and in the early fourteenth century a Cambridgeshire rector borrowed books from the Augustinian priory of Anglesey.[555]

The Augustinian canons' exercise of pastoral care in general and doctrinal preaching in particular seems to have decreased over the course of the thirteenth century. Postles notes that over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the canons gradually moved to the outskirts of the towns and abandoned their missionary calling.[556] The manuscripts themselves also show that the canons' use of pastoral literature may have been more common in the first half of the thirteenth century than in its second half. Two of the manuscripts of Maurice's Latin sermons owned by Augustinian houses, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 222 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 26 both show signs of dating to the first half of the thirteenth century: the first line of text is above the top line of ruling, which went out of style in English manuscripts around 1250.[557] That Augustinian houses owned two of the earlier manuscripts of Maurice's sermons seems to indicate that this collection served as a foundational text to assist

[553] Ker, *Libraries*, 56, 182.
[554] Ker, *Libraries*, 112.
[555] Peter J. Lucas, "Borrowing and Reference," *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1:242-62, pgs. 244-5; Shinners, "Parish Libraries," pg. 226, note 36. The Lanthony catalogue gives no dates for the loans to the vicar.
[556] Postles, "Austin Canons in Towns," 17.
[557] N. R. Ker, "From 'Above Top Line' to 'Below Top Line': A Change in Scribal Practice," *Celtica* 5 (1960): 13-16.

the canons in providing catechetical preaching to lay people in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, but that later in the century the canons were making less use of such texts.[558]

The Friars

Two thirteenth-century manuscript copies of *Qbp* share a codex with the works of the Dominican friar William Peraldus. British Library, MS Royal 10. B. 11 is bound in with Peraldus's *summa* on the Virtues. British Library, MS Harley 3244, dating from *circa* 1255, contains a fragment of Peraldus's *summa* on the Vices as well as *Templum Dei* and the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustoduniensis and other *pastoralia*.[559] Codices containing the works of Peraldus strongly suggest an ownership by the Order of Preachers, one of the two main orders of friars that also provided religious instruction and pastoral care to the people of thirteenth-century England.

The story of the origins of the Friars Minor and Preachers is one of the most significant developments in the religious history of Europe in the later Middle Ages. Their origins were quite different, but both arrived at a time of great demand for preaching and administration of the Sacraments, and the seed of their preaching fell on fertile ground. The Franciscans had their origin in the personal conversion of St. Francis of Assisi to the "apostolic life," and the growth of the order came about unplanned and mostly as a consequence of the influence of his own personal holiness on those around him.[560] By the end of the *poverello*'s life, the original band of

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558 Two manuscripts of *Qbp* and Maurice's sermons, BL MS Royal 7. A. IX and Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 36, respectively, also from Augustinian libraries, have later dates [Warner and Gilson, *Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts*, 167, and Henry Octavius Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* (Oxford: e Typographeo academico, 1852), 9.36], so this conclusion is tentative.

559 Michael Evans, "An Illustrated Fragment of Peraldus's *Summa* on Vice: Harleian MS 3244," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institutes* 45 (1982): 14-68, pgs. 41-2.

560 The story of the conversion of St. Francis and the spread of his order from a small band of men committed to apostolic poverty and moral exhortation into a cultural and intellectual powerhouse is told in his *Vitae* written by Thomas of Celano and St. Bonaventure, *Thesaurus Celanensis*, ed. Georges Mailleux (Louvain: CETEDOC, 1973), and Volume 8 of St. Bonaventure, *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae,

people gathered around Giovanni Bernadone in order to live a life of penance and devotion had become a religious order spanning Europe. The Order of Friars Preachers, by contrast, had been founded with the goal of preaching orthodox Christian dogma. Founded by St. Dominic in response to the perceived failure of efforts by the Cistercians and other clergy to preach the orthodox faith in the Midi, the order quickly spread throughout Europe.[561]

From its foundation, the Order of Preachers was concerned with promulgating Christian doctrine, and so the order required a solid command of this doctrine by its friars. To that end, St. Dominic turned his eyes to Paris and Bologna early so as to poach the best and brightest of western Christendom for the Order.[562] Once such qualified scholars had been recruited, the order quickly established a system by which each convent had a *schola* in which friars who had completed their novitiate studied the theology texts of the universities and cathedral schools: to wit, the Bible, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor.[563] The house of St. Jacques in Paris, and then the houses in Oxford, Montpellier, and Bologna eventually became *studia generalia*, centers for advanced study on the part of those friars who had mastered their earlier training.[564] Most Dominican friars, however, came from the ranks of what would later be known as the *fratres communes*, those who had received a thorough educational grounding for preaching, but never went on to the great schools.[565] It has long been argued that the Order of Friars Minor was much more *ad hoc* in its foundation and that their

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1882). Both Moorman's *History of the Franciscan Order* and Robson's more recent *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* are good sources on the history of the OFM in the Middle Ages.

561 The best history of the Order of Preachers in the Middle Ages is still William Hinnebusch, *A History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500* (Staten Island: Alba House, 1966). The most recent story of the life of St. Dominic can be found in Simon Tugwell, *St. Dominic* (Strasbourg: Éditions du Signe, 1995).

562 Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 26-36.

563 On the *scholae* and *studia* of the friars, see primarily M. Michele Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 130-40 and Leonard Boyle, OP, "Notes on the Education of the *Fratres communes* in the Dominican Order in the Thirteenth Century," in *Xenia Medii Aevi Historiam Illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppeli O.P.*, eds. Raymond Creytens and Pius Künzle (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), 249-67.

564 On the evolution of Dominican *studia generalia*, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 351-96.

565 Boyle, "*Fratres communes*," 253-4.

prominence in Paris might even be called accidental. More recent scholarship, culminating in the magisterial works of Bert Roest, has nuanced and modified this picture, showing instead an order dedicated to scholarly excellence and an educational system almost from the outset. [566] Both of these educational networks gave their members a solid foundation in the theology of the Church so that they could in turn provide a solid catechetical foundation to the laypeople to whom they preached.

The Orders of Preachers and Friars Minor quickly established networks that spread across western Christendom. The bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, brought the Dominicans into England in 1221, and on 10 September 1224 the Franciscans arrived on the northern side of the Channel.[567] By 1224 the Dominicans and Franciscans were hearing confessions and assigning penances in the diocese of Winchester.[568] Likewise, Bishop Robert Bingham's Salisbury statues issued between 1238 and 1244 order the friars to be received "with all reverence" by local clergy.[569] By 1250, there were forty-three Franciscan convents and twenty-six Dominican convents in England.[570] Although both orders were based in the towns, d'Avray has shown that their coverage extended into the countryside, providing supplemental pastoral care throughout England.[571]

The English friars produced some of the greatest thinkers of the thirteenth century. Men like Kilwardby, Fishacre, Bacon, and Marsh represent a vibrant intellectual movement seeking to

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[566] Cf., for example, Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 92 and Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 1-53.
[567] The story of the OFM's arrival in England is told by a contemporary, Thomas Eccleston, in his *Tractatus de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, ed. A.G. Little (Manchester: University Press, 1951). See also Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 72-4, 171-4, and Moorman, *The Franciscans in England* (London: Mowbrays, 1974). The Order of Preachers had no similar chronicle of its arrival in England, although Hinnebusch's *Early English Friars* does an excellent job of marshalling the historical sources available to tell the story of the OP's first century in England.
[568] *Councils and Synods*, 1:133.
[569] Ibid., 1:386.
[570] Lawrence, *The Friars*, 103.
[571] d'Avray, *Preaching*, 39-41.

understand the world in light of both the patristic inheritance and the more recently translated philosophical insights of the Greek and Islamic traditions.[572] Surprisingly, the English friars of the thirteenth century produced very few model sermon collections.[573] There are several possible explanations for such a lack of model sermons produced by English authors, the most probable being that mendicants could easily make use of the model sermon collections produced by members of the orders that were predominantly based in Paris. D'Avray has argued that these sermons were the "mass media" of the thirteenth century, and has noted that the surviving *pecia* lists from Paris show that mendicant authors of model sermons were in great demand, including the two sermon writers discussed in this study, William Peraldus and John of la Rochelle.[574] Indeed, *pecia* lists might be more accurate guides to what sort of texts were in demand and circulating than the survival of manuscripts, since this survival is often by chance.[575] These model sermons had a broad distribution throughout western Christendom. *Vademecum* books (i.e., small and portable books containing *praedicabilia* and other materials for worship or religious study) of English provenance survive in decent numbers north of the Channel. Many of these extant texts belonged to the friars.[576] Moreover, model sermons were only one part of the preacher's repertoire of material to aid in the construction of sermons. *Artes praedicandi*, *distinctiones*, concordances, and the like were also used to help a friar draw up sermons. All of these also survive in manuscripts of English provenance.

[572] On the intellectual work of the English Mendicants, see especially M. W. Sheehan, "The Religious Orders, 1220-1370," in *History of the University of Oxford*, Vol. 1, *The Early Schools*, ed. J. I. Catto (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 193-221.
[573] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 149-51
[574] Ibid., 273-86.
[575] David L. d'Avray, Introduction to *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1994), 12.
[576] D'Avray discusses a sample of seven such books in "*Vademecum* Books," 62-4.

D'Avray's examination of the surviving stationers' lists from 1275 shows William Peraldus to have been in strong demand in Paris.[577] Likewise, although his name does not show up on two surviving lists of *pecia* texts, at least one extant manuscript of the sermons of John of la Rochelle is a *pecia* manuscript, indicating that John's sermons too were in high demand.[578] The sermon collections of these two preachers enjoyed a broad circulation in Paris, and sermons produced or widely copied in Paris were in demand in mendicant houses throughout western Christendom.[579] Since the sermons of these men are at least somewhat representative of the sermons in demand by members of their order, an investigation of the content of their sermons and their distribution will tell us something about mendicant preaching in thirteenth-century England.

The Dominicans

St. Dominic founded his order to preach Christian orthodoxy. Pope Honorius's bulls, *Religiosam vitam* of 1216 and *Gratiarum omnium* of 1217, established the order as one with a mission of preaching Christian doctrine.[580] This preaching was not just confined to the doctrines of the orthodox faith as opposed to the Albigensians, but more broadly the doctrines and morals of the Christian faith in general.[581] In 1221, Honorius III gave those Dominicans who were ordained priests the authority to hear confessions, and from that point on, the order often supplemented the pastoral work of parish clergy.[582] The order of preachers, as Father Boyle put

[577] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 275.
[578] Ibid., 280.
[579] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 180-203, has noted that Paris had a role as something of a "nerve center" for the distribution of Mendicant sermons. Mulchahey, in *First the Bow*, 425 has provided some nuance to this discussion of the distribution of Dominican model sermons by noting that Parisian sermons were not necessarily those in the most demand throughout Dominican convents, especialy in Italy where sermons produced by friars of Italian houses enjoyed a great deal of circulation. With respect to England, however, d'Avray's larger point stands, as there are very few extant model sermons produced by thirteenth-century English Friars Preachers.
[580] Hinnebusch, *History of the Dominican Order*, 48-9.
[581] Ibid., 56.
[582] Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 52-4.

it, quickly became an order of confessors.[583] In their capacity of preaching and hearing confessions they were in the forefront of the mission to instruct laypeople in sound doctrine. The order's earliest constitutions proclaim that "Our order is known to have been specially founded from the beginning for preaching and the salvation of souls, and our zeal should focus chiefly and ardently on this with the greatest of diligence so that we might be useful to the souls of our neighbors."[584] Hewing to the Virtues and shunning the Vices required a strong foundation in the first of the theological virtues, namely faith, and faith required a knowledge of its basic principles before it could be completed in love. As such, even when not concerned with issues of heresy, moral preaching was also doctrinal preaching.

The whole of the Order's organization was based around the formation of an elite corps of preachers who would inculcate sound faith and morals amongst their flocks through the preaching of morals and doctrine. The Order required a one-year novitiate in which a novice learned the daily structures of life in a Dominican convent, the Order's liturgy, and how to cultivate a life of private devotion.[585] After the novitiate, the friar made his profession, and then spent the next two years with no other duty in the Order than attending school.[586] This schooling was the beginning of a life-long educational program, in which the friar was required to attend classes until he was too old or infirm to do so.[587] As one aspect of this education, he would hear sermons preached in-house, taking notes on both the form and content of the sermon.[588] During this training, the Master of Students would give the friars assigned times for preaching model

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[583] Boyle, "*Fratres communes*," 249.
[584] "Ordo noster specialiter ob predicationem et animarum salutem ab initio noscatur institutus fuisse, et studium nostrum ad hoc principaliter ardenterque summo opere debeat intendere, ut proximorum animabus possimus utiles esse," *Constitutiones antiquae Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum (1215-1237)*, ed. A.H. Thomas, OP (Louvain: Dominikanenklooster, 1965), 15.
[585] On the Dominican novitiate, see Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 75-129.
[586] Ibid., 133.
[587] Ibid.
[588] Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 184-93.

sermons and point them to appropriate teaching aids.[589] The order had a system of rigorous requirements for licensing of preachers, requiring that only those friars of the best character and educational attainment be licensed to preach.[590] Once a brother had attained a license to preach, he was authorized to do so as a preacher-in-ordinary, in which capacity he could preach only within the territory of his priory, and could hear confessions only with approval from his prior.[591] Once authorized as a preacher general, he would have license to preach anywhere within his province and held permission to do so for his lifetime. The friars would travel throughout their province on foot and in groups of at least two, as per the order's legislative requirements.

The friars were carrying out this preaching from the moment of their introduction into England. Shortly after the Friars Preachers arrived in England, their first public appearance was in 1221 when archbishop of Canterbury Stephen Langton, having heard that the newly arrived religious were from an order of preachers, had Gilbert of Fresney, first English Dominican provincial prior, preach a sermon in Canterbury on the feast of the Transfiguration, 6 August 1221.[592] Robert Grosseteste, although more famously known for his employment of the Franciscans, also made use of Dominican preachers on his visitations.[593] He also asked for assistance from the Dominicans in his pastoral work.[594] Bishop Alexander Stavensby made extensive use of them as well, as did Richard of Droitwich and Edmund of Abingdon.[595] The acerbic pen of Matthew Paris also speaks of their frequent preaching in England, although this is often in the context of complaining about their usurpation of the prerogatives of parochial clergy

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[589] Ibid., 188-93.
[590] For a detailed discussion of the Order's legistlation on preaching throughout this period, see Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars*, 282-6.
[591] Ibid., 286-7.
[592] Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars*, 316.
[593] *Councils and Synods*, 265.
[594] Robert Grosseteste, *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam lincolniensis epistolæ*, ed. Henry Luard (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), 59-61.
[595] Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars*, 443-6; Vincent, "Alexander Stainsby," 313-4.

or monks.[596] There were also several convents that had open air preaching areas and pulpits throughout England.[597] Likewise, extant records show that when they arrived at local churches and monastic foundations to preach, they were often welcomed.[598]

Studies by Mary O'Carroll and Siegfried Wenzel have provided codicological evidence of Dominican preaching in England in the second half of the thirteenth century. Sister O'Carroll has carried out an extensive investigation of manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 511, a series of sermons, *exempla*, and *distinctiones* made sometime in the third quarter of the thirteenth century by English Dominicans.[599] Several of the sermons have marginal notes stating where the sermons where preached, and ten of those were preached at the nunnery of Elstow in the early 1270s. Preaching to nuns was an integral part of the Dominican mission on the Continent and in England, and since the literacy and learning of nuns was generally lower than that of monks, the Dominican preaching that nuns heard may have been similar to that heard by laypeople.[600] So too has Nicole Bériou shown that preaching to the Beguines of Paris by both secular and regular clergy tends to map onto the preaching heard by both clerics and laypeople of thirteenth-century Paris.[601] Siegfried Wenzel's study of Oxford, New College, MS 88 also shows a Dominican *vademecum* book full of sermons and sermon aids that point to the Order of

596 Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars*, 314-5. Although Paris's reliability has often been called into question, Williel R. Thomas, "The Image of the Mendicants in the Chronicles of Matthew Paris," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 70 (1977): 3-34 has shown that Paris may be biased against the mendicant orders, but his record of their activities is fundamentally accurate.
597 Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars*, 314.
598 Ibid., 315.
599 O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 101-8.
600 O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 138-9.
601 Nicole Bériou, "La prédication au béguinage de Paris pendant l'année liturgique 1272-1273," *Recherches augustiennes* 13 (1978): 179-80.

Preachers carrying out doctrinal preaching in England in the years near the end of the thirteenth century.[602]

The fact of Dominican preaching in thirteenth-century England is clear. What of the content of this preaching? As noted above, there are very few extant works by well-known Dominican preachers from thirteenth-century England. This need not pose a difficulty for knowing the content of Dominican preaching, however. Sermon collections that were widely circulated among the brethren of St. Jacques in Paris were in demand amongst Dominicans throughout western Europe.[603] As we have seen above, the surviving *pecia* records of the Paris stationers show that the sermons of William Peraldus were in demand throughout the thirteenth century. That they enjoyed such a circulation in the Parisian clearing house of St. Jacques serves as a strong indication that they are representative of the content of model sermon preaching north of the Channel. The English Dominican compiler of Laud Misc. 511, for example, drew on at least thirteen source books, many of them containing model sermons produced by continental Dominican authors.[604] In addition to the sermons of William Peraldus, the codex contains sermons by Simon of Hinton, Hugh of St. Cher, Peter of Rheims, and John of Abbeville.[605] Many of these sermons were written in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and by the time they made it into the source-books circulating in England from which Laud Misc. 511 was produced, they had already been copied and re-copied several times.[606] Several of the sources that the compiler used to draw up his handbook were, like many sermon collections, probably in

[602] Siegfried Wenzel, "A Dominican Preacher's Book from Oxford," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 68 (1998): 177-203.
[603] Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 424-5.
[604] O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 85.
[605] For a table of these sources, see O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 96.
[606] Mary O'Carroll, "Preaching for Easter Sunday from MS Laud Misc. 511: Some of its Codicological and Catechetical Implications," *Medieval Sermon Studies* 45 (2001): 75-88, pg. 78.

the form of unbound parchment notebooks, which, being highly perishable, are almost all lost.[607] The existence of these source books shows that even before the middle of the thirteenth century the Order of Preachers was circulating the sermons of its most famous members in England. Although the Laud misc. sermons are based on continental models, they show evidence of having been adapted to English circumstances—the syntax often reflects that of Middle English even though the language is Latin, several examples used change the king referred to from the King of France to the King of England, and there are occasional English words throughout.[608] This sort of adaptation indicates that the sermons were not only being copied and circulated, but also consciously adapted for use in a somewhat different cultural and linguistic environment than that in which they were produced.

Such rapid circulation of sermons within the Dominican Order is not surprising. By the later thirteenth century, Humbert of Romans's regulations encouraged houses of the Order to share books.[609] These regulations concerning books also specify what sort of books each convent is to have in its possession. In addition to the normal school texts such as the works of Lombard, each convent was required to possess collections of "Sunday sermons and sermons for feast days for the entire [liturgical] year."[610] The evidence of the circulation of the surviving Dominican manuscripts indicates both that Humbert's regulations do not lay out anything new, but reflect existing practices, and also that these regulations were followed among the Dominicans in thirteenth-century England.

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[607] O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 85-8.
[608] O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 163, 198-201.
[609] Lucas, "Borrowing and Reference," 254.
[610] Humbert of Romans, *Opera de vita regulari*, ed. Joachim Joseph Berthier, OP (Paris: Marietti, 1888), 2:265.

William Peraldus—Circulation of His Writings

William Peraldus was a Dominican friar famed both for his preaching and his *summae* that he wrote on the Virtues and the Vices. We know little of his life. Attached to the convent of Lyon, he was an active preacher both at that convent and in the area of Vienne. By the middle of the thirteenth century, he had become prior of the convent in Lyon.[611] He was already renowned for his preaching within his lifetime, being warmly mentioned as a preacher by such leading lights as his confrère Étienne de Bourbon and Fra Salimbene of the Order of Friars Minor.[612] We are using him as a representative of Dominican preaching both because his preaching reflects a strong doctrinal content and because his *summa* on the Virtues as well as his *summa* on the Vices had such a widespread circulation throughout western Europe over the course of the thirteenth century. By looking at his writings on faith in his *summae* on the Virtues and Vices, and comparing these to his sermons, we obtain a representative picture of the relationship of the theory and practice of Dominican preaching of the Articles of Faith.

William composed his model sermons on the Gospels sometime before 1259, and those on the epistles between 1240 and 1245.[613] Dondaine has dated his *summa* on the Vices to around 1236 and his *summa* on the Virtues to sometime before 1248.[614] István Bejczy has, however, argued that the date of the composition of the *summa* on the Virtues should be placed very

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[611] A. Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut; vie et œuvres," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 18 (1948): 162-236, pg. 173.
[612] Ibid., 170-5.
[613] There is no modern critical edition of these sermons. They are printed in *Guilielmi Alverni…opera omnia* (1674, facsimile repr. Frankfurt: Minerva G. m. b. H., 1968), and were erroneously attributed to William of Auvergne on the basis of these sermons' attribution to a "William of Paris" in certain of the manuscripts, although Dondaine has shown conclusively that they are in fact the work of Peraldus. The primary weakness of the printed collection is that it has fewer of Peraldus's sermons than appear in the manuscripts: The manuscripts of William's sermon collections contain two hundred forty-seven or two hundred fifty sermons, whereas the printed edition contains only ninety-three. Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut," 199-207.
[614] There is likewise no modern edition of Peraldus's *summae* on the Virtues and Vices. They are printed in *Guilelmi Peraldi Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* (Lyons: P. Compagnon et R. Taillandier, 1668). See Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut," 185-7.

shortly after that on the Vices.[615] Both Peraldus's *summae* and his sermon collections were circulating in England soon after their composition. Among the several sermons in Laud Misc. 511, several are by Peraldus.[616] London, BL MS Arundel 365, a codex containing his cycle of sermons on the Gospels, was apparently produced in England. Several paleographical characteristics of its *litterae textuales* show it to be English.[617] The manuscript can be dated to the mid-thirteenth century. The A's have not yet reached the later "two-compartment" appearance of later *textualis*, and, more importantly, in all folios but 15, 16, and 17r of the second quire, the writing is above the top line of ruling, which seems to indicate that the manuscript was written at the time when the writing of text was moving from above the top line to below the top line, viz., the mid-thirteenth century.[618] Given the comparatively late date assigned by Dondaine to Peraldus's sermons on the Gospels—he notes that their date is uncertain, but that they were probably written before 1259—and that the codex was probably copied from an exemplar already in England, it appears that Peraldus's sermons on the Gospels enjoyed a remarkably rapid circulation very shortly after their composition.

London Gray's Inn MS 20, a codex containing William's sermons on the Gospels, likewise can be dated to very soon after the sermons' composition. A note on folio 227v says that it was given by a priest to the Dominican convent of Sudbury, Suffolk in 1257.[619] Likewise, Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 62 dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, and is recognizable as such by its *Anglicana* with split ascenders in the marginal notes, and the body of

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[615] István Bejczy, "John of la Rochelle and William Peraldus on the Virtues and Vices," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 97 (2004): 99-110.
[616] O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 93-8.
[617] These features include characteristic W's in "Ewangelium," the tendency of the miniscule H's not to sweep roundly to the left, and the presence of hairlines. On these features, see Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 82-4, 94.
[618] On the evolving shape of the miniscule A, see Derolez, *Palaeography*, 84. See also Ker, "Above Top Line."
[619] N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 2:64-5.

the text being written in a thirteenth-century *littera textualis*.[620] It too contains the sermons on the Gospels by Peraldus, and was probably produced for a pastorally minded user. The catchwords on the end of its quires show that it was produced all at once, and it contains Grossetestes' *Templum Dei* and several other *pastoralia*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 439, containing both Peraldus's sermons on the Gospels and Epistles, also dates to the second half of the thirteenth century and is clearly of English origin, with a table of consanguinity on folio 80v in an *Anglicana* dating to the second half of the thirteenth century. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MS 233/119 is very small, measuring 10.5 by 13 centimeters, and is clearly meant to be portable and well-suited to use by a Dominican friar travelling through the territory of his convent. Paleographically, it appears to be datable to the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and contains *sermones de tempore* and *de sanctis*. The sermon on folio 111vb with the *thema* "If I speak with the tongues of men, and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal"[621] comes from Peraldus's Ash Wednesday sermons on the epistles.[622] There are many more manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries extant in England, but this brief survey shows that Peraldus's sermons were enjoying a broad circulation north of the Channel.[623]

There is little need to provide evidence of the circulation of Peraldus's *summa* on the Virtues and Vices in thirteenth-century England, since, as noted above, the manuscripts circulated widely throughout all of western Europe, and by the late thirteenth century were

[620] Malcolm B. Parkes, *English Cursive Bookhands, 1250-1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), xv explains the split ascender as a feature marking off earlier *Anglicana*.
[621] 1 Corinthians 13:1.
[622] Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 2:544.
[623] For a thorough discussion of the manuscripts of Peraldus's sermons, see Schneyer, *Repertorium* 2:533-66, which has amplified Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut," 204-5. Schneyer has since been augmented by Thomas Kaeppelli, OP, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum medii aevi* (Rome: ad S. Sabina, 1975), 2:143-7.

required by statute to be present in the libraries of all Dominican convents.[624] London, British Library, MS Royal 10. B. 11 has been dated to the latter half of the thirteenth century and contains both his *summa* on the Virtues and his *summa* on the Vices. Another thirteenth-century manuscript of his *summa* on the Virtues, British Library, Additional MS 22571 is written in a small *textualis* script, bordering on so-called "pearl script," and its provenance is not traceable before the early modern period, when a marginal note on folio 2 ascribes it to a secretary of Archbishop Parker. These and other extant manuscripts represent a small fraction of what was circulating at the time. In addition to the evidence from the regulations of the Order of Preachers and the extant manuscripts, there is other indirect evidence that his *summa* on the Virtues was reaching an English audience quite early. The Anglo-Norman *Manuel des Pechez* was written around 1260 by William of Waddington, an English cleric who may have been a member of the household of Archbishop of York Walter Gray.[625] He definitely knew Peraldus's *summa* on the Vices.[626] It is also very likely that he knew the *summa* on the Virtues as well. In the *Manuel*'s discussion of the Articles of Faith, specifically the Article pertaining to Christ's descent into Hell, Peraldus speaks of the shamefulness of the sinner who will not follow Christ to Heaven even though Christ was willing to follow humanity to Hell.[627] This same sentiment in relation to this Article of Faith also appears in the *Manuel*.[628] As such, we can conclude with at least some

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[624] See Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut," 193-7, and Kaeppelli, *Scriptores*, 2:133-42 .

[625] Matthew Sullivan, "A Brief Textual History of the *Manuel des Péchés*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen: Bulletin de la Société néophilologique de Helsinki* 93 (1992), 343. For a thorough treatment of the *Manuel*, see Chapter 4 of this study.

[626] See Kemmler, *Exempla in Context*, 25, and Émile Jules François Arnould, *Le manuel des péchés: Étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIIme siècle)* (Paris: Droz, 1940), 194-9.

[627] "Et attende perversitatem hominis qui non vult Christum sequi in coelum qui hominem secutus est in infernum," Peraldus, *Summa de virtutibus*, 45.

[628] "Hunte deit home mortel/ Qe sun siegnur ne ult sur ciel,/ Qant en enferm home uint quere/ Qe reis esteit de ciel e tere," *Manuel des pechiez,* in *Roberd 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* (London: J. B. Nichols, 1862), 419.

certainty that clerics in England were reading the *summa* on the Virtues by the middle of the thirteenth century.

Peraldus on Faith and the Doctrinal Content of his Sermons

Peraldus intended for his *summa* on the Vices and Virtues to equip Dominicans to function as preachers.[629] Both works tend to stand apart from much contemporary scholastic literature. Indeed, Dondaine has called them "perfectly independent of their time."[630] In contrast to the *quaestio* format common in contemporary scholarly writing, Peraldus's style is expository, first making his points, which he then backs up with reference to scriptural, patristic, and a few near-contemporary authorities. The style of his work, and his lack of enthusiasm for either canonical or philosophical subtlety, means that, although voluminous, his work is well-suited to preachers both at the pinnacle of the OP's educational summit and also those with only a basic education. His work found a wide readership among "the most humble clerics" throughout western Christendom.[631] The accessibility and lack of a heavy reliance on technical apparatus mean that his theology is readily transferrable to the pulpit.

Peraldus's sermons follow a similarly expository style. He proceeds by way of the *distinctio*, dividing up the different ways that a *thema* can be understood, as do most sermon authors of the thirteenth century. He backs up each understanding with a series of authorities (and some *exempla*) in the same manner as he does in his *summae*. His sermons are meant to be preached to both clerics and laypeople. In several of his written sermons, he makes reference to both types of audience: in one, he says to the preacher reading the text of the sermon, "If your

[629] Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut," 191.
[630] Ibid., 189.
[631] Ibid., 188.

sermon is to clerics, to them you should touch on the love of sacred scripture."[632] Elsewhere, he opens a sermon with, "Here you have the material for a sermon first to doctors, second to prelates, and third to everyone,"[633] indicating that it too was intended for an audience that at least included laypeople.

One might question the applicability of his sermons to a lay audience, as these sermons contain so many patristic authorities in addition to citations of Aristotle. As d'Avray and Roest note, however, one of the primary components of the mendicant orders' mandate was to preach sound doctrine and morals to laypeople.[634] As Bériou and d'Avray have shown, the most that learned references may mean is that the sermons that became the basis of the model sermons collections of the mendicants were originally preached to audiences composed of clerics and laypeople.[635] Even references to Aristotle in the text (and possibly spoken word) of a sermon need not imply that the sermon is intended solely for philosophy students. Most citations of philosophers in thirteenth-century writing do not come from the complete works of the philosophers cited, but rather from collections of extracts of their writings.[636] These collections were drawn up not just for arts students, but also for preachers, and they often lost the philosophical subtlety of the original writer and were instead meant to be memorized to furnish the raw materials for arguments, or to help preachers in their sermons.[637] Aristotle's works on logic might be beyond the capacities of a layman of the thirteenth (or indeed the twenty-first) century, but Aristotle cited aphoristically might be perfectly suited to the task of preaching to

[632] William Peraldus, 24th Sunday after Trinity, "In diebus illis salvabitur Juda," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 153b-54a, quoted in d'Avray, *Preaching*, 112-13.
[633] "Hic primo habes materiam sermonis ad Praelatos, secundo ad doctores, tertio ad omnes," Peraldus, 3rd Sunday of Advent, "Hic jam quaeritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 11a.
[634] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 82; Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 2-5.
[635] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 123-6; Bériou, *L'avènement*, 125-9.
[636] Jacqueline Hamesse, "The Medieval Philosopher's Reference Tools: Essential Aids to Scholastic Formation" (Étienne Gilson Lecture, Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, ON, 17 April 2009).
[637] Ibid.

either a clerical or lay audience. Moreover, as d'Avray has noted, modestly educated laypeople could at least appreciate the significance of Aristotle: "They may perhaps have regarded him rather as members of the *intelligentsia* who are not philosophers nowadays regard Wittgenstein: important, intriguing, difficult to understand."[638]

Peraldus intended his sermons for both lay and clerical audiences, and his lack of overly theoretical discussion in these sermons makes them an ideal vehicle for using the pulpit to teaching theology to laypeople. Comparing the ways in which the *summa* and sermons discuss the Articles of Faith can illustrate for us how Peraldus's writings on the Articles of Faith and his sermons for preaching the faith function together. His sermons are extremely rich in doctrinal content, and indeed, one could almost call his cycle of *sermones de tempore* a theological *summa* in its own right; the doctrines of the Christian faith that make up the Articles of Faith appear throughout.

So close are the doctrinal content of his sermons and *summa* that, as Dondaine has noted, when Peraldus wrote his *summa* on the Virtues, he copied extensively from his sermons on the Epistles, and in particular in Chapter 5 of his *Summa de virtutibus*, he copied his discussion of the Articles of Faith almost word for word from his sermon for the first Sunday after Easter that concerns the Articles.[639] We may well imagine that when he wrote the *summa* that he did so copying from the text of the sermon that he had by his side. Two examples of how close the texts are to each other follow:

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[638] D'Avray, "Some Franciscan Ideas about the Body," in *Modern Questions About Medieval Sermons*, 155-74, pg. 171.

[639] Peraldus wrote his sermon on the Epistles sometime between 1240 and 1245 and his *summa* on the Virtues sometime before 1248. Dondaine, "Guillaume Peyraut," 202, 208-9. On the correspondence of his *summa* on the Virtues and sermon for the first Sunday after Easter, see ibid., 201-4.

De Fide, *Summa de Virtutibus* 5

Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem etc. Et notandum quod non est idem credere Deo, et credere in Deum. Deo credit, qui credit esse vera, quae ab eo dicuntur, et hoc modo possumus dicere quod aliquis credit Petro et Paulo. Credere in Deum est credendo diligere, et credendo in eum ire.

Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine. Christus conceptus est de spiritu Sancto, id est, Spiritus Sancti operatione quia Spiritus Sanctus separavit a beata Virgine quod purissimum erat in ea, et formavit inde corpus Christi, et in infanti animam infudit, ut tam cito esset verus homo et verus Deus. Non fuit anima infusa circa .40. diem a conceptione, sicut dicitur fieri in aliis. Immo fuit vir ab ipsa conceptione. Hieremias 31: *Novum creavit Dominus super terram, foemina circumdabit virum*, etc. Christus in conceptione culpam cavit, in nativitate vero matri suae damnum virginitatis non intulit, nec ei doloris causa fuit. Mansit enim mater eius virgo post partum, et sine dolore cum peperit, in quo dedit exempla aliis ut benigne sese habeant erga matres suas, nec sit eis causa doloris vel depauperationis.

Sermon for First Sunday after Easter

Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem etc. Et notandum quod non est idem credere Deo, et credere in Deum. Deo credit, qui credit vera esse, quae ab eo dicuntur, et secundum hunc modum possumus dicere quod aliquis credit Petro, Paulo, Jacobo. In Deum vero credere est credendo diligere et credendo in eum ire.

Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine. Christus conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, id est, operatione Spiritus Sancti. Quia Spiritus Sanctus separavit a beata Virgine quod purissimum erat in ea, et amplius depurans illud, inde formavit corpus Christi, et instanti animam infudit, ut tam cito esset verus homo et verus Deus. Non fuit ita in eo sicut in aliis hominibus, quorum corpora organizantur et circa quadragessimum diem anima dicitur ibi infundi, juxta illud Hieremias 31. *Creavit Dominus novum super terram: foemina circumdabit virum.* In conceptione culpa caruit, in nativitate, scilicet sua, matri suae damnum virginitatis non intulit, nec ei doloris causa fuit. Mansit mater eius virgo post partum, et sine dolore eum peperit. In quo dedit *exemplum* filiis, ut erga matres suas benigne se habeant, ut eas non depauperent, nec sint eis causa doloris.

In his *Summa de virtutibus*, Peraldus makes clear the polysemous nature of faith, which the Bible and other authorities describe as trust in God, in the sacraments themselves, the thing believed or collections of things believed, the conscience, and the like.[640] But the nature of faith as he describes it is primarily intellectual. Of the theological virtues, Charity is a property of the soul's concupiscible faculty, Hope, of the irascible, and Faith, the rational.[641] Of course, knowing the truth also involves holding to that truth, but it is faith that allows that. He provides five definitions of faith, those of Saint Augustine of Hippo, Isidore of Seville, John Chrysostom, Peter Lombard, and Bernard of Clairvaux.[642] From all of these definitions, he notes that living faith, although a cognitive state, is also a virtue. It is a virtue because to believe and obey God comes from love of God, and to do those things that are difficult because one believes God. It illuminates the mind and teaches the good that is to be done and the evil that is to be shunned. Faith allows the believer to love those things which are absent or invisible and arrive at eternal life, but needs the foundation of those things known so that things known can be loved: "First, faith is proposed to us, and secondly rectitude of life is taken up, from which things eternal life is consummated."[643] The things that are to be believed are the Articles of Faith. The Articles of Faith themselves, although they can be divided up, spring from the first truth to which the one faith is principally joined.[644] Faith is the root of all other virtues.[645]

[640] Peraldus, *Summa de Virtutibus*, 2.2.2, pg. 22.
[641] Ibid., 2.1, pg. 18.
[642] Ibid., 2.2.2, pgs. 23-4.
[643] "Fides nobis primo proponitur. Secundo vitae rectitudo assumitur, ex quibus vita aeterna concluditur" Ibid., pg. 23.
[644] Ibid., 2.2.3, pg. 25.
[645] Ibid., 2.2.4, pg. 36.

Peraldus's discussion of the Articles of Faith appears in his sermon on the first Sunday after Easter based on the *thema* "For whatsoever is born of God, overcometh the world."[646] He begins his explanation of the *thema* by noting that the victory that overcomes the world is faith. He says that the faith that overcomes the world is commended in the Gospel reading of the same Sunday when the risen Christ appears to Thomas along with the other disciples.[647] Christ, says Peraldus, commends the faith of Thomas, but even more so the faith of those who have not seen and yet believed. He then further dilates the sermon by elaborating on the triune nature of God as a foundational principle of a believer's faith, and he follows that discussion with an explanation of what sort of faith the Christian should have. That he opens his discussion of faith with how the scriptures confirm the triune nature of God seems to indicate that *qua* preacher he takes the intellectual nature of faith for granted. He sees no need to answer the question of what faith is, but instead explains the basic necessary doctrines that comprise the Christian faith. The Christian must, he says, believe everything that is required in the scriptures. Such a faith in that which is not directly experienced concerning the Christian revelation is, for Peraldus, no more unusual than when people believe their parentage even though they cannot recall the circumstances of their own birth.[648] He says that faith must be simple, living, great, and whole, each of which properties he confirms with quotations from scripture or other authorities.[649] In his discussion of the necessity that faith be an integral whole, he says that to do so, one must believe all of the Articles of Faith. He then discusses each of the Articles as they are enumerated in the Creeds. His discussion of the Articles of Faith follows the style common in the first part of the thirteenth century, discussing each one as taken from a sentence of the Apostles' Creed.

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[646] I John 5:4. Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 64a.
[647] John 20.
[648] Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 64a.
[649] Ibid., 64b.

His explanation of the Articles in the sermon (and the *summa*, which reproduces the sermon's exposition of the Articles) is simple and direct.

His Easter sermon discusses all twelve of the Articles of Faith. The only other place in his sermons where he mentions the Articles of Faith *qua* Articles of Faith is in his sermon on the *thema* "To Abraham were the promises made and to his seed."[650] In this sermon, when elaborating on the protheme of "But in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding,"[651] Peraldus explains that those five words are the Articles to be believed, the Ten Commandments to be done, the Seven Deadly Sins to be avoided, the joys of paradise to be desired, and the punishments of the damned to be feared.[652] He discusses the doctrines enumerated in the Articles of Faith throughout his sermon cycles, however, and he discusses them in great detail. Such is also the case with other mendicant preaching. Roest and D'Avray have noted that although sermons on the Creed and Articles of Faith named as such are rare, most mendicant sermon collections have a great deal of moral and doctrinal instruction.[653] The aspects of the Christian faith that Peraldus treats briefly in his Easter sermon get drawn out more thoroughly throughout the rest of his cycle of sermons on both the Gospels and Epistles.

Peraldus's sermons often illustrate his doctrinal points with examples drawn from daily life or the lived experience of the liturgy, which indicates that their teaching would have been quite effective. In discussing how wonderfully made the human being is, he describes the

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[650] Galatians 3:16, Peraldus, 13th Sunday after Trinity, "Abrahae dictae sunt promissiones et semini ejus," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 115.
[651] 1 Corinthians 14:19.
[652] Ibid.
[653] Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 9; d'Avray, *Preaching*, 82-90. D'Avray in particular notes that friars would make use of texts like *Qbp* to preach on the basics of doctrine even if such basic materials do not appear in many model sermons. O'Carroll's study of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 511 has shown that sermons preached in Advent and Lent have somewhat more "catechetical" content than those preached throughout the rest of the liturgical year. *Preacher's Handbook*, 13-14. This distinction between Advent and Lenten sermons and others is not necessarily hard and fast, since even Peraldus's sermons written for Trinity time have a strong doctrinal component.

combination of body and soul as being even more amazing than a fusion of donkey and cow would be.[654] In describing Christ's rescue of the souls of the righteous from the bosom of Abraham in the harrowing of Hell, he uses an example that would be well-known to a mid-thirteenth-century audience familiar with the debacles of recent crusades. How wonderful it is, writes Peraldus, for a prisoner to be ransomed from captivity among the Saracens. How much more wonderful, then, for a soul to be rescued by Christ from Hell.[655] He often uses the liturgy to illustrate doctrinal points in his preaching, taking advantage of the fact that the experienced aspects of the liturgy would be that much more significant when tied into the doctrine which they represented than would be the spoken word alone. In his sermon from the octave of Christmas, based on the *thema* "In the fullness of time…," he explains how the liturgical year mirrors the actual year, both of which in turn point to the historical redemptive work of God.[656] His sermon on Matthew 21:8 for Palm Sunday explains the three most important processions of the Church—those of the lights in the feast of the Purification, those of the banners in the feast of the Ascension, and those of the palms on Palm Sunday—and their theological significance.[657] In his Easter sermon on the appearance of the risen Christ, he explains why Christ said, "Peace be with you," and explains what this peace signifies, namely the peace of the sinner with God and eternal peace, and then he explains that it is for this twofold signification that the bishop says "pax vobiscum" twice in the mass, once when facing the congregation, and once when facing away.[658]

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[654] "Mirabilior est homo, quam esset quod animal, quod constaret ex vo e et asino, utraque enim pars illius esset materialis," Peraldus, 14th Sunday after Trinity, "Fructus Spiritus est charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 119b.
[655] Peraldus, Easter Sunday, "Maria Magdalenae et Maria Iacobi, et Maria Salome," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 245a.
[656] Peraldus, Octave of Christmas, "At ubi venit plenitudo temporis," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 20a.
[657] Peraldus, Palm Sunday, "Plurima autem straverunt vestimenta sua in via," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 242.
[658] Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Cum sero esset die illo una Sabbathorum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 243. We ought to note, however, that much of the liturgical activity discussed by Peraldus would, at this point, have happened behind a rood screen, separated from the lay congregation.

These sermons explain not just the doctrines of Christ and his work, but also the earthly life of Christ, so that the auditor of these sermons receive what amounts to a lesson in the historical events of the Bible as well as their spiritual meanings. In the previously noted sermon on the Articles of Faith (the first Sunday after Easter), Peraldus notes that Christ commended the faith of those who do not see and yet believe, but he locates these words of Christ in the time and place of his post-resurrection appearance to his disciples:

> In the Gospel faith is taught when it is shown that the Lord came to the disciples through closed doors. In this is shown one of the gifts of the body after the resurrection, namely subtlety. Faith is confirmed where it is shown that the Lord showed Thomas the places of His wounds.[659]

So too does his sermon on Luke 14:1 on the seventeenth Sunday after Trinity tell about Christ's contests of wits with the religious leaders of Judea.[660] His sermon on the Gospel for the next Sunday thereafter tells about Christ's question and response with the Pharisees, and his sermon on the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity tells the story of Christ's healing the woman with an issue of bleeding by her having touched him and the resurrection of the dead girl.[661] These sermons contain both theology and more basic lessons on the content of the Bible.

When Peraldus explains the doctrines found in the Articles of Faith, he does so not only briefly, as in his sermon on all twelve Articles, but also at length, as when we encounter these doctrines in his other sermons. His discussion of the Incarnation in the sermon on the Articles briefly notes that Christ's flesh was formed out of the purest part of the flesh of the Blessed Virgin and then that Christ was instantly incarnate as opposed to the normal forty days within

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[659] "In Evangelio fides instruitur, cum ostenditur, quod Dominus venerit ad Discipulos janiis clausis. In hoc enim innuitur una de dotibus corporis post resurrectionem, subtilitas scilicet. Confirmatur fides ubi ostenditur quod Dominus Thomae ostendit loca vulnerum," Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera,* 64.
[660] Peraldus, 17th Sunday after Trinity, "Cum intrasset Jesus in domum cujusdam Principis Pharisaeorum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 339.
[661] Peraldus, 24th Sunday after Trinity, "Loquente Jesu ad turbas, ecce Princeps unus accessit," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 356-7.

which a human soul enters an embryo.[662] Elsewhere in his sermon cycle, he explains the Incarnation in much greater detail. In his sermon on the first Sunday after Christmas, as in his sermon on the Articles, he makes use of Jeremiah 31:22-3, "the Lord hath created a new thing upon the earth: A woman shall compass a man." In his *summa* and sermon on the Articles, he explains the "new thing" described in the prophet as a man conceived body and soul at the moment of conception rather than forty days afterwards.[663] The Christmas sermon goes into more detail, noting the uniqueness of Christ's conception and birth in four ways: he was created in sanctity, conceived without a male seed, born of a Virgin, and perfect in wisdom and virtue.[664] This sermon's *thema* is Galatians 4:4-5, "But when the fullness of the time was come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the law: That he might redeem them who were under the law: that we might receive the adoption of sons." Peraldus says that this particular verse of scripture shows the error of Jews, "Manichees," and heretics (presumably Cathars). Peraldus notes that the words of St. Paul show that Christ, born of a woman, clearly had a human body in contradiction to what heretics state. That same sermon speaks of the usefulness of the Incarnation in that Christ "sustained such a curse of guilt so that He might liberate us from a twofold curse, that of guilt and that of punishment."[665]

One of the most significant Articles of the Christian faith is that of Christ's resurrection. Peraldus's *summa* and Easter sermon on the Epistle both note that if Christ, dead, was able to raise himself from the dead by his own power, then living he will be able to raise all people.[666] In his Easter sermon on the Gospel, he speaks first of the nature of Christ's glorified body, then,

[662] Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 65b.
[663] Peraldus, *Summa de virtutibus*, 2.2.5, pg. 44, *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," 65b. Cf. Lombard, 3 *Sent* D. 2 c. 2-3.
[664] Peraldus, Octave of Christmas, "At ubi venit plenitudo temporis," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 21a.
[665] "Sustinuit ergo tantum maledictum poenae, ut nos liberaret a duplici maledicto, scilicet culpae et poenae," Ibid., 21b.
[666] Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 66a.

of how Christ showed the disciples his scars so that they could see that he was not a ghost, and then how he gave his authority to the Apostles who would go on to found the Church.[667] Peraldus, writing and preaching as he did in southern France, would have doubtless had the Cathar heresy in mind (as he almost certainly does when he speaks of "heretics dogmatizing that Christ's body was a phantasm").[668] This discussion also probably addresses an intuitive misunderstanding of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of Christ, namely, that what the disciples encountered was a soul that had survived bodily death. Nearly seven centuries later, the Christian apologist C. S. Lewis similarly felt the need to point out that Christ rose corporally in a glorified body and that this resurrection served as a token of a future resurrection of all people rather than evidence that the soul survives after death.[669]

Peraldus's discussions of the resurrection of Christ naturally make up a large part of his paschal sermons. Not only does he discuss the resurrection of Christ in its physicality, but he also discusses what it means for the Christian believer. In several instances, he speaks of Christ having risen as a guarantee of the future resurrection of all people: "If Christ dead raised himself up by his own power, then living he can raise all of us."[670] Christ's resurrection and the salvation of the faithful believers is of course tied into Christ's role as the head of his body, the Church.[671] As the head of his body, he will bring about the resurrection and eternal life of every believer.[672] The doctrines that Peraldus's Easter sermon touches on briefly receive a fuller treatment elsewhere. So too in the discussion of the descent into Hell Peraldus applies the words of the Psalmist to Christ, who broke the iron bars and bronze gates of Hell, in both his Easter

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[667] Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Cum sero esset die illo una Sabbathorum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 249-50.
[668] "…hereticorum dogmatizantium Christum corpus phantasticum habuisse," Peraldus, Octave of Christmas, "At ubi venit plenitudo temporis," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 20b.
[669] C.S. Lewis, *Miracles* (London: Centenary Press, 1947), 173-6.
[670] "Si Christus mortuus sua virtute surrexit, versimile est, quod ipse jam vivens mortuos suscitare possit," Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 66a.
[671] Peraldus, Easter Sunday, "Maria Magdalenae, Maria Iacobi, et Maria Salome," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 245b.
[672] Ibid.

sermon on the epistle and his sermon on the Gospel.[673] That which he touches on briefly in a sermon on all the Articles, namely the resurrection of Christ, Christ as the head of the Church, and the resurrection of the dead, gets fleshed out and dealt with in great detail in these other sermons.

The sermons of Peraldus deal with doctrine and morals in a manner that more fully explains Christian doctrines to those who may be unfamiliar with them. He makes certain to emphasize the nature of all creation as radically dependent upon God. He makes clear that creating is different from making, since the former comes from nothing and requires no raw materials from which to work.[674] The resurrection of Christ, he writes, was a true physical resurrection in a glorified body of the sort that every Christian will have upon resurrection. These same sermons, however, also exhort those Christian believers who are already familiar with these doctrines to move towards behavior that is more in line with a Christian life. Thus he shows how the crucifixion of Christ is an example to the Christian: As Christ stayed on the cross until death, so too the Christian must not descend from the cross of his penance.[675] Likewise, when Peraldus states that there are three things necessary for salvation, to hear the word of God, to firmly believe it, and to keep it, he says that to believe everything requires not just intellectual assent to the doctrines of the faith, but also to avoid fornication, harm of one's neighbor, and theft.[676]

His sermons that deal with the Holy Spirit are full of this mixture of doctrinal and moral instruction. Most of his sermons on the Gospels from the fourth Sunday after Easter through

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[673] Psalm 106:16, quoted in Peraldus, Easter Sunday, "Maria Magdalenae et Maria Iacobi, et Maria Salome," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 245a.
[674] Peraldus, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 65a.
[675] Ibid., 65b.
[676] Peraldus, 5th Sunday of Lent, "Amen Amen dico vobis. Si quis sermonem meum servaverit," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 238.

Trinity Sunday deal with the work of the Holy Spirit. He speaks of the doctrine of the spirit proceeding from the Father and from the Son and explains how the doctrine of the Spirit's procession is understood differently by the Greeks.[677] More important than the facts about the Spirit, though, are the effects of the Spirit, namely consoling, convicting, and teaching.[678] The discussion of the works of the Holy Spirit takes up the bulk of his sermons concerning the Holy Spirit. Certain of these sermons seem to be directed almost entirely towards clerics, as when he speaks of the Spirit giving people the ability to convict the wicked, and in the same sermon, he speaks of the Spirit accusing the world, but most especially those clerics who live in an evil manner of life.[679]

The content of Peraldus's sermons and his *summa* matches other Dominican *pastoralia* and literature of religious instruction. Simon of Hinton was prior of the Dominican English province from 1254 to 1261 and at around the same time composed a *Summa ad instructionem juniorum*.[680] This work was probably meant as a review guide for brothers studying for their license to preach, and covers the basic information that a Dominican friar would need for his doctrinal preaching, and, like Peraldus's *summa* on the Virtues, it begins with a discussion of the Articles of Faith.[681] Simon presents the faith broken down into twelve articles just as Peraldus does, although the *Summa juniorum* also makes note that the more recent practice of the schools is to divide the Articles of Faith into fourteen, with seven Articles for the divinity of Christ and seven for his humanity.[682]

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677 Peraldus, Sunday after Ascension, "Cum venerit paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a patre, spiritum veritatis, qui a patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me, et vos testimonium perhibebitis," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 274b.
678 Ibid.
679 Peraldus, 4th Sunday after Easter, "Vado ad eum qui me misit," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 266-7.
680 Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 129; Susan Michele Carroll-Clark, "The Practical Summa *Ad instructionem iuniorum* of Simon of Hinton, O.P.: Text and Context" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1999), 3.
681 Simon of Hinton, *Summa juniorum*, in Clark, "Practical Summa," 54-208, headings "De articulis fidei" through "Numerus et distinctio articulorum," pgs. 54-71.
682 Ibid., heading "Numerus et distinctio articulorum," pgs. 70-1.

Simon's *summa* had a broad distribution to the end of the Middle Ages. In addition to this *summa*, there are countless other works that were produced for Dominican friars to be able to explain the Creed, Articles of Faith, and the Lord's Prayer and to administer confession. These works were a key part of Dominican education: In addition to theological mainstays such as Lombard's *Sentences* and the Bible, texts of *praedicabilia* and other *pastoralia* formed a large part of the corpus of works studied in the Dominican *studium*.[683] These works were complementary to the sermon materials of the Dominican friar. Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 62, for example, in addition to the sermons of Peraldus, contains excerpts from Alexander Stavensby's treatise on confession and Bartholomew of Exeter's *Penitentiale*, several expositions on the Creed and Articles of Faith, and many others.[684] Likewise, Boyle has noted a similar manuscript used in Dominican education, London British Library, MS Additional 30508, which contains a collection of *causae* for the confessor as well as brief treatises on the Creed.[685]

In light of both the manuscript distribution and other works of Dominicans, we can see that the Order of Preachers was prepared to deliver catechetical instruction in both morals and doctrine by means of their preaching throughout much of thirteenth-century England. Their sister order, the Order of Friars Minor, was likewise a major force in preaching in thirteenth-century England.

The Franciscans

Although there were many famous academic authors among both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, as noted above, there were almost no model sermons produced by thirteenth-century English mendicants. What is more, in contrast to Dominican sermons, there is little evidence that Franciscan sermons from the Continent circulated in thirteenth-century England.

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[683] Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 398-9.
[684] Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 62 fols. 120r, 118r, 106v, etc.
[685] Boyle, "*Fratres Communes*," 259-67.

Indeed, there are very few extant manuscripts of English Franciscan *praedicabilia* dating from the years before 1281.[686] It is for this reason that our sample of a work on the Articles of Faith and model sermons comes from a Franciscan operating in Paris rather than from one of the more famous English Franciscan masters. Is this approach even justified? What can we say about the circulation of the works of John of la Rochelle, both his *De Articulis Fidei* and model sermons, and, more generally, about the circulation of Franciscan sermons and *praedicabilia* north of the Channel in the years between 1224 and 1281?

Manuscripts of the sermons of Franciscan preachers that are today extant in England are very few in number. Of the sermons of St. Bonaventure, only three manuscripts containing any of them are currently extant in English collections.[687] Those of Gilbert of Tournai are the most numerous, with twelve manuscripts containing some of his sermons presently north of the Channel. Those few native English Franciscans who composed sermons fare little better—none of the seven surviving manuscripts of the sermons of John of Wales are in English collections, and sermons of John Pecham himself, not only a famous Franciscan *magister*, but also an eventual archbishop of Canterbury, survive in only four English manuscripts.[688] The works of John of la Rochelle are extant in six manuscripts north of the Channel, of which two, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon Misc. 107, and British Library, MS Harley 1750, are quite late (saec. XV), and two contain only a few individual sermons in larger collections of sermons.[689] It is a modest circulation, but well within the norm for circulation of sermons of named Franciscan authors.

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686 William H. Campbell, "Franciscan Popular Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England: Sources, Problems, and Possibilities" (Paper presented at License in Medieval Studies Seminar, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, Ontario, 18 October 2007).

687 Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 1:615

688 Ibid, 3:499, 510.

689 *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, pars tertia Codices Graecos et Latinos canonicos complectens*, ed. Henry Coxe (Oxford, 1854), 351; *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum With Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters* (1808, repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1975), 2:195-6.

This paucity of model sermons leads to one primary question: namely, does this lack of sermons in England point to a lack of Franciscan preaching? Given that the Order of Friars Minor was in fact famous for its preaching, and that there were so many convents in England, this is almost impossible to imagine.[690] So why do we seem to lack English sermons? In the first place, we shall note that the sermon is an oral event and that a written sermon's relation to what the congregation heard is difficult to ascertain at best.[691] Model sermons especially were often redacted because of the fame and reputation of "superstar" preachers, and those with prologues often contain the *topos* that the preacher was asked to publish by those impressed with his preaching.[692] Model sermons were also often *sermones moderni* and at the cutting edge of the "mass media" of the thirteenth century.[693] A sermon preached to a rural audience might, more often than not, be much simpler than the *sermo modernus* of which so many model sermon collections are comprised.[694] As Bériou observes, "In fact, the impressive mass of Latin sermons composed, put in writing, and conserved after 1200 only partially corresponds to effective contemporary preaching."[695] Most sermons that were preached are lost to us, and, when they vanished with the closing prayer and the death of their last auditor are now present only in the mind of God.

This study concerns teaching and preaching the Creed and Articles of Faith. As d'Avray and Roest have noted, sermons on the Creed *qua* Creed are rare.[696] Those listening to Franciscan

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[690] Salimbene's *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio mediaevalis 125-125a (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998) is full of anecdotes of famed Franciscan preachers. Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 272-7 discusses the preaching of the Franciscans, as does Roest in *Franciscan Literature* 1-51, d'Avray in *Preaching*, Robson, in *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 48-57, and many others.
[691] Augustine Thompson, OP, "From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Sermon as an Event," in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience*, 13-40.
[692] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 121-4.
[693] Ibid., 3-4, 160-1.
[694] Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 282.
[695] Bériou, "Les sermons," 363-467, pg. 427.
[696] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 82; Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 9.

sermons may have already had a basic catechesis of the sort given by their parochial priest. More importantly, a friar could compose an impromptu sermon on the Articles of Faith or a specific point of the Creed without too much difficulty, and to that end, many works that are mere outlines of the Articles of Faith would be useful for a Friar. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 2 is a Franciscan *vademecum* book that dates from the mid-thirteenth-century and contains one of the earliest copies of Simon of Hinton's *Summa juniorum*, *distinctiones*, and other such notes. A Friar Minor could easily preach on the Articles of Faith from such a book.[697] Moreover, from 1229 to 1254, the Franciscan order did not have its own lector at Oxford, the flagship *studium* of the English Franciscan province.[698] Therefore, if we wish to look at what sort of a background in teaching the Creed and Articles of Faith the English Franciscans in general might have had, we should look to the works of their earliest lectors. When we do so, we come to men whom we have previously encountered, namely, Robert Grosseteste and Roger Weseham.[699] Of the two extant manuscripts of Weseham's *Instituta*, one is contained in a volume of Franciscan *praedicabilia*.[700] The collected theological oeuvre of Robert Grosseteste is also well represented in the surviving contemporary catalogues of the friars.[701]

The Order of Friars Minor itself was both mobile and highly international in character, and information therefore circulated freely between provinces. D'Avray notes that when Salimbene in his Chronicle recounts his extensive travel, he was complimented by his superior, a state of affairs that stood in sharp contrast to the days when "gyrovague" monks were held to be the worst sort of monks.[702] Paris in particular was something of a center of preaching, with

[697] Campbell, "Franciscan Popular Preaching."
[698] Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 22.
[699] Ibid.; Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu*, 48-9. On Grosseteste and Weseham, see Chapter 2 of this study above.
[700] A. G. Little, fn. e, *Tractatus de adventu*, 48-9.
[701] *The Friars' Libraries*, ed. K. W. Humphries (London: British Library, 1990), 272.
[702] D'Avray, "*Vademecum* Books," 61.

frequent sermons both to gathered clergy and laypeople preached not only by the Franciscans and Dominicans, but also by secular clergy as well. Every Franciscan province was allowed to send two friars to study at the *studium generale* in Paris.[703] In addition, there are specific examples of friars from England in Paris. Adam of York, for example, was an Englishman studying in Paris who joined the friars in that city, returned to England during the University's 1229 strike, and then went to Lyons during the troubles concerning Brother Elias.[704] William of Middleton, lector in the Cambridge *studium* who had been in Cambridge from 1257, worked with Alexander of Hales in Paris, and so was probably in the same circle as Alexander's assistant John of la Rochelle.[705] Richard Rufus of Cornwall worked a few years later in Paris in collaboration with St. Bonaventure.[706] In addition to these very few named examples provided here, we also note that there was a great deal of movement of friars from foreign provinces to England. By the end of the thirteenth century, there was a considerable number of Franciscan friars from foreign provinces studying in the Oxford *studium*.[707]

It is quite likely that these Franciscans moving between provinces would have brought manuscripts of *praedicabilia* with them across the Channel even if there is little survival of these manuscripts in present-day England. By fairly early in the thirteenth century, the Order of Friars Minor allowed its members a "use" of books that for all practical purposes amounted to ownership.[708] The order's 1260 Narbonne statutes allow that a friar transferred from one

[703] Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 15.
[704] Michael Robson, "The Greyfriars of York, ca. 1230-1538," *Medieval Prosopography* 22 (2001): 1-29, pg. 3.
[705] John Moorman, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge, 1225-1538* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 195.
[706] A. G. Little, "The Franciscan School at Oxford," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 19 (1926): 803-74, pgs. 844-5.
[707] Little, "Franciscan School at Oxford," 817-818.
[708] Neslihan Senocak, "Circulation of Books in the Medieval Franciscan Order: Attitude, Method, and Critics," *Journal of Religious History* 28:2 (2004): 146-61, pgs. 153-4. On the highly vexed question of use and ownership in the Franciscan order, see Patrick Nold, *Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); Roberto Lambertini, "*Usus* and *usura*: Poverty and

province to another can "have the use of those books entrusted to him."[709] After the death of this friar, however, the books must be transferred back to the home province whence they came.[710] This requirement might also explain why there are few extant manuscripts in England of those works produced by continental authors.

Moreover, since preaching formed a foundation of Franciscan education, the preaching heard in Parisian university-based sermons that often formed the basis of model sermon collections informed those same friars who would eventually end up in the convents of their respective homelands.[711] The result would have been that the preaching style of those Parisian sermons that were written down would have been transmitted orally and by example to their brethren north of the Channel who have left little trace of their own sermons in writing. Roger Bacon, who divided his career between Oxford and Paris, certainly saw no difference between university preaching on either side of the Channel—he thought that it was all unedifying and full of vainglory.[712]

Based on the movement of Franciscan friars and the sharing of their preaching and books, we can be reasonably certain that the thought and practice reflected in continental texts was similar to that in England. Let us then look more specifically at the circulation and content of John of la Rochelle's *summa* and sermons in England and what they can tell us of what sort of doctrine Franciscans in England might have taken from it and preached to their English listeners.

Usury in the Franciscans' Responses to John XXII's *Quia vir reprobus*," *Franciscan Studies* 54 (1997): 185-210; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 121-9; Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 181-204, *passim.*

[709] "libros sibi concessos," *Constitutiones Narbonenses*, *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 34 (1941): 13-94, 284-358, pg. 73.

[710] Ibid.

[711] Roest, *Franciscan Education*, 280.

[712] Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium*, in *Fratris Rogeri Bacon Opera quædum hactenus inedita* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859), 1-310, pg. 304.

Circulation of the Sermons and *De articulis fidei* of John of la Rochelle

Moving from the general to the specific, we shall examine what sort of circulation John of la Rochelle's *De articulis fidei* and his model sermons had north of the Channel. His *summa* on the Articles of Faith was probably meant to be part of a larger *summa* containing his *Summa de anima, Summa de vitiis,* and his *Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae*.[713] John worked closely with Alexander of Hales, and indeed, he was the principal writer/redactor of Books I and III of the *Summa fratris Alexandri*.[714] The close collaboration of the two becomes apparent when one compares John's exposition of the Articles of Faith to Alexander of Hales's discussion of the Articles in his *summa*. John's exposition of the Articles is almost the same as Alexander's, and in some manuscripts, John's exposition of the Articles of Faith matches that in the *Summa fratris Alexandri* almost word for word, as the Quaracchi editors of Alexander of Hales note.[715] Likewise, Alexander's exposition of the Articles of Faith itself follows that of Philip the Chancellor in his *Summa de bono* quite closely, if not *verbum pro verbo*, then definitely *sensus pro sensu*.[716] Alexander and John had both been prominent *magistri* before taking up the Franciscan habit.[717] Their discussions closely follow the work of the secular master Philip the Chancellor, and thus their treatment of the Articles of Faith reflects to some extent the intellectual climate of Paris in the first part of the thirteenth century.[718]

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[713] Ignace Brady, "Jean de la Rochelle," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* VIII (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), cols. 599-602, col. 600; Jacques Guy Bougerol, OFM, "John of la Rochelle: Les oeuvres et les manuscrits," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 97 (1994): 205-15, pgs. 205-6.
[714] Brady, "Jean de la Rochelle," col. 600. For a more recent review on the authorship of the various parts of the *Summa fratris Alexandri*, see, Kenan B. Osborne, OFM, "Alexander of Hales," in *The History of Franciscan Theology*, ed. Idem (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1994), 1-38, pgs. 13-18.
[715] Alexander of Hales, *Summa theologica* (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1948), 4:1122.
[716] This correspondence is also noted by the Quarachi editors, ibid., fn. 3. Cf. Philip the Chancellor, *Phlippi Cancellarii Parisiensis summa de bono* (Bern: Francke, 1985), 3 q. 12, pgs. 624-6.
[717] Brady, "John of la Rochelle," col. 599.
[718] On Philip the Chancellor and his theology, see Nicole Bériou, "Philippe le Chancellier," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* XI (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), cols. 1289-97. On the relationship between Franciscan theology and that of the universities, see Roest, *Franciscan Education,* 185-96.

John of la Rochelle's *De articulis fidei* survives in ten manuscripts, of which one, London British Library, MS Additional 22041 is currently north of the Channel. That this manuscript was produced for and used by Franciscans is fairly clear. It contains the works of such Franciscan authors as Alexander of Hales and St. Bonaventure.[719] That it was meant for the edification of a preacher who was probably often on the move is suggested by its size. It measures about twelve by seventeen centimeters, and thus is in the same category as the *vademecum* books described by David d'Avray that were meant for the use of an itinerant preacher.[720] Many of the works it contains concern canon law and the administration of the sacrament of penance, both of which would be of interest to a Friar minor exercising the care of souls.[721] That it contains commentaries on the *Sentences* and John's *Summa de anima* does not necessarily indicate a scholastic use, as the entirety of Franciscan education was, like that of their counterparts more famous for education, the Dominicans, meant to edify preachers.[722]

Although the one extant English copy of *De articulis fidei* dates from the fourteenth century, it probably came from an exemplar that had been on the island earlier and was itself doubtless part of a broader manuscript circulation. The text of the *summa* itself is in a *littera Oxoniensis*, a text hand whose use did not last long into the fourteenth century.[723] We know nothing of its lost exemplar, but it stands to reason that it was in England for some time before it was copied. Moreover, John's *summa* is an almost direct copy of the *Summa fratris Alexandri*, whose manuscripts enjoyed a broad circulation throughout western Christendom, including north

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719 London British Library Additional 22041, fols. 2, 55.
720 D'Avray, "*Vademecum* Books," 62-4.
721 See the online catalogue of the British Library's entry for Additional 22041 [http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/23714.htm&Search=Add.+22041&Highlight=F].
722 Moorman, *History of the Franciscan order*, 143. On the context of Franciscan education with the rest of the Franciscan mission, and especially on Franciscan preaching, see Chapters 6 and 7 of Roest, *Franciscan Education.*
723 On *litterae Oxonienses*, see Derolez, *Palaeography*, 100-1.

of the Channel.[724] As such, the theological ideas in John's *summa* had a broader circulation than John's text itself.

Of John's sermons, the manuscripts that we do have from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries indicate a much broader circulation of these codices in England, most evidence of which has been lost. As Lynch notes, John's *temporale* and *sanctorale* usually circulated in a collection.[725] One manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 453, a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century text, contains a large number of the sermons of John's *temporale*.[726] Other manuscripts indicate that they were copied from similar collections of John's sermons that are no longer extant. Oxford, Merton College, MS 237 is a fourteenth-century manuscript written in a *littera textualis,* four of whose folios, 25-29, have sermons of John of la Rochelle. The codex's earliest known owner was Bishop William Reed of Chichester, who was a fellow of Merton College and associate of the so-called "Oxford Calculators," and was part of a private library of several hundred books.[727] That he obtained a book with some of John's sermons in it indicates that these sermons were circulating in Oxford in the mid-fourteenth century, and probably earlier as well.

Two other manuscripts contain more definite evidence of having been copied from a now lost exemplar that contained a more complete homiletic oeuvre of John. Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd IV 27 contains the sermons of William de Montibus in addition to those of John.

[724] The *Summa fratris Alexandri* appears in one of the extant library catalogues of the medieval Dominicans, and Alexander's *Sentences* commentary appears in a Franciscan catalogue, K. W. Humphreys, ed., *The Friars' Libraries* (London: British Library, 1991), 204, 211. Many of the extant manuscripts of the *Summa fratris Alexandri* that are currently north of the Channel are late, although at least one manuscript with extracts from the *Summa*, Cambridge, Pembroke College, MS 43, dates from the thirteenth century. Prologue to *Alexandri de Hales Ordinis Minorium summa theologica*, xxiii-iv, xxiii.
[725] Kilian F. Lynch, OFM, "A List of the Sermons of John de Rupella," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 31 (1964): 287-319, pgs. 287-9.
[726] Ibid., 289-319.
[727] J. D. North, "Rede, William (*c.*1315–1385)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23248, accessed 29 April 2009].

We ought to note that the sermons of these two authors were probably not contained in the same exemplar, since the sermons of John have a great many *distinctiones* in the margins, whereas those of William do not.[728] These *distinctiones* were probably copied from the original exemplar, especially as the *distinctio* was a characteristic of the mendicant sermon. Likewise, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson A. 420 gives even more obvious signs of having come from a copy of a now-lost exemplar. The codex is a collection of the sermons of Gilbert of Tournai on folios 22 through 69. From folio 32r, the sermons are written in a *littera textualis*. We see a clear break on folio 70r, which is blank. When writing resumes on folio 70v, the writing has switched to a thirteenth-century *Anglicana*, and the sermon is not from Gilbert's cycle. The sermon continues through 71v, and then 72r is also blank. On the next side of the folio, we have John's sermon on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[729] The sermon runs through 73v, and then at 74r, the text returns to the sermons of Gilbert, but continues in two columns in a different hand. The section of the codex between folios 70 and 73 strongly suggests that there was a blank section in the codex that the original compiler or an assistant sought to fill in with other sermon material that was at hand, although he was not able to fill it completely. The exemplar that the scribe may have used to fill the blank space in the codex may have been another now lost manuscript of John's sermons that was circulating in thirteenth-century England. The manuscript itself probably dates to the earlier period of the existence of an *Anglicana* script, since the *textualis* has *Anglicana* characteristics, and the letters of the *Anglicana* script have split ascenders, which tend to be an indication of an earlier date.[730] Since

[728] Goering, *William de Montibus*, 525.
[729] This sermon, with the *thema* "Quae est ista quae ascendit," is printed in *Eleven Marian Sermons*, ed. Kilian F. Lynch, OFM (St. Bonaventure, NY: The Franciscan Institute, 1961), 42-9.
[730] Parkes, *Cursive Bookhands*, xv.

John's *temporale* and *sanctorale* often circulated together, it is highly likely that the Marian sermon inserted into the manuscript came from a complete volume of his sermons.

In addition to known evidence of late-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century circulation of John's sermons in England, we have indirect evidence that his sermons were circulating earlier in the thirteenth century as well. The Anglo-Norman *Les peines de purgatorie*, written sometime in the mid-thirteenth century, cites one of John's sermons.[731]

The previous evidence indicates that there were probably many more collections of John's sermons circulating in England in the late thirteenth century. To what extent did these sermons reach an audience who required dogmatic instruction? This question is not insignificant. As d'Avray has noted, a great deal of mendicant preaching seems as if it would be ill-suited to a lay audience, with frequent citations of theological and philosophical *auctoritates*, references to university life, and similar things.[732] John's sermons present this problem rather acutely. His sermons often speak of the duties of a good preacher, the excellence of the contemplative life, and the duties of good prelates.[733] Indeed, they seem to have little of interest to an audience of laymen. When his sermons were initially preached, they were almost certainly delivered to an academic audience; certain of his sermons, for example, speak of the various offices and faculties of the universities like expositors, decretists, and theologians.[734] His sixth sermon of Advent in particular speaks of the allegorical and moral expositions of scripture and the relationship between the disciplines of theology and philosophy, all of which indicate that the

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[731] Robert R. Relihan, Jr., "*Les peines de purgatorie*: The Anglo-Norman and Latin Manuscript Traditions," *Manuscripta* 22 (1978): 158-68, pgs. 158-9.
[732] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 114-8.
[733] See, for example, the discussion of the *egressus* of the prelate in John's sermon for the second Sunday in Lent, "Egressus Jesus secessit," Cambridge University Library Dd IV 27, fol. 63 vb.
[734] D'Avray, *Preaching*, 116-9.

privileged audience of these sermons was the students of the university in Paris.[735] In another of his sermons, he makes reference to the explicit faith required of the clergy and the implicit faith required of the laity, which seems to indicate an audience of the former.[736]

The model sermon collections of the Friars, especially the Franciscans, were often based on the *reportationes* taken of sermons preached to audiences in Paris.[737] As d'Avray and Bériou have noted, however, sermons preached in the mendicant convents in Paris probably had a large lay component to their audiences.[738] We know that in England in the early thirteenth century the friars were known for their preaching to lay audiences: Eccleston speaks of them preaching "both to the clergy and the people," noting as well that their preaching moved many to confession.[739] The *sermo modernus* of the Franciscan model sermon was highly modular, with various "branches" based on the "roots" of word meanings or significations.[740] As such, it is highly likely that in a sermon preached to a lay audience a reference to the life of an arts student in Paris could easily have been omitted without much loss of the overall sense of a sermon. These models, after all, were often meant to serve as rough guidelines for a preacher, and he might not slavishly follow them. Indeed, Jacopo Passavanti, a Dominican preaching in the Florentine convent in 1340 and 1341, writes in his model sermons that "the reader can cut them up again at will, as he shall desire and as the time and the place and the nature of his audience demands."[741] Indeed, we have evidence from the sermons of William Peraldus that mendicant preachers

[735] John Désiré Rasolofoarimana, OFM, "Étude et édition des sermons de l'Avent de Jean de la Rochelle, OMin († 3 Février 1245), œvres inédites," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 98 (2005): 41-149, pg. 69.
[736] John of la Rochelle, Sunday in Sexagesima, "Exiit qui seminat," Camb. UL Dd IV 27, fol. 20vb.
[737] See especially Bériou, *L'avènement,* pgs. 74-131, Louis Jacques Battailon, "Sermons rédigés, sermons réportés (XIIIe siècle)," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989): 69-86, and d'Avray, *Preaching*, pgs. 97-8 for a discussion of the *reportatio*.
[738] Bériou, *L'avènement*, pgs. 125-9, Bériou, "Les sermons," 417; d'Avray, *Preaching*, pgs. 123-6
[739] "tam clero quam populo," Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de adventu*, 27-8.
[740] John's *Processus negociandi themata sermonum*, ed. P. Gustavo Cantini, *Antonianum* 26 (1951): 247-70 describes how contemporaries believed a *sermo modernus* should be constructed. See also Mulchahey, *First the Bow*, 404-19.
[741] Mulchahey, *First the Bow,* 187.

intended their models to be used in this way. As noted above, his sermon for the third Sunday of Advent opens with, "Here you have first the material for a sermon to prelates, second, to doctors, and third, to everyone."[742] The sermon has three divisions, which are themselves subdivided. The first division speaks of the duties and failures of a prelate, the second of the duties and failures of a university instructor, and the third of the duties of a layman, "he who is in a lower status."[743] This sermon is really three separate sermons, each of which could have been preached as an individual unit. It is highly likely that if a Franciscan making use of John's sermons were to preach to a lay audience, the roots or branches dealing with contemplation or the duties of prelates might be similarly excised. In sermons where these references occur, they are often discrete units that could be taken from a sermon with little loss. For example, in his sermon on the *thema* "And Jesus went from thence,"[744] John speaks of the setting out of the penitent, the worker, the contemplative, and the prelate.[745] Each of these units can be removed without affecting the overall structure of the sermon. John himself notes that the parts of the sermon "should be adapted to diverse statuses, diverse condition, diverse profession, diverse perfection, and diverse ordination."[746] Additionally, if the sermons themselves may have had a modest circulation, they can nonetheless tell us of what sort of thinking influenced Franciscans, since preaching was one of the core components of a Franciscan's education. Even the Franciscan preacher who may have made an impromptu sermon to a lay audience would still have had his own thinking influenced by the type of preaching found in a model university sermon.

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[742] Peraldus, 3rd Sunday of Advent, "Hic jam quaeritur inter dispensatores ut fidelis quis inveniatur," *Guilielmi Alverni opera*, 11a.
[743] "qui est in statu inferiori," ibid, 12a.
[744] Matt. 15:21
[745] John of la Rochelle, Second Sunday in Lent, "Egressus Jesus secessit," Camb. UL Dd IV 27, fols. 63-4.
[746] "…reducendae sunt ad diversos status, diversam conditionem, diversam professionem, diversam perfectionem, diversam ordinationem," John of la Rochelle, *Processus*, 263.

The first thing to note about the contrast between John's sermons and his treatise on the Articles of Faith is that, in comparison to his sermons, his treatise is more identifiably scholastic. Since it primarily reproduces a discussion that came from the pen of Philip the Chancellor as part of a larger theological work, its treatment of the Articles of Faith differs somewhat from what we have encountered earlier. Thomas of Chobham, Richard Poore, Richard of Wetheringsett, and William Peraldus all regarded the Articles of Faith as a teaching tool for laying out the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. John's treatise on the Articles is copied from a section of two *summae*, Philip's and Alexander's, and so it does not discuss the Articles as a teaching tool, but rather discusses each Article in terms of certain scholastic questions to be posed and resolved concerning that article.[747] As a result, his treatise on the Articles is quite unlike that of a work like *Qui bene praesunt*, which is clearly designed for teaching and preaching to a "rude" audience. Even though the Articles as discussed by Philip, John, and Alexander are not posed as tools for teaching lay people, they still serve as such indirectly, since the goal of such questions was to train adroit thinkers in the universities and *studia*, both of which institutions themselves were meant to train pastors of the Church. John's discussion of the Articles thus takes the basic doctrines contained in each article for granted, since the discussion is meant for an audience of people already educated in the basics of the Christian faith. It probably does not belong in the category of "catechisms" into which Roest places it.[748] This scholastic approach in the treatise differs markedly from John's sermons, which take the text of various *themata*, divide them up, and then explain each division. They lack, as do most

[747] On the history of the *quaestio*, see, for example, Brian Lawn, *The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic "Quaestio disputata"* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 6-15, and Bernardo C. Bazán, *Les questions disputés, principalement dans les facultés de théologie*, in *Les questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, droit et de médicine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), 25-31.
[748] Cf. Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 236.

model sermons, much treatment of their topics by way of questions. This difference in approach is the difference between the classroom and the pulpit.[749]

A work like John's *summa* is useful in that it shows us how he or a university- or *studium*-educated friar would have thought about the doctrines in the Articles, and also how his classroom treatment of the Christian faith does or does not differ from the approach of his sermons. John's sermons are heavily based on the format of the *distinctio*. Indeed, they follow the pattern found in his treatise on dividing a theme by taking a component of the theme as a root and then branching off with several different possible meanings. When we begin to see the *distinctio* appear in the late twelfth century, it is often associated with the work of the schools at a period in which they concentrated on moral theology and when masters focused on training their students for the preaching that they would actively carry out after they had finished their stint in the schools.[750] The Chanter and his students had taken pains to differentiate *lectio*, *disputatio,* and *praedicatio*, noting that the first two prepared one for preaching, but were not included in preaching. In contrast to the *disputatio* and *quaestio,* from the earliest of the *artes praedicandi*, the distinction was held up as a useful technique in preaching.[751] Thomas of Chobham states that a distinction into many members "strongly illuminates the hearts of listeners,"[752] and also that what occurs in *lectio* and *disputatio* is different from preaching.[753]

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[749] Indeed, d'Avray has noted that the university sermon should not be called scholastic precisely because it lacks the *quaestio* format. D'Avray, *Preaching*, 7-8, 242-3.
[750] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons*, 75-6. See also Joseph Goering, "Pastoralia: The Popular Literature of the Care of Souls," in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, eds. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 671.
[751] On Peter the Chanter and his intellectual circle's treatment of *lectio, disputatio,* and *praedicatio,* see Chapter 5 of Baldwin's *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*.
[752] "ualde illuminat corda auditorum," Thomas of Chobham, *Summa de arte praedicandi*, 266.
[753] Ibid., 15.

Richard of Wetheringsett notes that the three most important Articles to teach are the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection.[754] We see these three emphasized in the extant model sermons and *reportationes*. O'Carroll has noted that the preaching content of the Dominican sermons in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 511 shows a tendency towards preaching that is more "catechetical" in orientation during the seasons of Advent and Lent.[755] It is reasonable to expect that such would be the case, since it is the time when people in general would be more likely to be attending sermons and making confessions in general, and the time when the Church was celebrating the two great mysteries of the Christian faith, the Incarnation of Christ, and the redemption of humanity in his death and resurrection.[756] If we look at the Advent sermons of John, this pattern holds true for our Franciscan as well. In particular, we can see this inclusion of the dogmatic and moral in his third sermon on Advent on the *thema* "I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have heard their cry because of the rigour of them that are over the works: And knowing their sorrow, I am come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians, and to bring them out of that land into a good and spacious land, into a land that floweth with milk and honey."[757] He divides the *thema* into three parts: The piety of the Incarnation, the necessity of the Incarnation, and the means of the Incarnation.[758] The necessity of the Incarnation comes from humanity's being stuck in sin, and Christ became incarnate in order to free humanity from sin. John notes that Christ in his Incarnation descended as a fire against the chill of sin, and argues that nothing inflames the soul more to love of God than that Christ came and took on human flesh in order to save humans from their sins.[759] The

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[754] Richard of Wetheringsett, *Qui bene praesunt,* BL Royal 9. A. XIV, fol. 12v.
[755] O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 13-14; O'Carroll, "Preaching for Easter Sunday," 83-6.
[756] O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 13-4.
[757] Exodus 3:7, in John, 3rd Sunday in Advent, "Vidi afflictionem populi mei," "Sermons de l'avent," 93.
[758] Ibid., 93-4.
[759] Ibid., 94

sermon is brief, running to a mere three printed pages, which is short enough to be preached to an audience and hold its attention, but which also leaves ample room to be dilated if the preacher using the sermon so desires.

This sermon is expository, in sharp contrast to his discussion of the Incarnation in John's *De articulis*. In discussing the article, "He was conceived by the Holy Spirit," John poses the question of whether Christ can be called the son of the Holy Spirit, since the Creed attributes the conception to that particular person of the godhead. John's answer is that "conceived by the Holy Spirit" is meant in the same way that Christ says that a person must be born again of water and the spirit, and surely one does not call a Christian the son of water.[760] This discussion follows a different approach than Richard of Wetheringsett in the *Qbp*, in which he discusses the Incarnation by citation of Psalm 131:11, "The Lord hath sworn truth to David, and he will not make it void: of the fruit of thy womb I will set upon thy throne," and 2 Samuel 7:10, "and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house to my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever." Wetheringsett further provides similitudes of light in the sun, a nut in a shell, and honey in a comb to help explain the union of divine and human in Christ. So too Peraldus explains how Christ's conception differed from that of a normal human, with Christ's human soul and godhead being present at the moment of conception in contrast to a normal conception, in which a soul only enters the embryo forty days after conception.[761] All three works address the same difficulties with what it means for God to be incarnate as a human, but the emphasis of each differs. John's tract, employing the *quaestio*, is meant to help a scholar think rigorously. Peraldus's *summa* and sermons lay out doctrine for preachers, and Richard's

[760] John of la Rochelle, *De articulis fidei*, London BL 22041 fols. 400vb-401ra.
[761] Peraldus, *Summa de virtutibus* 2.2.5, pg. 44; idem, First Sunday after Easter, "Omne quod natum est a Deo vincit mundum," *Guilelmi Alverni opera*, 65.

summa is aimed at priests who themselves may lack erudition and whose primary need is to explain the faith as simply as possible to their parishioners.

Not only in Advent, but also in is Lent John's preaching at its most solidly doctrinal, although his explanation of the doctrines of the Christian faith follows a straightforward exposition based on *distinctiones* rather than employing the *quaestiones* seen in his *Summa de articulis fidei*. His sermon on Hebrews 9:11 on the fifth Sunday in Lent, in noting the difference between the sacrifice in the ceremonial law of the Old Testament and the sacrifice of Christ, speaks of the effects of the blood of Christ. This sermon has one of the more direct treatments of the doctrine of the Atonement. As a sermon rather than school text, John explains that the blood of Christ brings forgiveness of sins without discussing the issue of whether the Atonement would be called substitutionary or a ransom. John explains how blood in scripture can refer to a stain and guilt, such as Psalm 50:16, "Deliver me from blood, O God," but that Christ's blood cleanses and removes guilt. So too does the blood of Christ bring solace to the condemned and lead the deceased into the presence of God, healing the lack of the beatific vision.[762] Whereas the blood of Abel cried out for vengeance, writes John, the blood of Christ serves as a defense and advocate for the Christian. The sermon is replete with scriptural authorities that confirm each division of the discussion of the blood of Christ redeeming the sinner.

John explains the blood of Christ doing away with sin most explicitly by showing how Christ's seven effusions of blood each washed away a different human sin. The notion of each wound of Christ wiping away a particular sin would, by the end of the Middle Ages, become a commonplace in English religious devotion.[763] It would eventually be connected with the cult of the so called *arma Christi*, the instruments of Christ's torture and passion that originally

[762] John of la Rochelle, First Sunday in Passiontide, "Christus assistens pontifex," Cambridge University Library Dd IV 27, fols. 87-8.
[763] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 244.

appeared in the eighth century as an emblem of the majesty of Christ but in the late twelfth century came to be associated with his suffering.[764] The circumcision removed original sin, says John, since it is through the genitals that original sin is transmitted. Christ's sweating blood removed venial sins, since his reason conquered his desire for disobedience in the Agony in the Garden.[765] John continues his explanation of each shedding of blood, with the flogging for sins of omission, the crown of thorns for error, the nails through Christ's hands for the committing of mortal sin, and the lance through the side cleansing sins of thought. He explains the doctrine of how the blood of the lamb turning aside the Angel of Death in Exodus signifies the blood of Christ freeing the soul from evil:

> [The blood of Christ] defends [the penitent] from a triple evil, namely of penalty, guilt, and temptation, which is signified in Exodus 12, in the liberation from the exterminating angel, where they take a spotless lamb and put its blood on the doorposts and lintel [of the houses where they] eat it so that passing over the exterminator sees the blood and does not harm them. The lintel signifies the higher part of the reason, and the door posts are the intellect and emotions. The blood of the spotless lamb is the blood of Christ Himself.[766]

Most of John's sermons, like much mendicant preaching, are moral in character, with morals as a component of a right and well-adjusted faith. His sermon on the first Sunday in Advent is a sermon on the Virtues, beginning with that of faith. In his discussion of this virtue, he assumes a knowledge of the basic elements of Christian doctrine. Aside from briefly discussing how Hebrews 1 presents the heroes of faith who have gone before and how they indicate God's unchangingness, he does not speak much of doctrine, but rather of putting that

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[764] G. Binding, "Arma Christi," *Lexicon des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1977-1999).

[765] John of la Rochelle, First Sunday in Passiontide, "Christus assistens pontifex," Camb. UL Dd IV 27, fol. 86r.

[766] "Defendit a malo triplici, scilicet, pene, culpe, et temptationis, quod significatur Exodos xii, in liberatione ab exterminatore angelo, ubi dicitur quod suma<n>t agnum immaculatum et immolabunt et ponent <sanguinem> super utrumque postem in superliminiaribus <domorum in quibus> comedent id, ut transiens exterminator videat sanguinem illum et non noceat eis. Per superliminare significatur pars superior rationis, uterque postis sunt intellectus et affectus. Sanguis enim immaculati est ipse sanguis Christi." Ibid., fol. 87rb.

doctrine into practice. He notes that God condemns false faith, little faith, and dead faith.[767] He likewise speaks of the parable of the grain of mustard and how a living faith grows to produce a fruit-bearing tree.[768] He provides explanations in his sermons for some doctrines of the faith, like the Incarnation and Atonement of the sacrifice of Christ, but through much of the sermon cycle, as in this sermon, he takes the basic principles of faith for granted.

His discussion of faith as a seed also appears in his sermon on the *thema* "Behold the sower went forth to sow."[769] This sermon opens with a discussion of implicit and explicit faith. Christ told the parable to the crowds, the sermon tells us, but he explained its hidden meaning to his disciples; in the same way the faith is meant to be preached in one way to *simplices* and another to "the intelligent and literate."[770] The meaning of this statement is not entirely clear, since the text of a model sermon was not necessarily a script from which one would read directly. Saying that faith was to be preached differently to different listeners could be a directive to the preacher reading the text of the model sermon to prepare his own preaching as much as it could be a piece of advice intended to come from the mouth of a preacher to an audience of clerics. Indeed, it may have been the latter when he initially preached his sermons and the former when the volume of his models were used by later preachers. Such difficulties of interpretation are a constant problem when trying to figure out how model sermons were used at a remove of eight hundred years.[771] Although the explanation of the parable itself, John notes, was expounded by Christ only to his disciples, he says that the intelligent and learned are able to have a mystical understanding, and the simple can receive the truth "veiled, as though in a

[767] John of la Rochelle, First Sunday in Advent, "Misit de summo et accepit me," Rasolofoarimanana, "Sermons de l'avent," pg. 75.
[768] Ibid., 76.
[769] Matthew 13:3.
[770] "intelligentibus litteratis." John of la Rochelle, Sunday in Sexagesima, "Exiit qui seminat," Camb. UL Dd IV 27, fol. 20v.
[771] For some of the issues in dealing with the preached versus written sermon, see Thompson, "The Sermon as an Event," 13-40.

parable."[772] Such may be a reference to the implicit faith of a layman simply believing what the Church believes, or it may also be a statement that the parables of Christ are themselves a useful teaching tool.

In his discussion of the parable, as in his *summa* on the Articles of Faith, John explains the doctrine of creation. In the sermon, John explains that the field in Christ's parable is the world, the whole of creation. He then backs up this statement with authorities from scripture: "All things were made by him," and "And God saw all the things that he had made, and they were very good."[773] He then goes on to another division, this one of God the Son having sowed temporal, spiritual, and corporal goods in the world. He further explains that the devil is the enemy who sowed weeds in the field, i.e., the world.[774] That the world was created good but corrupted by the devil is a foundational doctrine of the Christian faith, and what, from the very beginnings of the Christian faith, separated it from both its Hellenistic pagan competitors and from its antagonists among the Gnostic, Manichean and much later Albigensian sects. In John's *summa*, he explains the Article of Faith that God is the creator of heaven and earth by way of the *quaestio* rather than division of the branches of a sermon. He discusses the origin of all creation from God by responding to the "Manichee" who states that since Moses calls God the creator of heaven and earth and since heaven and earth are visible, then the God of the Old Testament must only have created things visible. John's answer is that heaven and earth also contain things invisible as well as things visible.[775] Moreover, notes John, the darkness of Genesis 1:1 is not to be understood as being anything contrary to God, but rather the lack of light, which did not yet

[772] "involute quasi parabolice," John of la Rochelle, Sunday in Sexagesmia, "Exiit qui seminat," Camb. UL Dd IV 27, fol. 20vb.
[773] John 1:3, Genesis 1:31.
[774] John of la Rochelle, Sunday in Sexagesima, "Exiit qui seminat," Cambridge, UL Dd IV 27, fols. 21rb-21va.
[775] John of la Rochelle, *De articulis fidei*, BL Additional 22041, fol. 400ra.

exist.[776] Both John's sermon and treatise establish the doctrine of creation: The one does so by distinguishing what it means to say "heaven and earth," and the other by presenting several scriptural authorities that say that the world was created. The thought is the same, but the way of presenting it—simple confirmation by quotation of scripture as opposed to questions used to interpret scripture—is different.

John addresses faith in the divinity and humanity of Christ in a sermon on the faith of the Caananite woman who approaches Jesus in Sidon. John notes that in her addressing Christ as both "Son of David" and as "Lord," she acknowledges both Christ's divinity and humanity.[777] In this particular discussion of Christ's human and divine natures, his sermon matches up with his academic writing, in which he notes that the reason that Christ is called "our Lord" rather than all three persons of the Trinity is that in that particular instance, "our Lord" refers to his Lordship in human capacity, and "it is said on account of the ministry of our redemption in assumed flesh."[778]

This same sermon indicates that a living faith is a faith in the risen Christ, without whose resurrection, John quotes the Apostle Paul, "your faith is vain."[779] John's treatise on the Articles of Faith, by contrast, has little discussion of the resurrection or of what it means both for confirmation of the faith or the future resurrection of believers. Indeed, his treatment of the Article "On the third day He rose again" shows us most clearly the lack of expository and catechetical thrust to John's treatise. He does not deal with Christ's resurrection vis-à-vis the general resurrection of humanity, nor with the significance of Christ's glorified body, both of

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[776] Ibid., fol. 400ra-b.
[777] John of la Rochelle, Second Sunday in Lent, "Egressus Jesus secessit," Cambridge UL Dd IV 27, fol. 64r.
[778] "Dicitur propter executionem misterii redemptionis nostre in carne assumpta." John of la Rochelle, *De articulis fidei*, BL Additional 22041, fol. 400 va.
[779] I Corinthians 15:17, quoted in John of la Rochelle, Second Sunday in Lent, "Egressus Jesus Secessit," Camb. UL Dd IV 27., f. 64ra.

which Peraldus deals with in detail. Rather, he devotes his discussion of this article to the question of whether or not a resurrection on Sunday morning can be counted as the third day from Friday evening.[780] This sort of *quaestio* is an exercise for someone in a school.

Conclusions about Preaching the Articles of Faith

The broad circulation of *Qui bene praesunt* indicates that it found an audience among those concerned with being able to fulfill the catechetical preaching obliged by the statutes of the English episcopate. Although the sermons of Maurice de Sully, John of la Rochelle, and William Peraldus all came from France, they all enjoyed a broad circulation in England. Textual aids for doctrinal preaching fit in well with the English episcopate's desire to have the English laity receive suitable preaching from priests, canons, or friars. Those works produced for secular clergy and canons regular present the morals and doctrines of the Christian faith in a manner that can be easily grasped both by a preacher and his audience. Their distribution among all different kinds of owners over the course of the thirteenth century indicates that they were reaching the men charged with preaching Christian doctrine. That so many of these works were owned by or available to pastors of the Church indicates that these same pastors were employing them in this same preaching of the Christian faith. So too did the mendicant friars have both models and works of theology to provide the materials for preaching morals and doctrine to the English people.

In doctrines and presentation, the *summae* of Richard, William, and John are all three closer to each other than they are different. The primary difference between John's *summa* and the other two is that he is more fond of the *quaestio*, and the reason that his format differs from that of Peraldus and Richard has less to do with his order than that he was a secular *magister* in Paris before taking the habit of a Franciscan. Of the three sets of sermons we have discussed, all

[780] John of la Rochelle, *De articulis fidei*, BL Add. 22041, fols. 401va-402rb.

differ somewhat in their style, but these differences reflect the period in which they were written and their writers' individual styles rather than any difference on might find based on whether a secular cleric or mendicant prepared the sermons. The sermons of William Peraldus and John of la Rochelle both have their origins in a scholastic milieu: for John, the University of Paris, and for Peraldus, the network of Dominican *studia*. John's sermons reflect preaching originally delivered in Paris and to an audience of academics in which laypeople were no doubt in attendance. Peraldus's sermons, although heavy with textual references, have more content that is dedicated to explanation of doctrines as well as moral exhortation. The two do not necessarily reflect a difference in approach between Franciscan and Dominican doctrinal preaching. More thorough studies than this one have indicated that the essential content of mendicant sermons was the same across orders.[781] The fundamental doctrinal content of John and William's sermons is the same, and if the emphasis varies in their works, the difference is the difference between two different authors in two somewhat different milieux than it is in any difference between orders. John composed his sermons in Paris, while William wrote and preached in an environment somewhat removed from that of the university. Both sets of sermons make clear that the preaching of the friars in some cases provided detailed expositions of doctrine and in other cases expanded upon the doctrines that the audience already knew and, more commonly, exhorted believers to put these doctrines into practice by means of a moral life. By their content and circulation, three *summae* and three sermons out of a massive quantity of the literature of pastoral care show a broad accessibility of the doctrines of the Christian faith to the thirteenth-century Englishman of either clerical or lay status.

One of these sets of sermons, Maurice's, was translated into Anglo-Norman and Middle English. Middle English was almost certainly the mother tongue of the vast majority of people

[781] See, for example, O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 102.

in thirteenth-century England. Most of England's upper classes, however, and especially the clergy, would have been familiar with Anglo-Norman. Indeed, Michael Richter has shown that during the 1307 canonization hearings for Thomas Cantilupe, all of the clergy, both monastic and secular, were at least able to speak in French, if not Latin.[782] As such, Maurice's sermons in Anglo-Norman would still have furnished a model that they could have translated into English in the same manner that they translated Latin sermons. Anglo-Norman was available to a broader readership than the clergy, being used by both the aristocracy and the upwardly mobile.[783] During the same period that we see a Latin literature of pastoral care, we also encounter literature in Anglo-Norman discussing the doctrines of Christianity as found in the Articles of Faith, works that would have been directly accessible to educated laypeople. We shall now examine three of these works.

[782] Michael Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur mündlichen Kommunikation in England von der Mitte des 11. bis zum beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1979), 203.
[783] Ulrike Schemmann, *Confessional Literature and Lay Education: The Manuel de Pechez as a Book of Good Conduct and Guide to Personal Religion* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2000), 283.

Chapter 4. "…at least in the mother tongue."

The bishops' constitutions and treatises previously covered frequently enjoin clergy to teach their parishioners the Creed and Articles of Faith in their parishioners' "mother tongue" or "native language."[784] Since three languages—Latin, English, and the dialect of Old French known as Anglo-Norman—existed alongside each other in thirteenth-century England, the first question to ask is: What was this mother tongue? What languages did the people use in their everyday activities? As late as 1963, Mary Dominica Legge, the reigning scholar of Anglo-Norman literature, could claim that by the late twelfth century, in England, "most people, down to the very poorest, were bilingual" in French and English.[785] More recent work, especially that by William Rothwell, Ian Short, and Michael Richter, has shown that in thirteenth-century England, the native tongue of most English people was English, as it had been since the days before the Conquest.[786]

People in thirteenth-century England understood Anglo-Norman to be something of a vernacular, but a vernacular that was used by those in the higher social ranks: the great magnates, the knightly class, and the members of the incipient gentry and upwardly mobile amongst the free.[787] It served as a language of power and a "language of culture," a social

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784 See above, 66-7.
785 Mary Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 4.
786 See especially William Rothwell, "The Teaching of French in Medieval England," *Modern Language Review* 63:1 (1968): 37-46; Rothwell, "The Role of French in Thirteenth-Century England," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 58:2 (1976): 445-466; Rothwell, "A quelle époque a-t-on cessé de parler français en Angleterre?" in *Mélanges de philologie romane offerts à Charles Camproux* (Montpellier: C.E.O., 1978), 2.1077-89; Rothwell, "The Teaching and Learning of French in Later Medieval England," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 111 (2001): 1-18; Ian Short, "On Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England," *Romance Philology* 33:4 (1980): 467-79; and Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter*.
787 On the gentry and knightly class, see Peter Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000-1400* (Dover, NH: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1993).

marker for those in the upper classes and those seeking entry into those classes.[788] Up to at least the middle of the thirteenth century, the language was still acquired early and in the home by the members of at least some social classes. Around 1230 or 1240, Walter of Bibbesworth wrote the *Tretiz*, a guide to improve one's French, for Denise of Munchesi, the wife of Warin of Munchesi, a magnate whom Matthew Paris had regarded as "the strongest pillar of the kingdom."[789] Walter assumes that his patron will use his *Tretiz* to teach French to her children as part of a general education in the household rather than in a classroom environment. The *Tretiz* is structured so that the teaching and learning take place in French, although there are helpful Middle English glosses.[790] In the social environment of the aristocracy, even those whose native language was English would have acquired their French almost from the cradle; the English aristocracy lacked the modern distinction of "native" and learned languages contiguous with nation states.[791] Amongst the greater magnates, marriages to spouses from across the Channel continually brought in new French speakers, so that throughout the thirteenth century, there were at least a few people in England who spoke French as natives.[792]

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[788] See Susan Crane, "Social Aspects of Bilingualism in the Thirteenth Century," *Thirteenth-Century England* 6 (1997): 103-15, pg. 105. Peter Coss in "Aspects of Cultural Diffusion in Medieval England: The Early Romances, Local Society and Robin Hood," *Past and Present* 108 (1985): 35-79, pgs. 40-1 notes that the London merchants who organized the *pui* promoted the composition of lyrics in French. Guild records were kept in French until the fourteenth century. See also Douglas A. Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche Trewely: The French Language in England, 1000-1600: Its Status, Description and Instruction* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 40.

[789] Quoted in Renate Haas, "*Femina*: Female Roots of 'Foreign' Language Teaching and the Rise of Mother-Tongue Ideologies," *Exemplaria* 19:1 (2007): 139-62, pg. 143. On Bibbesworth's *Tretiz,* see especially William Rothwell, "A Mis-Judged Author and a Mis-Used Text: Walter de Bibbesworth and His 'Tretiz,'" *Modern Language Review* 77:2 (1982): 282-93, and Karen J. Jambeck, "The *Tretiz* of Walter of Bibbesworth: Cultivating the Vernacular," in *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), 159-83.

[790] Rothwell, "Teaching of French," 37. Haas, in "Mother Tongue," 146-7, notes that the opening sections of the *Tretiz* concentrate on those aspects of life centered around the home and the child before the work moves on to subjects like husbandry and household management. The playfulness of the text also indicates that Walter had children in mind when writing it. Jambeck, "The *Tretiz*," 168-71 notes aspects of the *Tretiz* that indicate that it is especially meant for teaching children to acquire the French language by immersion rather than classroom-style pedagogy.

[791] Haas, "Mother Tongue," 141.

[792] Kibbee, *For to Speke Frenche,* 21.

Nevertheless, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, French was a language that needed to be consciously learned or at least improved even by many members of the aristocracy: that the upper classes of twelfth-century England had not been sealed off from the population at large meant that French as a true language of everyday use did not survive long after the Conquest.[793] As early as the twelfth century, we see glosses in Old English and Anglo-Norman together in Latin texts, and specifically glosses pertaining to grammatical terminology, which, Rothwell has argued, indicate that pupils in the classroom may have been learning French conjugations by way of Latin grammar.[794] The existence of a text like Bibbesworth's *Tretiz* indicates that even those of the higher social strata needed to improve their grammar and vocabulary; French was moving from a vernacular to learned language.[795] At around the same time as the production of the *Tretiz*, circa 1250, we see a large influx of loan words into Middle English, which indicates that the bilingual expanded "the English lexicon in which they [were] now more comfortable than in French."[796] By the end of the thirteenth century, books to teach French that were entirely bilingual in Anglo-Norman and Middle English indicate that the earlier means of language acquisition, hearing it spoken in the home, was no longer a viable means to learn the language.[797] Anglo-Norman had become almost entirely learned.

Even as a second language, Anglo-Norman had a large contingent of users in thirteenth-century England. Its status meant that it was used not just by the knightly classes and gentry, but also those among the bourgeoisie seeking to emulate noble or knightly patterns of culture.[798] Richter's case study of the 1307 canonization hearings for Thomas Cantilupe shows that among

[793] Rothwell, "Role of French," 448-9.
[794] Rothwell, "Teaching and Learning of French," 2-5.
[795] Rothwell, "Teaching of French," 38.
[796] Crane, "Aspects of Bilingualism," 110.
[797] Rothewell, "Teaching of French," 39.
[798] Coss, "Aspects of Cultural Diffusion," 44.

urban laypeople, twenty-three out of forty were able to testify in French or a combination of French and Latin, and of rural laypeople, eight out of seventy-seven were able to do so.[799] Both Parkes and Clanchy have shown that literacy, both pragmatic and recreational, increased greatly amongst laypeople over the course of the thirteenth century.[800] Those works written in languages other than Latin—either practical works such as treatises on estate management or more recreational works such as romances—for these literate laypeople were, throughout most of the thirteenth century, written in French. For those laypeople who were able to read, books containing literature of religious instruction would allow them to learn the Creed and Articles of Faith in a language that was, if not a mother tongue, then at least in a language occupying a role similar to that of a mother tongue.

As a prestige language, Anglo-Norman was used by the gentry and aristocracy, and also by a great many of England's clergymen. The primary language of the schools and cloisters was Anglo-Norman, and we have some evidence that the English cleric's Anglo-Norman was better than his Latin.[801] Richter's case study in Hereford shows that of the clergy who testified in Cantilupe's canonization hearings, all were able to do so in either Latin or French. Only one regular cleric was not able to give his testimony entirely in Latin, and among the parochial clergy, the fourteen out of twenty-two who were not able to testify entirely in Latin were able to do so in a combination of Latin and French.[802] That those clerics who could not speak Latin could speak Anglo-Norman indicates that there was very much an audience among the clergy for pastoral literature written in that language.

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[799] Richter, *Sprache und Gesellschaft*, 190.
[800] Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," in *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 275-97; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 224-52.
[801] Richer, *Sprache und Gesellschaft*, 149-57.
[802] Ibid., 188.

There was indeed an Anglo-Norman literature of religious instruction for both of these audiences, clergy and educated laity. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 471 is comprised of two manuscripts that were bound together. One of these two is a late thirteenth-century manuscript that contains the sermons of Maurice de Sully, some in Latin, some in Middle English, and some in Anglo-Norman.[803] The trilingual nature of this manuscript makes clear the demand for religious instruction in all three languages. Maurice's sermons are not the only Anglo-Norman religious literature in this codex. It also contains the *Château d'amour*, a poetic account of the fall and redemption of humanity that outlines the basic principles of the Christian faith, written by Robert Grosseteste sometime around 1230.[804] Somewhat earlier, St. Edmund of Abingdon, archbishop of Canterbury from 1234 to 1240, wrote a *Speculum religiosorum* when he was living with the Augustinian canons of Merton in 1213 and 1214.[805] The *Speculum* guides the reader in knowing God through creation, knowing God through scriptures, and knowing God in himself; its section on knowing God through scriptures outlines the Virtues and Vices, the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the beatitudes, the Works of Mercy, the petitions of the Paternoster, and the Articles of Faith.[806] Sometime around the mid-thirteenth

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[803] Robson, *Maurice of Sully*, 63.

[804] Mackie and Murray have both dated the composition of the *Château* to around 1230, Murray for philological reasons, and Mackie because in several instances, the prologue names the author as "Master Grosseteste," mentioning only his position as *magister* and not as bishop of Lincoln. Evelyn A. Mackie, "Robert Grosseteste's Anglo-Norman Treatise on the Loss and Restoration of Creation Commonly Known as *Le Château d'Amour*: An English Prose Translation," in *Robert Grosseteste and the Beginnings of a British Theological Tradition: Papers Delivered at the* Grosseteste Colloquium *Held at Greyfriars, Oxford on 3rd July 2002*, ed. Maura O'Carroll (Rome: Istituto Storico dei Cappuccini, 2003), 151-79, pgs. 151-6. The *Château d'amour*'s most recent edition is in Evelyn Anne Mackie's "Robert Grosseteste's *Chasteu d'amur.* A Text in Context" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2002), pgs. 85-207. For the previous edition, see *Le château d'amour de Robert Grosseteste, évêque de Lincoln*, ed. J. Murray (Paris: Champion, 1918).

[805] Alan D. Wilshere, introduction to *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse (St Edmund of Abingdon's* Speculum ecclesiae*)* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1982), xix.

[806] For the edition of Latin text of St. Edmund's *Speculum*, see *Speculum religiosorum and Speculum ecclesie*, ed. Helen P. Forshaw (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

century, it was translated into Anglo-Norman as the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*.[807] *Circa* 1260, William of Waddington, a member of the household of Walter Gray, the conscientious Archbishop of York from 1216 to 1255, wrote the *Manuel des Pechez,* an Anglo-Norman poem of approximately 12,000 lines that outlines the twelve Articles of Faith, the Seven Deadly Sins, the seven Sacraments, the Decalogue, and confession.[808] Both the content of these three works and their production by bishops or those associated with bishops puts them in a similar category to the *pastoralia* discussed in this study's previous chapters.

All three superficially seem to be works of religious instruction, and indeed are classified as such by Legge.[809] Two of the works discussed in this chapter, however, present some problems with respect to genre. St. Edmund originally wrote the *Speculum* as a guide to contemplation, to assist the religious devotion of the reader in thinking of Christ's passion based on the canonical hours of the day. It is a work of contemplation or meditation fully in line with Victorine spirituality.[810] Likewise, Grosseteste's *Château* has been called an allegory, a romance, and a *summa* in poetic form.[811] How might we discuss literature of religious instruction, which is meant to provide the basic foundations of what a Christian needs to know,

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[807] Wilshere, introduction to *Mirour*, xix-xx. The text of the Anglo-Norman *Mirour* was eventually translated back into Latin as the *Speculum ecclesiae*. Robbins and earlier scholars had thought that the Anglo-Norman *Mirour* was the original text, although Wilshere and Foreshaw have shown definitively that the Latin text came first in their respective publications, "The Latin Primacy of St. Edmund's 'Mirror of Holy Church,'" *Modern Language Review* 71:3 (1976): 500-12, and "New Light on the *Speculum ecclesiae* of St. Edmund of Abingdon (An Enquiry into the Original Language and Structure of the Treatise)," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 38 (1971): 7-33.

[808] On the *Manuel* in general, see Arnould's *Le manuel des péchés*, Schemmann's *Confessional Literature and Lay Education*; Matthew Sullivan, "A Brief Textual History of the *Manuel des Péchés*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen: Bulletin de la Société néophilologique de Helsinki* 93 (1992): 337-346; Sullivan, "Readers of the *Manuel des Péchés*," *Romania* 113 (1992-1995): 233-42; Sullivan, "The Author of the *Manuel des Péchés*," *Notes and Queries* (1991): 155-7. See also Kemmler's *Exempla in Context, passim* for a discussion of the *exempla* found in the *Manuel* and its Middle English translation, *Handlyng Synne*.

[809] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 211-2, 213-4, 223-4.

[810] Helen P. Forshaw, S.H.C.J., "St. Edmund's *Speculum*: A Classic of Victorine Spirituality," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 39 (1972): 7-40.

[811] See, for example, Jane Zatta, "The 'Romance' of the *Castle of Love,*" *Chaucer Yearbook: A Journal of Late Medieval Studies* 5 (1998): 163-85, pg. 163, Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 223-4, Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 224.

and devotional literature, which is meant to help the devout attain a richer participation in the life of the Church? Do the two belong to the same genre? When modern scholars have weighed in on the question, they have tended to place the two in separate categories: the *Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture*, for example, presents devotional literature in a chapter separate from that on literature of religious instruction.[812] St. Edmund's *Speculum* has been included in discussions of meditative, "mystical" literature following a line from St. Anselm, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and Aelred of Rievaulx on down to the fourteenth-century English mystics, and also as part of the pastoral literature produced in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council.[813]

We can understand these works well if we examine them in the broader context of the religious history of the thirteenth century. The work of the Church as an institution during those years showed a consistent top-down push to ensure that all Christians participated in the life of the Church, both sacramentally and by having at least a basic understanding of the foundational doctrines and morals of the Christian faith. At the same time, we can also see a strong demand for preaching that speaks of a bottom-up demand to participate in the life of the Church far beyond the minimal level required. A full participation in sacramental and devotional life would necessarily be founded on an understanding of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as found in the Creed and Articles of Faith. As such, one might say that a work of devotional literature

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[812] See E. A. Jones, "Literature of Religious Instruction," and Denise N. Baker, "Mystical Devotional Literature," both in *A Companion to Medieval English Literautre and Culture, c. 1350-c. 1500,* ed. Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 406-22, 423-36.

[813] Thomas H. Bestul, "Devotional Writing in England Between Anselm and Richard Rolle," in *Mysticism: Medieval and Modern*, ed. Valerie M. Lagorio (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1986), 12-28, pgs. 17-8. Legge in *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 211-12, and Alexandra Barratt in "Works of Religious Instruction," in *Middle English Prose*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press), 413-32, pgs. 417-8 recognize that the *Mirour* and its Middle English translation are useful in both capacities, as mystical treatise and manual of religious instruction.

could include religious instruction, thus causing the boundaries between the two genres to overlap.

In examining these three works, the *Mirour*, the *Château*, and the *Manuel*, we intend to demonstrate that they form another aspect of the efforts on the part of churchmen to inculcate Christian doctrine as part of a larger program of moral reform. They serve as an excellent representative sample because their content is similar to that of Latin *pastoralia* and because they are all extant in a large number of manuscripts.[814] Moreover, enough manuscripts appear sufficiently early in the thirteenth century to use them to draw some tentative conclusions about the users of these texts during the years covered in this study, 1215 to 1281. The content and distribution of these texts shows that they formed a channel to disseminate religious knowledge both to less Latinate clergy and to literate laypeople. Their supply came from clerics seeking to provide clergy and laypeople capable of reading Anglo-Norman with instruction in the principles of the Christian faith. The production of these texts corresponded to an existing demand for literature of religious instruction on the part of lay readers.

The *Mirour de Seinte Egylse*

St. Edmund of Abingdon originally wrote his *Speculum religiosorum* for use by the canons regular of Merton priory; its primary purpose was as a meditative or contemplative text to help them get closer to a knowledge of God. Shortly thereafter, it was translated into Anglo-Norman so as to be more readily useful to the religious reading it. Somewhat later (the exact date is uncertain, although Wilshere argues that it was near the middle of the thirteenth century), the Anglo-Norman translation was modified so as to suit the needs of female religious readers: the gender of the audience addressed in the occasional apostrophe changes from male to female,

[814] On the manuscripts of the *Mirour*, *Château*, and *Manuel*, see Ruth Dean, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999), 338-45, 349-51.

and in at least one manuscript, it is labeled as a "sermon to religious women."[815] At around the same time, someone produced a version of the *Mirour* that Wilshere terms the "lay" version; Wilshere argues that it was meant to meet the needs of laypeople rather than contemplatives, the evidence for which being that in this redaction of St. Edmund's text, most of the discussion of contemplation has been excised and the explanations of the Decalogue and Articles of Faith go into much more detail.[816]

A version of the text written for female religious in Anglo-Norman shows an audience with both lay and religious characteristics. Women in thirteenth-century England tended to have fewer opportunities for a Latin education, so that even nuns might have less of a grasp of the Latin language than monks.[817] As a result, Anglo-Norman was the primary language of the nunnery.[818] Although there were always women who read and wrote in Latin, the world of Latinity was generally understood as a masculine sphere in contrast to the feminine domain of the vernacular, be it Anglo-Norman or English.[819] Ideologically, Anglo-Norman was held to operate in a feminine space of the household rather than the masculine space of the school, and as such, this ideology of Anglo-Norman and the feminine might influence the choices of the language in which the author of a religious text chose to write.[820] As a result of both social expectation and the actual state of women's learning, we often encounter a need to bring a work

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[815] Wilshere, introduction to *Mirour*, xx.
[816] Wilshere, introduction to *Mirour*, xi-xii.
[817] David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995), 64-5.
[818] Ibid., 68-71.
[819] Crane, "Aspects of Bilingualism," 106-7, Haas, "Mother Tongue," 145; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "Women's Formal and Informal Traditions of Biblical Knowledge," in *Saints, Scholars, and Politicians: Gender as a Tool in Medieval Studies*, ed. Mathilde van Dijk and Renée Nip (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 85-109, *passim*.
[820] Bell, *What Nuns Read*, 68-9; Wogan-Browne, "Formal and Informal," *passim*; Wogan-Browne, "'Our Steward, St. Jerome': Theology and the Anglo-Norman Household," in *Household Women, and Christianities*, 133-59.

from a learned Latin idiom into the vernacular, usually Anglo-Norman.[821] In addition to clerics translating works into Anglo-Norman or composing original works in that language, we see a similar sort of clerical translation and mediation with sermons preached in the nunnery of Elstow, although in the case of these sermons, they were preached in English.[822] Such vernacular works devoted to nuns straddled the divide between clerical and lay by their presentation to cloistered religious in languages other than the clerical language of Latin. Works for nuns also show us this same permeability of lay and religious spheres in the later Middle Ages, when devout female lay aristocrats often exchanged information on and discussed things pertaining to religion with nuns.[823]

St. Edmund meant for the *Speculum* to be used as a meditative aid, whereby the reader could move from contemplating God as found in creation to God as found in scriptures to God as he is in himself. The second section of the *Speculum*, which shows the reader how to contemplate God as found in scripture, advises the reader to select the "flowers" from holy scripture that are the Virtues, the Articles of Faith, the Sacraments, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Ten Commandments, and the petitions in the Lord's Prayer.[824] The information in the second part of the *Speculum* in fact contains a syllabus of the basic catechetical requirements mandated in bishops' statutes down to Pecham's *Ignorantia sacerdotum*.[825] Like the writers of

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[821] Wogan-Browne in "Our Steward, St. Jerome," 134-9 has argued that to some extent, this need of the cleric to translate a religious work from one idiom to another was something of a *topos*. There were, after all, always nuns who could and did read Latin works. Ibid., 103-4.
[822] O'Carroll, *Preacher's Handbook*, 130-56, Wogan-Browne, "Formal and Informal," 86-7.
[823] Wogan-Browne, ibid, Felicity Riddy, "'Women Talking About Things of God': A Late Medieval Sub-Culture," in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1150-1500,* ed. Carol M. Meale (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 104-127. Although our evidence of this exchange tends to come from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many of the texts and ideas discussed had a pedigree going back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In "Women Talking About Things of God," 106-9, for example, Riddy notes that the texts shared between fourteenth-century nuns and lay noblewomen included thirteenth-century works such as the *Château d'amour* and *Ancrene Riwle*.
[824] Forshaw, "St. Edmund's *Speculum*," 18.
[825] Indeed, it has been suggested that this section of St. Edmund's *Speculum* and later *Mirour* influenced the shape of *Ignorantia sacerdotum*. Barratt, "Works of Religious Instruction," 418. Such a suggestion is possible, but it appears

works previously discussed in this study, St. Edmund sees the knowledge of the principles of the Christian faith not as an intellectual assent to a series of propositions, but rather as the foundation of a moral life. Even in the section of the text dedicated to the ecstatic, to the mystical union of the believer with God, he sees this union not as the final end, but rather as an experience that will ultimately turn the believer towards a life lived well among one's neighbors.[826]

St. Edmund presents the Articles of Faith as a part of the foundational knowledge necessary for a richer religious life. His presentation does not follow the more common procedure of listing twelve particular doctrines based on the structure of the Creed. He does list twelve Articles, but rather than listing twelve doctrines, he presents five doctrines comprising the fundamental principles of the Christian faith together with the seven Sacraments as the twelve Articles, whereas most other arrangements have all seven Sacraments as part of the Article pertaining to the Church or remission of sins.[827] The original source of this arrangement is uncertain, although a division of the Creed into these five constituents appears well before they are referred to as Articles of Faith *per se*. In a manuscript containing the works of John of Fecamp, Metz, Municipal MS 245, the last folio has a prayer written in a twelfth-century hand. This prayer has five sections, each of which begins with, "I believe in you, Lord..." In each division of the prayer, the person praying names a point of Christian doctrine; these five points of doctrine are the same five that St. Edmund lists as the first five Articles of Faith.[828] The exact lines of transmission may not be traceable, but this division was probably at least circulating orally throughout northern France when St. Edmund was attending the schools of Paris. This

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that *Ignorantia sacerdotum* had a great many antecedents, and trying to figure out which one influenced which is something of a difficult proposition.

826 Foreshaw, "St. Edmund's *Speculum*," 38-9.

827 See, for example, William de Montibus, *Numerale*, pg. 259; Weseham, *Instituta*, pg. 151; Peraldus *Summa de virtutibus*, 2.2.5, pg. 45.

828 André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et texts dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932), 56-63. Forshaw points out this correspondence in "St. Edmund's *Speculum*," 23.

arrangement of the Articles was later taken up by Grosseteste in his *Templum Dei*, which was itself followed in Cantilupe's *Omnis aetas*.[829]

That this particular arrangement of the Articles of Faith was used by Bishops Grosseteste, Cantilupe, and Quinel in their pastoral literature seems to indicate that even though Sister Foreshaw is correct in saying that the original *Speculum* was written primarily as a meditative text, its usefulness for pastoral literature was readily apparent to those bishops. Not only the above-mentioned bishops, but also the anonymous redactor of the "lay version" of the *Mirour* saw the usefulness of the way St. Edmund arranges the Articles of Faith and other Christian doctrines for instructing lay people in the basics of the Christian religion.

That the *Mirour* was originally written for Augustinian canons suggests that it may have been one of the canons regular who translated it into Anglo-Norman and possibly redacted it for use by the laity. We know that houses of canons regular throughout England possessed other Anglo-Norman literature of religious instruction in the sermons of Maurice de Sully.[830] There is other precedent for Augustinian canons taking an interest in works of vernacular religious instruction: in the early thirteenth century, an Augustinian canon wrote *Ormulum*, a verse paraphrase of the Gospels in Middle English.[831] A translation by canons regular of the *Mirour* might indicate that they meant this work to be read by literate laypeople for their own basic religious education and subsequent edification. If they were writing for literate laity at this time, it would probably be for members of the aristocracy, whose language for reading would almost certainly have been Anglo-Norman. Given that the canons regular often shared close relations with the nobility at a lower level than the great magnates, receiving small endowments in

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829 On English Bishops' use of this arrangement of the Articles of Faith, see Goering, "Articles of Faith," 129.
830 See above, 111-2.
831 Thomas Hahn, "Early Middle English," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 61-91, pgs. 85-7

exchange for intercessory prayer, it seems likely that the canons regular would have felt a need for literature of religious instruction for this particular social stratum of the English laity.[832]

The lay redaction of the *Mirour* is clearly meant as a means of teaching the Articles of Faith. Not only are the descriptions of the Articles of Faith expanded from those in the religious redaction, but they are expanded in a manner that elaborates them so that they will be more understandable to one who does not have much of a religious education. The religious version of the *Mirour* presents each Article succinctly, usually in one brief sentence. The lay version, by contrast, presents an exposition to make clear what each Article means. The first Article in both of these texts is that the triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, created the heavens and earth. The religious version of the *Mirour* leaves it at that simple summation.[833] The lay version seeks to make clear the doctrine of creation and what it means for God to have created the entire universe, so it elaborates upon the religious version that simply says that God created "all things by his speech." "He created the angels and the heaven and the earth," says the lay redaction, "that is to say, He created them from nothing."[834] We can see the contrast between the lay and religious versions clearly in the discussions of the fourth Article of Faith, the resurrection of Christ. The religious version simply notes that "Jesus, God and Man, rose from death to life, and that he will raise us as well."[835] The lay version says that Christ, "true man and true God rose from death to life in glorified flesh on the third day, and often showed himself to Mary Magdalene and to his apostles and his disciples, speaking and eating with them; and his

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[832] On English nobility's patronization of the Augustinian Canons, see Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 55.
[833] "Deu est un en sey meymes e troys en persones, sanz comencement e sanz fin, ki totes choses cria de sa Parole," Edmund of Abingdon, *Mirour*, 34.
[834] "Il cria les aungles e le ciel e la terre; ceo est a dire, il les fist de nient," ibid., 35-37.
[835] "Jhesu, Deu e Homme, releva de mort en vie, e qe nus releverun ausi," ibid. 36.

resurrection will raise us from death to life in this same body that we have in the world."[836] The text of the lay version is almost four times as long, using vivid images from scripture to illustrate a doctrine. It is clearly a teaching text. Moreover, it recalls Peraldus's Easter sermon, citing the biblical accounts of the risen Christ eating and drinking with his disciples and stating that the resurrection both of Christ and of all people at the end of time is a genuine physical resurrection rather than a survival of a soul after death.[837] These are the sorts of doctrines that clergy used the Articles of Faith as a foundation to teach, and the same sort of points that a cleric might need to make to a layperson.

In the *Mirour* (as in *Templum Dei* and *Omnis aetas*), the final seven Articles of Faith are the Seven Sacraments. These sacraments too receive a much more thorough treatment in the lay version than in the religious. The discussion of the sacraments of the Eucharist in particular emphasizes the Church's requirement that everyone needs to take communion at least in Easter, and that there is no possible way that a layperson can perform the sacrament.[838] So too is the discussion of matrimony clearly written for a layperson, saying as it does that in the sacrament of matrimony, God has given men and women the freedom to have sexual relations without mortal sin (if they are doing so to engender children or to protect their chastity).[839]

Both of these discussions of the sacraments make it clear that they are directed towards laypeople. Indeed, the redactor's emphasis that everyone must take the sacrament at least on Easter is strongly redolent of *Omnis utriusque sexus*, canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council. Likewise, a discussion of the sacrament of matrimony that says it allows sexual relations free

[836] "Jhesu Crist al tierce jour, verray Dieu e verray Homme, e mort a vie releva en char glorifié, e a Marie Magdalene e a ces apostles e a ces disciples sovent se mustra, e oveskes eaus parla, e oveskes eaus mang ; e puis sa resurrection, a cel meymes cors ke nous en le siecle aviom, de mort a vie releverom tous," ibid., 37.
[837] See above, 137-8.
[838] Edmund of Abingdon, *Mirour*, 39.
[839] Ibid., 41.

from mortal sin implies a lay audience. Although discussion as to what does and does not constitute a sin with respect to sex frequently appears in works of moral theology, those are works specifically designed with confessors in mind. A work designed primarily to aid in living a religious life would, if directed at clerics, probably not feel the need to mention activities in which cloistered religious would not (one would hope) be engaging.

The *Château d'amour*

Robert Grosseteste's *Château d'amour* outlines the salvation of mankind and the basics of the Christian faith. It tells first of the creation and fall of man followed by an allegory of the Four Daughters of God—Truth, Justice, Mercy, and Peace—with Truth and Justice pleading to God that he punish sinful humanity and Mercy and Peace that he forgive them.[840] The four are at an impasse until the Son volunteers to be sacrificed for humanity, at which point the four will be reconciled.[841] Grosseteste then tells of the need for the incarnation of Christ, which he does in terms of a king entering the finest possible castle, which is the Blessed Virgin Mary. He follows with the story of Christ's forgiveness of humankind through his crucifixion, death and resurrection, and he ends the poem in telling of the final judgment and how Christ will reign as the Prince of Peace in the age to come. The *Château* is a recapitulation of those most basic Articles of the Christian faith, the Incarnation, the Passion, and the Resurrection.

This poem reflects the same thought and pastoral concerns as went into Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*, written at almost the same time as the *Château*.[842] Most obviously, faith, hope, and charity appear as the three elements of the foundation of the allegorical castle that is Mary, and in *Templum Dei*, they form the foundation, walls, and roof of the spiritual temple of God, i.e.

[840] Grosseteste, *Château*, ll.1-428.
[841] Grosseteste, *Château*, ll.429-85.
[842] Goering and Mantello, introduction to *Templum Dei*, 4, date it to the years between 1220 and 1246.

the soul of the Christian believer.[843] The architectural imagery of both can be traced to biblical glosses on the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse.[844] Grosseteste's discussion of the Articles of Faith in the *Templum Dei* matches closely with how he describes those same doctrines in a poetic idiom in the *Château*. The first Article of Faith that he provides in *Templum* is that God, three persons in one substance, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, created the whole world out of nothing.[845] So too, in the *Château* does he write, "From God the Father comes everything,/ By God the Son are all good [things] made,/ In God the Holy Spirit/ Everything is accomplished;/ One God without division,/ One substance and no more."[846] Elsewhere he notes that God is triune when speaking of humanity's redemption, saying, "One god alone did all of this,/ the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit"[847] and "In Him is our belief,/ our faith, and our hope,/ three persons in trinity/ and one single God in unity."[848]

In his discussion of the Incarnation in *Templum Dei*, Grosseteste succinctly notes that Christ took human flesh from the Virgin Mary and was born of her as being God and Man.[849] The *Château* explains both Christ's incarnation and the combination of human and divine natures in him in a manner that is readily comprehensible.[850] Grosseteste in the *Château* speaks of the need for the incarnation of Christ, the work of which, along with the crucifixion and resurrection, will reconcile Truth and Justice with Mercy and Peace.[851] He explains Christ's

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[843] Cf. Grosseteste, *Château*, ll. 675-704, and Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 1.3-4.
[844] Mackie, "*Le château d'amour*," 159.
[845] Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 3.2.
[846] "De Deu le Pere est toute riens,/ par Deu le Fiz sunt fait tuz biens,/ en Deu le Seynt Espiriz/ est tute riens accompliz;/ Un Deu sanz division,/ une substance e plus non," Grosseteste, *Château*, ll. 463-8.
[847] "E un sul Deu tuit iceo fist,/ Pere e Fiz e Seynte Espirit," Ibid., l. 1355.
[848] "En lui est nostre creance,/ nostre fei, nostre esperance,/ persones treis en trinité,/ e un sul Deu en unité," ibid., 1281-4.
[849] Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, 3.2.
[850] Indeed, although Southern notes that the text of the *Château* is "curiously technical," the occasional use of classroom terminology by a university master should not distract from the long and non-technical discussion of Christ's natures discussed here. Cf. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste*, 225.
[851] Grosseteste, *Château*, ll. 429-58. On the allegory of the four daughters, see Kari Sajavaara, *The Middle English Translations of Robert Grosseteste's "Chateau d'Amour"* (Helsinki: Société néophilologique, 1967), 65-90.

qualities as they appear in Isaiah 9:6: “His name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace.” In describing Christ as wonderful, he does so in the allegory of the Castle as the Blessed Virgin Mary. In an explanation of Christ’s title of Almighty God, Grosseteste explains the wonder of the combination of divine and human natures in the incarnate Christ. Grosseteste explains this co-existence of these natures by way of comparison to a sword heated until it was glowing red. Just as the sword contains both fire and iron, but separately, so too Christ as a human contained both divine and human natures.[852] Grosseteste shows how human and divine natures operated together by noting that when Christ raised Lazarus from the dead, as a human he cried out, “Lazarus, Come forth!” and as God, he raised Lazarus from death to life.[853]

As with the Incarnation, Grosseteste shows Christ’s passion and resurrection in the *Château*. In telling the story of the passion, he first sets up the problem of how humanity might be forgiven by recasting the story of Christ’s temptation by the Devil in the wilderness in the form of a debate between the two, with Satan arguing that humanity is signed over to Satan with a contract “sealed in the court of God,” that says that one who broke God’s law would be subject to him.[854] Christ first tells the devil that his contract is void because he lied to get Adam and Eve to disobey God, but that he will nevertheless offer himself as a ransom for the human race so that nothing will be done “by force…contrary to law.”[855] Grosseteste then describes the passion that Christ endured, noting that each particular wounding corresponded to a human sin.[856] Finally, he

[852] Grosseteste, *Château*, ll. 1233-48
[853] Ibid., ll. 1273-6. Cf. John 11:43.
[854] “en la curt Deu cyrographée,” ibid. l. 1036.
[855] “Encontre dreit...par mestrie,” ibid., ll. 1075-6.
[856] Ibid., ll. 1115-76.

concludes by noting triumphantly that Christ arose after his death. "The passion," says Grosseteste, "would have had no value/ were there no resurrection."[857]

Murray and Mackie both argue that Grosseteste wrote the *Château* in the early 1230s, which would mean that it was written during his lectorship to the newly established Oxford Franciscans. It may have been used to provide theological instruction to newly converted Franciscan friars of an aristocratic background.[858] While an audience of Franciscans makes sense, it also makes sense to assume that perhaps it was meant to provide Franciscans with a preaching aid. The more famous preachers among the Franciscans made use of "popular tales, songs, jokes, and theatrical effects" to preach both dogma and morals.[859] The *Château*'s structure is essentially that of a romance lyric,[860] and the romance element in Franciscan preaching goes all the way back to the days of St. Francis himself, who referred to himself as "God's *jongleur*."[861]

It seems likely that Grosseteste wrote the *Château* to instruct laypeople or to help others instruct laypeople, and specifically those laypeople of the social class who would be using Anglo-Norman. It seems tailored to reflect the concerns and anxieties of the knightly class. We have seen how the work is in a form that might be associated with the Franciscans. A key element of the *sermo modernus* as employed by Franciscans was that the friar tailor his message to the various types of people to whom he might preach.[862] Jacques de Vitry, whose preaching Grosseteste had heard in France,[863] in preaching to the Friars Minor told them to adapt their

[857] "Rien n'eust valu la passiun/ ne fust la resurexion," ibid., ll. 1187-8.
[858] Mackie, "*Le Château d'Amour*," 154-6.
[859] Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction*, 17.
[860] Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 273.
[861] Moorman, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 276-80.
[862] Roest, *Franciscan Literature of Religious Instruction*, 17.
[863] Mackie, "Text in Context," 53.

sermons by audience in just such a manner,[864] and himself produced a large collection of *ad status* sermons.[865] It stands to reason that if Grosseteste were writing a sermon for friars, he would also tailor it for an audience, in this case the knightly class.

Much of the poem does reflect such an adapting.[866] After the description of the Fall, we are told that sin is clearly *defaute*.[867] The meaning of "defaute" is legal, referring to default, failure to answer a summons, failure to respond to an obligation, or a failure of descent.[868] The meaning in this instance is probably the latter two, referring both to Adam and Eve's failure to keep the prohibition not to eat the fruit and the sin that plunged all of their progeny into slavery to sin. This loss of lineage, this metaphorical failure to produce free descendants speaks of the worry of failure to produce heirs that would have weighed heavily on the minds of aristocrats. Likewise, "Default after default carried out/ Rightly causes a loss of *seisine*."[869] Such a law still holds, "at the court of the king."[870] "Seisine" too is a legal term, referring to the possession of one's patrimony.[871] Mankind's loss of his *seisine* brings to mind a fall in status, a loss of the lands that mark one as a noble.[872] If we doubt that Grosseteste is thinking of Anglo-Norman legal procedure, we need only to note that he refers to law that still is in effect in the royal court.

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864 Jessalyn Bird, "The Religious's Role in a post-Fourth Lateran World: Jacques de Vitry's *Sermones ad Status* and *Historia Occidentalis*" in *Medieval Monastic Preaching,* ed. Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 209-230, pg. 222.

865 The sermons of this collection that are edited appear in Jacques de Vitry, *Sermones ad status*, in *Analecta novissima spicilegii Solesmensis: Altera continuatio*, ed. J.-B. Pitra (Paris: Typis Tusculanis, 1888), 2:189-93, 344-61.

866 On the "feudal" language of the *Château*, see Zatta, "*Castle of Love*," 168.

867 Grosseteste, *Château,* ll. 160-1.

868 *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1977), s.v. "Default."

869 "Defaute après defaute fine/ Fait par dreit perdre seysine," Grosseteste, *Château,* ll. 164-5.

870 "a la curt li roys," Ibid., l. 167.

871 *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, s.v. "Seisine." On the function of *seisine* with respect to land tenure, see especially S.F.C. Milsom, *The Legal Framework of English Feudalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 38-42.

872 Zatta, "*Castle of Love*," 170-1.

England's royal courts, of course, dealt with issues concerning land and status and were used primarily by those Englishmen who were of a noble background.[873]

The poem continues to hammer home the theme of sin resulting in loss of status.[874] After the Fall, Grosseteste informs us, Adam and Eve became "serfs…to sin."[875] The sentiment is entirely biblical: St. Paul refers to unbelievers as "servants of sin,"[876] and likewise Christ says that "whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin."[877] A sinner, even noble in status, is nevertheless a "serf to sin." We have evidence for such a homiletic approach in the *ad status* sermons of Humbert of Romans.[878] Humbert has three *ad status* sermons devoted to nobles. In sermon 80, devoted to all nobles, he states that spiritual nobility is better than carnal nobility.[879] More pointedly, he notes that even if one is noble by birth, if he is a sinner, then he is a *servus* to sin,[880] a term that could be translated either as "slave" or "serf." That friars were using such preaching aids possibly tells us that the description of a sinner of any class as a "serf" of sin was a powerful tool for reaching an audience of status-conscious aristocrats.

The legal terminology, language, and concern with carnal and spiritual nobility definitely tell us of an aristocratic audience. Must this audience necessarily be lay, though? Could it be intended simply for converted knights of the Order of Friars Minor? Though the *Château* praises voluntary poverty,[881] it is also clear that a great landed noble can equally well serve Christ:

But for all this I do not say at all

[873] On the royal courts and their various jurisdictions, see Bryce Dale Lyon, *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1980), 442-7.
[874] Zatta, "*Castle of Love*," 172-3.
[875] Grosseteste, *Château*, l. 170.
[876] Romans 6:17.
[877] John 8:34.
[878] We ought to exercise a bit of caution in that Humbert was writing close to a generation after the appearance of the *Château*. The *ad status* sermon as a genre, however, dates to the period of the *Château*'s composition and before. So although Humbert of Romans prepared his work in the generation after Grosseteste wrote the *Château*, he was fairly clearly operating in the same homiletic milieu.
[879] Humbert of Romans, *Sermones ad diversos status* (Hagenau: impensis J. Rynman, 1508), fol. 27v.
[880] Ibid.
[881] Grosseteste, *Château*, ll. 967-70.

> That a man cannot have great wealth,
> Great lordship, and great status,
> Castles and forests of great size,
> And be able to serve God very well
> And accomplish His will.[882]

That one can nevertheless be a great lord with castles and forests and still carry out the will of God is less the message that would be preached to a Friar Minor than it is one that a Friar Minor might preach to a noble whom he was trying to nudge towards Christian behavior. We thus have what appears to have many characteristics of an *ad status* sermon designed for the use of the Franciscans in their missionary work.

The existence of a poetic work like the *Château* is one possible explanation for a seeming paucity of thirteenth-century didactic literature of English Franciscan provenance noted above.[883] Grosseteste intended for the Allegory of the Four Daughters, the story of Christ's encounter with Satan in the wilderness, and the description of the Castle to be *exempla* in the telling of salvation history.[884] That the Allegory of the Four Daughters appears alone in at least one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86, indicates that it may have been thought of as a discrete *exemplum*, which would place it in the category of *praedicabilia* useful to friars. There are other more concrete examples of Franciscan friars using the idiom of vernacular poetry rather than pure sermon to teach basic doctrine. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 323, a mid-thirteenth-century codex, contains a collection of religious poetry in Latin, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English.[885] It contains the stanzaic *Life* of St. Margaret, *exempla*, *distinctiones*, and many other

882 "Mais por ceo ne di jeo mie/ ke home ne poet aver grant manancie/ grant sygnurie e grant hautesce,/ chasteus e bois de grant largesce,/ e si poet mult bien Deu servir,/ e sen voler acomplir," Grosseteste, *Château*, ll. 993-8.
883 See above, 141-3.
884 Mackie, "*Le Château d'amour*," 159.
885 See Karl Reichl's thorough study of this codex, *Religiöse Dichtung im Englischen Hochmittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B. 14. 39 des Trinity College in Cambridge* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973).

works of religious poetry.[886] Reichl has suggested that since many of the *exempla* found in this codex appear later in the Franciscan *Fasciculus morum*, its provenance is probably Franciscan.[887] One poem in this manuscript, "On Leome is in þis World Ilist" tells the story of Christ's Incarnation, Passion, Resurrection, and second coming in 120 lines as well as any work of religious instruction, and this poem is only one of the many that fill the codex.[888] Also in the mid-thirteenth century, Thomas of Hales, a well-known Franciscan preacher in Normandy and England, composed the Middle English *Luve-Ron*, a lyric on the superiority of Christ's love to human love, for an audience of aristocratic nuns.[889] Near the end of the thirteenth century, Nicholas Bozon wrote a series of Anglo-Norman poems that might be called "versified sermons."[890] Franciscan religious poetry enjoyed a wide distribution in thirteenth-century England.

The *Manuel des Pechez*

The author of the *Manuel des Pechez* was probably William of Waddington, who served as a seneschal and member of the household of Archbishop Walter Gray of York. In the extant documents, William is named both as a knight and also as a secular canon.[891] The *Manuel des Pechez* outlines the twelve Articles of Faith, the Seven Deadly Sins, the seven Sacraments, the Decalogue, and confession.[892] Its text reflects many of the developments of the previous centuries as seen in the works of moral theology that appear as *summae* and smaller treatises. Arnould in particular has noted how the doctrines and practices in the *Manuel* reflect the

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[886] Reichl, *Religiöse Dicthung*, 143-6.
[887] Ibid., 53.
[888] This poem is printed ibid., 368-72 and also in *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), 34-7.
[889] Roest, *Franciscan Literature*, 292-3.
[890] Ibid., 293.
[891] Sullivan, "Author of the *Manuel*," 155-7.
[892] Books VI, VII, and VIII, and IX, which are, respectively, a sermon on sin, the discussion of confession, a discussion of prayer, and prayers to Christ and the Virgin are among the most fluid in the manuscript tradition. See Sullivan, "Textual History," 337-346.

constitutions of the thirteenth-century English episcopate.[893] This text, written around 1260, differs from earlier moral-theological works as it is not in Latin, but rhymed Anglo-Norman. As with the Latin pastoral literature it resembles, it is primarily moral in its focus. But just like those same pastoral works, it lays a foundation of faith, the necessary dogmatic bases for a Christian seeking to lead a virtuous life.

It opens with a discussion of the Articles of Faith. In William's description of the various Articles, both faith and works need each other. So it is that he states that the sinner who claims to love God but subsists in mortal sin is a liar.[894] In this and other descriptions of the Articles, William writes not only to explain each Article, but also to persuade the believer to apply his or her faith in good works. So, in the Article of believing in Jesus Christ as Lord, William says that the Christian must respond to Christ's heavenly lordship by breaking no commandment that God has given.[895] So too in describing the Article of Christ's birth of the Virgin Mary, William tells how Christ committed the care of his mother to the Apostle John, and that this act should teach the *prud'homme* to look after his mother when in distress.[896] The description of Christ's crucifixion under Pontius Pilate, like Grosseteste's *Château* (and indeed much other homiletic literature) describes how each wound of Christ brought about the forgiveness of a certain sin.[897] In his description of the passion, Waddington seeks to bring about an affective response from the readers so that they feel shame for their sin. After finishing the description of the last of Christ's wounds, his piercing with a lance, William writes "Sweet Jesus! What can we say/ we who fall every day into sin/ and think about you little or never/ nor cease to sin?"[898]

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[893] Arnould, *Le Manuel des Péchés*, 8-27.
[894] William of Waddington, *Le Manuel des Pechez*, ll. 147-50, pg. 415.
[895] Ibid., ll. 189-91, pg. 416.
[896] Ibid., ll. 255-6, pg. 416. Cf. John 19:26-7.
[897] Ibid., ll. 327-66, pgs. 417-8.
[898] "Duz jesu, qe dire purrum/ Qe tute jur en peche cheum,/ E poy de vus ou nient pensum,/ Ne de pechier ne cessum?" ibid., ll. 367-70, pg. 418.

William of Waddington appears to have based his work heavily on that of William Peraldus. As noted before, not only does his treatment of the Vices closely match that of Peraldus's *summa* on the same, but his discussion of the Articles of Faith also shows a clear dependence on Peraldus, either from Peraldus's sermon for the octave of Easter or his *summa* on the Virtues.[899] Indeed, in places it is almost a translation of Peraldus into rhyming Anglo-Norman: thus, Peraldus's *summa* on the Virtues says of the Article concerning belief in God the Almighty Father that, "From the things already said it is clear that he who is in mortal sin lies when he says, 'I believe in God.'"[900] William of Waddington writes: "You can clearly see…that the sinner lies/ if he has said that he believes in God/ and wallows in mortal sin."[901] So too do both descriptions of the incarnation of Christ of the Virgin Mary say that Christ's painless birth serves as an example to people not to be a burden or exasperation to their mothers. "She gave birth to him without pain," writes Peraldus. "In this he gave an example to others that they should behave gently towards their mothers and not be a cause of grief to them."[902] Waddington expresses the same sentiment as follows: "And [Christ] was born of Mary without any pain…/In such a thing, he gave an example to all,/ that they should not be a cause of grief to their mothers."[903]

Matthew Sullivan has argued that Waddington wrote the *Manuel* as a guide for clergy whose Latinity might not have been up to the task of reading pastoral literature, so that they might better understand the dogmatic and moral doctrines in which they would instruct their lay

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[899] See above, 125-6.
[900] "ex iam dictis patet, quod ille qui in peccato mortali est, mentitur cum dicit: Credo in Deum," Peraldus, *Summa de virtutibus*, 2.2.5, pg. 43.
[901] "Vere poez apertement/…qe le pechur ment/ Si il ad dit qe il creit en dee,/ E gyse en mortel pechie," Waddington, *Manuel*, ll. 147-50, pg. 416.
[902] "Sine dolore eum peperit: in quo dedid exempla aliis vt benigne sese habeant erga matres suas, nec sint eis causa doloris," Peraldus, *Summa de virtutibus*, 2.2.5, pg. 44.
[903] "E sans dolur de marie fu nee;…Ensample dona en tant a tuz/ Qe ne seient a meres anguissus," Waddington, *Manuel*, ll. 232, 239-40, pg. 416.

flocks.[904] Arnould has noted that it was often used as a pastoral handbook by clerics.[905] And indeed, as noted above, the linguistic capability of the priest would be such that he would almost certainly have an easier time with a work written in Anglo-Norman than one written in Latin.

Ulrike Schemmann, however, disputes Sullivan's argument and argues for an intended audience that is primarily lay. She notes that when the *Manuel* refers to those readers who use it as laypeople, it does so based not on the standard distinction of clerical and lay meaning "literate" and "illiterate," but rather in terms of ordained as opposed to unordained.[906] Moreover, Schemmann notes that most of the *Manuel*'s descriptions of the sins do so as part of instructions as to how to make one's confession rather than how to hear a confession.[907] Even Schemmann, however, does concede that certain passages of the *Manuel* were clearly meant for use of clerics.[908] We might be on safe ground if we say that it had an audience of both laity and clerics in mind, without attempting to privilege one or the other.[909]

A man like William who served both as a secular canon and member of a bishop's household and also had a social position that placed him in the knightly class would have been acutely aware of the needs both of clerics administering the sacrament of confession and of those laymen who themselves were making their confessions. The *exempla* contained in the *Manuel* would have been useful not only to guide a cleric in how to teach Christian doctrine, but also to make these doctrines clear to a lay reader.[910] The phoenix as showing Christ's resurrection and the *exemplum* of the greedy man who puts off his repentance and is thus carried off by demons

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904 Sullivan, "Readers of the *Manuel*," pg. 233.
905 Arnould, *Le manuel des péchés*, 290.
906 Schemmann, *Confessional Literature and Lay Education*, 264-70. Kemmler also notes the potential lay audience. *Exempla in Context*, 13. On the uses of the terms "lay" and "clerical" to mean "literate" and "illiterate," see Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 226-30.
907 Schemmann, *Confessional Literature and Lay Education*, 168.
908 Ibid., 272-3.
909 Cf. Schemmann, *Confessional Literature and Lay Education*, 330-1, in which she concedes a dual audience, but privileges that of lay readers.
910 On the *exempla* found in the *Manuel*, see Arnould, *Le manuel des péchés*, 107-84.

are the two of *Manuel*'s many *exempla* that appear in the discussion of the Articles of Faith in the discussion of the resurrection of Christ and the remission of sins, respectively.[911] William may very well have seen these two Articles as being the most important to the salvation of a lay reader, and thus the ones to which a teaching tool like the *exemplum* would be most applicable.

Cultural Context and Reception of the *Mirour, Château,* and *Manuel*

The writers of these three works had a strong interest in providing religious education for both clergy and laity. Robert Grosseteste's interest in the pastoral care of all of his parishioners is clear.[912] He also enjoyed warm relations with a great many powerful aristocrats, people of the sort of social class who would be reading works in Anglo-Norman. He was in particular close friends with Simon de Montfort and corresponded with several nobles, which included the Countess of Leicester, the great aunt of Earl Simon.[913] In the sphere outside of the purely religious, he also wrote a treatise in Anglo-Norman on estate management for the Countess of Lincoln.[914] These relationships with powerful women like the Countesses of Lincoln and Leicester appear to be part of a larger desire on the part of ecclesiastics to cultivate relations with powerful women in order to get them to exercise influence on the moral conduct of their husbands; Adam Marsh had a similar relationship with Simon de Montfort's wife Eleanor.[915]

While we know less about William of Waddington, it is probable that he was a knight of some standing and a feofee of Archbishop Walter Gray. Matthew Sullivan has also shown that the Tempest family, lords of the village of Waddington from 1268, may have had a relationship with William that explains the family's possession of manuscripts of the *Manuel* and its

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911 Waddington, *Manuel des pechez*, ll. 484-535, pg. 420.
912 See above, 64-6.
913 See Joseph W. Goering, "Robert Grosseteste and the Jews of Leicester," in *Robert Grosseteste and the Beginnings of a British Theological Tradition*, 181-200.
914 Michael Burger, "The Date and Authorship of Robert Grosseteste's *Rules for Household and Estate Management*," *Historical Research* 74 (2001): 106-16.
915 Ibid., 108-9.

translations on down through the end of the Middle Ages.[916] Waddington's status as a member of the knightly class put him in the same social sphere as those who would be reading other works in Anglo-Norman such as romances.[917] Waddington frequently refers to the person being discussed in terms of his conduct as a *prud'homme*. Schemmann argues that this term suggests wisdom.[918] In the context of Anglo-Norman literature as a whole, the term suggests worthiness, not only of moral character, but also with respect to prowess in general.[919] It reflects the values of the elite of English culture of the thirteenth century, which seem to be the sort of people that Waddington was trying to reach.

These powerful and pious laypeople probably had a strong interest in works of religious instruction that they could read. In other near-contemporary religious literature, we often encounter prologues that speak of a lay noble woman who requested that a cleric produce a work of religious instruction for her.[920] Noble households, and especially highly placed women in these households had been patronizing the authors of works like saints' Lives, which were much more popular in England than on the continent, since the twelfth century.[921] Even in Anglo-Norman romances, we can see a piety that is both Credal and also Marian: in the Anglo-Norman text of the twelfth-century romance *Fierabras*, for example, Charlemagne's prayer before the battle between Fierabras and Oliver quickly recounts the Incarnation, Passion, and Resurrection:

> God of Paradise, who was born for us,
> of the glorious virgin who is named Mary…

[916] Matthew Sullivan, "Historical Notes on Some Readers of the *Manuel des péchés* and its Middle English Descendants," *Scriptorium* 46:1 (1992): 84-6.
[917] On the role of vernacular literature (both Anglo-Norman and Middle English) in the formation of knightly and gentle identies, see Chatper 6 of Peter Coss's *The Knight in Medieval England*, and Coss, "Aspects of Cultural Diffusion," *passim.*
[918] Schemmann, *Confessional Literature and Lay Education*, 137-40.
[919] *Anglo-Norman dictionary*, s.v. "prudom."
[920] Wogan-Browne, "Our Steward, St. Jerome," 134-9.
[921] See Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 243-75 and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "'Clerc u lai, muïne u dame': Women and Anglo-Norman Hagiography in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in Meale, *Women and Literature in Britain*, 61-85.

Then you were hung high and punished on the cross
Firmly fixed to the cross with three nails of iron…
Then you were placed in the sepulcher.
On the third day you rose again, this is the truth.[922]

Laypeople owned other books to aid in their religious life. In the later Middle Ages, it was common for the well-to-do and literate to own books of hours, which contained liturgical readings for the offices of the day. This form of literature had its origin near the middle of the thirteenth century, at almost the same time that the works discussed in this chapter appeared. The earliest extant book of hours was produced by the stationer William de Brailes for a prosperous laywoman of either aristocratic or prosperous bourgeois background.[923] This work guides the user through the offices of the Hours of the Virgin Mary and the Hours of the Holy Spirit. The language of the prayers is in Latin, but the captions and directions for use are in Anglo-Norman.[924] Their interaction of pictures, caption, and text place them in the same context as St. Edmund's *Mirour*. Just as St. Edmund wrote that Christ received each particular wounding at each one of the canonical hours of the day, so do the illustrations of the De Brailes Hours show a scene from the Passion at the readings for each hour, with a caption in Anglo-Norman explaining the suffering to which Christ was subject at that time.[925]

In addition to the de Brailes Hours, there are eight other surviving books of hours from the thirteenth century.[926] These are the beginnings of a genre that would become a mainstay of the later medieval book trade up until the English Reformation. These earlier books of hours

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922 "Dieux de pareise, qe pur nus fustez nee/ De la gloriouse virgine qe Marie est nomé/… Puis fustes en la croice halt pendu et penee,/ Od trois clowes du fer al croice ferme taché;/... Puis fustes en sepulcre mis et posé./ Al terce jour resuscitastes, ceo fui verité," *Fierabras*, in Louis Brandin, "*La Destruction de Rome* et *Fierabras*: MS. Egerton 3028, Musée Britannique, Londres," *Romania* 64 (1938): 18-100, ll. 281-2, 286-7, 290-1. This particular expression of piety in the romance was pointed out by Suzanne Akbari in "The Anglo-Norman Roots of Devotional Romance" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Associateion, Philadelphia, PA, December 27-30, 2006).

923 Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 24.

924 Ibid., 35.

925 Ibid., 37-8. Cf. St. Edmund, *Mirour*, 58-73.

926 Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 134.

also have explanatory notes next to the Latin text of the offices of the day in Anglo-Norman. They also tend to have illustrations of those who had them commissioned, and usually these owners of the books are aristocratic women.[927]

A work like a book of hours is much more detailed in its directions in living a religious life than a work containing basic instruction in the Articles of Faith and the Virtues and Vices. The demand for works of prayer and devotion appears to have been part of a larger contemporary demand for books in Anglo-Norman on both secular and religious subjects. William de Brailes was a stationer in Oxford and part of a book trade that had sprung up in the city because of the demand for books in the university.[928] The thirteenth-century books of hours are by no means the only examples of a secular book trade: D. J. A. Ross has argued that two mid-thirteenth-century manuscripts, one of Thomas of Kent's *Roman de toute chevalerie* and the other of the *Chanson d'Aspremont* show evidence of having come from the same bookshop and having been ordered by lay clients.[929] Devout aristocrats patronizing this trade probably also ordered literature of religious instruction and devotion.[930] The writings of Grosseteste appear frequently in books that may have been ordered as part of the early trade in vernacular books.[931] By the mid-thirteenth century, a demand in aristocratic households for books of religious instruction and devotion drove the production of miscellanies that contained works like the *Mirour*, *Château*, and *Manuel*.

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[927] Claire Donovan, "The Mise-en-Page of Early Books of Hours in England," in *Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1988,* ed. Linda L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hill, CA: Red Gull Press, 1990), 147-61, pg. 151.
[928] Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 9-24.
[929] D. J. A. Ross, "A Thirteenth-Century Anglo-Norman Workshop Illustrating Secular Literary Manuscripts?" in *Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune*, ed. F. Dethier (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1969), 1:689-94.
[930] Andrew Taylor, "Manual to Miscellany: Stages in the Commercial Copying of Vernacular Literature in England," *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 1-17, pgs. 9-11; Adelaide Bennett, "A Book Designed for a Noblewoman: An Illustrated *Manuel des Péchés* of the Thirteenth Century," in *Medieval Book Production*, 163-81.
[931] Taylor, "Manual to Miscellany," 13-14.

There is a great deal of codicological overlap between these three works, which indicates that the patrons who ordered copies of them or the compilers of these texts saw them as complimentary. London British Library MS Arundel 288 is perhaps the oldest manuscript of the *Manuel des Pechez*, dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century, a date that makes it nearly contemporary with the autograph.[932] It also contains one of the earliest manuscripts of the lay redaction of the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*. It is all written in the same hand,[933] indicating that the original patron or producer felt that these would be two useful works for the devout layman or –woman to possess. Most of the other works in the codex are prayers, religious poetry, a collection of miracles of the Virgin, and a copy of the *Roman des romans*.[934] Although Sullivan argues that this book was of a religious provenance, the redaction of the *Mirour* that it contains is one that is meant to provide the basic requirements of the life of a Christian layperson.[935] As its provenance is unknown until it appears in the collection of John Parker in the late sixteenth century and the texts contained in the codex could indicate either a devout layperson, cleric, or cloistered religious, we prefer to suspend judgment and note the possibility that it could have been prepared for a lay owner.[936]

At least two thirteenth-century manuscripts of the *Château* suggest that they were products of lay patronizers of the thirteenth-century book trade in England. Princeton University Library's Taylor Manuscript contains both the *Manuel* and the *Château*.[937] It dates from around 1281, at the end of the period covered in this study. It appears to be a miscellany of religious works, containing the *Roman des romans* and an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Joan Tateshall,

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[932] Arnould and Wilshere date this manuscript to saec. xiii$^{3/4}$, whereas Sullivan dates it to saec. xiii$^{4/4}$. Wilshere, introduction to *Mirour*, vi, Sullivan, "Readers," 236.
[933] Arnould, *Le Manuel*, 371.
[934] Ibid., 370.
[935] Wilshere, introduction to *Mirour*, vi. Cf. Sullivan, "Readers," 236.
[936] See ibid. on the codex's later provenance.
[937] On this codex, see Bennet, "Book for a Noblewoman," *passim*.

the wife of a Lincolnshire baron, commissioned it. Although it is the only known copy of the *Manuel* to have been owned by a woman, that it was ordered and owned by a lay female aristocrat puts it in the larger pattern noted above of devout lay women owning similar texts. This codex's illustrations are similar to those of the Salvin Hours of around 1270 and the Huth Psalter of around 1280.[938] It thus is part of a larger network of religious texts with lay owners produced as part of thirteenth-century England's incipient book trade. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 132, containing the *Château*, dates from sometime between 1260 and 1270. It was probably originally composed of unbound parchment booklets that were purchased from the same booksellers who made legal texts in addition to works such as romances.[939]

Several other manuscripts of the *Château* indicate that they were owned by aristocratic women or those in lay aristocratic households. The so-called Nuneaton Book, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 123 was possibly compiled "for a wealthy, educated, and devout laywoman" before eventually ending up in Nuneaton Convent in the mid-fourteenth century.[940] Oxford, Bodleian Digby 86, written between 1272 and 1282, contains the story of the Four Daughters of God from the *Château*.[941] Although the armorial drawings in the manuscript's margins tell little of its original owners or users, certain characteristics, such as the fact that the codex contains the parlor game Ragemon le Bon seem to indicate that it was meant

[938] Ibid., 172.
[939] P. R. Robinson, "The 'Booklet': A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," *Codicologica* 3 (1980): 46-69, pg. 57.
[940] Betty Hill, "Cambridge FitzWilliam Museum, MS McClean 123: Addenda," *Notes and Queries* 217 (1972): 45-6.
[941] Mackie, "Text in Context," 34-5.

for use by a lay family.[942] Parkes and Tschann think that it was written for Richard Grimhill II, who passed it to his daughter Amice when he died in 1308.[943]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 74 is a manuscript of the third quarter of the thirteenth century containing the *Mirour* that gives evidence that it may have been prepared for and owned by a layperson. Two of the texts in this codex are works that specifically pertain to the needs of a reading aristocrat or ambitious bourgeois: it contains Walter of Henley's Anglo-Norman treatise on estate management, a poem on courtesy, and Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz*.[944] It contains other works of religious instruction in addition to the *Mirour*, among which are Nicholas Bozon's *Proverbs de bon enseignement*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poetry 241 also contains the *Mirour* and Bozon's *Proverbs* as well as the allegorical poem on the nine daughters of the Devil and some works on astronomy.[945]

The *Château* and *Manuel* also appear in a context that shows they were used by clergy, both cloistered and exercising the cure of souls. Sullivan has noted that the rapid distribution of the manuscript of the *Manuel* may have come about because the archdiocese of York was promoting its distribution, for it appears frequently in religious houses throughout England.[946] Indeed, at least one (now lost) copy of the *Manuel des pechez* was owned by a curate.[947] Likewise, that the *Château* frequently shares codices with other *pastoralia* in both Latin and Anglo-Norman indicates that it was used for both private religious reading and as a preaching

[942] B. D. H. Miller, "The Early History of Bodleian MS Digby 86," *Annuale medievale* 4 (1963): 23-56, pgs. 50-5; John Frankis, "The Social Context of Vernacular Writing in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of the Manuscripts," *Thirteenth-Century England* 1 (1985): 175-84, pg. 183.
[943] J. Tschann and Malcolm B. Parkes, introduction to *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), lvii-lviii.
[944] Parkes, "Literacy of the Laity," 204.
[945] *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), no. 14732, pgs. 3.338-9.
[946] Sullivan, "Readers of the *Manuel*," 237.
[947] Ibid., 241-2.

and teaching resource for clerics exercising the cure of souls.[948] We have seen earlier that in at least one instance, St. Paul's cathedral took enough interest in making sure that a parish church possessed pastoral literature that it had donated a collection of sermons to the church of Kirkby.[949] This same cathedral church also owned a copy of the *Château*, which would probably have been available to those clergy exercising the cure of souls who sought out such a book.[950] The Augustinian foundation of Leicester Abbey, which owned a great deal of pastoral literature, owned a copy of both the *Château* and the *Manuel*.[951]

There was a continuing demand for these three works beyond the closing years of the thirteenth century that end this study. Around 1300, the *Château d'amour* was translated into Middle English, and it survives in six manuscripts in four translations into that language.[952] At almost the same time, Robert Mannyng of Brunne translated the *Manuel des Pechez* into Middle English as *Handlyng Synne*.[953] Several decades later, near the middle of the fourteenth century, the *Mirour* was translated into Middle English several times; it survives in "considerably more" than seventeen manuscripts.[954] All three of these works were translated at the time that Rothwell, Crane, and others note that Anglo-Norman had become an entirely learned language.[955] As such, those wishing to have a work of religious instruction in their "mother tongue" would know of works like the *Château*, but seek them in Middle English. These translations seem to be a clear indication that the circulation of the *Mirour*, *Château*, and *Manuel* was driven as much by demand from laypeople and lower clergy as it was by supply.

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[948] Mackie, "Text in Context," 21.
[949] See above, 105-6.
[950] Mackie, "Text in Context," 39.
[951] *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, 358, 532.
[952] Sajavaara, *Middle English Translations*, 101.
[953] See Kemmler's *Exempla in Context* for one of the more recent critical studies of *Handlyg Synne*.
[954] Anthony Ian Doyle, "A Survey of the Origin and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and Early 16th Centuries: With Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy Therein" (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1953), 41.
[955] See above, pg. 167.

And yet, these translations exist in fewer manuscripts than their Anglo-Norman counterparts. There are six Middle English manuscripts of the *Château* in comparison to eighteen in Anglo-Norman.[956] Kemmler has noted that *Handlyng Synne* met with little demand after its publication.[957] Even the *Mirour*, which enjoyed the broadest circulation in its Middle English afterlife, does not have as many Middle English manuscripts as it does Anglo-Norman. Moreover, as this study concerns the Creed and Articles of Faith, we should note that *Handlyng Synne* omits the *Manuel*'s discussion of the Articles.[958]

Why might we see this relative lack of manuscripts of the same texts in Middle English? In the first place, these texts still circulated in Anglo-Norman. A large number of the Anglo-Norman manuscripts of the *Château d'amour*, the *Manuel des Pechez*, and the *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse* date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, so even after their translations, the Anglo-Norman versions of these texts remained in demand. Moreover, although Anglo-Norman was a learned language by the early fourteenth century, its use in law courts, guild reports, and other such environments means that it had a large number of pragmatic users who would still have read religious texts in that language. Kemmler has noted that a book prepared for either reading laity or clergy like the *Manuel* had a broader audience than *Handlyng Synne*, which was meant to be recited to a listening public.[959]

Conclusions

The clergy writing pastoral literature sought to make sure that laypeople had access to the basic principles of the Christian faith. The works discussed in this chapter show us a means by which those clerics whose lack in education meant that they might not be able to fully

[956] Mackie, "Text in Context," 4.
[957] Kemmler, *Exempla in Context*, 13.
[958] Ibid., 26.
[959] Ibid., 13-16.

comprehend Latin *pastoralia* would still be able to learn the fundamentals of the Christian religion and teach them to their lay flocks. A clerical reader of the Anglo-Norman sermons of Maurice de Sully could use them to compose a Middle English version of those same sermons. That same reader would find in the *Château d'amour* and the *Manuel des pechez* a ready stock of *exempla* to illustrate the core doctrines contained in the Creed and Articles of Faith. And the canons regular who may have used the *Speculum religiosorum* or *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse* for their own devotional reading could still have used St. Edmund's and his translator's discussion of the Articles of Faith to educate those laypeople to whom they might be providing catechetical instruction.

The works discussed in this chapter show us another avenue to provide at least a certain class of laypeople with instruction in the Christian faith besides that of instruction by priests, friars, and canons. The manuscripts owned by laypeople also show us an important aspect of lay religious instruction hitherto not covered in this study. We have a pastiche of normative texts to tell us of what priests and friars were to teach and preach to their lay flocks, and some manuscript evidence that the clergy at least had the necessary tools to be carrying out this preaching. We have a much harder time knowing how this sort of teaching was received. The ownership of these books and commissioning of religious miscellanies shows us that, at least among the ranks of pious lay aristocrats, there was a strong demand for religious instruction. In the aristocracy, women as heads of households in particular formed a key component in the production of a literature for teaching Christian doctrine. Such a demand would indicate that the preaching and teaching of the Creed and Articles of Faith was being enthusiastically received by the devout.

Conclusions

We have seen over the course of this study how churchmen, from the Pope and Council at the pinnacle of the Church's leadership on down to the parish priest, strove to ensure that all Christian faithful had at least a basic understanding of the doctrines of the Christian religion as exemplified in the Creed and Articles of Faith. From the proclamation of the most important doctrines of the Church in *Firmiter*, canon 1 of the Fourth Lateran Council, to the conciliar and synodal statutes of thirteenth-century England's bishops, the emphasis is the same: A Christian must understand the faith into which he or she is baptized. Over the course of the thirteenth century, there was a broad array of tools to enable the clergy themselves to have the necessary knowledge and skills to teach their lay flocks. For those priests who were unable to receive a full education in the schools, the bishops provided the means for rudimentary training via the deanery and archdeaconry. In addition to the booklets produced by bishops and their staff, the priest had other means of access to a literature of pastoral care, either through lending institutions, donations, or purchase out of his own pocket. Members of the great pastoral orders of the Dominican and Franciscan friars of course had access to the greatest network of schools and *studia* hitherto seen in western Christendom, a network that trained an elite cadre of preachers to pick up where the priest might leave off in the teaching of his flock. Priest, canon, and friar would teach the laymen the doctrines found in the Creed and Articles of Faith by catechetical education for groups of children, by making sure a confessing penitent knew his or her Creed, and from the pulpit. These means of education themselves served as a supplement to the religious education that a child would receive in the home. For those laypeople who sought vernacular books with literature of religious instruction and had the financial wherewithal to order books, such works existed in abundance.

This study has shown that preaching and teaching the Creed and Articles of faith was pervasive enough that even in the years before Archbishop Pecham's 1281 *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, the English layperson would have had a ready access to the doctrines that Pecham required his priests to teach their flocks. Lay ownership of religious books shows a demand that existed in answer to the supply of this religious instruction provided by the English clergy. These glimpses of laypeople taking up their own study of Christianity raise more tantalizing questions still. How effective was the dogmatic preaching that the layperson heard? How was this mandated teaching received?

We have some oblique ways to look at these questions. In a study of the Baron's War of the 1260s, David Carpenter has shown that English peasants, both free and unfree, were active in this conflict and appear to have understood the basic political issues regarding foreigners, the Provisions of Oxford, and the Community of the Realm.[960] Many of the ideas of Simon de Montfort's party were formed and spread by churchmen, and he was close to Bishops Cantilupe and Grosseteste as well as the famed friar Adam Marsh.[961] Much Montfortian propaganda spread via the same religious channels and media as were used to present Christian doctrine. If by these channels even some members of the peasantry were able to acquire an understanding of the basic issues of state, then it stands to reason that they could probably have received and understood the dogmatic teachings transmitted by these same means. William Hinnebusch has used similar oblique means of gauging the efficacy of Dominican preaching. He notes that one finds frequent evidence from thirteenth-century England of pardons granted to repentant criminals at the behest of Dominican friars interceding on their behalf.[962] It seems likely that if this sort of preaching

[960] David Carpenter, "English Peasants in Politics 1258-1267," *Past and Present* 136 (1992): 3-42, pgs. 40-2.
[961] Carpenter, "Peasants in Politics," 38-9, John Robert Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 82-4.
[962] Hinnebusch, *Early English Friars*, 317-8.

could secure the pardon of convicted felons, then it would almost certainly also be effective in the realm of inculcating dogma.

Future Directions of Research

Much work remains to be done on studying how English laypeople learned the Creed and Articles of Faith. The sources examined in this study have been representative samples of a much larger corpus. There are a great many thirteenth-century English manuscripts of sermons sitting in libraries throughout the island. Mendicant sermons, sermons by secular masters, and the older patristic homilies all exist in abundance. We have not even fully examined many of the treatises on the Creed and Articles of Faith that appear in the codices covered in this study (many of which do not appear in Bloomfield).[963] Going through even a fraction of these treatises would be the work of a lifetime. So too are the three works of vernacular religious literature studied above mere samples of a larger body of literature. The moralized verse of the *Roman des romans* often shares codices with them, as does Peter of Peckham's *Lumere as lais,* an ambitious Anglo-Norman versification of Peter Lombard's *Sentences* and the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis.[964] Both the *Lumere* and the *Roman* would make excellent subjects for future studies.

There are several avenues by which future research might elucidate the attitudes of those receiving religious instruction.[965] Berlioz has examined the ways that *exempla* portray the attitudes of lay people listening to preaching to see how they might reflect responses to preachers

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[963] Cambridge, St. John's College, MS 62, for example, has treatises on the Creed and Articles of Faith on folios 106v, 119v, and 125v, none of which appear in Bloomfield.
[964] For the edition the *Lumere,* see *La Lumere as Lais*, ed. Glynn Hesketh (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1996). See also Matthias Hessenauer, *La Lumière as lais : Pierre de Peckhams Vermittlung scholastischer Theologie* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1989).
[965] Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson discuss the level of the laity's involvement with the Church in "Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 395-423.

by a lay audience.[966] Jean-Claude Schmitt has similarly used *exempla*, in this case by examining apotropaic uses of the Creed that appear in the *exempla* of Étienne de Bourbon, which he has argued reflect the clergy accommodating itself to an understanding of the power of the Creed among the laity that was more "magical" than the clergy's understanding of the same, with the power of the Creed in the words themselves rather than their meaning.[967] This approach is not without its merits, but not even *exempla* are a truly unmediated window into daily life. Being drawn up in collections for the use of clergy by clergy, these *exempla* may very well reflect the needs and preconceptions of their clerical users.

Other approaches also suggest themselves. In the records of ecclesiastical courts we encounter voices of those who might not normally appear in chronicle or similar sources. We know that people of all ranks down to the peasantry were extremely litigious, navigating the system of these courts with *savoir faire*.[968] That laypeople would be familiar enough with the practical aspects of the Church's law, such as what makes a valid marriage or the acceptable degrees of kinship within which one could marry, suggests that they may have also had an understanding of the theoretical bases of the Church's doctrines as well. The literature of religious instruction suggests that these two aspects of Church life, the practical rules on marriage and the theoretical principles in the Articles of Faith, were part of the same basic material necessary to be known by parochial clergy and laypeople. A work like *Templum Dei* contains both the Articles of Faith and also the degrees of kinship.[969] Likewise, in several of the manuscripts seen in this study we encounter discussions of degrees of kinship in the same

[966] Jacques Berlioz, "L'auditoire des prédicateurs dans la littérature des *exempla* (XIIe-XIVe siècles)," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 3 (1989): 125-158.
[967] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Du Bon Usage du 'Credo,'" in *Faire Croire: Modalités de la Diffusion et de la Réception des Messages Religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981), 337-361.
[968] Goering, "Thirteenth-Century English Parish," 214.
[969] Grosseteste, *Templum Dei,* 3.2, 16.4-7.

codices alongside treatises on confession and on the Creed and Articles of Faith.[970] Such an approach is not without its pitfalls. One can, for example, easily fall into the trap of taking the inquisitorial records of an eccentric auto-didact and using these records to postulate an Indo-European folk religion existing just below the surface of an allegedly Christianized Europe.[971] But looking at these records should be able to help paint a broader picture overall of the layperson's interactions with the Church as an institution.

There are also many untapped narrative sources. In this study we have drawn attention to two romances. There are many, many more extant English romances in both Anglo-Norman and Middle English. These stories, although obviously larger than life, provide something of a mirror by which at least aristocratic culture viewed itself, and these stories in turn might tell us something about how their writers and readers understood their own religious faith. Works like hagiographies, even when affective and devotional, often contain instruction in dogma as well. In the mid-thirteenth century stanzaic *Life* of St. Margaret, for example, when the governor Olibrius questions her, he asks:

> Leuestou on Jhesu Crist? Men deden him o rode…
> Of is side orn adoun þe water ant te blode
> þe croune was of þornes þat on is heued stode.

To which Margaret replies:

> Ye deden him on rode al cristine folc t'amende
> Ant seþen into helle þe Holi Gost he sende
> To alesen cristine men, --ant þider þou schalt wende![972]

[970] On f. 125 of Cambridge, St. John's College MS 62, for example we encounter discussions of both degrees of kinship and the Articles of Faith.
[971] Cf. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992).
[972] Stanzaic *Life of St. Margaret*, in Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung*, 163-249, ll. 88, 91-2, 93-6.

This exchange embedded in the text of the *Life* is of course strongly redolent of the question and answer asked by a priest to the parents and godparents or baptizand at baptism. Similar examples could doubtless be multiplied in a thorough examination of extant hagiographic texts.

We conclude by stating that it is undeniable that John Pecham's 1281 *Ignorantia sacerdotum* provided a strong impetus to the English clergy to make sure that their lay flocks had a basic catechetical foundation. The evidence from before 1281 shows that the archbishop's canons were a capstone of a pre-existing reform movement on the part of the English episcopate dating from at least the years around Lateran IV (1215). Moreover, the evidence presented here shows that these efforts were reaching down to the level of the parish and the layman. What Pecham did with this movement was to give it systematic and authoritative expression. This expression would form the basis of English religious education for centuries to come, but it owed many of its particulars to Pecham's episcopal forbearers like Poore, Cantilupe and Grosseteste. Even more than these bishops, the work of teaching and preaching the Creed and Articles of Faith was the work of thousands of friars, canons, and parish priests whose individual circumstances are lost to history, their names known only to God.

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