

A History of the English Austin Friars

(continuation) *)

PART IV

The literary work

Chapter I

LIBRARIES AND SCRIPTORIA

The General Chapter of Ratisbon, held in 1290, decreed that libraries should be established within six months in all *studia generalia ordinis* and that local priors should appoint their guardians⁸⁸⁹). The Constitutions, approved at the same Chapter, went a step further and urged that in all important cities good libraries should be erected and the books be placed either in the sacristy or dormitory⁸⁹⁰).

How small libraries were at that time may be seen from the inventory made in 1290 at Paris which enumerates only about fifty manuscripts⁸⁹¹). Within a short period, however, many Austin

*) *Augustiniana* 8 (1958), 22-47, 465-496; 11 (1961), 533-563; 12 (1962), 93-122, 391-442; 13 (1963), 515-551; 14 (1964), 163-215, 670-710; 15 (1965), 175-233.

⁸⁸⁹) AA II, 295. The main work on Augustinian libraries of the past is D. GUTIÉRREZ, *De antiquis Ordinis Er. S. Augustini Bibliothecis* (Rome 1953). In it the original text may be found for many passages quoted by us. — For remaining manuscripts: N. R. KER, *Medieval Libraries of Gt. Britain*, 2 ed., London 1964.

⁸⁹⁰) CR 32r.

⁸⁹¹) GUTIÉRREZ, *Ant. Bibl.* 232; YPMA, *La formation des professeurs* 157/9 and *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 63 (1902) 596/8.

libraries could well compete with their better contemporaries. Increase had come in various ways. Donations quickly made a great difference as in Paris when Giles of Rome († 1316) donated all his books to the new monastery which he had acquired from the Friars of the Sack. The first large donation in England was given to the friary in Gorleston by Canon Richard Holme. Great increases could come from the private libraries of brethren. Each student going to Paris was given forty *librae Turonenses* for buying books « so that their lack would not impede his studies » ⁸⁹²). The same permission, no doubt, applied to English students attending Oxford and Cambridge ⁸⁹³). These books could be kept for life, but after the owner's death, they had to be returned either to the province or the convent which had paid for their purchase ; all other books reverted to the native convent of the deceased ⁸⁹⁴). This permission for privately owned books could lead to large personal libraries. John Erghome possessed over 250 manuscripts which he left to York before going as student to Oxford. Prior General William Becchi bequeathed 100 volumes to S. Spirito in Florence, a library to which Boccaccio had left many books in his testament of 28 August 1374 ⁸⁹⁵).

The main increase came through the efforts of individual monasteries. Each *studium generale ordinis* was allowed to engage two professional scribes who were as a rule laymen. They had to stay in a room near the monastery gate and brethren could visit them only with permission of the prior ⁸⁹⁶). A scribe was also assigned to

⁸⁹²) CR 32r.

⁸⁹³) Of his visit to the OESA library in Norwich Bale says: « praeter ea quae in privatis quorundam fratrum bibliothecis non comparabant »: *Catalogus* I, 533.

⁸⁹⁴) HUMPHREY, *Book Provisions* 69 misunderstood the passage « libri... revolvantur ad loca quae ipsos genuerant in Christi ». He thought the books remained in the house where a friar died, but the passage signifies the native convent, i. e. the house where a friar received the habit and to which he was affiliated.

⁸⁹⁵) D. GUTIÉRREZ, « La Biblioteca di Santo Spirito in Firenze nella metà del Secolo XV », AA 25 (1962) 1-88; the donation of Becchi 26-34, of Boccaccio 8. The library was divided into a small and large library, a division we often find in Europe but not in England.

⁸⁹⁶) « Et studeant [priors] tenere pro possibilitate loci unum vel plures scriptores qui scribant ad opus conventus libros ad usum lectorum et praedicatorum studentium necessarios. Et tales scriptores stent in domibus iuxta portam et fratribus nulla hora se coniungant et ad eos nullus sine licentia prioris vadat. Et alium scriptorem in loco sine licentia prioris generalis nemo teneat »: CR 33v.

each master of theology, whose food, clothing and expenses were paid by the monastery. This did not prove a hardship as long as the number of masters was very small, but with their rapid increase this privilege became very burdensome, especially since each master was also allowed a *famulus*. The universal poverty following the Great Plague induced the General Chapter of Perugia in 1354 to abolish the right of a master to have a scribe ⁸⁹⁷), but this did not prove beneficial and a compromise at the General Chapter of Montpellier in 1357 permitted the *famulus* to serve also as *scriptor* ⁸⁹⁸). In 1359 the General Chapter of Padua returned to the old rule with the stipulation that books made by the scribe could not be sold outside the monastery without permission of the prior general, and that the scribe should have only his food from the monastery, not also his clothing ⁸⁹⁹). In the course of years some monasteries, especially those of the Observance, did away with hired scribes and developed *scriptoria* in which only their own members were engaged. One of the best known was that of St. Augustine in Cremona where Fr. Apollonio of Calvisano created his many splendid liturgical works ⁹⁰⁰).

This art was not neglected in the English Province though only one notice in the Registers of the Priors General speaks of it and this because a dispensation was needed. In 1384* Fr. John Tye was permitted to teach his confrere Henry Hood the art of illuminating manuscripts. Friar Tye must have been a master in this art because he was the official illuminator for Earl Humphrey Bohun, the builder of the Austin church in London ⁹⁰¹). He was probably the minia-

⁸⁹⁷) AA IV, 309.

⁸⁹⁸) AA IV, 331.

⁸⁹⁹) AA IV, 377.

⁹⁰⁰) *Annali della Biblioteca Governativa e Libreria Civile di Cremona* VIII (1955) *passim*. Calvisano's books adorned not only his own monastery but also those of S. Maria del Popolo in Rome and St. Barnabas in Brescia.

⁹⁰¹) BIGELOW, *Bohun Wills* 634. The testament left to Fr. John Tye « our luminour » [illuminator] the sum of £10. He follows immediately after Fr. William Monklane OSA. The earl's will (+1361) was written at the Castle of Plessy where Fr. John worked. Hence the special permission of the prior general « quod possit vocare et retinere Fratrem Henricum Hood ». If both had stayed at a friary such permission would not have been needed. — Possible relatives of Fr. John were the Austin Nicholas Tye (D 382) and Mr. Nicholas Tye of North Witham who bequeathed 20s in 1410 to OESA-Stamford: *Lincoln, Reg. Repingdon* II, 244.

turist of the psalter which Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, describes in her testament as :

« well and richly illuminated, with gold clasps enamelled with the white swans [the swan being the Bohun badge] and the arms of my lord and father enamelled in the clasps and bars of gold with work in the form of mullets, which psalter was given to me to remain to my heirs and so from heir to heir » ⁹⁰²).

Expensive work of this kind was reserved for rich people ⁹⁰³) and for liturgical books. The friars themselves needed most of all a working library ; therefore the rubrication of initials is often omitted. The recent publication of the library catalogue of the city of Windsheim (Bavaria) gives us a good idea of the nature of an ordinary Austin *scriptorium*. This library has preserved the old Austin library almost in its entirety although the friary was suppressed at the Reformation. Some of its manuscripts were pure exercises in penmanship. One of the apprentices even closes with the words : « Hew male finivi quia non bene scribere scivi ». The « bene scribere » relates of course to calligraphy ⁹⁰⁴). Since the priors carefully corrected the mistakes of the neophytes, even such copies became valuable additions to the library. Five priors of the house who appear as scribes produced excellent copies.

Several hundred colophons of Austin scribes collected in the course of our researches show many students of the Order engaged in copying books while preparing for their academic promotions at foreign universities ⁹⁰⁵). They probably paid room and board by this

⁹⁰²) BIGELOW, *Bohun Wills* 420. Duchess Eleanor died 3 October 1399: *op. cit.* 647.

⁹⁰³) The Austins Simon of Grimma and Henry Beechem produced beautifully written copies for the Lords of Malatesta, now *Vaticana, Ottoboniani Ms. 1771* and *Ravenna, Bibl. Communale Ms. 397*. Writing for others was permitted by CR 18r: « Et si ulli ex fratribus nostris alicui in Ordine libros scribere vel aliquid operari conceditur unde precium aliquod vel emolumentum percipiat illud debeat in suis vel aliorum necessitatibus secundum sui prioris arbitrium dispensari ».

⁹⁰⁴) E. STAHLER, *Die Handschriften der Augustiner-Eremiten und Weltgeistlichen in der ehemaligen Reichsstadt Windsheim* (Würzburg 1963) Ms. 76 fol. 341. See also A. WENDERHORST, « Monachus scribere nesciens », *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung* 71 (1963) 67-75.

⁹⁰⁵) For manuscripts written by foreign students in England see Simon of Brno or Brünn (D 713), John Klenkok (D 439) and Matthew of Prussia (D 800). The latter was no doubt an Austin. In 1447 he was inscribed as « Mattheus de Prucia, Augustinianus » at the University of Louvain: E. REUSENS, *Matricule de*

work. Often authors themselves produced excellent copies of their own works. Capgrave's strong, rounded hand is well known to editors but its beauty was far surpassed by Andrew Biglia who is one of the originators of the humanistic script ⁹⁰⁶).

Copying was demanding work. Bokenham laments in moving words the hardship of a copyist in his *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* :

- 895 « For sykyr myn handys gynne to feynte,
My wyt to dullyn, and myn eyne bleynte
Shuld be, ner helpe of a spectacle ;
My penne also gynnyth make obstacle,
And lyst no lengere on paper to renne,
For I so ofte haue maad to grenne
Hys snowte up-on my thombys ende,
That he ful ny is waxyn vnthende ;
For euere as he goth he doth blot,
And in my book makyth many a spot,
Menyng therby that for the beste
Were for vs bothe a whyle to reste,
Til that my wyt and also he
908 Myht be sum craft reparyd be ».

The books were kept in presses, that is, chests or book cases which were placed either in the dormitory or the sacristy, the two safest places within a friary. When Thomas Gascoigne visited OESA-Oxford in 1430 he found its library still at the end of the dormitory ⁹⁰⁷). Special library rooms came into existence with the arrival of Humanism and its thirst for manuscripts. The oldest library was that of Gorleston or Little Yarmouth. Built in 1429 it was 100 ft. long and 30 ft. wide, wainscoted throughout and furnished with desks and settees of the same material. The money for its construction came from a lay brother of the house who might have received an inheritance (D 979). Its erection was probably necessitated by the large donation of books made in 1422 by Richard Holme, canon of York and warden of King's College, Cam-

l'Université de Louvain I (Bruxelles 1903) 190 and ZUMKELLER, *Mss* 674. He must be distinguished from Matheus de Russia, mentioned 1480 in Dd 8 fol. 53. — Berthold Puchhauser's *Collectanea personam Johannis Wyclif spectantia* were most probably written during his stay in England (ZUMKELLER, *Mss*. 199 and D 591). John de Gelria [Geldern] copied *Oxford, Bodl. Ms. Add. A-370* while student in London in 1428 (not in ZUMKELLER, *Mss*.).

⁹⁰⁶) This is evident from his manuscripts; ARBESMANN, *Humanismus* 121.

⁹⁰⁷) EHR 53 (1938) 621.

bridge ⁹⁰⁸). Gorleston had an outstanding librarian in John Brome who was prior of this house for many years. He supposedly made an index to every volume in this library, a tremendous work of love, if true. Bale states that he had seen there some of the rarest books in England, books which he had not believed to even exist in any other part of the country (D 979). Unfortunately he gave no details and until to-day not a single volume of this library has been found. William of Worcestre who visited the library in 1459 also fails us; he only gave some excerpts from a new chronicle composed by the Austin John Mason ⁹⁰⁹).

John Lowe, bishop of Rochester († 1467) built a « magnificent » ⁹¹⁰) library for his adopted convent London and gave to it many rare books. The regulations made for this library by the prior general in 1456* probably mark its completion. Its Register of Augustinian theologians was an important source of information for Bale's *Catalogus*.

A third library was started in Norwich when Margaret Wetherby, wife of the former mayor, bequeathed hundred marks towards its erection in 1457 ⁹¹¹). It was to form part of the planned new

⁹⁰⁸) BRUC 311 does not mention these gifts. The name is Holme not Home as given in D 979.

⁹⁰⁹) *Itinerary* 375. On the catalogue of this library made in 1486 by Master Roger Thompson see D 979.

⁹¹⁰) « Illud interim mihi constat fuisse eum longe diligentissimum veterum exemplariorum exquisitorem. Bibliotheca enim, quam magnificam Londini in sui instituti collegio [extruxit] fidem in hac parte vehementer meam comprobatur ... Legi tamen ... Londinensem sui Ordinis bibliothecam praeclaris librorum monumentis ornasce »: BALE, *Catalogus* I, 576. See also pp. 106/7 (XII, 103/4) *supra*. For manuscripts donated by Lowe see BRUO II, 1168/9 and KER, *Med. Libr.* 280.

⁹¹¹) Through the kindness of Miss J. M. Kennedy, archivist in Norwich, we were finally able to obtain a copy of the original will of Margaret Wetherby. It reads :

« Item lego centum marcas ad fabricam nove librarie intra conventum dictorum fratrum Augustinensium de novo ibidem construendum et erigendum hac condicione: ut in vitro fenestrarum et in singulis discis librorum ad memoriam futurorum nomina nostra, scilicet mei et Thome Wetherbi, sponsi mei, scribantur et intitulentur. Pro qua quidem summa prior et conventus dictorum fratrum Augustinensium concesserunt michi per suas litteras patentes, sigillo suo communi sigillatas, unum fratrem capellanum, annuatim in perpetuum in dicta ecclesia sua celebraturus pro animabus nostris et anima bone memorie Domini Joannis Waberyng, nuper Baroni Norwicensis, et pro quibus obligamur ».

NCC *Wills*, *Brosyard fol. 84r*. The will also provided that Margaret W. be

monastery. Her will stipulated that each of the library's windows and desks carry her and her husband's name. Only one of its manuscripts has been located so far.

A library which would have delighted Leland and Bale, if their travels had taken them north, was in York. Its catalogue, the only one of an English Austin friary to survive, has fascinated all its students. M. R. James who published it would not have wondered at the size of this library⁹¹²) had he known that York housed a studium of advanced theology. In 1372 the library numbered 656 volumes containing over 2100 treatises; seven of them have been found so far. It was rich in classical authors and was one of the three known libraries of England which were adequate in science⁹¹³). Its two Greek volumes are the only known instant of Greek books in the north of England during the later Middle Ages⁹¹⁴). The tendency of medieval Austin libraries to have a complete set of St. Augustine's works⁹¹⁵) manifested itself also in York. At least 120 writings of this saint are listed in the catalogue with several in the case of more important works⁹¹⁶). Typical of Austin libraries are also the *tabulae* or indices to books. 26 *tabulae* are mentioned in n° 247 and 44 in n° 85; all 70 refer to works of St. Augustine.

Among writers of the Order Giles of Rome is mentioned 20 times, but of other Austin scholastics only the important commentaries by Gregory of Rimini⁹¹⁷) and Hugolin of Orvieto (n° 241), and Quodlibets by James of Viterbo (n° 189, 237) found a place. The bitterly fought question on poverty was represented by the treatises

buried in the Augustinian church besides her husband Thomas W., esq. (*armiger*). On the new convent to be built see Additions to Norwich *infra*.

⁹¹²) JAMES, *York Catal.* 16.

⁹¹³) WORMALD-WRIGHT, *Engl. Libr.* 103.

⁹¹⁴) *Op. cit.* 125. The Greek volumes consisted of a psalter and canticles: *York Catal.* n° 30.

⁹¹⁵) For works of St. Augustine in OESA-Paris see ZUMKELLER, *Hugolin of Orvieto* 57-61; in Padua: GUTIÉRREZ, *Ant. Bibl.* 242/3; in S. Spirito, Florence: AA 25, 41-45.

⁹¹⁶) Some pseudo-Augustiniana are of course among them like *De decem abusionibus* (n° 68), *Meditaciones* (n° 151), *Yponosticon* (n° 112) and *Sermones ad fratres in Eremo* (n° 132, 609).

⁹¹⁷) Rimini is listed as « *Gregorius Novellus [= magister] super primum* », 2° fol. « *et res simplicissima* » (n° 239). These words are not to be found in the edition of 1522. Pembroke College Ms. 200 also lists him as « *Greg. de Rimini Novellus super 1^m et 2^m Sententiarum* ».

of John of Basel (n° 346) and Geoffrey Herdeby (n° 346) but the more important *Vitas Fratrum* by Jordan of Saxony is missing as are his widely read sermon books and ascetical tracts. Of Henry Friemar only his *Tract on the Beginning and Progress of the Augustinian Order* appears (n° 299). The catalogue furnishes us, however, with several otherwise unknown writers of the Order, most of them from the north of the country⁹¹⁸). The ascetical treatises of John Waldeby+, the pride of York, were of course carefully collected and none seems to be missing. Some of his lost works are known only through this catalogue.

The catalogue was arranged according to the subjects of the books. The title of each subject is prefixed by its original compiler. At the end of each section enough room is left for future additions. This arrangement is not much different from that of the Dover catalogue of 1389 or the far larger catalogue of St. Augustine's, Canterbury of about 1497. York's library had a single system of pressmarks which showed the place of each book in the various book cases. The books in each section are numbered off by letters of the alphabet A, B, C *etc.* When the alphabet was exhausted a second is begun AA, AB, AC *etc.* and, if necessary, a third follows in the form of BA, BB, BC⁹¹⁹).

In all libraries the inventory of books had to be kept up-to-date. Books given to lectors for life had to be entered in the inventory of both the sacristan and procurator⁹²⁰). Anyone who sold a book of the common library or gave it away incurred *ipso facto* excommunication, but books could be sold with permission of the prior and all the brethren⁹²¹).

Specified rules for English libraries are known only for Cambridge and London. In 1438* the prior general forbade any student at Cambridge to have a key to the library without the librarian's knowledge. Anyone receiving this privilege had to pay 12*d* a year for the repair of books. A fine of 6*s*8*d* was to be imposed for giving a key to outsiders, be they laymen or clerics. The librarian had to keep a catalogue of the books on hand and give an annual

⁹¹⁸) See Bossal, Hylkelay, Thornton, Wetwang in Catalogue of Authors.

⁹¹⁹) JAMES, *York Catalogue* 8.

⁹²⁰) CR 43r.

⁹²¹) CR 37v.

account ⁹²²). Interesting is the appointment of the librarian for London in 1456*. A new master was to be regent in the first year and librarian in the second, unless he became prior. Books on speculative theology could be taken out only by masters and bachelors preparing for a university act, and then only for fifteen days or a month at the most ⁹²³).

Notices of some early loans of books have been preserved in the Cartulary of Clare. In 1299* Fr. Thomas Tyfford (= Twyford ?) received the *Liber historiarum* of William Clare+. In 1318 Fr. John of Wadingfeld was given for life the first and third part of the *Summa* of St. Thomas plus *De erroribus philosophorum* and *De materia caeli* by Giles of Rome ⁹²⁴). Giles' authorship of the *Errores* has been challenged without sufficient reason. Our entry, two years after Giles' death, is so far the earliest proof of its authenticity. In 1339* Fr. Robert Massingham was allowed to borrow the *Sermones de Sanctis et de tempore* by Jacobus de Voragine [Januensis] on condition that in case they were not returned a fine of 60s was to be paid to Clare. The provincial approved the transaction with seal and signature. These life-long loans found their way into Clare's Cartulary in keeping with the above cited rule of the Constitutions.

Loans of books were not favored in later years. The General Chapter of Perugia in 1482 threatened every librarian with excommunication for loaning out a book without a receipt signed by the borrower and a pledge of twice its value ⁹²⁵). Whether this rule applied to Austins or outsiders is not clearly stated.

Not all community books of an Austin friary were placed in the common library. For example, the books required for liturgical services, the reference books for preachers and the rolls of the sacristan and procurator. The Ratisbon Constitutions demanded for each house the following liturgical books ⁹²⁶): one good

⁹²²) D 788. Full Latin text in GUTIÉRREZ, *Ant. Bibl.* 208. Eight books of the library, among them four of Occam, are enumerated in LELAND, *Collectanea* IV, 15, but only one former book could be found so far; it is *Ms. theol. 115* in *Trinity College, Dublin*. On *Vatican, Latin 4954* see Catalogue of Authors under A. Denton.

⁹²³) D 839. Latin text in GUTIÉRREZ, *Ant. Bibl.* 185.

⁹²⁴) D 190. The correct date is 1318.

⁹²⁵) AA VII, 274.

⁹²⁶) CR 33r.

missal ⁹²⁷), two books for votive masses, one good epistolary, two good antiphonaries, one for the day and one for the night, one sequentiary, one ordinary according to the laws of the Order ⁹²⁸), one hymn book with notes, at least one good, well ordered psalter, an *annuale* or *collectarium* containing in one volume the collects and chapters for the whole year and one lectionary.

To these must be added the martyrology ⁹²⁹) and since 1470 a *calendarium*, into which the names of the living and deceased benefactors had to be entered and which had to be placed in the sacristy ⁹³⁰). Breviaries are not mentioned because each priest had to have his own ⁹³¹). A Bible, Bible Histories and a Legend of the Saints were to be available for preachers ⁹³²), while confessors had to be provided with the *Antonina* or *Summa Confessorum* by St. Antonine ⁹³³).

The only liturgical books of English provenience which have come to light so far is a *collectarium* once owned by the London convent, now Ms. Latin 11438 of the Vatican Library ⁹³⁴), and part

⁹²⁷) One missal would scarcely suffice the needs of a large house but many priests had their own: note 514 *supra*.

⁹²⁸) The Ordinary is known as *Caeremoniale*: E. E[STEBAN], « De Caeremoniali OESA », AA XV, 181-227. Note 388 *supra*. Oxford, *Corpus Christi College*, Ms 38 contains an *Ordinarium OESA*.

⁹²⁹) CR 18r and p. 193 (XIII, 520) *supra*. One of the earliest liturgical books of the Order, formerly belonging to OESA-Como, is now in private possession in New York. It contains a martyrology (ff 1-100), absolutions (ff 101r-105r) ordinations (ff 106r-129v) and an ordinary with notes for singing (ff 129v-141r): RICCI, *Census USA* II, 1681.

⁹³⁰) AA VII, 277. Formerly these names had been entered in the martyrology: D 371, 538 and p. 205 (XIII, 542) *supra*.

⁹³¹) « Item quilibet prior provincialis in sua provincia compellat ad emendum breviaria fratres non habentes si habent unde »: CR 40r and note 514 *supra*.

⁹³²) CR 33v.

⁹³³) Note 411 *supra*.

⁹³⁴) The manuscript is described in *Codices Vaticani Latini 11414- 11709* ed. José RUYSCHAERT (Vatican 1959) 31-34. The dedication of the church was celebrated on June 10.

Father Hackett kindly informs us that it begins: « Ad honorem dei et beatissime virginis marie incipit capitularium et collectarium ordinis fratrum heremitarum sancti Augustini secundum consuetudinem sancte Romane ecclesie ».

The Augustinian Breviary, recently acquired by the Royal Irish Academy (Moore Library) Dublin, seems to be contemporary with the *collectarium*. « Unfortunately one quire is missing at the beginning of the Dublin Ms. and there is no indication of its provenance. The script and decoration are English, which

of a Breviary recently purchased by the Royal Irish Academy of Dublin. The *collectarium* was written after 1446 because it contains the feast of St. Nicholas of Tolentine canonized in that year. Its calendar includes not only the saints of the Order but also those venerated in the diocese of London. All other liturgical books, no matter how well written and illustrated, seem to have been destroyed, unless they had found their way to the continent. The Act of Uniformity in 1549 followed by the Act against Superstitious Books in 1550 caused their destruction ⁹³⁵).

Chapter 2

THE REMAINING AUTHORS

Promotion to academic degrees demanded a rich literary productivity, since the prescribed lectures on the Bible and the Commentaries on the Sentences of the Lombard, especially the *Principia* or opening lectures as well as the Responses and Determinations, Quodlibets, Conclusions and University Sermons had to be submitted to the faculty of theology. Although the names of over two hundred Austin masters and bachelors are known, only four university sermons, one quodlibet and three or four theological and philosophical tracts are known. Nor has a complete commentary on the Sentences survived. The other works which have become known so far belong to the field of theoretical or practical homiletics, of history and poetry. Omitting fragments, the works of sixteen Austins can be reviewed, some of which were previously analyzed and evaluated by competent historians. Our survey is mainly concerned with manuscripts not yet studied, it adds the latest discoveries to the others and reviews all manuscripts as to their significance and historical sequence. A catalogue of all authors will be appended.

1. THEOLOGY

William of Hecham

The first English Austin of whom any writings are extant is

would not of course exclude an Irish provenance » (Father Hackett in letter of 30 August 1965).

⁹³⁵) WORMALD-WRIGHT, *Engl. Libr.* 165/6.

William of Hecham or Heigham. He was unknown until the late A. G. Little ⁹³⁶⁾ discovered his works and identified him with the Austin of the same name who was provincial in 1300*. Although accepted by modern medievalists ⁹³⁷⁾ the identification is not as absolutely certain as one would wish, because in none of his writings is he called an Austin and the document of 1300 does not give him the title master. On the other hand it is certain that he was a friar ⁹³⁸⁾ and that no other William Hecham but the Austin is known.

He probably came from Heigham, Norfolk ⁹³⁹⁾. Someone by this name was ordained subdeacon by Archbishop Peccham in 1283 but unless he had done part of his studies before ordination he could not have been a master regent in 1292 when our William appears as such at Oxford University. In 1300 he resumed his lectures, a fact which poses some difficulties; but it would have been necessary if the English Austins had been short of masters. The university would not have recognized the *studium generale* of the Order as a qualified college, unless directed by an approved master ⁹⁴⁰⁾.

Hecham's first regency coincided with the time when Giles of Rome was the leading theologian of the university of Paris ⁹⁴¹⁾. Interest in his new ideas was high and since he was only a student of St. Thomas and not a strict follower ⁹⁴²⁾ he aroused the ire of the Dominicans Robert of Orford and Thomas of Sutton ⁹⁴³⁾. The

⁹³⁶⁾ LITTLE-PELSTER, *Oxf. Theol.* 186/7, 265. We follow these authors whenever we do not give sources.

⁹³⁷⁾ e. gr. BRUO II, 890; P. GLORIEUX in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain 1947) 523/8.

⁹³⁸⁾ He was not a Dominican, otherwise Ms Q 46 would not remark: « quem predicavit apud predicatorum ». This also seems to exclude any Franciscan, since they preached in their own church.

⁹³⁹⁾ The name is variously spelled Heyham, Hetham, Hicham, Heckham, Hikkam.

⁹⁴⁰⁾ P. 150 (XII, 415) *supra*.

⁹⁴¹⁾ A Parisian chronicler, probably Geoffrey of Fontaines, wrote in 1286: « qui [Aegidius Romanus] modo melior de tota villa in omnibus reputatur ». DENIFLE, *Chartul. Univ. Paris.* II, 10. — For the latest report on Giles see: A. ZUMKELLER, « Die Augustinerschule des Mittelalters. Vertreter und philosophisch-theologische Lehre » AA 27 (1964) 167-262.

⁹⁴²⁾ A. ZUMKELLER, *Aug. Schule* 180.

⁹⁴³⁾ F. PELSTER, « Thomistische Streitschriften gegen Aegidius Romanus und ihre Verfasser: Thomas v. Sutton und Robert v. Orford OP », *Gregorianum* 24 (1943) 135-170.

Franciscan John of Ridevall, who has falsely been called an Austin, also wrote against him ⁹⁴⁴). Between 1285 and 1292 Robert of Orford published his *Reprobationes dictorum a fratre Aegidio in Primum Sententiarum* ⁹⁴⁵) and during the same period Thomas of Sutton wrote not only his *Impugnaciones contra Aegidium Romanum* ⁹⁴⁶) but also attacked Giles' *Theoremata de Corpore Christi* in his second quodlibet ⁹⁴⁷). Since Hecham was a contemporary of these Dominicans one would expect of him a defense of Giles whose teaching had been prescribed for the whole Order in 1287 ⁹⁴⁸). And indeed, in the remnants of his theological writings he enters the arena of the disputed questions but definite conclusions cannot be given until a detailed study has been made. If proved it would clinch the argument for his Augustinian membership. His *Questiones Terminatae*, now lost, must have been highly esteemed because they can be traced to a number of English libraries.

Two magisterial sermons which he preached at Oxford in 1292 and 1293 are preserved. Both were *sermones ad clerum* which the whole student body had to attend in proper academic dress. The first ⁹⁴⁹) has for its subject the text : « Let us love God because he has loved us first ». Hecham treats the signs of love which manifest themselves in thought (« in corde »), word and action ; the proofs of love which can be gleaned from the inner light, fire and ascent to higher things ; the reasons of love which are found in God's attributes and his goodness to man ; and the fruits of love which consist in security without fear, tranquillity without effort and righteousness without error. After a short explanation of each point he gives proof from Holy Scriptures and the Doctors of the Church quoting

⁹⁴⁴) BALE, *Catalogus* I, 409; *Index* 241; HERRERA, *Alph. Aug.* I, 463. Ossinger no longer accepted his Augustinian membership.

⁹⁴⁵) Now *Oxford College Ms.* 276, ff. 22r-515. Orford is probably also the author of « Egidius contra Thomam » in *Codex* 217 (ff. 367r-384) *Oxford, Magdalan College*; PELSTER, *Streitschriften* 167/9. On the continent R. Orford was known as Colletorto.

⁹⁴⁶) Now *Vatican, Latin Ms* 772, ff. 4-17b. A later hand falsely assigned it to Bernard de Gannat OP, bishop of Clermont. It was published by G. Bruni in *AA* 27/8 (1939/42) and separate [Rome 1942].

⁹⁴⁷) A. MEIER, « Das Problem der « quantitas animae » in der Scholastik », *Gregorianum* 27 (1946) 102/3. Maier stated that Sutton missed Giles' real argument.

⁹⁴⁸) A. ZUMKELLER, *Aug. Schule* 169/70.

⁹⁴⁹) *Worcester Cathedral Library Ms.* Q 46, ff. 79-82r. PELSTER-LITTLE, *Oxford Theol.* 176/7.

most frequently St. Augustine, Chrysostome and Bernard. This is followed by a practical application. Although developed like an academic treatise it is a sermon of great religious depth and moving force.

The second sermon ⁹⁵⁰) was preached on Sunday Septuagesima, a day reserved for the chancellor of the university. If he did not preach himself one of the masters took his place ; in this case William of Hecham. The theme of the sermon was : « Go you also into my vineyard and whatever is just I shall pay you ». The word « Go » expressing for Hecham a command gives him the opportunity to speak on the value and need of obedience. The dissatisfaction of the householder with the men who stand all day idle leads the speaker to an exposition of the evils of laziness, while the words « I shall pay you what is just » are used to describe the glories of heaven, the reward of faithful service. Each part is fully developed but they have no inner connection and are but loosely held together by Christ's words. That Hecham planned originally an entirely different sermon can be seen from his evident enjoyment of using Christ's words in an allegorical and mystical sense at its beginning and end. Here he compares the vineyard to the church. Its vines must have roots, branches, leafs, flowers and fruit. The root is Christ and his grace, the branches the human souls, the leafs signify the fruitfulness of virtue which give inner peace, the flowers « the good odor of Christ » and the fruit (or wine which by its very nature creates heat) the fervor of love. Had Hecham followed up these ideas he would have given us a truly Augustinian sermon, instead of speaking on the exigencies of daily religious life. In both sermons he uses neither exempla nor verses but remains strictly academic and is always clear and convincing.

Ralph of Marham

Chapter 17 of the Ratisbon Constitutions made the study of the Bible one of the foremost tasks of an Augustinian novice when it demanded that he should avidly read it, gladly listen to it and zealously learn it by heart. It is, therefore, fitting that one of the

⁹⁵⁰) *Oxford, New College Ms. 92*, ff. 87v-90r. It was preached on 5 January 1293: *LITTLE-PELSTER* 163. My confrere, Dr. Fulgens Mathes, kindly transcribed both sermons. Ms. 92 is a very faulty and poorly written copy.

best remaining works of the English Austins is a Bible history, the *Manipulus Chronicorum* of Ralph Marham. Bale called it an « opus insigne, opus nobile, opus magnum »⁹⁵¹). His own copy which he lost when forced to flee from Ireland in 1553, consisted of seven books in two volumes with an ample index. To-day two copies remain, both consisting of only five books in one volume with a detailed index, viz. the beautifully written Ms. Latin 4928 of the National Library, Paris, which is complete and of English origin while Ms. 26 of Gonville Caius College, Cambridge is in French script and partially mutilated. Its first leaf was missing in Bale's time⁹⁵²).

By putting together the capital letters of the first lines in the Parisian manuscript we obtain the author's name, his affiliation with the Austin friars and the title of the book. They read :

Frater	« <i>Fatribus Religiosis Animo Tenentibus Ecclesie Ritum</i>
Radulfus	<i>Regularem Augustini, Dogmatis Ueritatis Luce Fulgidis, Ueram Salutem.</i>
De	<i>De Excidio</i>
Marham	<i>Mundi Antiquorum Regnorum Hic Animadvertite Manipulum</i>
Manipulus Chronicorum	<i>Chronicorum. Quoniam secundum Beatum Augustinum doctorem egregium patrem nostrum in libro de doctrina omnis doctrina vel rerum est vel signorum... ».</i>

Book one treats the creation followed by an interesting geographical description of England and the habitable globe, a history of the various kingdoms and a dissertation on virtues and arts. Book two to four contain the history from Adam to the birth of Christ. The heading of Book five promised the history from the birth of Christ to Emperor Commodus but it actually ends with the Ascension. Both manuscripts conclude with the words *Imperator Tiberius*⁹⁵³).

⁹⁵¹) BALE, *Catalogus* I, 485/6.

⁹⁵²) « In aula Gunwilli is Manipulus Chronicorum, a very fayr volume but wantynge the first leafe »: Letter of Bishop Bale to Archbishop Parker of 30 July 1560, published in *Cambr. Antiq. Soc.* 3 (1879) 167.

⁹⁵³) For a more detailed description see JAMES, *Catalogue... Library Gonville and Caius College* I, 19-21.

The author makes a constant effort to bring the events of the Bible in harmony with general world history. His main sources for the Old Testament are the *Pantheon* of Geoffrey of Viterbo the *Speculum Historiale* Vincent's of Beauvais and the *Polychronica* [sic] of Ranulph of Chester⁹⁵⁴). His principal guide for the less extensive story of the New Testament is Petrus Comestor. Marham is well read in the Fathers, especially St. Augustine, and deserves the praise of Bale for learnedness⁹⁵⁵). In Book 2, dist. 6, chapt. 9, for example, he has a long disquisition on the interpretation of Shiloh in Genesis 49, in which he shows a knowledge of Hebrew and quotes various learned rabbis and the Jewish Talmud. It remains to be investigated, however, whether this and other learned passages are the result of his own researches or just copied from other commentaries on the Bible.

Of Augustinian authors he mentions only the *Lecture on Genesis* by John Godwick⁺ and quotes verbatim his whole discourse on *The Weeks of Daniel*. Godwick was still bachelor in 1359* when he attended the general chapter of Gran in Hungary. Since Marham gives him the title magister, the *Manipulus* was written after that year. The inclusion of Godwick's treatise may have been a matter of local pride or it may have proceeded from filial devotion if Godwick was Marham's teacher. This was probably the case if Marham lived at the time of Richard II (1377-1400) as Bale states⁹⁵⁶). Unfortunately not a single documentary date on the Augustinian Marham has come to light. Ralph Marham or Martham mentioned as prior of St. Margaret's, Lynn, in 1378 and 1387 was not superior of the local Austin friary which was also dedicated to St. Margaret, but of a religious house connected with the Benedictine monastery at Norwich⁹⁵⁷). Tanner also places Marham in 1380 and adds that he

⁹⁵⁴) « iuxta positionem Godefridi in suo Pantheon sive Randulphi Cestrensis in sua polychronica et aliorum quorundam quos inseruimus. Jam de rerum creatione per VI dierum ordinem secundum Vincentinum in suo speculo historiali clarius edisseramus » (*Manipulus* 18v). The *Topographie* of Giraldus Cambrensis, Bede, *De Gestis Anglorum* and Henry of Huntingdon, *De ymaginibus mundi* are also frequently quoted.

⁹⁵⁵) « Aliud habeo ad praesens nihil dicere quam quod in omni doctrinarum genere per eos dies versatus, praecipue in historiis, ex multis earum authoribus collegit magnum et excellens opus a mundi initio usque ad sua tempora in duobus voluminibus »: BALE, *loc. cit.* His *Index* 331 calls it « nobile opus ... ex aula Joannis Mere et Aula Gunuyle ».

⁹⁵⁶) « Claruisse fertur anno Domini 1380 sub Ricardo secundo », BALE, *loc. cit.*

obtained the magisterium at Cambridge ⁹⁵⁸). Ralph is not mentioned in the Registers of the priors general though Dd 4 should contain the permission for his academic promotions. A close relative of our author might have been the Austin John Marham who carried letters to the English king from the emperor and other highly placed persons, probably in matters of the Schism. In 1402* he received a royal letter of protection for the time of their distribution.

It is difficult to believe that Bale's lost copy of the *Manipulus* consisted of seven books in two volumes and that it continued the story of Christianity until the author's time. In both extant copies Marham clearly states that he ends his work with the Ascension and that he added an index for the convenience of the reader. He hoped to do the rest of the commentary at some future date ⁹⁵⁹). Bale wrote from memory and may have been mistaken. What makes his statement especially suspect is his mention of an ample index at the end of the seventh book, which began with the words « Aaron quando nascitur », The present index starts with the same words but contains only matters of the five books. Bale does not speak of two indices. His description of the contents is also misleading. He called it an historical work in which was shown « the beginning and growth of all things, the origin and change of governments, the customs of people and their varying progress » ⁹⁶⁰). This applies only to the first chapter of the first book.

⁹⁵⁷) Dr. Emden kindly called our attention to Ralph de Marham or Martham, « Magister cellarii » of Norwich Priory 1372/3, mentioned in H. W. SAUNDERS, *An Introduction to the Obedientiar and Manor Rolls of Norwich Catholic Priory* (Norwich 1930) 196. Since the cell in Lynn depended on the Norwich Priory there is no reason why Blomefield (*History. Norfolk* VIII, 495) should not be relied upon who makes him superior of this Benedictine cell in 1378 and 1387. BRUC 390 was misled by the quotation in DBN XII, 1044 where C. L. Kingsford falsely assigns the data for the Benedictine monk to the Austin friar. Unfortunately Blomefield gives no sources for his data.

⁹⁵⁸) « [Marham] Radulphus, frater Augustinianus in coenobio Linnensi, Cantabrigiae sedulo bonis litteris operam dedit et ibi Theologiae Doctor evasit... Claruit anno 1380 »: TANNER, *Bibliotheca* 510. Tanner's Ms. Index to the Norwich C. C. Wills does not contain Marham's name as the archivist, Miss Kennedy, kindly informed us. Mrs. Dorothy Owen who is in charge of the Ely Episcopal Registers at the University of Cambridge states that they do not contain any data on Marham. The Registers of Norwich Diocese (now at the Seeley Historical Library at the same university) only give data for institutions to benefices.

⁹⁵⁹) See *Explicit* in Catalogue of Authors n° 238.

⁹⁶⁰) « In praedicto equidem Chronicorum Manipulo videre licet omnium rerum

There remains, however, Bodleian, Twyne Ms. XXI, f. 133 ⁹⁶¹⁾ containing a few excerpts from a *Manipulus Chronicorum* whose sixth book began with the advent of Augustine and the conversion of England ⁹⁶²⁾. On the same page a quote from this *Manipulus* places the death of Bishop Grossthead [Grosseteste] correctly in the year 1253. If this otherwise unknown *Manipulus* was Marham's second volume then Bale's description was correct. The Twyne Ms. XXI is one of Brian Twyne's miscellaneous note books full of unindexed gleanings from various manuscript sources. He does not mention Marham as author, which is understandable from what was said above, nor do the few excerpts permit any definite conclusions. Thus none of the problems can be resolved.

Geoffrey Herdeby

Geoffrey Herdeby ⁹⁶³⁾ takes first place among the English theologians of the Order. He was not a traditionalist like the better known Capgrave but an original and rather critical thinker. He was a man of great will power as is evident from his activities as provincial and was highly respected for his keen mind as is proved by his selection as confessor for the Black Prince. Because of these qualities he was also chosen to defend the Order at Oxford in 1360* and to enter the bitter strife with Archbishop Fitzralph who at first had sought only a curtailment of mendicant privileges and ended by seeking the suppression of all Orders of friars. Herdeby enlarged the material he had gathered for the disputation of 1360 and published it under the title *De Vita Evangelica* ⁹⁶⁴⁾. He also added

origines atque incrementa, regnorum initia ac mutationes, gentium mores et successus varios »: BALE, *Catal. loc. cit.* Under Godwick Bale calls Marham « excellens huius ordinis historiographus »: *Catal.* I, 442.

⁹⁶¹⁾ We are obliged to Dr. Emden for sending us a xerox copy of this page which is falsely cited as p. 113 in WOOD, *Life and Times* IV, 306 and for his description of the Twyne Ms.

⁹⁶²⁾ « Ex libro 6. Chronicorum qui dicitur Manipulus Chronicorum, qui sic incipit: de adventu Augustini et conversione Anglorum ad fidem etc. ».

⁹⁶³⁾ See Catalogue of Authors in Appendix.

⁹⁶⁴⁾ My confrere, Dr. Fulgens Mathes, transcribed *De Vita Evangelica* from Digby Ms. 113 and intends to publish a critical edition. We are most grateful to him for putting the transcript at our disposition.

some other theological questions which had not been discussed and had no connection with the main theme ⁹⁶⁵).

These alien matters comprise the first four chapters and seem to constitute a Quodlibet on questions of fundamental theology. The Augustinians of the fourteenth century paid special attention to these questions and exercised a great and generally beneficial influence upon their development ⁹⁶⁶). Herdeby discusses the exclusiveness of the Christian religion as a means of salvation ; the inability of reason alone to come to a true knowledge and correct worship of God ; and the importance of immortality. In the fourth chapter Geoffrey speaks more extensively than any theologian before him of miracles as proof of the Christian faith. He fully recognizes their importance and necessity but has so many sceptical reservations as to the human ability to prove a miracle that a direct interference by God seems scarcely recognizable. Like Archbishop Fitzralph he makes the recognition of a miracle dependent upon its effect and circumstances. For the distinction between devilish hallucinations and real miracles he relies on the rules which St. Catherine of Siena gave for the distinction between true and false visions. In part 2 of question 4 Herdeby tries to prove miracles *per media astronomica*, thereby following a trend promoted by Oxford's powerful school of mathematics and current throughout the Middle Ages. It also permeates his *sermo magistralis* ⁹⁶⁷).

Chapters 5-17 form the second and principal part of the book which gave the whole work its name. It concerns itself with the theological dispute on *dominium* and *jurisdiction*. Using Bible and Canon Law as his principal weapon Herdeby upholds the friars' right of possession in chapters 5-14, and dedicates only chapters 15-17 to the question of jurisdiction which through the disputes of

⁹⁶⁵) See the dedicatory epistle in the *Catalogue* infra.

⁹⁶⁶) « Die Augustinertheologen haben die thomistische Tradition aufgenommen, verteidigt und geklärt. Ihnen ist es vor allem zu verdanken, dass etwa um 1370 in Paris sich die vermittelnde Ansicht gegen alle extremen Theorien durchgesetzt hat »: A. LANG, *Die Entfaltung des Apologetischen Problems in der Scholastik des Mittelalters* (Freiburg 1962) 169, also pp. 136/8, 168, 170. The Austin theologians directed their attack against the extreme rationalism of Robert Holkot and against Nominalism: *op. cit.* 49/51.

The first four chapters of Herdeby's work were analyzed for the first time by Lang (pp. 145/155 and 197/8) whom we follow.

⁹⁶⁷) HACKETT, *Spir. Writers* 446.

the fourteenth century found its first clarification. Chapter 17, the most extensive part of this section, collects all current objections to the practice of mendicancy, even those of a childish character. It forms an interesting piece of religious folklore.

Whether Herdeby developed many answers to Fitzralph for the first time or at least independently from continental authors will require extensive research, since the only contemporary authors he quotes are Fitzralph and Guilelmus de Auduno⁹⁶⁸). Even of Fitzralph's works he considers only *De Christi Pauperie*, *De Questionibus Armenorum* and his bitter speech against the mendicants delivered in public consistory before Innocent VI⁹⁶⁹).

Chapters 18-20 is a defence of the Augustinian Order and most probably constitutes the *Gesta sui Ordinis* which Bale had regarded as a separate work. That it was not always part of the *Vita Evangelica* is evident from its omission in the Parisian manuscript. Chapter 18 examines the important question whether the Order was confirmed by Rome. This the followers of John Pouilly had denied arguing that the Austins were not mentioned by name in *Super Cathedram* and, therefore, not entitled to Mendicant privileges. Their later inclusion by John XXII was invalid like all other acts of this pope whose teaching on the beatific vision stamped him a heretic and consequently made his election invalid⁹⁷⁰). Herdeby easily proved the confirmation by Rome by his superior knowledge of papal documents; he even cites a bull of Alexander IV which is unknown otherwise⁹⁷¹). Chapter 19 deals with the question

⁹⁶⁸) *Vita Evangelica* 87v, 89r. He is no doubt identical with Willelmus de Monte Laudano whom Klenkok also attacked: «D. TRAPP, «Notes on John Klenkok osa († 1374)», *Augustinianum* 4 (1964) 401.

⁹⁶⁹) *De Pauperie Salvatoris* is mentioned fol. 16v, the *Q. Armenorum* fol. 20r and the speech fol. 77v.

On the questions involved see pp. 197/9 (XIII, 534/6) *supra*; MATHES, *Poverty Movement* 459/86; GWYNN, *Engl. Austin Friars* 90/5. To the literature mentioned in note 402 *supra* should be added Yves CONGAR OP, «Aspects ecclésiologiques de la querelle entre Mendicants et séculiers dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle et le début du XIV^e», *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire au Moyen Age* » 28 (1961) 33-161.

⁹⁷⁰) HÖDL 182 (note 402 *supra*); *Vita Evangelica* 79v.

⁹⁷¹) The unknown bull is «Religiosam vitam eligentibus» given by Alexander IV to the Hermits OSA in France and England: *Vita Evangelica* 100v. The text of the bull is well known, however, since it was given to all religious groups approved by Rome. The Austins of Tuscany received it in 1244, all ultramontane

whether St. Augustine founded the Order of Hermits and was himself its member. Here also the author goes his own way by discarding the principal proof of medieval Austins, the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermones ad fratres in eremo* ⁹⁷²). He was induced to omit them by the accusation that the Austins had invented them, though he himself accepted their authenticity ⁹⁷³). The accusation was directed principally against Jordan of Saxony ⁹⁷⁴), Geoffrey's contemporary, who had collected them for the first time and used them extensively in his *Vitas Fratrum*. Herdeby records the earliest known criticism of these sermons. In chapter 20 he absolutely denies the foundation of the Canons by St. Augustine.

Capgrave and Schiphower ⁹⁷⁵) bear witness that the *Vita Evan-*

Tuscans in 1253, the friars in Germany in 1255 and those in England/France probably in the same year. See B. VAN LUIJK, *Bullarium* n^{os} 46, 104, 157.

⁹⁷²) These sermons are printed in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina* XL, 1235-1358. Their authorship is now ascribed to Geoffrey Babion: J. P. BONNER, « Un de plus grand prédicateurs du XII^e siècle, Geoffrey du Loroux dit Geoffrey Babion », *Revue Benedictine* 56 (1945/6) 175-179. See also *Vfr.* XXIV-XXIX. Ms. 175 of the Public Library, Toulouse has the entry that in 1347 the chancellor of Paris had taken one of these sermons (« de obedientia et statu fratrum heremitarum ») from a very old manuscript: « ... qui cum multis aliis sermonibus ejusdem sancti Augustini de quodam antiquissimo libro extraxit et in opere sermonum beati Augustini quod compilat, posuit et ordinavit ». The chancellor was Robert de Bardis, whose collection of sermons by St. Augustine has remained the most complete but has not been fully preserved: G. POZZI, « Roberto de Bardis e S. Agostino », *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* I (1958) 139-153.

⁹⁷³) « ... set quia veritatis adversarii et dicti ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini asserunt et dicunt prefatos sermones a nobis esse confictos et a beato Augustino numquam fuisse compositos, cuius contrarium firmissime teneo, eosdem sermones in presenti opere non allego, set auctoritates dumtaxat que doctum hominem nullum latent »: *Vita Evangelica*, 106rv.

⁹⁷⁴) The problem greatly interested Herdeby as is evident from fol. 110r: « Primum sermonem [ad fratres in eremo] non allego pro dicta conclusione quia illum numquam vidi, cum tamen in universitatibus et extra cum diligencia quieserim eundem, tamen inventarium antiquum librorum in monasterio canonichorum regularium de sancto Bartholomeo Londoniis stetatur [sic] illum sermonem ibidem fuisse et canonici dicunt eundem furtive sublatum fuisse ».

Jordan's *Vitas Fratrum* was known to Herdeby: « Hoc predictis concordat et opinioni fratris Jordani nullatenus contradicit... Quantum ad regule traditionem cum venerabili lectore ffratre Jordano de Saxonia... »: *Vita Evangelica* 108r.

⁹⁷⁵) Galfridus Habedi [sic]... « scripsit librum perpulcrum de Evangelica perfectione quo certo nostro seculo nihil utilius excogitari potuisset, pro quibus [sic] eum omnibus theologis qui sunt aut umquam fuerunt magna audacia praeponere non formidamus »: SCHIPHOWER, *Chronicon* II, 178. He had probably not seen the

gelica was held in high esteem within the Order. Beside Penketh Herdeby is also the only English theologian who became somewhat known on the continent. So far he has been found quoted in the works of the Dominican Henry Bitterfeld, N. Weigel, a secular priest, and the Austins John of Retz and John of Basel ⁹⁷⁶). Bitterfeld has preserved for us Geoffrey's opinion on indulgences. According to this presentation Geoffrey did not accept an indulgence for the dead and also differed from most of his contemporaries as to the indulgence for the living. He makes the indulgence dependent upon the worthy disposition of the recipient. For the gaining of an indulgence two conditions were always pre-supposed: 1° equal participation demanded equal inner disposition and worthiness; 2° a plenary indulgence always involved the proviso: to the extent of the power of the keys. A plenary indulgence, therefore, was not to be regarded as a full remission of all temporal punishment as the ignorant were wont to believe. Though Herdeby's opinions were shared by some other medieval theologians they must soon have been attacked, otherwise he would not have returned to them in his *Vita Evangelica*, where he tries to prove his point by leading his opponents *ad absurdum*. No mortal priest, he says, can forgive all punishment due to sin. People should not believe that by obtai-

book or he would have indicated where he had found it as he usually does. — For Capgrave see note 110 *supra*.

⁹⁷⁶) John Retz calls him «Magister Galfridus Herdubii». A. ZUMKELLER, *Mss.* 571. — John of Basel, who lectured on the Sentences in Paris between 1365/66, does not seem to have been in possession of Herdeby's books but relies on hear-say. *Ms clm 26711 of the State Library, Munich* has on 162r: «et est modus Haston [Ashton] and magistri Galfridi Herdulini de Anglia ordinis nostri» and fol. 212v: «sic a quibusdam audiui quod Godfridus Hereby [sic] respondeat».

On Bitterfeld († ca 1405) see *Arch. Fratr. Praedicatorum* 23 (1953) 1-85. His collection on indulgences was preserved in *Breslau, Univ. Libr. Ms. II.F.65* and *Trier, Stadt. Bibliothek Ms. 703*, fol. 154-173. The latter was lost during World War II (communication) and the first unavailable due to present circumstances.

N. Weigel, professor of theology in Leipzig, compiled between 1436-41 a very extensive work on indulgences, now *Munich, State Libr. clm 12247*. He assigned Herdeby's following opinion on indulgences to a «certain doctor» and thus it is reprinted in E. AMORT, *De origine, progressu, valore ac fructu indulgentiarum* 2 (Augsburg 1735) 99. Amort rejects Herdeby's opinion as false: «Si igitur indulgentiae non tantum valent, quantum praedicantur, sed solum, quantum devotio promerentis eas exigit, omnes praedicantes et dantes Indulgentias mortaliter peccant, et Ecclesia in eorum persona» because they are guilty of lying.

ning a bull of full remission they would go straight to heaven without any purgatory. If the opposite were true then a mortal priest could destroy the whole purgatory and having this power he would be bound in charity to do so ⁹⁷⁷).

Herdeby had written extensively on this question in his *Commentary on the Fourth Book of the Lombard*. His teaching is contained in the sentence : « Nulli decedenti debetur purgatorium nisi decedat in gratia et caritate et omni homini sic decedenti posset sacerdos mortalis plenam remissionem concedere quantum claves ecclesiae se extendunt ». If we knew his teaching on the power of the keys we could better judge the theological correctness of this sentence, but it is not developed in the *Vita Evangelica* and the commentary has not yet been found. From the above it is evident that Herdeby deserves a much more detailed study than he has found so far.

Wyclifism

Herdeby's *Vita Evangelica* signifies the end of a period. The questions of dominion and jurisdiction as well as the fight against the friars did not cease but they lost their importance when Wyclif and his Lollards attacked the constitution of the church and her fundamental teachings.

A concise presentation of Wyclifism would never create the vivid impression which the following excerpts from Capgrave's, *Chronicle* give. They give us the feelings of a leading church man of that period and stress those points which were regarded as most abhorrent.

« In this time [1376] one John Wiclef, master of Oxford, held many strange opinions : — that the church of Rome is not head of all churches. That Peter had no more authority than the other apostles nor the pope more power than another priest. And that the temporal lords may take away the goods of the church, when persons trespass. And that the rules made by Augustine, Benet and Francis add no more perfection over the Gospel than does whitewashing (lyme whyting) on a whale. And that the bishops should have no prisons and many other things » (p. 231).

« In the fifth year of Richard [1381/2] John Wyclef resumed

⁹⁷⁷) *Vita Evangelica* 81r (power of priest to absolve), 85 (plenary indulgence).

⁹⁷⁸) N. PAULUS, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* I (Paderborn 1922) 205.

the old condemned opinion of Berengar that said : « After the consecration of Christ's body bread remained as it was before. Many foul errors multiplied Wyclef more than Berengar's : — that Christ was there, as he is in other places, but somewhat more specially. That this bread was no better save only for the priest's blessing : and if Christ's body was there it was possible to a man to break Christ's neck. He said also that it was less sin to worship a toad than the Sacrament, for the toad has life and the sacrament has none » (p. 236).

This contempt of the master was translated into practice by his followers. The Lollards were known as hooded men because « they would never take off (avale) their hood in presence of the sacrament » (p. 244). One of their leaders, John Montagu, « received the sacrament in the church, and from his mouth removed it to his hand, bore it home and ate it with his oysters » (p. 245).

« In that time [1401] the Lollards set up shameful conclusions : — that the seven sacraments are dead tokens in that form which the church uses. That maidenhood and priesthood be not approved by God, but that the state of wedlock is the most perfect degree, nor shall any man be saved unless he has married or has the will to be married, for they destroy the holy seed of which should grow the second Trinity. Item : if a man and woman desire to be married that desire is truly matrimony. The church is the synagogue of Satan, the sacrament of the altar is the tower of Antichrist. Item children need not to be baptized » (p. 280).

Such teachings attacked fundamental doctrines of the church and could not go unchallenged. Learned friars were the principal opponents of the Lollards and they were consequently more hated than any other group of men. It seems unbelievable, therefore, that so many past historians took this propaganda of hate for a true picture of the medieval friar.

During this struggle the mendicants were in a much stronger position than a generation earlier. They no longer fought for self-preservation as against Fitzralph but were the principal defenders of the true faith and their support was highly welcomed by the bishops.

Thomas Winterton

In 1381 appeared Wyclif's *Confessio* which denied Transsubstantiation. Among the various answers the *Absolutio* of Thomas

Winterton was « of a higher order »⁹⁷⁹). His short tract consists of two parts. In the first he proves the denial of Transsubstantiation as false, in the second he refutes ten errors he detected in Wyclif's arguments. He uses only proofs from the Bible, the Fathers and the antient liturgies of the church, since Wyclif refused to recognize any other authorities. Like other Austins, Winterton had been a friend of Wyclif and, therefore, did not seek his condemnation but his reconciliation with the church. In his introduction he refused for example, to call Wyclif a heretic because « I am ignorant whether he has the intention of defending through thick and thin the contested argument ». Bale tries to belittle Winterton but Leland speaks enthusiastically of his power as theologian and writer⁹⁸⁰). The praise is well deserved. Wyclif would probably have found the same end which so quickly was meted out to heretics had John Gaunt not been his protector. After Gaunt's power was broken in 1389 Winterton was called several times to preach before King Richard II. His sermons might have contributed to the moderation Richard showed during his good years 1389/97 ; for moderation and civility are the keys to Winterton's character. It made him the ideal superior during the difficult years of the Great Schism and the beginnings of Wyclifism.

In addition to Herdeby, Winterton found stout allies among his confreres in Robert Waldeby, John Bankyn and Thomas Ashbourne, Roger St. Yves and John Hynkeley. All of them are credited

⁹⁷⁹) WORKMAN, *Wyclif* II, 146/7. For the works of Winterton and the following Austins see Catalogue of Authors in appendix. A relative of his may have been William of Winterton, a member of Warrington, who was ordained priest on 13 June 1372: *Lichfield, Reg. Stretton* 266.

⁹⁸⁰) « In opere contra Wyclevi confessionem decem habet conclusiones, decem persuasiones, decem contradictiones omnino sophisticatas »: BALE, *Catalogus* I, 490.

« Thomas Winterodonus, Augustinianus, ex illo theologorum numero, qui Isaicis [= theologicis] scholis quaestiones subtilius agitabant, non minimus; videns antiquos ecclesiasticae dignitatis ritus quorundam novis dogmatibus pessum ire et praecipue qui Wicocliivi insanam ac a bonis omnibus in hac parte merito detestandam doctrinam labefactari, non censuit ulterius expectandum quin statim ingrassanti pesti se opponeret. Utque maturius malo succurreret aut totum potius tolleretur, ipsum jugulum, id est Wicocliivi de eadem re distorta argumenta petenda primum iudicavit. Edidit itaque librum *De Eucharistiae Assertionem* contra Wicoclivum, veterum haeresiarcharum sopitos cineres refocillantem, quem quoniam nuper in *Paulina Bibliotheca Londini* reperi, putabam meas esse partes, ut in hoc catalogo iustum tam sancti operis auctori honorem tribuerem. Vixit regnante Richardo de Burdegalo »: LELAND, *Scriptores* 403. Italics ours.

with works against Wyclif but none survived. A kinder fate preserved the writings of continental Austins who had studied during these troubled times in England. Berthold Puchhauser's collection for a life of Wyclif is still available though not yet used by any English scholar. Extant also are his sermons preached against several Wyclifites and Hussites. His strong stand against them is easier to comprehend in view of the Hussitic savagery which destroyed all houses of his province in Bohemia, Moravia and part of Bavaria. The mighty sermons of John Zachariä, preached at the Council of Constance, have been edited in part but the collections of Simon of Brünn (Brno) on the disputed questions of the period have not yet been examined. Simon also brought Geoffrey Shale's *The Art of Preaching* to his homeland⁹⁸¹). He would not have copied it, had Shale not been a highly respected master. Shale's sermon, preached in 1417 at the Council of Constance, did not fight heresy. Its efforts were directed towards the end of the Great Schism; it preached unity and peace.

*Adam Stocton*⁹⁸²)

With Wyclif's denial of the Real Presence the deference some Austins had paid to him as theologian and social reformer quickly changed to the opposite. This changed attitude is best expressed in the manuscript of Adam Stocton. Between 1379/80 he had copied Wyclif's *Determinatio*, a treatise on civil dominion resulting from the controversy with Uthred de Boldon, O. S. B. wherein he designated Wyclif as « venerabilis doctor » but after his break with the church changed it with his own hand to « execrabilis seductor ». He did not deviate from this changed viewpoint as his participation in the Council of Stamford in 1392* proves, where the Cistercian Henry Crumpe, a bitter enemy of the Mendicants, was condemned for holding views on the Holy Eucharist similar to those of Wyclif.

Adam's manuscript, written in his own hand, shows a great

⁹⁸¹) For Puchhauser: A. ZUMKELLER, *Mss.* n^{os} 197/9; for John Zachariä n^{os} 627/32; for Simon of Brünn: *Sources* note 257c.

⁹⁸²) From Stocton, a town in Cheshire, at least four learned Austins took their name. On the various John Stoctons: D 646c. One of them was prior in Oxford in 1456*. Robert Stocton was not prior of Oxford as stated in BRUO III, 1779. In that year he obtained his doctorate at Naples. He was prior in Stafford 1454*.

variety of interests. It ranges from copies of classical treatises to an explanation of difficult Biblical words, some of which are explained in English. The *Summa Schiromantie* finds a place beside two works of Robert Grosseteste and questions of Canon Law. Important for Augustinian history is a copy of Wm. Flete's three letters to the English Province and an excellent synopsis of Waldeby's Angelic Salutation. How valuable Adam's annotations to some of the copied material are must be left to further research.

Thomas Ashebourne and John Bankyn

The spirit of social reform which had animated Wyclif before his break with the church had found an echo in Thomas Ashebourne and John Bankyn, London's most prominent members of this time. At the Parliament of 1371* Bankyn and an unnamed companion (most probably Ashebourne) had defended the taxation of the *possessionati*, and Wyclif who had attended its sessions made their arguments his very own⁹⁸³). Three years later Thomas Ashebourne opposed papal taxation within the realm. The reality of the Parliament of 1374* is doubted by some historians while others defend it. Here we are not interested in this question but the very fact that Ashebourne is mentioned by name proves his influence and prominence during this critical period. The strong standpoint of these two Austins reflects the deep roots which nationalism had taken in the English province ; it essentially contributed to the isolationism which preceded the Suppression.

Bankyn and Asheborn were among the first to break with Wyclif. They, together with Robert Waldeby and John Hormenton, took part in the « Earthquake Council » of 1382* which condemned Wyclif. They were later joined by John Curteys⁹⁸⁴).

Other Austins actively engaged in the struggle with the Lollards were Masters Nicholas Bonet and Richard Dodington⁹⁸⁵). The latter took part in the trials of John Oldcastle, kn., in 1413, of John Clayton, a citizen of London, in 1415 ; and together with Bonet and Lowe in that of William Taylor during the convocation of Canter-

⁹⁸³) GWYNN, *Engl. Austin Friars* 214.

⁹⁸⁴) On Curteys: BRUO I, 529.

⁹⁸⁵) On Nicholas (not John) Bonet: BRUO I, 219, *Add.* I, 670, III, 2153. On Richard Dodington: BRUO III, 2190 and D 117/1.

bury at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, in February 1423 (D 607n). Foxe singles out Dodington for his energy against Oldcastle.

Capgrave who was then twenty-two years old and studying in London, gives in his *Chronicle* a very vivid account of the fear which Oldcastle had created in the hearts of many :

« In this same time [1413] the Lollards who despised the preaching of the Prophets, the Gospel and the Apostles put bills on the church doors, in which it was contained that a hundred thousand were ready to rise and destroy all those that would not consent to their sect and opinions. They trusted much in the wisdom (witte) and in the power of a certain knight called Sir John Oldcastle. He was called Cobham, for he had married a near relative of that lord. A strong man in battle he was, but [also] a great heretic and a great enemy of the church. For his cause the archbishop gathered a council in London ; for he [Oldcastle] sent out priests to preach who had not been admitted by the ordinaries and he was present at their sermons and all those who spoke against his priests he was ready to smite with the sword (pp. 303/4).

The archbishop had a very difficult time in obtaining a royal order for Oldcastle's arrest ; only when this knight escaped from the tower and plotted against the king's life did Henry V take action. He locked the gates of London so that the 50,000 followers who were supposed to answer Oldcastle's call for arms could not join. He sent his armed men everywhere and when they saw someone running they asked him : « Whereto ? » and when they answered « To Cobham » they slew him. « Thus were taken and slain thousands. The king was in the field soon after midnight. When Cobham saw this he fled and many with him » (p. 307). Capgrave's *Chronicle* closed before he could tell of Oldcastle's execution in 1417.

John Bury ⁹⁸⁶⁾

An aftermath of the battle with Wyclifism was the condemnation

⁹⁸⁶⁾ BRUO I, 323. There seems to be little doubt that Bale misled by Petrus Vicentinus confused John Bury with Henry Bederic. Tanner clearly identifies the two « Bedericus sive Buriensis » (*Bibl.* 92). Every fact but the date 1380 quoted in BALE's, *Catalogus* I, 481 fits Bury. Vicentinus counts Bederic among those who taught, that Our Lady was conceived in original sin. If true, he followed the leadership of Gregory of Rimini: H. A. OVERMAN, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963) 286/91.

of Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester. After his abjuration on 4 December 1457, he appealed to Rome but was again condemned by Pius II in April 1459. Pecock was not a Lollard, he tried to confound them by his *Suppressor of the Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*, but his acceptance of many of their accusations combined with a defense of some extreme opinions exposed him to the charge of heresy. John Lowe OSA, bishop of Rochester, engaged his confrere, Master John Bury of Clare, to refute Pecock's errors and took such interest in the composition of Bury's book that he can be called its co-author. Its title, mentioned only in the foreword, was *Gladius Salomonis*⁹⁸⁷). It consisted of two books of which only the first in 42 chapters is extant. Instead of dealing with every heresy contained in the *Repressor* Bury exposes their very root, viz. Pecock's excessive trust in reason⁹⁸⁸). Reason was for Pecock the voice of God and the means by which God's will could be recognized and he believed, therefore, that the greater part of the moral law was not based on Scriptures. Bury admits human reason for moral philosophy, but insists on Scriptures as the ultimate basis on which the moral code must rest. His answer « was a clever, well-argued treatise, full of learning »⁹⁸⁹). His standpoint proves Bury a follower of the Augustinian school of moderation⁹⁹⁰). Bury makes some use of the mother tongue though in chapter 38 he opposes Pecock's thesis « that lay people must hold in high esteem books composed in the mother tongue, especially those published by himself ».

Like Herdeby's *Vita Evangelica* so does Bury's *Gladius Salomoni* signify the end of a period. A new era opens with the invention of printing and the advent of Humanism.

⁹⁸⁷) Now *Ms. 108 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*. Parts of it were edited by Babington (see Catalogue of authors in appendix).

⁹⁸⁸) « Intuens ergo librum eius quem Repressorem vocat, non singulas haereses discutere, non errorum, quae in eo multa sunt, annotare vestigia curavi, sed ad totius (ut arbitror) sui mali radicem, ubi rationis humanae titulos in morum directione Scripturis Sanctis praefert, exquisiti studii libuit mittere securim. Quae penes eum sacramentorum blasphemia ! Quae divinorum mandatorum corruptio ! Que dispersio [*sic. dispectio* ?] petitionum ! Quis donorum contemptus ! Quae credendorum articulorum confusio ! ... »: PECOCK, *Repressor* II, 571/2.

⁹⁸⁹) V. H. GREEN, *Bishop Reginald Pecock* (Cambridge 1945) 231 and 232: « The whole of Bury's discussion is well supported by a skillfully wrought mass of references, biblical and classical ».

⁹⁹⁰) See note 966 *supra*.

Thomas Penketh

During Bury's provincialate his confrere Thomas Penketh gained world-wide fame as the first salaried professor of Scotism at the university of Padua. His renown did not rest so much upon new ideas as on an astounding memory which enabled him to recite by heart the doctrines of Duns Scotus. The printers Albert Stendahl in Padua and John of Köln in Venice engaged him, therefore, for an edition of the works of Scotus. Though others had preceded him in the publication of individual books on the Sentences, Penketh edited for the first time all four volumes. The only remaining original works are Questions in Logic and an instruction on preaching, but his prior general, Massari de Cora, relates in his chronicle that Thomas wrote many tracts in dialectics, philosophy and theology, filled with deepest wisdom ⁹⁹¹). This indeed is high praise from a qualified theologian ⁹⁹²) who knew him personally.

One of Penketh's students at Padua was probably Mariano of Genazzano, one of Italy's greatest orators and the avowed antagonist of Savanarola. Brandolinus Lippus says in his funeral sermon for Mariano that he studied in Padua under Master William, an English Austin, who was the prince of theologians at his time ⁹⁹³). There is a master William of the English Province who obtained the doctor's *laurea* at Padua in 1445 ⁹⁹⁴) but nothing else is known of him and, therefore, Brandolini's praise does not apply. Nor should this Master William be identified with William Galion ⁹⁹⁵) who became master at Oxford only in 1488, while Mariano is known to have been master in 1479 ⁹⁹⁶). This is a year before Thomas Penketh

⁹⁹¹) See note 219 *supra* and Catalogue of Authors in appendix.

⁹⁹²) PERINI, *Bibl. Aug.* II, 194/7, to which should be added the important letter on Massari's works by Masellus Venia Beneventanus in Ph. ARGELATUS, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium* (Milano 1745) I, p. CCCXVII.

⁹⁹³) « Theologiam vero quae summa omnium doctrina iure optima existimatur, Patavii a Guillermo anglico, eius aetatis theologorum principe, tam accurate audivit, ut ex eo fonte omnem iudicis sinceritatem atque acumen exhausserit » : *Rome, Bibl. Angelica, Ms. 714 (Q-4-31) fol. 18r.*

⁹⁹⁴) BROTTA-ZONTA, *Facoltà Teol. Padova* 236.

⁹⁹⁵) The identification was made by PERINI D., *Mariano da Genazzano* 15 who quotes HERRERA, *Alph. Aug.* II, 79, but Herrera did not make this mistake, he speaks only of a Master William.

⁹⁹⁶) Document in PERINI, *Mariano da G.* 16.

left Padua. He alone of all English masters enjoyed international renown and must have been Mariano's teacher.

2. ASCETICAL AND MYSTICAL WRITERS

Richard Rolle of Hampole, one of England's greatest mystical writers, was formerly considered an Austin friar ⁹⁹⁷). The first bibliographer to doubt it was Herrera ⁹⁹⁸) who would not accept his membership solely on the ground that Rolle called himself hermit. The Austins were known as Eremitani only in Northeast-Italy, everywhere else they were called Austin Friars. Since Rolle was not connected with any English house of the Order and never signed himself as hermit of the Order of St. Augustine, his membership must be rejected. The old tradition that Walter the Recluse was an Austin received of late new impetus ⁹⁹⁹) through the discovery of two early Austins by the name of Walter. One was prior of solitary Tickhill in 1276* and the other was sent to the *studium generale ordinis* in Paris in 1303 ^{999a}) ; both data would fit the author. Cells of recluses in conjunction with Austin friaries are historically certain. Consequently, Walter's exclusion from common life could not be used as an argument against his membership. Seclusion as a means of perfection was rather common in the fourteenth century and much favored by Bl. Simon of Cassia and William of Flete. On the other hand, the reasons for the rejection of Rolle's membership apply also to Walter the Recluse. The possibility that the author of *The Cloud of the Unknowing* was also an Austin has been proposed of late ¹⁰⁰⁰) but convincing proofs have not come forth.

Even though these important writers must be discarded as members of the Order, the Austins left a permanent mark on English religious literature through John Waldeby and William Flete in the fourteenth and John Capgrave in the fifteenth century.

⁹⁹⁷) Bale was the first to make Rolle an Austin friar (*Catalogus* II, 272) and was followed by PAMPHILIUS, *Chronica* 73v, GANDOLPHUS, *Dissert. Hist.* 309 and OSSINGER, *Bibl. Aug.* 766/9.

⁹⁹⁸) *Alph. Aug.* II, 332.

⁹⁹⁹) Fr. Hackett will discuss the possibility in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*.

^{999a}) Note 48 *supra*.

¹⁰⁰⁰) Knowles, quoted by HACKETT, *Spir. Life* 433.

John Waldeby

Three Austin friars by the name of Waldeby are recorded : John ¹⁰⁰¹), Simon and Robert. That they were brothers or relatives is a probability ; that they came from Waldby, a village near Hull, is mere supposition, since the family name Waldeby was fairly common at this time ¹⁰⁰²). John seems to have been the oldest. He was ordained acolyte on 16 December 1334 while studying at Lincoln. Simon was licensed as confessor in 1349* and Robert, the youngest, died as archbishop of York in 1398*. Bale's erroneous identification of John and Robert has misled authors until recently.

In the course of his teaching career John became affiliated with York. His talents were quickly recognized and Thomas de la Mare, superior of the nearby Benedictine priory of Tinnemouth (1340/9), chose him as his own teacher of Latin and homiletics and as instructor of his monks ¹⁰⁰³). Thomas took also a lively interest in John's writings. It was he who urged the Austin to publish his sermons on the Apostles' Creed. By the time John had finished the task Thomas had become abbot of St. Alban's (1349/96) and as such Waldeby dedicated the book to him. The remaining data of his life are few. In 1354* he headed a group of Austins who received royal permission to attend the general chapter of the Order in Perugia. He was by then master of theology and since he is mentioned first, he was most probably provincial ¹⁰⁰⁴). In 1365 he published his *Novum opus dominicale* containing sermons for all Sundays of the

¹⁰⁰¹) On John Waldeby see HACKETT, *Spir. Life* 457-470 and BRUO III, 1058. Wherever we do not quote sources we follow Hackett. — Our special thanks is due to Sister Michaela Morin who is preparing a long needed thesis on Waldeby. She kindly put at our disposal not only all manuscripts of Waldeby except those of Lambeth Palace but also sent us the introductory chapters of her thesis.

¹⁰⁰²) A John Waldeby was bailiff of York in 1357 and a Richard Waldeby was mayor of that city in 1365: KNIGHT, *Hist. York* 262.

¹⁰⁰³) OWST, *Preaching* 51, 64.

¹⁰⁰⁴) HACKETT p. 456n argues that this precedence is not definite proof for John's provincialship since masters of theology and definitors preceded provincials at General Chapters. This argument does scarcely apply to a royal document. Furthermore, John was master of theology and the CR called one of the three delegates of a province definitor and the other two discretos (note 456 *supra*). Since a number of provincials are called « provincialis et definitor » (see our List of Provincials in appendix), the laws of precedence offer no real objection. BALE, *Catalogus* I, 499 calls Waldeby provincial.

year. He probably died before 1372, because the catalogue of York's library was completed in that year and seems to contain all his works. At least none beyond the eleven treatises enumerated in the catalogue has become known.

Waldeby's title to a place in English ascetical literature derives from his standing as preacher. He was one of the most notable pulpit orators of the fourteenth century. His treatises on the *Our Father*, the *Hail Mary* and the *Apostles' Creed* were originally sermons but in their present form they are transformed into religious reading matter for the devout ¹⁰⁰⁵). Waldeby's explanation of these three prayers said daily by devout Christians found much favor with his contemporaries since twelve copies are still available. His *Novum opus dominicale* has survived in two copies though each has a different arrangement. Lost are his *Explanation of the Apocalypse*, of the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, his *Repertorium* and the *Novum opus de Sanctis*, all of them once kept in the library of York. Its catalogue does not mention a single one of the theological works enumerated by Bale and they can be dismissed as conjectures.

Waldeby's style is simple, always easy to grasp, yet theologically deep and correct. He does not thunder and rave but clearly and convincingly speaks of the inclinations which daily lead men into sin. He uses the seven petitions of the Lord's prayer to describe the evils of the seven capital sins : lust, avarice, pride, envy, gluttony, sloth and anger. Four of these themes — avarice, pride, envy and lust — are resumed in the *Apostles' Creed* and, time and again, appear in the Sunday sermons ; but among the latter are also some magnificent sermons on Christ's attractive personality and mighty power ¹⁰⁰⁶). A more positive view is taken in the *Angelic Salutation*. Its five parts were applied to the Bl. Virgin's principal feasts, viz. Conception, Nativity, Annuntiation, Purification and Assumption. He defends the Immaculate Conception and speaks of the Assump-

¹⁰⁰⁵) *Cambr. Univ. Ms. li-3-29 fol. 65r* says in the very personalized introduction to the Ave « et sic specialiter devotos amicos earundem festivitatum licet tenuiter reficiant et maiorem in eis, si dominus donavit specialem affectum, attendant ». The passage is missing in *Gonv. and Caius Ms.* and corrupted in *Br. Mus. Royal 7-E-II*.

¹⁰⁰⁶) « Spiritus Domini super me » fol. 41/2 and « Gratia Dei erat in eo » fol. 52rv in *Oxford Laud. Misc. 77*.

tion as an article of faith ¹⁰⁰⁷). The second part of the Hail Mary was not explained since it was not yet in general use.

Like any good preacher Waldeby makes effective use of examples. He took them from the Bible, the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, the Legend of Saints, the *Speculum His'oriale* of Vincent of Beauvais and others. Among the saints he prefers those of England and especially those of York. To Bodleian Ms. Laud Misc. 77 containing his Sunday sermons he added an appendix of sixty six stories. Only one of them could be considered coarse. It concerns a Parisian Jew who fell into the city's sewer on a Sabbath Day. Passers-by wanted to pull him out but he refused their assistance because of the Sabbath. Hearing this the king of France forbade to pull him out on Sunday because this day was holy to Christians. By Monday the poor man had suffocated. Another story telling the sentiments of three Jews returning from Christ's crucifixion ¹⁰⁰⁸) makes it evident, that it is not Waldeby's custom to make Jews an object of mockery as was done so often in medieval times.

Even more effective than his examples is the use of facts taken from daily life. A leaden vessel, he says, filled with water and put on the fire remains whole, but when empty it is consumed by fire. Likewise, a soul which is empty of good works and virtues because of sloth is consumed in the fire of temptation ¹⁰⁰⁹).

Verses are used very sparingly ; none of his metrics could be found so far in the printed collections.

Four characteristics mark all writings of Waldeby. He shows complete familiarity with the Bible, and its constant quotation seems to have become his second nature. There is a sound theological basis to his sermons, yet they remain popular and practical ; they also excel by their clarity due to good subdivisions. In this they are similar to Hecham's. Like all Austin writers of the period he shows

¹⁰⁰⁷) For texts on Immaculate Conception see HACKETT 469, for Assumption *Gonv. and Caius Ms.* 334 fol. 148: « ... integraliter est assumpta sicut non impie creditur ab ecclesia ».

¹⁰⁰⁸) Both stories on fol. 144.

¹⁰⁰⁹) *Gonv. and Caius* fol. 130v: « Vas eneam vel stagneum plenum super ignem positum non consumitur dum fuerit liquore plenum sed vacuum statim consumitur. Sic anima vacua bonis operibus et virtutibus uritur et consumitur igne temptacionis ».

an extensive knowledge of St. Augustine and like Hecham prefers St. Bernard to the rest of the doctors.

Owst characterized Waldeby as « an ascetic mind of even more than usual morbidity and pessimism... a veritable Jeremiah in the midst of the city ». He finds in him « the same fiery spirit of denunciation, the same outspoken discussion of clerical vices »¹⁰¹⁰) as in John Bromyard. Owst's presentation seems to be built on a systematic study of Waldeby's works, but his quotations are almost exclusively taken from a series of sixteen sermons which — good as they are — cannot with certainty be ascribed to Waldeby. They follow the tracts on the Our Father, Ave and Creed in Gonville and Gaius Ms. 334. Hackett is inclined to reject Waldeby's authorship because of their lack of theological depth found in his genuine works. This argument loses some of its cogency in view of the copyist's tendency toward abbreviation as may be noted in the first five petitions of the Our Father and the introduction to the Ave¹⁰¹¹).

The fourteen sermons are also interesting for their English divisions within the Latin text. This would not speak against Waldeby's authorship since to a lesser degree the *Novum opus dominicale* (Laud. 77) has the same English divisions though only on the margin of the text.

Owst's characterization cannot be rejected in its entirety but it needs re-examination on the basis of Waldeby's genuine works. Waldeby's purpose is strongly ascetical, demanding the control of passions. Yet no one can write as he does unless he leads a strongly pulsating interior life. It is Hackett's merit to have called attention to this mystical trait. Waldeby's love of solitude and search for the divine light which he finds only in seclusion are vividly described in his dedicatory letter to the *Symbolum*. He is part of England's mystical movement by his tender devotion to Christ crucified and to the Sorrows of Our Lady. Like the humanists of later decades he des-

¹⁰¹⁰) OWST, *Preaching*, 65; *Literature* 266.

¹⁰¹¹) This deprives us of interesting passages like the hard-to-believe bear hunt in Germany. Knowing the bear's predilection of honey hunters fasten sharpened poles around a hollow tree containing honey and with thongs tie a hammer over its opening. In its eagerness to get at the honey the bear knocks the hammer aside but its return swing hits his head, he falls, gets impaled on the poles and is easily killed. Symbolically the bear represents the avaricious man and the hammer divine justice which destroys the sinner by his own evil desire: Cambridge Univ. Ms. li-3-29, fol. 53 [*Adveniat regnum tuum*].

cribes Christ's sufferings with a startling realism intended to arouse the sympathy of his hearers and lead them to repentance. No wonder that several medieval copyists ascribed some of his works to Richard Rolle. And so profound a student of English religious literature as Miss H. E. Allen again follows their example. The York Catalogue lists one of Waldeby's works as *Misericordias Domini*. With these words begins also a treatise which in two fifteenth century manuscripts is ascribed to Richard Rolle. There are, however, sound reasons for doubting his authorship. Miss Allen suggested Waldeby as the real author and Father Hackett has given substance to her theory by proving that the sources used by the author of *De Dei Misericordia* are typical of Waldeby's authentic writings, and that one passage in particular has a counterpart in his Creed ¹⁰¹²). Miss Allen is also inclined to credit Waldeby with the poem *De Trinitate et Unitate* or *Bonde of Loving* which appears together with *The Prick of Conscience*.

William Flete

William Flete ¹⁰¹³) was always known as a friend and defender, a disciple and spiritual director of St. Catherine of Siena ¹⁰¹⁴), but only of late does he receive due recognition as a spiritual writer.

Before he left England in 1359 he had completed his *Remedies against Temptations*, a practical, yet learned treatise which tries to alleviate those afflicted with temptations. They are not the temptations of every day life described so vividly by Waldeby but temp-

¹⁰¹²) HACKETT, *Spir. Life* 465/6.

¹⁰¹³) Pp. 69/72 (XII, 537/40), 140 (XII, 405), 183/6 (XIII, 520/3) *supra*; BRUC 234, 676. — No one has done more for the revival of Flete than Father Benedict Hackett. We use here only the following abbreviations for his articles :

Flete = HACKETT B., « William Flete », *The Month* (London) 212 (1961) 69/80.

Growth = HACKETT B., COLLEDGE E., CHADWICK N., « William Flete's De Remediis Contra Temptaciones in its Latin and English Recensions: The Growth of a Text », *Medieval Studies* (Toronto) 26 (1964) 210/30.

Mss = HACKETT B., « William de Flete and the De Remediis Contra Temptaciones », *Medieval Studies* (Gwynn) 330-348.

¹⁰¹⁴) The spiritual formation of St. Catherine on an Augustinian basis was completed before 1374 when Bl. Raymund of Capua took over her direction: *Flete* 71.

tations experienced by souls striving for perfection, though not necessarily for contemplation. The book consists of twelve short chapters ¹⁰¹⁵) of which at least three are taken verbatim from *Stimulus Amoris*. Walter Hilton, England's greatest mystical writer, recognized its value and, therefore, made use of it. In fact, some cataloguers attributed the work to him ¹⁰¹⁶). Direct or indirect quotations appear in many medieval compilations. It was incorporated almost in full into the *Speculum Spiritualium*, a notable spiritual production of the fifteenth century, and verbally quoted by St. Thomas More in his *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* ¹⁰¹⁷). Of all medieval English writings it has most in common with the *Chastising of God's Children* which may well have been written some decades afterwards under its influence ¹⁰¹⁸).

Originally written in Latin it was frequently translated into English. Of the twenty or so Latin manuscripts ¹⁰¹⁹) only Ms. li-VI-30 of the University Library of Cambridge offers a text free from interpolation and it alone preserved Flete's name. The fifteen extant English versions differ widely in their textual structures because of re-arrangements, additions and glosses and consequently present the would-be-editor with endless problems of textual criticism. One of the English translations was published in 1492/4 and another by Wynkyn de Worde in 1508 and 1520. Fr. Augustine Baker, the last great representative of the English Mystical tradition, transcribed it in toto in his *Ancker of the Spirit* (1628/9). Spiritual directors must have found the *Remedies* a secure guide in the care of zealous, but distressed souls or the work would not have found so wide a dissemination nor shown such enduring vitality.

Twenty years of self-imposed silence followed Flete's first endeavor in spiritual writing. During his stay at Lecceto he had become a member of St. Catherine's famiglia ¹⁰²⁰) and when she was

¹⁰¹⁵) The contents are given in *Growth* 211/8 and *Flete* 74/9.

¹⁰¹⁶) *Mss* 332/4.

¹⁰¹⁷) *Flete* 75, 69.

¹⁰¹⁸) *Growth* 211, 229.

¹⁰¹⁹) They are enumerated in *Mss*, 342/8. To the untraced Latin Manuscripts add Library of Rooklooster near Bruxelles (*Growth* 218 n. 35) and to the English *Mss*: *Leeds, Univ. Libr. Brotherton* 501, fol. 86r-88v (BRUC 676). Communication of B. Hackett.

¹⁰²⁰) Another member of this famiglia was the Austin John Tantucci who had obtained his doctorate at Cambridge. He was one of Catherine's confessors, accom-

bitterly attacked during her stay in Avignon Flete became her principal defender. His letter to Bl. Raymond of Capua, general of the Dominicans, describes her tribulations and speaks of her in terms reserved only for the greatest saints. In 1376/7, a year before this letter was written Catherine had given to Flete an outline of her religious ideas which he digested into its present form, known as her Spiritual Testament. Biographers have always found « in this straightforward text the authentic statement of all that is most essential in St. Catherine's asceticism » ¹⁰²¹).

In 1387, two years after the saint's death, Flete composed his important « *Sermo in reverentiam B. Caterinae de Senis* ». It reveals him as a man of deep emotions, of strong likes and dislikes who is neither afraid nor embarrassed to give expression to them. He mingles the deep sorrow at St. Catherine's loss with harsh accusations against the Siennese who had not recognized her greatness. For her heroic virtues and endless efforts for the church he uses comparisons usually reserved to Our Lady. Catherine is the Holy City of Jerusalem, the woman surrounded by the sun, the moon at her feet and twelve stars on her head. On her deathbed Catherine had asked of her followers to die, if necessary, for the cause of Pope Urban VI. Remembering this last request Flete denounces the antipope as antichrist, and his followers as the synagogue of Satan, as heretics and schismatics ¹⁰²²).

Flete's preaching against the Schism and his campaign of letter writing were completely disregarded over his unwillingness to follow the saint's call to Rome. Was it indeed only unwillingness to leave his beloved hermitage or rather a clear understanding that the action would be as futile as it turned out to be ? Not a single line in this sermon indicates any feeling of guilt as to the course he had taken.

panied her to Rome in 1378 (while Flete stayed behind) and gave her absolution before her death on 29 April 1380: BRUC 576. St. Catherine was no doubt acquainted with Lecceto before Tantucci came back from Cambridge.

¹⁰²¹) GWYNN, *Austin Friars* 167.

¹⁰²²) Flete's personal loss: *Sermo* 55, « O mater sanctissima ... ubi est amodo locus in Silva Lacu ubi facias amodo pasca cum discipulis suis. He explains *pasca facere* as Catherine's longing for souls, his own included. — « O Senenses ingrati, beneficia sua non recolentes o murmuratores pessimi et increduli stulti et trucidi corde ad credendum omnibus quae operatus est Deus per eam » ... » (p. 61). — The passages on schismatics pp. 44, 46, 64 « Per lunam intelligo synagogam Sathanae in Avenione ubi habitabat dyabolus, id est antipapa antichristus » (p. 64). The sermon was edited by Fawtier in *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 34 (1914) 40-75.

In the end, a man's personal conviction must be the criterion for his actions not the hindsight of historians.

The writings on St. Catherine make Flete the first hagiographer amongst English Austins. His description is alive, warm, accurate and plumbs the depth of St. Catherine's religious personality. In this respect he stands head and shoulders above Capgrave and Bokenham who could not speak from personal acquaintance. His letters to the English brethren have been discussed in the Chapter on Religious Life. They do not only contain general ascetical admonitions but give a deep insight into his own ascetical ideals and the actual religious conditions in his mother province. No other document in English Augustinian history can compare with them. Attention should also be called to the rhythmic cadence and poetic beauty of many sentences which merit for him a place in literature.

Of late an exciting discovery was made in an old library catalogue of St. Augustine, Rome ¹⁰²³). Composed about 1432 it enumerates nine works copied by a Frater Guilelmus de Anglia. The proposal that he was identical with Flete cannot be sustained, since he was buried in Rome while Flete died at Lecceto. He is most probably identical with William Sawford, a friar of Clare ¹⁰²⁴).

John Gregory of Newport

Flete concluded his *Remedies* with the touching passage :
« Make this your general rule : to bear in your heart the wounds of Christ whenever you wish that God incline unto you more deeply and sprinkled with his blood present yourself to the Father, and as a most sweet father he shall provide for you in greater measure ».

A similar spirit of confidence in Christ's blood pulses in the sermon on this subject by John Gregory of Newport, a contemporary of Flete. He concludes his sermon by urging everyone to take refuge in Christ's blood :

« If thou be a coward hit wille herte the
If thou be colde it wille hete the
If thou be sicke it wille helpe the ».

Gregory's artful sermon is entirely different from Flete's or

¹⁰²³) AA 24 (1964) 30.

¹⁰²⁴) See Catalogue of authors in appendix.

Waldeby's simple speech. His exempla are elaborate, his authorities many. He glories in his scientific knowledge. His description of the various kinds of blood follows the scientific trend of his contemporaries but he does not descend to their songs or rough rhymes.

The only Austin known so far as John Gregory as a member of Ludlow when ordained acolyte on 23 December 1374, subdeacon on 16 June 1375 and priest on 19 September 1377¹⁰²⁵). Since the house in Newport, Wales, was established in 1377 it is quite possible that the author became one of its first members.

John Erghome (Ergum)

How far another Austin, John Erghome¹⁰²⁶), will join the select circle of Waldeby and Flete must be left to future researches. Professor Chapman proposed him as author of England's greatest medieval poems *The Pearl*, *Sir Gwain* and *the Green Knight* plus the homiletic poems *Purity* and *Patience*. He based his conclusion on internal evidence and justified it on the strength of the friar's biography, his literary work and the choice of books that his convent library contained¹⁰²⁷), but found few followers¹⁰²⁸). Internal evidence is not enough. « Beyond this, evidence of poetic genius, qualities of imagination and stylistic artistry would have to be brought forward and in striking quantity »¹⁰²⁹). At present Erghome's elusive personality reveals itself only in his *Vaticinia* and his books.

He was ordained acolyte on 9 March 1353 by Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham¹⁰³⁰) and probably descended from the noble family of Erghum, to-day Argam in Yorkshire, East Riding. Only the connection with a rich family would have enabled him to gather a library of over 250 volumes within a period of twenty years. He placed them in 1372* into the common library of York's Austin

¹⁰²⁵) Hereford, Reg. Courtney 51. 56; Worcester, Reg. Wakefield 143v.

¹⁰²⁶) PECK, Sister Helen M., *The Prophecy of John of Bridlington*, Diss. Chicago Univ. 1930, has the best account. GWYNN, *Austin Friars* 129/38 is overly severe. BRUO I, 644. HACKETT, *Spir. Life* 442 n° 58.

¹⁰²⁷) *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 47 (1932) n° 2.

¹⁰²⁸) Ch. Gr. OSGOOD, *The Voice of England* (New York 1935) 99: « ...or the author may have been John Erghome, an Augustinian friar in York. Nothing is proved ».

¹⁰²⁹) Letter of Professor Marie Borroff, of 18 October 1964.

¹⁰³⁰) BRUO III, p. XXII.

Friary, probably before his departure to Oxford ¹⁰³¹). If he had donated them, a separate listing would have been unnecessary. He was master in 1377* when he was appointed by Provincial Henry Teesdale to settle the differences between the house of Clare and its former Prior Robert over the funeral expenses for Prince Lionel. By 1385* his reputation must have been very high within the Order, because on 25 May of that year he received license to be master regent and prior of York at the same time and on 5 June he was appointed with two other outstanding masters to decide whether the personal belongings and books of Master John Brackel ¹⁰³²) should be given to the Province of Saxony or the house in Prague. He probably did so on his way to Italy because another command of the prior general had made him *magister antiquus* and regent of the *Studium Curiae* ¹⁰³³) at Naples. This was a signal honor because only outstanding professors of the Order were called to direct it. These various appointments show Erghome as a man well known in Roman circles and speak for the thesis that he is identical with the John of England who was admitted to the theological faculty of Bologna in 1380. If this supposition is true, then John came to Bologna as a master, not as a candidate for an academic degree. The time of his death is unknown.

The *Vaticinia* which gave Erghome a permanent place in English history were completed by November 1362, when he was about 32 years old. He dedicated them to Humphrey, 7th earl of Hereford and Essex, who died in 1373 without issue at the age of thirty two. The book is divided into three parts ¹⁰³⁴), of which the first deals with English history from the accession of Edward III in 1327 to 1345 when the Battle of Crécy was fought. The second carries on the story from Crécy to 1361, the year of the second great pestilence, while the third begins with some allusions to the events of 1362 and passes to some very obscure and unlucky prophecies as

¹⁰³¹) BALE, *Catalogus* I, 623 makes Erghome a student at Oxford. Both Emden and Gwynn had the books given to York's library after Erghome's death in 1377, which is false.

¹⁰³²) On Brackel see A. ZUMKELLER, *Aug. Schule* 235.

¹⁰³³) The *Studium Curiale* received its name from its connection with the Papal Curia. It did not have a permanent place but moved to the place where the Papal Curia resided. The general chapter of 1374 decided, that this studium should always have two masters, « unus regens et alius senior » (AA V, 13).

¹⁰³⁴) A detailed outline in WRIGHT, *Political Songs and Poems* I, pp. XXVIII-LV.

to the wonderful future that will open when the Black Prince ascends the throne of his father — an event for which many were hoping in the last years of Edward's reign ; their hopes were never fulfilled.

The Prophecies were veiled with every device of mystification and no one would be able to unravel their meaning were it not for the guidance of a commentary. Since only the commentator could explain the Prophecies it is evident that he composed them. Though there was a steady tradition that Erghome was the author it remained to M. R. James to penetrate the cryptic fashion with which he had signed his name : « Si super consequentie notam caput miserationis velitis adiungere, nomen obscurum et obsequium salutare ». James pointed out that the « consequentie nota » is *ergo* and the « caput miserationis » is M (the first letter of the word « miserationis »). Adding the two together we get *Ergom*¹⁰³⁵). Among the reasons the author gives for his mystification were the tongue of the envious, the fear of revenge from noblemen [whom he criticized] and the offense wise and intelligent men might take at so young a man presuming to tackle a subject of so much profundity. The historical data furnished by Erghome are accurate as can be expected of « prophecies » written in retrospect.

Gwynn condemned Erghome for his villification of St. John Theng († 1379) accepting it as fact that Erghome had ascribed to the saint his fictitious prophecies. He also had nothing but sharpest criticism for certain books in his library. Neither criticism bears close scrutiny. Erghome placed the origin of the Prophecies between the years 1307 and 1321. Since St. John was born in 1319 not even the most credulous contemporary could take him for the author. At no time did Erghome assign the prophecies to Theng, he speaks only of a certain Augustinian canon both in the poem and the catalogue of York. The name of the saint was added by others. It is true, of course, that once the Prophecies were firmly associated with the saint of Bridlington by some interested party it surrounded them with the halo of the supernatural, imprinted upon them the stamp of veracity and so increased their influence tremendously. But Erghome never made the identification. Prophecies played an important propaganda role during the end of the fourteenth century and Erghome's *Vaticinia* were among the best known as the large

¹⁰³⁵) JAMES, *York Catalogue* 11. Capgrave does not know Erghome's authorship, but only quotes: « Bridlington in versis suis somnialibus » (*Henries* 162).

number of manuscripts (30) testifies. A chronicler of 1399 reports that certain prophecies were discussed by many and that King Richard II was so disturbed by them that he despaired of salvation ¹⁰³⁶). We may rightly presume that these prophecies were Erghome's. Henry IV whose ancestors are so highly praised in them, certainly thought them a bulwark for his claim to the throne and, therefore, promoted Theng's canonization ¹⁰³⁷).

The main purpose of the *Vaticinia* is highly patriotic. They give expression to the popular resentment against the inactivity of Edward III who let France slip from England's dominion. For this it blames his false friends, especially Bishop Wykeham.

A serious mistake of Gwynn is his interpretation of the verses « *ecclesiae patres hoc tempore solvent fratres* », in translation « At this time the fathers of the church will undo the friars » ¹⁰³⁸). Erghome gives various explanations : that the cardinals will suppress the Mendicants or at this time there will be so great a shortage of secular priests, owing to the previous plague, that the Pope and bishops will undo the constitution in which the friars are forbidden to administer the sacraments or the friars will receive prebends and lands from devout lords and will no longer be bound to so great poverty as to beg from door to door. Gwynn draws the conclusion that Erghome « had allowed himself to drift very far indeed from the ideals of the Hermits of St. Augustine ». Gwynn forgot that Erghome's explanations are written in retrospect, that is they describe past events. This is also true here. Popes and bishops did give the friars greater freedom in administering the sacraments because the Black Death of 1348 and especially of 1361 had carried away so many priests ¹⁰³⁹). For the same reason many friars received the administration of churches or their benefits (*ad commendam*). Erghome relates only the facts and voices neither approval nor disapproval.

The value of Erghome's library has been discussed. Its sur-

¹⁰³⁶) *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici IV, regum Angliae*, ed. J. T. RILEY, III, 237 discussed in PECK, *op. cit.* 108/9.

¹⁰³⁷) PECK, *op. cit.* 113 and 18/20.

¹⁰³⁸) GWYNN, *Austin Friars* 136/7.

¹⁰³⁹) « *Tuncque multae ecclesiae erant vacantes et inofficiatae pro defectu sacerdotum. Et duravit pestilentia per quattuor menses et amplius in partibus Anglicorum* » : *Chronica Johannis Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis 1346-1367*, ed. James TAIT, *Public. Univ. of Manchester Hist. Sect.* 20 (1914) 212.

prising feature is the number of original classics and those on mathematics, astronomy and alchemy. Friars of York were teachers of Arts and Science at Tynemouth and probably in other monasteries ¹⁰⁴⁰). Their learning is reflected in the books of the library. Erghome took an extraordinary interest in mathematics which had made tremendous strides since the introduction of arabic numbers. Oxford was famous for its school of mathematics, which strongly influenced theologians. They arranged not only their tracts in mathematical symmetry (« more geometrico ») ¹⁰⁴¹) but also tried to gain from this science new proofs for their dogmas as seen in Herdeby's *Vita Evangelica*. Whether Erghome actually wrote a book on mathematical calculations as Bale states can no longer be proved.

Bale also preserved the valuable tradition that Erghome was a sensational preacher always offering his audience something new and unheard of and that he preferred the rarely used typical sense in the explanation of the Scriptures. That he collected, therefore, with great labor authors who excelled therein like Methodius, Merlin, Joachim, Cyril the Greek, John Bridlington, Robert Usetius, John de Rupe Scissa, John Bassigneius, the Sybils and others who published prophecies and revelations. Bale did not know the Austin library of York but almost each of these books is listed in its catalogue.

The heading « Prophecie ac Supersticionones » given to this section of books in York's catalogue shows clearly that Erghome recognized them for what they were and did not dabble in magic art. His interest may have been deeper. These books might point to a study of false mysticism which is rather important for an understanding of true mystical life.

Herdeby, Flete und Waldeby, Marham, Erghome, Bankyn and

¹⁰⁴⁰) See p. 598 *supra*. Teaching in other religious houses was not unusual for Austins but a satisfactory study is missing. Only TOMBEUR, *Prov. Belgica* 51/5 has a list of professors OESA who taught at various abbeys in Belgium.

¹⁰⁴¹) These so-called « mathematici » followed Euclid and Campanus and, therefore, liked to start with one theoreme, though they seldom succeeded. Each question has three notables with three conclusions, of which each consists of three corollaries. Peter Ceffons (*Troyes Ms.* 62) has quite a number of astronomic drawings about the solar system and questions which he seems to have included in order to show his erudition (Letter of D. Trapp, 10 March 1965). — The idea of utilizing this science is also evident from Charles RABBI OSA, *De Mathematicarum Disciplinarum ad Theologiam Utilitate ipsarumque in ea usu* (Faventiae 1724).

Ashebourne were not traditionalists but independent thinkers of great ability. They were also contemporaries and together they lifted their province to the highest literary standard in its history. In this respect the English Province mirrors the whole Order which reached its first literary peak about the middle of the fourteenth century. No wonder that even the somber Andrew Biglia singled out the English studia for their excellence¹⁰⁴²). Whenever a great number of talented young men joins a religious Order at the same time there is always a powerful magnet which draws them. The magnet in our case must have been Master William of Lincoln whom Flete presents as a model of perfection. No other name is known. Saints never stay alone ; they gather about them great talents like the above theologians and seekers after holiness like William of Monklane.

3. HISTORIANS AND POETS

John Capgrave

John Capgrave was the most prolific writer among English Austins. He is the author of 44 books of which 13 have survived. His commentaries on all books of the Bible comprise 22 volumes, of which only those on *Genesis*, *Exodus* and the *Acts of the Apostles* are still extant while of his ten theological works only *De Fidei Symbolis* has survived. None of these four works has been studied and evaluated in detail ; all attention was given to his works in the English tongue and to his historical treatises.

The *Commentary on Genesis* is a stout volume of 187 folia in double columns which would constitute close to a thousand pages in an average modern edition ! Capgrave himself wrote it between October 1437 and September 1438. This represents, of course, only the calligraphic script, not the time required for preparation of the text. From a strictly exegetical viewpoint Marham's Bible History stands head and shoulder above Capgrave's commentaries, which do not represent any advance in biblical knowledge. Nor was this

¹⁰⁴²) « Egidius Romanus cuius scientia et virtute, ut ferunt, omnis Britannica Ordini acquisita est, quae hodie tot conventibus tantaque studiorum fama colitur » : A. BIGLIA, *De Ordinis nostri Forma et Propagatione*, Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, Cod. H-117, fol. 141r. The whole treatise will be published by R. Arbesmann in the forthcoming issue of AA. On Giles of Rome and English foundations see D 4.

their purpose. They were clearly intended to popularize the Bible and make it a source of personal sanctification. For each passage in Genesis Capgrave gives first the literal or historical sense, then its deeper or allegorical meaning and finally its practical moral application. This triple scheme is systematically carried through. Anyone thus reading the Bible will not only be enlightened but also edified.

In order to put his message on a secure basis Capgrave skillfully selected texts from the fathers, especially St. Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Origenes and Isidor. Of the more contemporary authors he prefers the great scholars of St. Victor, Paris, of whom he found sundry books in the monastic library¹⁰⁴³). He also praises the « notable book » of Richard Wedryngsete¹⁰⁴⁴). Wherever these authors fail him he uses the *Glossa* and the « Doctor [Nicholas] de Lyra ». Capgrave seldom expresses a thought of his own and then mostly in the practical application, but his own opinions are revealed by the chosen texts. For example, his quotation from the now unknown *allegoriae* of Mauricius Hibernicus leave no doubt that he accepts the Immaculate Conception¹⁰⁴⁵).

A distinctive feature of Austin writers on the continent is the exactness of their quotations ; they studied the sources themselves and did not rely on florilegia¹⁰⁴⁶). Capgrave's method of quoting does not show a similar sustained effort. He can be very exact, especially where St. Augustine is concerned, and, he can also be very vague, though such passages are rare¹⁰⁴⁷).

¹⁰⁴³) « We have in our libraries many sundry bookes that to [two] chanones of that hous mad; on of them hite Hewe, the other hite Richard »: CAPGRAVE, *Treatise* 148. In his Commentary on Genesis Capgrave also mentions Andrew of S. Victor: fol. 13r, 16v etc.

¹⁰⁴⁴) Genesis 16r. He is scarcely identical with Richard Maidstone, a Carmelite († 1396).

¹⁰⁴⁵) « Terra, de qua primus homo factus est, significat virginem de qua secundus homo natus est virgo. Terra ideo Maria dicitur quia sicut de terra, divina operacione, factum est corpus humanum, sicut de virgine, operacione divina, verbum dei creditur incarnatum sine peccati macula »: Genesis, 12r. Stegmüller knows only the *Distinctiones* of Mauricius Hibernicus: *Rep. Bibl.* III, 556/8.

¹⁰⁴⁶) See for example the *Milleloquium St. Augustini* by Bartholomew of Urbino (ARBESMANN, *Humanismus* 44) and TRAPP, « Hiltalinger's Augustinian Quotations », AUG. IV (1954) 412-449.

¹⁰⁴⁷) « Sic inveni in quibusdam annotationibus »: Genesis 86r; « Ex sermone quodam antiquo dicto in ramis palmarum »: Genesis 107r; « Expositio ex libro qui dicitur Directorium Morale »: Genesis 121v. See also ff. 121r, 125r, 130r.

Were it not for the dedicatory letter to Duke Humphrey one would regard his commentaries as the fruit of his own researches resulting in books made up « from flowers collected in many meadows » ¹⁰⁴⁸). But in this letter he stated that for his allegorical explanations he made wide use of the *Tabulae Septem Custodiarum*, a work composed by Peter Wilhymleyd ¹⁰⁴⁹). It is probably an index to the *Liber Septem Custodiarum*, a commentary on the whole Bible collected from Patristic sources by the masters of the seven custodies or limits of the English Franciscan Province and written about 1329 ¹⁰⁵⁰). It may be rightly assumed that Capgrave took most of his material from this source. His *Commentary on Exodus*, consisting of 186 folia and written between 1438-40, is composed in exactly the same style as that of Genesis. The same must be said of his *Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* which he dedicated to William Grey, bishop of Ely, who became his Maecenas after Duke Humphrey died. It consists of 189 folia and was written about 1460. Of all three books only the beautifully written, richly illuminated dedicatory copies are extant. The *Liber de Symbolo* discusses eighteen creeds from the apostles to Hugh of St. Victor.

The fame of Capgrave rests upon his historical works, of which the most important are the *Lives of Illustrious Henries*, completed about 1446 and his *Chronicle of England* which ends with the year 1417, though dedicated to King Edward IV in 1464. He collected his material for many years and cited his « Annualia » already in

¹⁰⁴⁸) « In hoc opusculo exequentes intexuimus veterum ecclesiasticorum sententias congregantes eas veluti flores ex diversis pratis pullulantes. Et pauca de multis quoque perstringentes pleraque eciam adicientes quoque aliqua ex parte mutantes offerimus non solum studiosis sed etiam fastidiosis lectoribus satisfaciennes quibus nimia longitudo sermonis abhorret »: *Genesis, Prologus*.

¹⁰⁴⁹) « ut habeat obliuiosus mundus opuscula solito paratiora, in quibus sicut in libris Regum vires prolium triplex expositio inueniatur: primo litteralis ex Augustino in Quaestionibus aut Ieronimo, sive Doctore de Lira. Deinde sequetur allegoria, ex veterum opusculis, secundum assignationem tabulae quae dicitur *Septem Custodiarum*, quae quidem michi magnam occasionem dedit exponendi. Postremo quasdam morales notulas adnexas copulavi, sparsim eas colligens, ut sit summa expositionum opusculum hoc auctore quidem sicut sibi convenit, ex omnium Doctorum libris materiam mendicante »: *Genesis 4* printed in *Henries* 231/2. Italics ours.

¹⁰⁵⁰) On Peter Wilhymleyd see STEGMÜLLER, *Rep. Bibl.* IV, 427/9. Mr. Neil Ker kindly called our attention to the *Liber Septem Custodiarum*, now Mss. 216, 217 of Balliol College, Oxford, which is cited by Stegmüller under P. Wilhymleyd, « with whom it has certainly not much to do » (Letter of 20 April 1965).

the *Commentary on Genesis* which he completed in 1438. Like most medieval chroniclers he gathered his data on ancient times not by a study of records but copied previous historians as Geoffrey of Viterbo, Ranulph Higden and Gerardus Cambrensis.

Since Marham had also made use of these works they were probably available in Lynn's monastic library which Bale called « spectabilis »¹⁰⁵¹). Modern historians claim almost unanimously that Capgrave followed closely Thomas of Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*¹⁰⁵²). This would concur with the method used by Capgrave in all his works, also with the fact that several of his books were once found in the library of Walsingham abbey¹⁰⁵³). Their presence points to a mutual interest and suggests that Thomas's great work was at Capgrave's disposal or even given in exchange. Against an unrestricted dependence upon Walsingham speaks a multitude of small differences and additions, his failure to quote Thomas, though he usually gives full credit to his sources, and his claim that he perused many books. Modern critics also overlooked other factors : In the foreword to his *Chronicle* Capgrave writes :

¹⁰⁵¹) BALE, *Catalogus* I, 633.

¹⁰⁵²) « [Capgrave's, *Chronicle*] is derived very closely from Walsingham's *Chronica Anglicana* but with some additions of *Annales Henrici IV*. There is a little fresh material on Northumberland's rebellion in 1408 and a notable story of King Henry IV's deathbed confession [to Friar Tille] that « he could set no remedy for his usurpation for my children will not suffer that the regalia go out of our lineage (CAPGRAVE, *Chronicle* 295, 302/3) » : Ch. L. KINGSFORD, *English Historical Literature in the 15th Century* (Oxford 1913) 38, also p. 149.

« Capgrave followed Thomas Elmham's *Gestis* when he wrote his *Book of Famous Henries*, though in his *Chronicle* written about twenty years later he mainly follows Walsingham whose influence together with that of Monstrelet dominated all writers who treated of the subject for the next 150 years » : J. WYLIE, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* II (Cambridge 1919) 87.

V. H. GALBRAITH, *The St. Alban's Chronicle 1406-1420* (Oxford 1937) XV-XVI eliminates the whole *Chronicle* of Capgrave as original source « though it remains of great interest as an early example of chronicle-writing in the vernacular. It also follows, I think, that the friar Tille story should be omitted from any future history of the reign of Henry IV ». Galbraith does not justify his « thought », he also like Wylie states wrongly that the *Chronicle* was written after 1461.

Students who deal carefully with certain sections of Capgrave's *Chronicle* come to different conclusions. Edgar POWELL, *The Rising in East Anglia in 1381* (Cambridge 1896) 37n states for example: « Capgrave's account differs considerably from Thomas Walsingham ».

¹⁰⁵³) They were Capgrave's *Commentarii in Regnum II* and *IV* : DE MEJER, *Capgrave* 41/2.

« It is somewhat divulgid in this lond, that I have aftir my possibilite be occupied in wryting, specially to gader eld exposiciones upon Scripture into o [= one] collection ».

This public knowledge opened many doors to him, even in the highest places. He was the confessor of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester († 1447), whose biography he had intended to write ¹⁰⁵⁴). William Grey, bishop of Ely, and Sir Thomas Tuddenham were his patrons and the Beaumonts his special friends ¹⁰⁵⁵). Nor was Capgrave satisfied with the usual sources of information. When he found a diversity of opinion he tried to look up the records themselves ¹⁰⁵⁶). However, the real importance of Capgrave's *Chronicle* does not depend upon historical research, but upon its being the first chronicle written in English.

Capgrave did not complete this work ; it ends very abruptly in the middle of a column and its actual dedication to Edward IV may be doubted. He had intended to elaborate his collection of bare facts but death intervened ¹⁰⁵⁷). He imprinted upon this work the stamp of his character by strongly voicing his patriotic and religious sentiments and by sparing neither praise nor blame for secular and religious rulers. His vigorous condemnation of Wyclif and Oldcastle does not just make him a child of his time, but marks him as a faithful Catholic who resented nothing more than an attack on the real presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Like any medieval author he filled his books with miracles and marvellous events, but only when he had found them in his sources. One could recall his standpoint in *St. Katherine* :

« In this mater [of miracles] pleynle I will me shruye
I may well leve that swyche mervueyles ther bee

¹⁰⁵⁴) *Henries* 109.

¹⁰⁵⁵) Capgrave calls Bishop Grey his Maecenas and dedicated to him three books: *Acts*, *Apocalypse* and *Symbolum*. To Sir Tuddenham who paid for his trip to Rome he dedicated his *Solace of Pilgrims*. As to the Beaumonts: « I have this information of my Lord Beaumont who now lyvyth » (*St. Gilbert* 63) and « cum servus eorum existens et speciali affectione huic generationi obligatus sum » (*Henries* 169).

¹⁰⁵⁶) « quorum veras copias nondum vidi »: *Chronicle* 107.

¹⁰⁵⁷) « Now is age com and I want ny al that schuld longe to a studier [student]; yet it plesed me, as for solace, to gader a schort remembrauns of elde stories, that wanne I loke upon hem, and have a schort touch of the writing, I can sone dilate the circumstaunses »: *Chronicle* 1.

But for because I have noon auctorite
 I dar not wryte heere her declaracyon
 Lest that I poyson all myn owne nacyon (V, 35. 1965 sqq).

The personal honesty of Capgrave in matters of historical judgment has been questioned in but one instance. When he dedicated his *Chronicle* to King Edward IV, he called him the rightful heir and Henry VI an intruder, while in his *Illustrious Henries* he had nothing but praise for young Henry VI whose grandfather Henry IV « had gained the crown by the Providence, as we believe, of God ». The restriction « as we believe » seems to express more doubt than conviction. Yet there is a definite reversal of position. This cannot be explained away but it can be understood through the changed political conditions. The *Illustrious Henries* had been written for a young king who seemed to be very devout on his pilgrimage to England's shrines. On this journey he had also come to Lynn where he stayed at Austin Friars which he took under the protection of his family. Then Henry VI had not yet lost his mind, but the continuous decline of his country's power and prestige made Capgrave a Yorkist. Unfortunately, changes of their political stand have always influenced writers of political history. Furnivall is especially critical of Capgrave's change of heart but his carping tongue is more at fault than our author. It proved never more unfair than in the twisting of the verses in which Capgrave professes the love for his Order :

« My cuntre is Nortfolk of the town of Lynne
 Oute of the world to my profite I cam
 On-to the brotherhood whiche I am inne.
 God gave me grace nuevere for to blynne [cease]
 To folwe the steppes of my faderis before
 Whiche to the reule of Austyn were swore » (St. Katharine I.1.240.5.).

Furnival used these verses to suggest that Capgrave was the son of a priest ! ¹⁰⁵⁸).

This love of the Order naturally turned him to its history. Like all medieval Austins he defended its descent from Augustine. He did so in his lost *Concordia*, not in the peremptory way of a Herdeby but with the purpose of restoring charity between Canons and

¹⁰⁵⁸) Foreword to St. Katharina V.

Hermits. Consequently he accepted the foundation of both by St. Augustine. Since this work is dedicated to John Waterford¹⁰⁵⁹), abbot of St. James in Northampton, it must be identical with *De sequacibus Sancti Augustini* which became falsely known as his *Vita Sancti Augustini*. Capgrave wrote only an English life of St. Augustine which in the main is but a translation of the *Vita Sancti Augustini* by his fellow-Austin Jordan of Saxony. He had probably found it at Paris where it is still preserved¹⁰⁶⁰). The subject of his *Concordia* is treated again in one of his university sermons at Cambridge ; he entitled it *Tretis of the Orderes under the Rule of St. Augustine* and dedicated it to Nicholas Reysby, master general of the Order of Gilbertines. This superior had taken a liking to Capgrave's prose *Life of St. Augustine* and asked him to write a similar *Life of St. Gilbert* for his nuns at Sempringham who knew little Latin. Capgrave complied. He also dedicated a rhymed *Life of St. Norbert* to John Wygenhale, abbot of the Premonstratensians at West-Dereham. The response of these abbots who followed the Rule of St. Augustine proves that Capgrave's endeavors for peace were at least partially successful, though the chief antagonists, the Augustinian Canons, did not relent and soon renewed the quarrel more bitterly than before¹⁰⁶¹).

Valuable as these works are they offer almost nothing for a history of the English Austins¹⁰⁶²). The *Chronicle* and the *Henries*,

¹⁰⁵⁹) *Treatise* 146. The same view point prevails in his *Life of St. Augustine* 36-49. Capgrave made of course full use of the pseudo-Augustinian « sermones ad fratres in eremo ». Whether he just followed his source or was convinced of their genuineness cannot be decided.

¹⁰⁶⁰) Note 203 *supra*.

¹⁰⁶¹) Note 183 *supra*. The principal antagonist among the Augustinian Canons was Conradus Eusebius Tus. For his works and the dispute in general see ARGE-LATI, *Bibl. Mediolan.* I (1) 479, CLXXX, CLXXXIII and CCIV-D; ROTH, *Anni-baldi* 36-40. Manuscripts not mentioned there are Wolfenbüttel 1055 (9), München clm. 18223, ff. 329 which has the same title as Helmstadt, Ms. 953, ff. 154-157. For Austin writers on this subject see OSSINGER, *Bibl. Aug.* pp. 398, 427, 523, 527, 556/7, 597, 671, 723, 783, 874, 913 and 917.

¹⁰⁶²) Capgrave gives a bit more information in his *Ye Solace of Pilgrims*, when he speaks on the Stations of St. Trifon, where the body of St. Monica was venerated (pp. 92/4), St. Susanne (pp. 122/3) and St. Maria del Popolo (pp. 163/7). These churches were staffed by Augustinians. St. Trifon was not yet replaced by St. Augustine and Pope Sixtus IV had not yet erected the magnificent new St. Maria del Popolo (pp. 160/2 [XII, 98/9] *supra*). Capgrave calls St. Susanne « a fair church and a praty place » with four Austins dwelling there « for the

on the other hand, contain some important passages ¹⁰⁶³) which are based on documents or chronicles now lost. One would wish he had given us more of such facts. He may have treated the history of the Order exclusively in the lost work *De Viris Illustribus Augustinianis*, which was probably a translation of Jordan's *Vitas Fratrum*. This possibility is suggested by his life of the German Austin Henry of Friemar which concludes his *Illustrious Henries*. It is literally taken from Jordan's famous work. Yet Capgrave was not a blind compiler ; he inspected — probably in Paris — the works of Henry of Friemar and regrets that he had forgotten the Incipit of his *Quodlibet* ¹⁰⁶⁴).

In all his lives of saints, be they in prose or verse, Capgrave did not make extensive historical researches but followed available biographies, all of which are known to us except the one for his long, rhymed *Life of St. Catherine* of Alexandria. Capgrave tells us that he made use of her Greek life by St. Athanasius which the good priest Arrek had turned into Latin and then into English, but had died ere the task was completed. Arrek, he says, died in Lynn many years before and had been parson of Saint Pancras in the city of London « a ful grete while ». Nothing is known so far about this Arrek whose real name might have been Arechis. Professor Kuvinen ¹⁰⁶⁵) compared Capgrave's life with that of John Staneborn, contained in Misc. 205 of the Bodleian, Oxford, and came to the conclusion that Capgrave and Staneborn do not depend on each other, but both seem to have used a common source which might very well be Arrek's. Kuvinen's appraisal of Capgrave is worth reprinting :

« Among Capgrave's contributions must also be mentioned his handling of Arrek's narrative. Out of an obviously very tedious account, devoid of humor, he has made a readable poem, characterised by homely simplicity of style and gentle unobtrusive humor.

place is not great ». The description of the elegant suburban surroundings is more interesting. An English friar told him that he was one of the bearers when the body of St. Susanne was transferred from St. Peter's under Pope Nicholas VI. Of S. Maria del Popolo only the old legends are repeated.

¹⁰⁶³) D 4, 16, 87 etc.

¹⁰⁶⁴) It began « In disputatione de Quolibet » and was published in Cl. STROICK, *Heinrich von Friemar* (Freiburg 1954) 191-246. ZUMKELLER, Mss. n° 328.

¹⁰⁶⁵) Auvo KUVINEN, « The Source of Capgrave's Life of St. Katharine of Alexandria », *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* (Helsinki) 61 (1961) 318 and 277.

This he has accomplished by curtailing the didactic elements and keeping, or adding to, the vivid details, by avoiding pompous phraseology and choosing the everyday idiom, enlivened by occasional exclamations and proverbial saying, such as :

Thus shal the name of wurthy men sprede
And shrewes shul sterue nameles, suche is her mede.

I.8.510-11

Tyme gooth faste, it is ful lyght of lope [leap]
And in a-bydyng men seyn there lyeth hope.

II.2.224-25.

Ffor thow ye brynke foorth al your hool bunch
Ye shal not make an elne of an unch [inch].

II.14.818/9 ».

The work of Capgrave which appeared first in print is his *Nova Legenda Angliae* published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516 at London. It is not an original work but a compilation from the *Sanctilogium* of John of Tinmouth. Tanner claims that of the 168 lives in the *Nova Legenda* all with the exception of fourteen are copied from Tinmouth. Capgrave rearranged them according to the alphabet while in Tinmouth they had followed the calendar. The Bollandists borrowed many of these lives for their *Acta Sanctorum* under Capgrave's name. In the foreword Capgrave gives himself much more credit than his late critics. He claims to have collected them « cum magna labore et studio ». He could not have meant only the size of this work which in Horstmann's edition (1901) fills two volumes with over 1,200 pages. But even if it was only a copy of a rather uncritical collection it enhanced the chances of the *Sanctilogium's* survival and this in itself constitutes a real value.

Osbern Bokenham

Capgrave's hagiographical works greatly influenced his confrere Osbern Bokenham, a friar of Clare. His name was unknown to Bale and consequently to older Augustinian bibliographers. He received his proper place in English literature especially through Carl Horstmann and Mary S. Serjeantson, both of whom published his main work *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*. Horstmann's diligent researches also discovered several translations of Bokenham.

Friar Osbern was born on 6 October 1393, probably at old Buckenham, a priory of Austin Canons in Norfolk and located only

nine miles from the Suffolk border. Nothing is known about his family although one historian calls him Osbern Sparrow¹⁰⁶⁶). Bokenham entered Clare friary and stayed there all his life. By 1427 he had obtained the doctor of divinity most probably at Cambridge¹⁰⁶⁷). In 1434 and 1438¹⁰⁶⁸) he visited Rome and in 1445 he undertook a pilgrimage to St. James in Compostella (Spain). Having widely travelled he was, no doubt, an interesting narrator and a welcome guest at Clare castle, where the royal family and leading men of the country gathered in summer time and where Austins served as chaplains (D 219). Once his poetical gifts became known many noble ladies vied with each other for rhymed lives of their patron saints. Among them were Lady Bouchier (« Bowsier »), countess of Eu and sister of Richard, earl of York, who was the father of King Henry IV. Others were Elizabeth Vere, countess of Oxford, and Catherine, wife of John Howard, from whom the dukes of Norfolk descended. A total of thirteen lives have survived. They are entitled *Legends of Holy Women* and are the only known medieval collection of women saints in English. A close friend and confrere of Bokenham, Thomas Burgh, had them transcribed in 1447 and donated the work to a nunnery in Cambridge with the request to pray for his sister, Lady Beatrice Burgh. Osbern had kept his name secret, but Burgh's *explicit* gave it away.

The work opens with the *Life of St. Margaret* which he started on 7 September 1443, when he was fifty years old. It was followed by rhymed lives of Saints Ann, Christiana, 11,000 Virgins, Faith, Agnes, Dorothy, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Cecily, Agatha, Lucy and Elizabeth. Like Capgrave he used for each life an available Latin biography which he translated into English. His main source was the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine but whenever he could locate additional material he made use of it. During his Italian journey of 1438 he found at Monte Fiascone a description of the transfer of St. Margaret, whose body was highly venerated in the Augustinian church of that city. He copied that account and used it to advantage. In her apocryphal acts he found a magnificent

¹⁰⁶⁶) M. R. JAMES, *Suffolk and Norfolk* (London 1930) 58. His source is not given.

¹⁰⁶⁷) « Item fratri Magistro Osbern de domo Clare 40s », testament of Argentein, 26 April 1427: *Canterbury, Reg. Chichele* II, 369.

¹⁰⁶⁸) In the same year he received some special magisterial privileges from the prior general: D 789.

description of the appearance of the dragon which greatly appealed to his poetic imagination. His *Life of St. Agnes* is given in the words of S. Ambrose, while for St. Christiana he uses a biography which seldom coincides with her life in the *Acta Sanctorum*. The importance of the work, however, does not lie in hagiographical research but in the use of the Suffolk dialect. Since our knowledge of English dialects is rather limited and fixed dates for their development are rare, his writings are specially valuable.

He translates now verbatim now freely and interjects excursions of all kinds, in which he displays his knowledge, complains about disfavor of the Muses who do not lift him to the level of Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate. He speaks of his sicknesses and his troubles as copyist. He not only indicates the source of his life but rambles on about other works of that author. All this makes him the most personal poet of the fifteenth century. His language is simple and natural in conscious opposition to Lydgate's artificial forms. « In this very reaction against the unnatural, latinizing speech-form, especially Lydgate's, lies the literary importance of Bokenham »¹⁰⁶⁹). He is more a follower of Chaucer whose eloquence he praises in glowing terms.

The *Legends of Holy Women* were preceded by several other lives of saints. In the *Life of St. Anne* he speaks of a work « in balaade-rhyme » on St. Anne and our Lady of which nothing further is known. In the foreword to his *Mappula Angliae* he mentions a work on English saints which he had composed « at the instance of special friends and for the edification and comfort of all who would read it or hear of it ». It contained rhymed lives of Saints Cedde, Felix, Oswald and other English saints and has not yet been found. The *Mappula Angliae* was an extract in 17 chapters, translated into English from Higden's vast *Polychronicon*; it was to serve as a geographical and historical guide to his collection. In the concluding words of his *Mappula* Bokenham states that the « capital letters express the compiler's name ». The initial letters of the 17 chapters, excluding the first, are O.S.B.E.R.N.U.S. B.O.K.E.N.-A.M. The missing letter of chapter 15 can only have been H.

Father Toner believed to have found an unknown Latin work of Bokenham in Cambridge University Library Ms. Dd-XI-45, entitled *Liber de angelis, annuli characteribus et imaginibus planeta-*

¹⁰⁶⁹) We follow Horstmann's introduction to *Legends of Holy Women*.

rum ». A closer study by Father Hackett ¹⁰⁷⁰) revealed that it was only written by an Osbern Bokenham, who cannot be identified with our author. The translation of Claudian's *De Consolatu Stilichonis*, now Br. M. Add. Mss 11814, shows unmistakably Bokenham's style but the *explicit* only tells us that it was translated and written at the convent of Clare in 1445.

Osbern's capabilities as Latin writer can be judged from the *Dialogue betwix a secular asking and a Frere answering at the grave of Dame Johan of Acres* which was completed on 1 May 1456. It is a very important source for the history of Clare friary. The text is given in both Latin and English on a beautifully written, richly decorated parchment, now in the Library of the College of Arms, London. Although Bokenham's style is clearly evident and generally acknowledged, his authorship was denied because his death was placed in 1447. This is false. He was still alive on 28 March 1461* when he was appointed president of the next chapter, and on 15 January 1463/4* he signed a document at Clare. In the same year he was remembered in a will ¹⁰⁷¹). He was then 71 years old and probably died shortly afterwards.

Bernard André

Though a Frenchman by birth Bernard André ¹⁰⁷²) played a role only in English history. Born about 1450 ¹⁰⁷³) he entered the Order in Toulouse and contrary to the re-awakened patriotic sen-

¹⁰⁷⁰) « Note on Bokenham », *Notes and Queries* 206 (1961) 244.

¹⁰⁷¹) In 1463 John Baret of Bury left 3s4d to « Maist' Osberne de Clare », C.S., 49 (1850) 35.

¹⁰⁷²) The main sources for André's life are BRUO I, 33 and *Add. II*, 149; J. GAIRDNER, *Memorials of King Henry VII*, RS, London 1858 and *Erasmi Desiderii, Opus Epistolarum*, ed. F. B. ALLEN 1906/58. We quote here only the last two works as GAIRDNER and ALLEN. The Epigrams of Erasmus are taken from his *Opera* (Basel 1540).

¹⁰⁷³) Bale, who no doubt knew André personally states that he was about sixty years old in 1510 and to have died some years later (*Catalogus II*, 139). Johannes Opicius, a fellow poet at the English court, calls André « ortu claro » (GAIRDNER VIII n). Mr. Peter Saliès, an expert on Toulouse history, informs us that none of the various André's of the city were of noble stock but several were rich merchants. John André, a sculptor, and his wife Margarita might have been Bernard's parents, though their testament of 2 March 1472 does not mention any children (*Archives de la Haute Garonne, Register 3 E 6083*).

timent of his country joined the English party. He probably was won for it by Richard Fox ¹⁰⁷⁴), later bishop of Winchester, who unceasingly worked for the exiled Henry Tudor and obtained from Charles VIII, king of France, the aid which gained for Henry the English throne. André's partisanship was so fervent that he accompanied Henry to England. He did not witness the battle of Bosworth (1485) but took part in the king's triumphant entry in London. His partisanship made a return to his homeland impossible, at least in 1491 Robert Gaguin, prior general of the Trinitarians, advised him not to return ¹⁰⁷⁵).

He found a teaching position and « in consideration of the virtue and learning coming to many persons in Oxford ¹⁰⁷⁶ » and elsewhere from his teaching », he received from Henry VII an annuity of ten marks on 24 November 1486 ¹⁰⁷⁷), until he would be provided otherwise. Where André gained his « doctor utriusque

¹⁰⁷⁴) André called Fox his Maecenas (GAIRDNER IX).

¹⁰⁷⁵) André had asked Gaguin's opinion about a possible return, but received 25 April 1491 the answer: « Ergo, mi Andrea, nec spes nec ratio adest, quam ob rem apud tuos non modo Tolosates sed nec apud nostrates locum tibi polliceri ausim »: *Roberti Gaguini Epistolae et Orationes*, ed. L. THUASNE I (Paris 1903), Ep. 45, pp. 347-350. The letter is addressed to *Andreae Caeco*.

¹⁰⁷⁶) His position must at first have been a rather humble one because 1485/6 he ate the servants' table of New College (BRUO, *Add.* II, 149). Later he became a great friend of John Burton of Balliol College (?). An exchange of letters is preserved in Ms. 360 of the Bibl. d'Arsenal, Paris. According to BRUO I, 319, Burton died in Febr. 1499, but Ms. 360 was begun only on 16 June 1500.

The editors of *Grace Book A, Cambridge* without giving any reason identified an English Austin friar Bernard Andrew with our André. (D 893n). The identification is false. Andrew entered the Sentences 1466/7 and was B. Th. 1468, while André was then only 20 years old and scarcely ordained, certainly not yet a student.

¹⁰⁷⁷) « This pension continued to hold for at least ten years; for in 1496 we meet with a warrant in Rymer (*Foedera* XII, 693) authorizing the treasurer and chamberlain of the Exchequer to pay him his ten marks for the current year in a single payment instead of five marks half yearly as usual. But, at length, church preferment came. On 4 April 1498 the bishop of Lincoln conferred upon him the hospital of St. Leonard's, Bedford which he resigned the following year. On 31 December 1500 he was presented by the king to the parish of Guysnes near Calais (Diocese Canterbury) and afterwards he obtained from the abbot of Glastonbury the living of Higham to which he was instituted on 21 October 1501. This last he resigned in the beginning of 1505, but when the living was granted away again, a pension of £24 a year was reserved for his benefit » (GAIRDNER IX-X).

iuris » and the masterhip in theology ¹⁰⁷⁸) is unknown. Since the time we know him he was blind yet he possessed an extraordinary knowledge of the classics ¹⁰⁷⁹) and was, therefore, scarcely blind from his earliest youth. About 1495 he was appointed Latin tutor of Prince Arthur for whose instruction he composed a great number of tracts on Grammar and Rhetoric. He trained the prince so well that one marvels at the great number of classical authors this precocious prince had studied ¹⁰⁸⁰). Arthur's younger brother Henry, later King Henry VIII (born 1491), may have participated in some of these instructions ¹⁰⁸¹) André's tutorship was ended by 1500 ¹⁰⁸²). A year later Prince Arthur married Catherine of Aragon, but died on 2 April 1502.

At least since 1486 ¹⁰⁸³) André held the title poet laureate, but it is unknown when he was made royal historiographer. He calls himself by that title in the *Life of Henry VII* which ends with the year 1497.

Being a humanist himself and highly respected by his fellow-literati ¹⁰⁸⁴) it is the more regrettable that Desiderius Erasmus became his deadly enemy. The fault lay clearly with Erasmus. When he came to England in 1511 he sought in vain lodgings in London. Ammonius, the king's secretary, approached André who mediated some rooms in London's Austin Friars (D 1010). Erasmus clearly understood that the rent for his rooms had to be paid, because they

¹⁰⁷⁸) The prior general Giles of Viterbo wrote on 27 Sept. 1514: « Magistro Bernardo Tolosano et utriusque iuris doctori patentes litteras damus quibus omnibus patribus nostri ordinis iubemus, ut eius virtutem agnoscant et eum nullo pacto audeant molestari » (Dd 12 fol. 21). He is called S(acrae) P(aginae) D(ocor) in Ms. 360 fol. 190.

¹⁰⁷⁹) Bale speaks of him as a « homo eruditus et poeta per illam aetatem excellens, artes fere omnes quas liberales nominant tamquam ex plenis fontibus ad saturitatem hausit » (*Catalogus* II, 139).

¹⁰⁸⁰) They are listed in *Vita Henrici VII*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁸¹) « All the Tudors were well educated... The young Henry [VIII] was early put to his books; the poet Skelton supervised his education, Bernard André no doubt saw to his Latin, Giles d'Ewes taught him French... »: J. D. MACKIE, *The Early Tudors 1485-1558* (Oxford 1952) 234.

¹⁰⁸²) Ms. 360, p. 311v: « Domini Arthuri Wallie principis preceptoris emeriti ».

¹⁰⁸³) The title « poeta laureatus » appears in a royal document of 24 Nov. 1486, printed in F. POLLARD, *The Reign of Henry VII*, vol. 2 (London 1914) 233/4. According to Pollard this title « seems to have been a court and not an academic distinction. Poet, however, was then applied to writers of prose as well as poetry ».

¹⁰⁸⁴) See the highly laudatory poem of Opicius in GAIRDNER XVII.

constituted part of the monastery's hotel business nevertheless he was furious when the bill of 20 (30) nobles was presented to him, and ever after could not endure André ¹⁰⁸⁵). He even gave vent to his spite long after André's death ¹⁰⁸⁶). How unbiased historians can side with Erasmus in this matter, who is well known to have lived off his friends and resented being asked to pay bills can be understood only by the blind adoration of this outstanding humanist. André could scarcely be expected to pay for him, since his vow of poverty did not permit it and the Order itself felt no obligation towards a man who had not only ridiculed its descent from St. Augustine and rejected the authenticity of his Rule ¹⁰⁸⁷) but also

¹⁰⁸⁵) On 2 Dec. 1511 Erasmus wrote to Ammonius: « ... Si quid olfeceris, velim cognoscere num meus Mecoenas resolverit viginti nobiles illos Bernardo, quae res facit, ut nonnihil abhorream a Londino, quippe qui nihil oderim aequae atque appellari... » *Ep.* 248 (ALLEN I, 495). On 8 February 1512 he wrote to Thomas Halsey, bishop of Kildare: « Tandem expugnauimus cum omni machinaruin genere et ego et Bernardus. D. Montoius [Montjoy] resoluit triginta ducatos »: *Ep.* 254 (ALLEN I, 500/1). Note the difference in the amount !

¹⁰⁸⁶) On 4 Sept. 1524 he wrote to Richard Bere, abbot of Glastonbury, that he had tried to get acquainted with him: « verum ea venatio mihi parum successit, fortasse ob hoc, quod uterer caeco duce, videlicet Bernardo illo Andrea Gallo, quondam Arturi principis optimi non optimo praeceptore »: *Ep.* 1490 (ALLEN V, 539).

As late as 1531 Erasmus wrote to Germanus Brixius that Linacre had translated Proclus and dedicated it to Henry VII. André, however, had told the king that it had been translated previously and so it had but in a wretched manner. The king learning this was so prejudiced against Linacre, that ever after he abhorred him as an impostor: *Ep.* 2422 (ALLEN IX, 108). J. JORTIN, *The Life of Erasmus* (London 1808) gives a false presentation of the facts. Allen is less biased and claims that Linacre had tried to oust André as tutor: *Ep.* 118 (ALLEN I, 274, n° 23). Linacre returned 1509 from Padua and became physician to Henry VIII. The following epigram of Erasmus refers to the above quarrel:

« Cur adeo, lector, crebris offendere mendis

Qui castigavit, lumine captus erat ». (*Epigr.* 4, p. 317).

The constant, biting reference of Erasmus to André's physical ailment is, to say the least, quite discreditable and does not increase respect for his human qualities.

¹⁰⁸⁷) KNOWLES, *Rel. Orders* III, 152. Erasmus was the first to deny that the Rule of St. Augustine was originally written for men and his judgment was blindly accepted in the following centuries though it can be opposed through the earliest manuscripts and unbiased textual criticism. See A. CASAMASSA, « Il più antico codice della regola monastica di Sant Agostino », *Scritti Patristici* I (Lateranum 1955) 106/17. The latest literature on this question in T. VAN BAVEL, *Répertoire bibliographique de Saint Augustin 1950/60* (Stenbrugis 1963).

showed an utter contempt for all monastic life. The talk, however, which the quarrel caused may have been one of the reasons for the troubles which plagued André a few years later ¹⁰⁸⁸).

As long as the attitude of Erasmus was not twisted he thought quite well of André and wrote this so far unknown introduction to his extensive commentary on St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei* :

« Doctor Augustine, sacre celebris author pagine,
Tua gravi scalebat antehac civitas caligine
Et parum liquebat oculis imperitioribus.
Ecce Bernardus labore plurimarum noctium
Luculentis sic retexit cuncta commentariis
Ut queant vel lusciosis perspici dilucide ¹⁰⁸⁹).

That André fell from favor at court after the death of King Henry VII ¹⁰⁹⁰) is contradicted by the regular gifts which he received from Henry VIII until 1521 ¹⁰⁹¹). In his congratulatory poem of that year he laments his afflictions caused by high old age ¹⁰⁹²). He probably died shortly after and was buried in Austin Friars, London ¹⁰⁹³). In his last years he was consoled by the companionship of a French confrere, Geoffrey Pierre, whose *Comedia Sti Nicholai* ¹⁰⁹⁴) differs greatly in style, ability and contents from André's writings but their hearts and minds were united not only by their fellowship in the same Order but also by their common language and love of poetry.

¹⁰⁸⁸) Some kind of trouble is evident from note 1078 *supra*.

¹⁰⁸⁹) Ms 360 fol. P. In translation:

Doctor Augustine, famous author on Holy Scripture
Your city [of God] was previously hidden in a dense fog.
Behold ! Toiling a great many nights Bernard
By his lucid explanations has unraveled all [*cuncta*]
So that it [the *all*] can clearly be grasped
Even (vel) by the simple minded.

The poem is written in artful trochaei septenarii though other verse forms like tribrach, anapaest and procleasmastic could also apply.

¹⁰⁹⁰) ALLEN I, 274n.

¹⁰⁹¹) André received a New Year's gift of 100s in 1510, 1511, 1512 and 1519 (LP Henry VIII II (2) 1444, 1449, 1454 and III (2) 1533. It was a reward for either his Annals or his New Year's Poem or both.

¹⁰⁹²) « Nunc a vetustis, iam vetustissimorum extremis, cogor inireostos modos »: GAIRDNER XIIIIn.

¹⁰⁹³) BALE, *Catalogus* II, 139.

¹⁰⁹⁴) P. 140 (XII, 405) *supra*.

In order to properly judge André's historical work it must be kept in mind that he was blind and could not observe events with his own eyes, nor does he seem to have found the needed official help which would have enabled him to make his *Annals* a complete record, though the facts he reports are accurate. He was poet and historiographer but the poet often prevailed, which seems to have pleased both Henries. The Court wanted to be entertained and preferred flattery to exact contemporary history. André even wrote songs for social gatherings ¹⁰⁹⁵). His verses written either in Latin or French but never in English are full of classical allusions so dear to the heart of humanists. This is particularly true of his *Twelve Triumphs of Henry VII* wherein he compares the king's political achievements to the labors of Hercules. The poet more than the historian also speaks in his *Life of Henry VII* which is full of verses, oratory and panegyric, but short of history. Nevertheless he had the gift of a good chronicler as is evident from his *Annals of the Twenty third Year* (1507/8) which are so full of interesting matter (also for the history of the Order) that similar records for all other years would have made him the outstanding chronicler of the period. The *Annals of the twentieth* (1504/5) and twenty-third year are the only ones to have survived. *Annals for 1500* plus commentaries to Terence, Plinius, Vergil, Gellius and Statius are only listed, not contained in Ms. 360. A history of Henry VIII is also lost.

As poet laureate he dedicated each New Year a congratulatory poem to the reigning monarch. Those of 1515 and 1521 to Henry VIII are extant : Tanner still saw another for 1518 ¹⁰⁹⁶). The *Invocatio* glorifying the battle of Flodden (1513) is in private possession.

His sermons and hymns for the whole year seem to be lost but parts of his extensive *Commentary on St. Augustine's Civitas Dei* have been preserved. Some Augustinian chroniclers ¹⁰⁹⁷) have credited André with engaging King Henry VIII in his theological controversy with Martin Luther and claimed him as the real author

¹⁰⁹⁵) GAIRDNER 95.

¹⁰⁹⁶) TANNER, *Bibl. Brit.* 41.

¹⁰⁹⁷) How the belief in André's authorship found its way into the history of the Order is not yet known. Pamphilus, Roman, Herrera and Torelli do not mention it, but GANDOLPHUS (*Diss. Hist.* 98), OSSINGER (*Bibl. Aug.* 124) and even J. LANTERI (*Postrema Saecula Sex III* [Tolentini 1895] 57) have it. None of them gives his source.

of the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, others ascribe the work to St. John Fisher ¹⁰⁹⁸). This is more probable since theology was not the field of André.

Capgrave and Bokenham have been regarded as early humanists because of their cultivation of the mother tongue, but the first evidence of the new learning among Augustinians is given in Bury's praise of John Lowe « who had not paid so close attention to the Scriptures as to occasion a suspicion of his having neglected the studies of humanity nor was he so deeply engaged in the pursuit of human literature as not to render it subservient to divine learning » ¹⁰⁹⁹). This well balanced judgment reflects the aim of the Augustinian school of S. Spirito in Florence, which drew the leading humanists of Italy into its circle and tried to teach them, that a revival of the classics should consist in imitating a truly Latin style and the absorption of their great ideals without imbibing their pagan spirit.

With Capgrave's death a certain downward trend in studies seems to have followed in the English Province. The Provincial William Gallion was given credit for having « roused his province from its slothfulness » and his successor, John Tuneys (Toneys), obtained considerable proficiency in Greek and even published a Greek (?) grammar. The leading humanist among Austins, Bernard André, was neglected by the Reformers. All their praise was reserved for Dr. Robert Barnes. After his return from Louvain he became prior of Cambridge where he taught his students Terence, Plautus and Cicero by which « he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters who before were drowned in barbarous ignorance » ^{1099a}). But religiously the house did not flourish, its discipline quickly vanished and with it the power to resist when the suppression came.

F. ROTH, O. S. A.

(To be continued).

¹⁰⁹⁸) London, Br. M., Harley Ms. 7040 (Baker HS XIII) fol. 229 credits St. John Fisher with its compilation. Kind communication of B. Hackett.

¹⁰⁹⁹) « Adest utique vobis ille Reverendus in Christo Dominus meus Dominus Roffensis [in margine: Frater Johannes Lowe] stabilis columna in templo Domini, vir Benjamin, vere geminus, ab adolescentia sua utraque manu ut dextra utens qui nec sic institit Scripturis ut humanitatis in se studia aliquando vacasse credantur; nec sic humanas literas amplexatus est quin semper eas divinis coegerit subservire »: PECOCK, *Repressor* II 572/3.

^{1099a}) See next chapter.