

**‘FOR EDIFICACYON OF MANY SAULES’: THE PRODUCTION OF CARMELITE VERNACULAR WRITINGS
IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND**

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Bonjour, guten tag, good morning! I’m very grateful to Dr. Denis Renevey for inviting me to speak to you about my research into the production of Carmelite writings in English in the late Middle Ages. My topic is rather obscure, so I think it needs some introduction. I propose to begin my talk by giving you some background information about the friars in medieval England, before looking at two specific Carmelite writers.

In my research I am trying to analyse the literature produced in the vernacular (which in this context means English) by the Carmelites in the two centuries preceeding their suppression in England. The Carmelites are an ancient religious order in the Catholic Christian tradition, and I am interested in their entire bibliographic culture, in other words, the way that they – as a network of communities – produced, copied, and read texts in English, as well as in other languages.

I wonder how many of you know what I mean by the term ‘Carmelite’. Most people, if they have heard of Carmelites at all, think of nuns, religious sisters, associated with Teresa of Avila and Thérèse of Lisieux. This is certainly the best known face of the Carmelite Order today. However, in my work I am interested in the nuns’ predecessors, the Carmelite friars, usually known in French as *les Grands Carmes*. These men lived, and continue to live, in communities across Europe, as contemplatives at the service of God’s people.

Perhaps it would be helpful if I put these men into a historical context. The development of the friars – often known as the mendicant or fraternal movement – did not occur until the early-thirteenth century. In English the term *friar*, derived of course from the French *frere*, often conjures up for a modern audience satirical or romantic images derived from the Renaissance or the nineteenth century. Probably the best-known friars in England, Friar Lawrence in Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* and Robin Hood’s companion Friar Tuck are fictitious inventions who can sometimes be a hindrance to the modern student of medieval mendicant literature.

We must turn to medieval literary sources to get a more authentic image of the friars. I would like to present to you contemporary depictions from two medieval sources. You will probably be

familiar with the first, that of the pilgrim friar Huberd in the General Prologue to Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*:¹

A frere ther was, a wantowne and a merye,	[<i>wantowne</i> : jovial, pleasure-loving]
A lymytour, a ful solempne man.	[<i>lymytour</i> : licensed to beg; <i>solempne</i> : dignified]
In alle the ordres foure is noon that kan	[<i>ordres foure</i> : four orders of friars; <i>kan</i> : knows]
So muchel of daliaunce and fair langage.	[<i>daliaunce</i> : sociability]
He hadde maad ful many a marriage	
Of yonge wommen at his owene cost.	
Unto his ordre he was a noble post.	[<i>post</i> : supporter, pillar of the Church]
Ful wel biloved and famulier was he	
With frankeleyns over al in his contree,	[<i>frankeleyns</i> : landowners; <i>over al</i> : everywhere]
And eek with worthy wommen of the toun;	[<i>eek</i> : also]
For he hadde power of confessioun,	
As seyde himself, moore than a curat,	[<i>curat</i> : curate, parochial priest]
For of his ordre he was licenciat.	[<i>licenciat</i> : licensed to hear confessions]
Ful swetely herde he confessioun,	
And plesaunt was his absolucioun:	
He was an esy man to yeve penaunce	[<i>esy</i> : lenient; <i>yeve</i> : give]
Ther as he wiste to have a good pitaunce...	[<i>wiste</i> : expected; <i>pitaunce</i> : gift]
He knew the tavernes wel in every toun	
And everich hostiler and tappestere	[<i>everich</i> : every; <i>tappestere</i> : barmaid]
Bet than a lazar or a beggestere,	[<i>lazar</i> : leper; <i>beggestere</i> : beggarwoman]
For unto swich a worthy man as he	[<i>swich</i> : such]
Acorded nat, as by his facultee,	[It was not suitable, in view of his position]
To have with sike lazars aqueyntaunce...	
And over al, ther as profit sholde arise,	[<i>ther as</i> : where]
Curteis he was and lowely of servyse;	[<i>lowely of servyse</i> : graciously humble]
Ther nas no man nowher so vertuou.	[<i>vertuou</i> : capable]
He was the beste beggere in his hous...	
In love-dayes ther koude he muchel help,	[<i>love-dayes</i> : days for reconciling disputes]
For ther he was nat lyk a cloysterer	
With a thredbare cope, as is a povre scoler,	[<i>povre scoler</i> : poor scholar or student]
But he was lyk a maister or a pope...	
Somwhat he lipped, for his wantownesse,	[<i>lipped</i> : lisped; <i>wantownesse</i> : affectation]

To make his Englissh sweete upon his tonge;	
And in his harpyng, whan that he hadde songe,	[<i>songe</i> : sung]
His eyen twynkled in his heed aryght	[<i>aryght</i> : exactly]
As doon the sterres in the frosty nyght.	[<i>sterres</i> : stars]
This worthy lymytour was cleped Huberd.	[<i>cleped</i> : called]

Chaucer does not say which of the four orders of friars this rather unflattering depiction relates to. When he was writing in the late 1300s, his stereotype of a friar could refer to the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian, or Carmelite orders. Though there were strong distinctions to be made between these groups, Chaucer does not seem interested in doing so. Instead, his depiction draws on the medieval tradition of ‘antifraternal’ literature. This type of writing – seen also in *Piers Plowman* – criticised the friars *en masse* for sometimes failing to meet the high religious ideals they had set themselves. I would like you to keep some of these criticisms in the back of your mind for later in this lecture, namely the friar’s exploitation of the sacrament of penance, and their seductive use of the English language. As we will see, these are matters of direct relevance to Carmelite writers.

The second depiction of a friar I want to extract from medieval English literature is much more complimentary. The account is by Margery Kempe, a woman living in the east of England in the first half of the fifteenth century. She was the force behind what is arguably the first autobiography in the English language. Kempe is one of the most colourful characters to speak to us from the Middle Ages; a woman from the merchant classes, with a striking and exuberant religious faith expressed in dialogues with Christ, meditations upon the life of the Virgin Mary, pilgrimages, and loud weeping in church.

Kempe has been the figure of both admiration and mockery. Carmelites friars both defended and defamed her. Describing herself as the ‘creature’, she frequently refers to one of them in her *Book*:

Owr Lord of hys mercy, liche as he had promysyd the seyd creatur that he schulde evyr provydyn for hir, steryng the spiritys of tweyn good clerkys the which longe and many yerys had knowyn hir conversacyon and al hir perfeccyon, made her mythy and bolde to spekyn for hys party in excusing the seyd creatur, bothyn in the pulpit and besyden, wher thei herd anything mevyd ayen hir, strengthyng her skyllys be auctoriteys of holy scriptur sufficiently, of which clerkys on was a White Frer, a doctowr of divinite.²

‘So our Lord of his mercy, just as he had promised the said creature that he would ever provide for her, stirring the spirits of two good clerics who had for many long years known her conversings and all her search for perfection, made them strong and bold to speak for his part in excusing the said creature, both in the pulpit and outside it, wherever they heard anything moved against her, strengthening their arguments sufficiently with authorities from holy scripture. Of these clerks, one was a White Friars, a doctor of divinity.’³

The term ‘Whitefriar’ here refers to the clothing of the Carmelites which was distinguished by a white mantle over a brown habit.⁴

Later in her *Book* Kempe tells us that the Whitefriar who advocated her in his sermons is Master Alan of Lynn. Alan was a distinguished doctor of theology. His support and counsel of Margery earned the disapproval of his Prior Provincial, but once this was overcome we learn that she was to develop into a reciprocal source of support for the Carmelite. She tells us that:

on a tyme, as sche lay in hir preyerys in the chirche the tyme on Advent befor Cristmes, sche thowt in hir hert sche wolde that God of hys goodness wolde makyn Maistyr Aleyn to sey in a sermown as wel as he cowed. And as-swithe as sche had thowt thus, sche [herd] ovr Sovereyn Lord Crist Jhesu sey in hir sowle: ‘Dowtyr, I wot ryth wel what thu thynkist now of Maistyr Aleyn, and I telle the trely that he schal sey in a rith holy sermowne. And loke that thu beleve stedfastly the wordys that he schal prechyn, as thow I prechyd hem myselfe, for thei schal be wordys of gret solas and comfort to the, for I schal spekyn in hym.’⁵

On one occasion, as she lay at her prayers in the church during the time of Advent before Christmas, she thought in her heart that she wished that God, of his goodness, would make Master Aleyn to preach a sermon as well as he could. And as soon as she had thought in this way, she heard our Sovereign Lord Christ Jesus saying in her soul, ‘Daughter, I know very well what you are thinking now about Master Aleyn, and I tell you truly that he shall preach a very holy sermon. And see that you believe steadfastly the words that he shall preach, as

though I preached them myself, for they shall be words of great solace and comfort to you, for I shall speak in him.⁶

Note here the fact that Kempe regarded the Carmelite as a confidante and guide, an authority with whom she could exchange ideas despite the religious climate of her age. Note also her intercessory role in his ministry. Later in this lecture I shall put forward another, literary, example of such a relationship between a Carmelite and a laywoman.

In the extract from *The Canterbury Tales* we saw the friars stereotyped and mocked, and in the second we heard a woman lavishing praise upon a Carmelite. These two very different depictions of a friar show the range of attitudes felt towards mendicants in the Middle Ages, and although they give only the briefest of introductions to the medieval perceptions of the friars, I hope you will agree with me that they show the mendicants to have been a more interesting community than romantic depictions of them suggest.

Before I discuss some of the literature produced and read by Carmelite friars in the English language, I must briefly explain their complex origins.⁷ The Carmelite Order is one of the oldest institutions within Western Christianity, dating from at least the thirteenth century. The Order's official title – *The Brethren of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel* – derives from the mountain ridge overlooking the Palestinian port of Haifa.⁸ It was in this area hallowed by the memory of the prophet Elijah⁹ that a group of hermits gathered for prayer. When exactly is unclear, but they requested a 'way of living' from the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem sometime between 1205 and 1214. This text, now known as the Rule of Saint Albert, summarises the spirituality of these desert penitents: each hermit was to live a life of prayerful contemplation [chapter 10], occupying a single cell [chapter 8], in a community with other hermits and under the obedience of a prior [chapters 1 & 4].¹⁰

Due to the enduring conflicts between Christians and Moslems in the Holy Land, the situation on Carmel became precarious. In 1238, a large number of the hermits migrated to Cyprus, and from there expanded to Sicily, England, and Provence.¹¹

The Carmelites arrived in England in 1242, where they flourished especially well.¹² At its peak England was the largest of the Order's twelve medieval provinces, which comprised of about thirty-nine houses, and approached a thousand friars.¹³

The move west forced the hermits to reinterpret their way of life, and the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 required that they establish themselves as an officially recognised order of mendicants.¹⁴ In the heart of Europe's growing towns and cities the Carmelites began to minister to the growing populace, and gain income and recruits. Carmelite friars combined solitary

contemplation with a number of ministries including preaching, teaching, hearing confession, and writing works of religious instruction.¹⁵ This helped the Order to develop a distinct spirituality.¹⁶

It would seem that for centuries this spirituality has been of limited interest outside the Order. However, in 2002 Andrew Jotischky was the latest in an increasingly steady flow of scholars to turn his attention to the Carmelites. In the introduction to his study of the friars, he celebrated that ‘scholars from outside the order have begun to tap the enormous potential of Carmelite sources, and to restore the order to the greater prominence it deserves in the history of medieval religious, social, and cultural history.’¹⁷

My own research is part of this growing movement to study the cultural heritage of the Carmelite Order. My interest is in the large body of literature written by Carmelites in the English language in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In recent years, ‘vernacularity’ – that is, the issues arising from the use of one’s vulgar or mother tongue – has come to the forefront of literary scholarship, and I have been very much inspired by the influential anthology, *The Idea of the Vernacular*.

The great historian David Knowles claimed that the Carmelites were the most prolific writers among the mendicant orders in the later Middle Ages. Scholars are gradually waking up to this fact, but they are still foregrounding the Latin literature. This is understandable. We know of some 1,200 titles written by Carmelites in medieval England, of which less than ten are in English.

In 1536, the Carmelite antiquarian John Bale was as impressed as David Knowles at the prolific literary output of the Order. He remarked, “That so many learned divines and erudite writers should have followed each other so quickly and within so short a time and from within such a small fraternity seems almost miraculous, like the rhinoceros’s nose!”¹⁸ It would be tedious and unhelpful to read you the 1,200 titles written by Carmelites, but highlights in this impressive corpus include: Roger Alban’s chronological tracing of descent from Adam to the popes, emperors, and kings of England; *Questiones* between Carmelites and other scholars at Oxford and Cambridge; John Avon (d. 1349) and Nicholas of Lynn’s (fl. 1386) astronomical writings; John Baconthorpe’s (d. 1348) commentaries on the scriptures and histories of the Order; Nicholas Cantelupe’s (d. 1441) legendary history of Cambridge University; John Haynton’s (fl. 1446) sermons; John Hothby’s (d. 1487) music and treatises on counterpoint; John Keninghale’s (d. 1451) sermon at the Council of Basle; John Kynyngham’s (d. 1399) statements against Wyclif; Alan of Lynn’s (d. 1432+) tables and indices; Richard Tenet’s (fl. 1421) tractate on the medicinal uses of herbs; and Thomas Netter’s (d. 1430) magisterial *Doctrinale*.¹⁹

As I said before, of these surviving 1,200 titles, less than ten are in English. However, though outnumbered, these vernacular writings are among the most interesting. Listed alphabetically, they are:

- ▶ Thomas Ashburne's (fl. 1384) short allegorical poem beginning *Lyst you all gret and smale, I shall yow tell a lytell tale*
- ▶ Richard Lavenham's (d. 1399+) *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*
- ▶ Richard Maidstone's (d. 1396) *The Seven Penitential Psalms*
- ▶ Richard Misyn's (d. 1462) *The Mendynge of Lyfe* and *The Fyre of Love* (translations of Richard Rolle)
- ▶ Thomas Scrope's (d. 1491) *The Ten Bookys of the Instytucyone and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys* (a translation of Philip Ribot's *Institutione Primi Monachorum*)
- ▶ Richard Spalding's (fl. c.1399) alliterative hymn to Saint Katherine

Unfortunately I do not have time to talk to you about all of these writers. Instead, I shall give you a little information about just two of them; Richard Lavenham and Richard Misyn. It is worth mentioning in passing however, that more Carmelite writings in English are coming to light. The last title on the list – Richard Spalding's hymn – has only recently been linked to a Carmelite writer in an edition which came out earlier this year, and in my own researches I am finding more and more evidence to link previously anonymous medieval texts with Carmelite friars. This list could get longer.

Before we look at two of these writers I wish briefly to explain the methodology behind my work. When looking at a medieval Carmelite text in English, I analyse it according to what I call the 'Seven Cs' of medieval textual culture:

Commissioning: the requesting of a text and the reasons for it

Composition: the writing or translation of a text

Creation: the physical production of texts by scribes and scriptoria

Contact: the reception, reading, or performance of a text

Compilation: the placing of texts alongside each other in a manuscript or book

Collection: the amassing of texts in libraries, by individuals or institutions

Circulation: the dissemination of texts between individuals and communities

So let us turn to the first of the two medieval Carmelite texts in English we are examining today, the *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* by Richard Lavenham.²⁰ The *Litil Tretys* is noteworthy because it was composed by a friar best remembered for his prolific scholastic writings in Latin. Moreover, it survives in a large number of manuscripts – sixteen in total – and so much can be deduced about its wide readership.

The earliest known biography of Richard Lavenham,²¹ who died sometime after 1399, was not written until 1536, when John Bale – previously mentioned – composed a history of the Carmelites in England.²² Bale and subsequent biographers attribute more than seventy academic Latin treatises to Lavenham.

A glance at the list of Latin texts demonstrates the remarkable range of Lavenham's academic interests: scripture, logic, physics, astronomy, natural science, grammar, and the history of the Carmelite Order. His surviving corpus includes sermons, anti-Lollard treatises and lectures, extracts from Cicero, biblical and Aristotelian commentaries, and lectures on the *Revelations* of St. Bridget. Perhaps because they are so numerous, Lavenham's Latin writings have attracted more scholarly attention than his English text.²³

According to Bale, Lavenham joined the Carmelite Order at Ipswich at an early age.²⁴ He later studied at Oxford where apparently he was a noteworthy preacher and debater, becoming Doctor of Theology before 1384.²⁵ He was lecturing as a *magister regens* at the height of the controversy provoked by the reformer John Wyclif.²⁶

Lavenham is recorded as prior of London in September 1399.²⁷ This is significant because it shows that Lavenham was at one time responsible for the Order's only graduate study house in the medieval English province, where students from across the country and the Continent came to study philosophy.

The date of Lavenham's death is important if we are to understand the context in which he was writing, but the only one we can give with any certainty seems to be post-1399. If he lived beyond this date he would undoubtedly have been aware of such events as the debate on Bible translation which took place in Oxford in 1401,²⁸ the passing of an anti-Lollard act by parliament in the same year,²⁹ and the *Constitutions* formulated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1407 to combat Wycliffite heresies.³⁰ Certainly Lavenham was teaching and writing in Oxford and London at a time of great academic debate, when questions of language, theology and philosophy were seen as intimately linked.

The *Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* was published in a scholarly edition by Dr. van Zutphen in 1956,³¹ which drew the attention of medievalists to a text described as 'concise, carefully constructed... balanced and intellectual',³² hitherto overlooked in the 'vices and virtues' genre.

Lavenham's stated purpose in writing the text is twofold: 'Fyrst to schewe schortly þe comoun condicionys of þe seuene dedly synnys as be figure & ensample in general. And afterward to rehearse be process & be ordre what bronchis & bowys growyn owt of hem in special.' [1/5-8]. It is thus a highly structured work, and one in which Lavenham takes the tone of an authority who will 'schewe' and teach 'be figure & ensample'. As John Fleming remarks in an excellent essay surveying the literature of the medieval friars: 'The words 'figure' and 'ensample' here are part of a well-

established technical rhetorical vocabulary³³ typical of such moral manuals,³⁴ and suggests that Lavenham intended the text to be read by those familiar with such features. The structure and language of Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* is sometimes clearer to follow than in his Latin writings.³⁵ Modern critics should therefore not automatically conclude that medieval vernacular literature is intrinsically less ordered or scholarly than Latin texts by the same writer.

By calling his work a *litil tretys* [1/4-5] Lavenham simultaneously implies and belies a scholastic approach to his subject.³⁶ It is interesting that such a highly-educated scholar should have written a text as 'accessible' in its theology and language as the *Litil Tretys*. As recent critics have pointed out, such texts show that there was more common ground between ostensibly 'academic' and 'devotional' writings – between the classroom and the confessional – than previously acknowledged.³⁷ Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* shows that in some regards scholastic writing techniques were carried over into the vernacular. For example, the *Litil Tretys* can be usefully compared to Lavenham's *De causis naturalibus*, a treatise on the physics of the natural world, which he likewise calls 'a little book'.³⁸ In *De causis naturalibus*, Lavenham enumerates his points and structures his text with sixteen questions and answers in a clearly pedagogic structure not dissimilar to the enumerative *Litil Tretys*.

Just as *De causis naturalibus* can be regarded as furnishing a simple response to questions about the natural world, so too can Lavenham's semi-scholastic approach in the *Litil Tretys* be interpreted as a catechetical device, providing clergy with the basic religious instruction necessary for the *cura animarum* (care of souls) and the celebration of the sacraments, particularly confession. Though Lavenham does not state explicitly for whom he intended the text, this analysis is certainly how van Zutphen and subsequent critics have interpreted the *Litil Tretys*. However, Lavenham's text reached a much wider audience than the clergy alone, and such books gradually came to be read by devout laypersons as meditative tracts.³⁹

Though the *Litil Tretys* is intended for instruction, it is in other respects very different from Lavenham's Latin writings. The most immediate difference is, of course, the language. The fact that all but one of Lavenham's surviving treatises were written in Latin meant that his opinions on logic, physics, the Bible, and other more 'speculative' topics were reserved for a learned (probably university-educated) audience. Indeed, there is evidence that Lavenham deemed such subjects inappropriate for a wider lay audience.⁴⁰ He begins his *Tractatus de eventu futurorum* with a discussion of the Stoics' approach to the subject of future events, whose belief 'is still the opinion of laymen', which he condemns as 'false and erroneous'.⁴¹ Lavenham proceeds to distinguish 'the opinion of contemporary people, and of faithful Christians' from the erroneous thoughts of 'common

people and laymen'. Lavenham's estimation is clearly that the majority of laypersons are ignorant in matters reserved to the schools.

This is further evidence that Lavenham did not intend the *Litil Tretys* to be read by the laity at large.⁴² His only extant vernacular text is didactic rather than speculative, and this can probably account for the difference in language.

If Lavenham did not intend his *Litil Tretys* to be read by the illiterate, we must ask why he wrote in English at all. To appreciate this, we must place Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* within the genre of penitential and confessional texts dealing with the 'vices and virtues'.

The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 required all Christians to make an annual oral confession to their parish priest.⁴³ In England, subsequent legislation encouraged the clergy to examine penitents and exhort them to self-examination.⁴⁴ This led to the development, in the thirteenth century, of two genres of confession manual: instructions to priests on conducting confession, and instructions to lay people on preparing for it.⁴⁵ Many of these took the form of texts on the 'vices and virtues'.

According to an ancient reckoning of the church, there were seven 'vices' and a corresponding number of virtues which were the wellsprings from which other sins or virtues could arise, the seven 'deadly' or 'capital' sins being pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust.⁴⁶ In medieval England, the concept of the seven deadly sins inspired a great deal of prose and verse literature in Latin and vernacular languages (sometimes translated from Latin), such as the *Somme le Roy* (1270), the *Ayenbyte of Inwyt* (1340), Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*, *Cursor Mundi*, the *Speculum Vitae* (c.1360-80), *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Wymmen* (c.1400), and *The Book of Vices and Virtues* (c.1375).⁴⁷

The 'vices and virtues' genre was one in which the friars were especially prominent,⁴⁸ contributing many texts to a genre that had become so large by 1400 that the English adapter of Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* despaired 'Ther beth so many bokes and treetees of vyces and virtues... that this short lyfe schalle rather haue anende of anye manne than he may owthere studie hem or rede hem'.⁴⁹

The *Litil Tretys* stands out from this corpus of literature in its originality.⁵⁰ Leo Carruthers has shown that Lavenham's text 'stands out straight-away as being different from those works that were based directly or indirectly on the *Somme le Roi*, and one must therefore conclude that the Carmelite treatise is independent of the others'.⁵¹

The fact that the *Litil Tretys* is somewhat unique makes for an interesting comparison with Lavenham's Latin writings, in which critics have found certain consistencies of style. For example, the colophons of the manuscripts in which Lavenham's Latin writings are preserved indicate that he, or his copyists, regarded his role as that of *compilator*, rather than *auctour*. As Paul Spade observes, 'Lavenham was merely 'compiling' material already at hand... [he is] known to be a very derivative

author in his logical writings'.⁵² In comparison therefore, Lavenham's only extant English text might be regarded as more innovative – in terms of its independence from sources – than his Latin writings, of which Spade observes: 'It cannot be said that, in any of his logico-linguistic writings, Lavenham showed any marked originality or insight. He seems to have devoted himself to producing compendia, brief treatments of standard topics presenting familiar views already in circulation.'⁵³

The compilation of manuals and text books should not be dismissed simply, however. Critics have found that Lavenham's derivative style 'can be of great advantage to those interested in the [medieval] views of his sources'.⁵⁴ Tuggy praises Lavenham's *Tractatus de eventu futurorum* for its brevity and clarity, which – whilst not tackling some of the more intellectually-challenging philosophical questions of the day – introduces the reader to the breadth of the subject.

This understanding of Lavenham's Latin writings reinforces the possibility that his English work probably functioned as a text book, designed primarily to instruct those preparing for the priestly ministry on how they should in turn instruct a penitent. It is known that vernacular and Latin texts in the penitential genre also functioned as school texts,⁵⁵ and since the classroom – either in a university or mendicant *studium* – seems to have been the environment in which Lavenham's texts were written and received, it is probably appropriate not to distinguish too clearly between the initial reception of Lavenham's English and Latin writings.

Lavenham's Latin textbooks are known to have basked in a long popularity. The popularity of these would seem to find echoes in his *Litil Tretys*, copies of which were being produced for many years after his death (though, as we shall see, Lavenham's authorship is only once attributed within those surviving).

Whether attributed or not, Lavenham's only English text is known to have influenced at least one other vernacular composition. Several passages of the *Litil Tretys* were adapted by the writer of *Jacob's Well*, a long allegorical sermon series in English, probably composed in East Anglia in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ It is unclear whether or not these sermons were preached,⁵⁷ but nevertheless, it is proof of Carmelite influence in the production of sermon literature.

At this point it is worth mentioning briefly a hypothesis that Lavenham could have been the author of another text in the vernacular.⁵⁸ A late hand in one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud Misc. 525, attributes Lavenham's name to *De gestis et translationibus sanctorum trium regum de Colonia*. In fact, this legendary history of the three king of Cologne was probably written by a German Carmelite, John of Hildesheim (d. 1375).⁵⁹ However, in one of his notebooks, Bale also ascribed to Lavenham, *Excerptiones ab 'Historia Trium Regum'*.⁶⁰ The exact nature of these excerpts is unclear. However, since there were at least three medieval translations of Hildesheim's work into English, the possibility of Lavenham's translation of a text by a contemporary Carmelite is one that we cannot entirely exclude.

Whether or not Lavenham's contribution to the vernacular English literature of the Middle Ages is witnessed solely by the *Litil Tretys* or not, it is possible that Lavenham himself was influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by vernacular literature in English. Whilst it is known that his allegorical depiction of the seven deadly sins as bestial derived from Latin texts, this imagery finds parallels in English texts that Lavenham may have been aware of. For example, the seven deadly sins are personified in Langland's *Piers Plowman*. In John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, teachings on the seven deadly sins are expounded at length. Sometime in the decade and a half before his death in 1400, Geoffrey Chaucer wrote *The Canterbury Tales*, which incorporates, in the Parson's Tale, a treatise on the deadly sins.⁶¹

Whilst no direct link can be established between Lavenham and such analogues, it seems likely that all these works were produced within a few decades of each other and reveal something of the cultural and religious climate in which late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth-century Carmelites were writing.

Unfortunately it is not possible today to talk about all sixteen manuscripts which contain the *Litil Tretys*, the array of which suggests that this text was copied and read in a variety of different ways. However, I will briefly tell you about the manuscript which is arguably the most significant for an enquiry into the medieval Carmelite textual community. It is now preserved in London's British Library, where it is manuscript number 211 in the Harleian collection.⁶² Its significance rests on two facts: firstly, it is the only one of the sixteen manuscripts demonstrably of Carmelite ownership, and therefore informative about the Carmelite book-owning community; secondly, it is the only manuscript to attribute the *Litil Tretys* to Richard Lavenham.⁶³

The occasional errors in the text of the *Litil Tretys* in Harley 211 imply that Lavenham did not write it himself.⁶⁴ So who did? The scribe copying out the texts in this manuscript did not sign his name, but perhaps has left another clue as to his identity. At the end of the *Litil Tretys*, below the colophon attributing Lavenham's authorship, the figure '.161.' appears. In his edition van Zutphen considers whether it could be a cipher for the scribe's name or initials, but concludes 'a simple decoding formula of counting the letters of the alphabet does not produce anything convincing (AFA)'.⁶⁵

However, van Zutphen did not enjoy the benefit of access to the *Biographical Register of Medieval English Carmelites*, diligently compiled by Dr. Richard Copsey a Carmelite scholar living in London.⁶⁶ A search in this *Register* for a friar with the initials 'A.F.A.' who post-dates Lavenham yields an exciting possibility. Aegidius Fleeber de Arluno was a friar of the Lower German Province who studied in London from 1466-67.⁶⁷ If he was the copyist (and we know that some student-friars did copy Carmelites texts whilst abroad),⁶⁸ it would suggest that the text was in the Carmelite *studium* in London. If de Arluno was the scribe, it would not be too great a stretch of the imagination

to suppose that such a vernacular text could even have been copied in order to help a foreign student learn pastoral English. If this is true, it gives a very pragmatic reason for Carmelites copying, if not composing, texts in the vernacular.

There is much more that could be said about Richard Lavenham's life and work, but time this morning is restricted. I'll leave it up to you to compare the image we derive about the friars from the *Litil Tretys* with the image of the confessor-friar in the *Canterbury Tales*.

I wish to conclude with a brief look at another Carmelite, who was writing in English probably thirty or forty years after Lavenham. His name is Richard Misyn, and he translated into English the Latin treatise *De Emendatio Vitae*⁶⁹ by the celebrated Yorkshire hermit Richard Rolle of Hampole (c.1290-1349).⁷⁰ Misyn's translation, entitled the *mendynge of lyfe* is preserved in three manuscripts,⁷¹ and is dated by the colophon in each to 1434. Each manuscript includes another text translated by Misyn a year later, Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*, or *fyer of lufe*.

Misyn's translation of the *fyer* is prefaced with a prologue in which both he and his addressee are almost entirely anonymous. The translator writes:

At þe reuerence of oure lorde Ihesu criste, to þe askynge of þi desyre, Syster Margarete, couetyng a-sethe [reconciliation] to make, for encrece also of gostely comforth to þe & mo, þat curiuste of latyn vnderstandes noght, I, emonge lettyrd men sympellest, and in lyfyng vnthriftiest, þis wark has takyn to translacion of lattyn to englysch, for edificacyon of many saules. [1/1-6].⁷²

Not until the Latin colophon of the translation's second book do we learn the identity of the translator, and his intended recipient:

Explicit liber de Incendio Amoris, Ricardi Hampole heremite, translatus in Anglicum instancijs domine Margarete Heslyngton, recluse, per fratrem Ricardum Misyn, sacre theologie bachalaureum, tunc Priorem Lyncolniensem, ordinis carmelitarum, Anno domini M.CCCCxxxv. in festo translacionis sancti Martini Episcopi, quod est iiij nonas Iulij, per dictum fratrem Ricardum Misyn scriptum & correctum. [104/8-14]

[‘Here ends the Book of The Fire of Love, of Richard Hampole, hermit, translated into English at the instigation of Dame Margaret Heslington, recluse, by friar Richard

Misyn, Bachelor of Theology, at that time Prior of Lincoln, of the Order of Carmelites, in 1435, on the feast of the translation of St. Martin, Bishop, that is, the 4th nones of July, written and corrected by the said friar Richard Misyn.’]

The colophon identifies the recipient of the translation, ‘Syster Margarete’, as ‘recluse’, that is to say, an anchorite; a person who had decided to live a life of solitary prayer, often walled up within a church building. More can be deduced about this solitary from other sources. A ‘*Dom. Isab. Heslyngton, reclusa*’ is listed as being admitted to the celebrated York Guild of Corpus Christi in 1429/30.⁷³ It was not unusual for anchorites to be members of guilds,⁷⁴ and the surname, date, and title of recluse indicate that she is surely the anchorite Misyn knew. Testamentary records reveal that until her death in 1439, Heslington received the generous bequests of several York citizens, as one in a succession of anchorites living in the churchyard of St. Margaret’s, Walmgate, located within a few hundred yards of the Carmelite convent.⁷⁵

We have already seen in the case of Margery Kempe and Alan of Lynn that interesting and reciprocally-protective relationships existed between some laywomen and friars in late medieval England. Heslington must have been a powerful patron to commission work from such a high-ranking cleric as Misyn, and the opening sentence of Misyn’s prologue suggests that the anchorite played a dynamic role in the translation of the *Incendium*. I agree with Felicity Riddy that ‘we should not assume that women were merely passive recipients of books, or that they could not have taken the initiative in the process of translating from Latin into the vernacular’.⁷⁶

It seems natural that Yorkshire eremitic spirituality should have appealed to an anchorite such as Heslington, given that the *Emendatio* and *Incendium* both vehemently praise the solitary life. There is no evidence that the original *Incendium* was ever targeted at women – its Latin would largely preclude this. Nevertheless, Rolle’s repetitive insistence on the desirability of death would have special resonance for Heslington, whose immurement ceremony probably echoed the funeral rite.⁷⁷ Furthermore, Misyn’s translation of the *Incendium* into English at a woman’s request disempowered some of the patriarchal aspects of the text. In this context, Rolle’s statement that ‘an olde wyfe of goddis lufe is more expert, & les of wardly likynge, þen þe grete devin, whos stody is vayne’ [13/26-7] takes on new gynycentric significance.

However, there are indications within the text that Misyn did not undertake the task of translation without trepidation. In Misyn’s dedicatory epistle, the Carmelite warned his audience not to stray beyond the bounds of church teaching, ‘for drede þou erre, namely in slyke þinges þat touches þe .xij. artikils of þi fayth, als of þe holy Trinite, & oþer dyuers, als in þis holy boke filouynge is to oure lernynge connyngly writtyn’ [2/1-4]. Perhaps aware that some of Rolle’s writings had been

appropriated by the Lollards, Misyn feared that his own translations of the *Emendatio* and *Incendium* might be regarded as heretical interpolations. He thus declared that ‘to reforme I make protestacyon, with entent no þinge to wryte ne say agayns þe faith or determinacion of holy kyrk, god to wytnes’ [1/14-16]. Misyn’s apologia can be accounted for by the climate of censorship and control that existed in fifteenth-century England, following the 1407/9 *Constitutions* of Archbishop Thomas Arundel.

Carmelites in late medieval England were generally renowned for their orthodoxy.⁷⁸ Yet they seem to have been surprisingly pragmatic in their promotion of the vernacular. Just as Alan of Lynn’s Bible discussions with Margarey Kempe must have involved the vernacular,⁷⁹ so Misyn believed that the translation of Rolle’s Latin text was of benefit to Heslington and others ‘þat curiuste of latyn vnderstandes noght’ [1/3-4].

I have not had time today to speak of the English poetry composed by the Carmelite friars Richard Maidstone, Richard Spalding, or Thomas Ashburne. Nor have I been able to speak about the reverse translation process – from English into Latin – which at least one Carmelite friar took part in. Nevertheless, I hope that I have been able to introduce you to a diverse and complicated community of writers and readers, and shown you how much material is still to be properly explored in the field of Middle English literature.

¹ The text and explanation of Middle English words comes from Larry D. Benson, (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, revised edition 1988).

² Barry Windeatt, (ed.), *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Longman Annotated Texts, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000), Chapter 69, pp. 313-14.

³ Modern English translation by Barry Windeatt, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, (London: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 207.

⁴ On the development of the Carmelite habit, see ‘Identity and Antiquity: the Carmelite Habit’ in Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 45-78.

⁵ *The Book of Margery Kempe*, Chapter 89, p. 383.

⁶ Modern English translation by Windeatt, p. 260.

⁷ Having languished in the shadows of the other mendicant and monastic orders for many years, the Carmelites are currently enjoying scholarly attention from a range of academic disciplines. Arguably the most comprehensive modern history of the Order, from its origins to the twentieth century, is Joachim Smet’s *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, [four volumes in five parts], (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, Revised edition 1988). The most recent Anglophone studies of particular interest are: Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain Volume 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel*, (Faversham, Kent: Saint Albert’s Press, 2004, forthcoming). These last two refer to the most important historical studies of the Order from the earliest documents until the present day; these are not re-listed here, but introduced in the thesis as they become of direct relevance. Also valuable is Copsey’s annotated bibliography, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard, (ed.), *Carmel in Britain Volume 1: People and Places*, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), pp. 205-250. The British Province of Carmelites is currently in the process of making this bibliography available in an updated form on their website: www.carmelite.org (which also lists other historical studies). Copsey (*CIB1*, p. 207) and Jotischky (p. 7) usefully list the journals and *Carmelitana* of special interest to students of the Order, such as *Carmelus*.

⁸ On the geographic context of Carmel, see Jotischky, p. 8.

⁹ Elijah has often been regarded as the prototype of the monastic life: Jotischky, p. 98-9. The accounts of Elijah’s time on Carmel are recorded in the Bible’s *Books of the Kings*.

¹⁰ Chapter numbering follows that agreed by the Superiors General of the Carmelite and Discalced Carmelite Orders: ‘On citations of Carmelite Rule in Official Documents’, in John Malley, Camilo Maccise & Joseph Chalmers, *In Obsequio Jesu Christi: The Letters of the Superiors General OCarm and OCD 1992-2002*, (Rome: Edizioni OCD, 2003), pp. 124-39. On the Albertine formula, see Bede Edwards, *The Rule of Saint Albert*, Vinea Carmeli 1, (Aylesford

& Kensington: Carmelite Press, 1973); Otger Steggink, Jo Tigcheler, & Kees Waaijman, *Carmelite Rule*, (trans.) Theodulf Vrakking & Joachim Smet, (Almelo: 'Commission for Religious Dimension', Dutch Carmelite Province, private printing, 1979); Kees Waaijman, *The Mystical Space of Carmel: A Commentary on the Carmelite Rule*, (trans.) John Vriend, The Fiery Arrow Collection, (Leuven: Peeters, 1999); Wilfrid McGreal, *At the Fountain of Elijah – The Carmelite Tradition*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1999), pp. 17-31; Smet, *The Carmelites*, I, pp. 6-7, 270 n. 27; Keith J. Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', in Paul Chandler & Keith J. Egan, (eds.), *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O. Carm.*, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), pp. 155-70 (pp. 158-9); C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, (London: Longman, Third Edition, 2001), p. 270; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 Volumes, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948, 1955, & 1959), Volume II, p. 198. On the life, make-up, and nature of the early Carmelite community, see Joachim Smet, 'The Carmelite Rule after 750 Years', *Carmelus*, 44, (Rome: Instituto Carmelitano, 1997), pp. 21-47; Johan Bergström-Allen, 'Looking Behind to See Ahead: Finding a Future from the Early Carmelites', *Assumpta*, Volume 46, Number 4, (Aylesford: Lay Carmel Central Office, May 2003), pp. 13-27; Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 8-13. For Albert's biography, see Vincenzo Mosca, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: Tempo, Vita, Opera*, *Textus et Studia Historica Carmelitana*, 20, (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996).

¹¹ On what Jotischky calls the 'age of expansion' (pp. 12-13), see Smet, *The Carmelites*, I, pp. 10-12.

¹² As Richard Copsey, O.Carm. – the leading historian of the medieval English Carmelite Province – remarks, it is lamentable that there is still no monograph on the history of the Carmelites in England. Nor is there any catalogue of Carmelite art or archaeology. However, with the growing number of specialist studies in the field, and improved communication between the academic and Carmelite communities, hopefully such a history cannot be too far off. The first major history of the Carmelite Order in England to be written within the last century is Keith Egan's unpublished Cambridge University PhD thesis, *The Establishment and Early Development of the Carmelite Order in England* (1965). On the Carmelites' establishment in England, see also Richard Copsey, 'Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Volume 50, No. 4, (October 1999), pp. 652-83 (especially p. 652); David Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England*, (London: Sheed & Ward, 1940), pp. 113-4 & 146; Smet, *The Carmelites*, I, pp. 10-28; Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, II, p. 144; William J. Courtenay, *Schools and Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 70; Richard Copsey, 'Establishment, Identity and Papal Approval: the Carmelite Order's Creation of its Legendary History', *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), pp. 41-53; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 270-1. Carmelite foundations in England are listed by Egan in *CIBI*, p. 2. On the Order's administration see Poskitt, in *CIBI*, pp. 149-165.

¹³ In a sense, one should speak of an Anglo-Welsh Province, since there was a Carmelite house in Denbigh, founded in 1343-50. However, since the medieval Province was known as the 'English' at the time, this is the term I shall use throughout this thesis. The situation is further complicated by the fact that at different periods the Province incorporated Scotland and Ireland. The geographic scope of this thesis is largely restricted to England, but reference to other countries will be made where relevant.

¹⁴ As Lawrence observes of the Carmelites, 'their conversion into orders of friars bears witness to the powerful impact of the mendicant idea upon the consciousness of religious people in the thirteenth century.' C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: the Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society*, (London: Longman, 1994), p. 100; *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 274.

¹⁵ Egan, 'The Carmelites Turn to Cambridge', p. 162.

¹⁶ Useful reading on the Order's spirituality and charism includes Bernard McGinn, 'The Role of the Carmelites in the History of Western Mysticism' in Kevin Culligan & Regis Jordan (eds.), *Carmel and Contemplation: Transforming Human Consciousness*, Carmelite Studies 8, (Washington, D.C.: ICS Publications, 2000), pp. 25-50; Keith J. Egan, 'The Spirituality of the Carmelites', in Jill Raitt, (ed.), *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 50-62; Wilfrid McGreal, *At the Fountain of Elijah – The Carmelite Tradition*, Traditions of Christian Spirituality Series, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1999); Andrew Louth, 'Mount Carmel and St John of the Cross', in *The Wilderness of God*, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1991, Reprinted 2003), pp. 84-103; Elizabeth Ruth Obbard, *Land of Carmel: The Origins and Spirituality of the Carmelite Order*, (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1999).

¹⁷ Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity*, p. 7.

¹⁸ 'Miraculo namque aseribi poterit rhinocerontis nasum habentibus tot Theologos totque eruditos Scriptores, in tam parva morula, tempore tam stricto, tamque exiguo familiario floruisse.' British Library, Ms. Harley 3838, (*Anglorum Heliades*), f. 5. Translated by Copsey, *Selected Writings*, p. 175. A complete modern English translation of the *Anglorum Heliades* has been prepared by Richard Copsey for his forthcoming collection of *Early Carmelite Documents*.

¹⁹ For a complete listing, see Richard Copsey, 'The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings', *Carmelus*, 43, (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), pp. 175-224, along with 'Additions and Corrections 1', *Carmelus*, 44, (1997), pp. 188-202. Copsey's list also provides the foundation for many of the Carmelite texts recorded in Richard Sharpe's *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1, (Brepols, 1997) [additions and corrections to which are available on the website of the University of Oxford's Modern History Faculty: <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/sharpe/lw.pdf>].

²⁰ The text has been edited by J. P. W. M. van Zutphen, *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynhem, O. Carm.*, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956).

²¹ Throughout this chapter I have used the modern spelling of Lavenham's name. Alternative spellings in medieval sources (as compiled by Copsey) include: Lanynham, Lauingham, Lavenhamus, Lavynhamus, Lavingham, Lavinham, Lavyngham, Lavynham, Lavynhus, Lawingham, Lowinham, Lanynfans.

²² The most comprehensive biographies of Richard Lavenham include C. L. Kingsford's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XI, pp. 652-3 (soon to be updated in the *New DNB*), and Richard Copsey's as yet unpublished *Biographical Register of Medieval English Carmelites*. Other sources include: John Bale, *Scriptores illustrium maioris Brytanniae... Catalogus*, (Basle: 1555-1557, reprinted Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1971), volume 1, pp. 508-9; John Leland (1506?-52), *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, (ed.) A. Hall, 2 volumes, (Oxford, 1709); Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britanno-Hibernica*, (London: 1748, (ed.) D. Wilkins, London, 1974), p. 470; Cosmas de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, (Orléans, 1752, (ed.) Gabriel Wessels, Rome: 1927), volume 2, p. 679; Richard Sharpe, *A handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1, (Brepols, 1997), entry 1349, pp. 487-91; Richard Copsey, 'The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings', *Carmelus*, 43, (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), pp. 175-224 (pp. 193-200), and Copsey's 'Surviving Writings – Additions and Corrections 1', *Carmelus*, 44 (Rome: Istituto Carmelitano, 1997), pp. 188-202 (pp. 195-6); A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 1109-1110; P. R. McCaffrey, *The White Friars – an Outline Carmelite History, with Special Reference to the English-Speaking Provinces*, (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1926), p. 137; Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavynhem and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32 (pp. 20-21).

²³ The most substantial studies of Lavenham's Latin writings have been written by Paul Vincent Spade: 'The treatises on Modal Propositions and On Hypothetical Propositions by Richard Lavenham', *Medieval Studies*, 35, (Toronto, 1973), pp. 49-59; 'Five Logical Tracts by Richard Lavenham', in J. Reginald O'Donnell, (ed.) *Essays in honour of Anton Charles Pegis*, (Toronto, 1974), pp. 70-124; 'Notes on some manuscripts of logical and physical works by Richard Lavenham', *Manuscripta*, 19, (St. Louis, Missouri, 1975), pp. 139-46; 'Richard Lavenham's *Obligationes*', *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia*, 2, (1978); 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', *Historiographia Linguistica*, 7, (1980), pp. 241-7; 'Notes on Richard Lavenham's so-called *Summulae logicales*, with a partial edition of the text', *Franciscan Studies*, 40, (New York: St. Bonaventure, 1980), pp. 370-407. See also Gordon Anthony Wilson & Paul Vincent Spade, 'Richard Lavenham's treatise *Scire*: An edition, with remarks on the identification of Martin (?) Bilond's *Obiectiones Consequentiarum*', *Medieval Studies*, 46, (1984), pp. 1-30; C. Lohr, 'Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries', *Traditio*, 28, (1972), p. 394; Dale Tuggy, 'A Short Text of Lavenham', in Mogens Wegener, (ed.), *Time, Creation and World-Order*, (Aarhus University Press, 1999), pp. 260-63, available on-line at <http://www.fredonia.edu/departament/philosophy/lavenham.pdf>; Rondo Keele, 'Richard Lavenham's *De Causis Naturalibus*: A Critical Edition', *Traditio*, 56, (2001), pp. 113-47. Lavenham's text on St. Bridget – thought by Copsey to be lost – could be a text now in St. John's College, Cambridge, Ms. 69, which according to the catalogue by James [available online at: <http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/Library/special%20collections/Medman/C.19.html>] shares the incipit recorded by Bale. This does not seem to have been noted by Copsey.

²⁴ On fourteenth-century Lavenham, see Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavynhem and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32 (p. 21).

²⁵ On previous uncertainty regarding Lavenham's academic titles, see Van Zutphen, p. xxix.

²⁶ For an introduction to the teaching and literature of the university schools in this period, see Paul Vincent Spade, 'Logic in Late Medieval Oxford, 1330-1500', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, volume 2.

²⁷ Cited by A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957-59), 2.1109-1110.

²⁸ See Anne Hudson, 'The Debate on Bible Translation, Oxford 1401', in *Lollards and their Books*, pp. 67-84.

²⁹ The text of the Act is translated in Henry Bettenson & Chris Maunder (eds.), *Documents of the Christian Church*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Third Edition 1999), pp. 198-202.

³⁰ Watson, Nicholas, 'Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409', *Speculum*, 70, Issue 4, October 1995, pp. 822-864.

³¹ J. P. M. W. van Zutphen, (ed.), *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956). All quotations from the *Litil Tretys* are made from this edition, by page and line. The *Litil Tretys* is listed in a number of bibliographies of medieval literature: P. S. Jolliffe, *A Checklist of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance*, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974), pp. 79-80, entry F.2.; *Index of Printed Medieval English Prose*, entry 789; J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung, (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* (New Haven: Connecticut Academy, 1967-), 2527 [106], 2.

³² Carruthers, p. 26, echoing van Zutphen, p. xxiv.

³³ John Fleming, 'The Friars and Medieval English Literature', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 349-75 (p. 358). As Fleming elaborates [n.17], 'A "figure" was an analogy drawn from nature; an "ensaumple" was a narrative exemplum. See Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, p. 152.'

³⁴ Such as the *Somme le Roi* and *Jacob's Well*, as pointed out by Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32 (p. 22).

³⁵ See, for example, Paul Vincent Spade, 'Why Don't Medieval Logicians Ever tell Us What They're Doing? Or, What Is This, A Conspiracy?', article available online at <http://pvpspade.com/logic/docs/conspiracy.pdf>.

³⁶ Carruthers interprets the description as Lavenham's 'awareness that his text was, in effect, rather short in comparison with the many catechetical manuals already in existence' [Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32].

³⁷ See, for example, Marjorie Curry Woods & Rita Copeland, 'Classroom and confession', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 376-406. For a recent challenge to some of the supposed distinctions between clergy and laity in the Middle Ages, especially in terms of their literature, see the introduction to John Shinnars, (ed.), *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500, A Reader*, (Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1997, Reprinted 1999), Readings in Medieval Civilisations and Cultures II, pp. xv-xix.

³⁸ Keele's translation, p. 137.

³⁹ Van Zutphen, p. xii.

⁴⁰ On the Carmelite Maidstone's echoing of this sentiment, see the chapter on Maidstone to follow in this thesis.

⁴¹ Edited by Peter Øhrstrøm, 'Richard Lavenham on future contingents', *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen âge*, 44 (Copenhagen, 1983), pp. 180-186. Quotations are taken from the translation by Dale Tuggy, 'A Short Text of Lavenham', in *Time, Creation and World-Order*, (ed.) Mogens Wegener, Acta Jutlandica LXXIV:1, Humanities Series 72 (Denmark: Aarhus Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 260-264. Lavenham's ideas are discussed in Peter Øhrstrøm, 'The Contingency of the Future. A discussion of a medieval analysis', in *Time, Creation and World-Order*, ed. Mogens Wegener, Acta Jutlandica LXXIV:1, Humanities Series 72 (Denmark: Aarhus Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 160-170.

⁴² On the possible use of Lavenham's *Litil Tretys* in the pulpit or confessional, see Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32 (p. 19).

⁴³ Marjorie Curry Woods & Rita Copeland, pp. 390 & 392. Excerpts of the decree are translated in John Shinnars, (ed.), *Medieval Popular Religion 1000-1500, A Reader*, (Peterborough, Canada: Broadview Press, 1997, Reprinted 1999), Readings in Medieval Civilisations and Cultures II, pp. 6-12. On legislation prior to 1215, see Marjorie Curry Woods & Rita Copeland, p. 376. <<Carmelites engaged in pastoral work subsequent to this date, and mostly from their development into a mendicant order in 1247. The ignorance of the Carmelites to hear confession properly and to counsel people in the different degrees of sin was one of the complaints of the Carmelite prior general Nicholas the Frenchman in his circular letter *The Ignea Sagitta* [insert quote from Welch, *Carmelite Way*, p. 32]. He called the friars "illiterates", linking their "ignorance... of theology and law" to inadequate pastoral care. Lavenham's text is therefore fulfilling a need within the Order for instruction. Discuss Carmelite confessional practice (details from CIB3): Carmelites as needing licences, Carmelites holding benefices, Carmelites as chaplains (to royalty, to merchants, etc.)>>

⁴⁴ See 'Manuals of Instruction for Parish Priests', in W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), Medieval Academy Reprints for Teaching 5, pp. 189-219; van Zutphen, p. ix; H. Leith Spencer, 'The Preaching of *Pastoralia*' in *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 196-227.

⁴⁵ Marjorie Curry Woods & Rita Copeland, p. 391.

⁴⁶ For a definition and history of the 'capital sins', see Richard P. McBrien, (ed.), *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), p. 225; van Zutphen, pp. vii-xi.

⁴⁷ The dates given are those suggest by Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32 (pp. 17 & 23). On the 'vices and virtues' genre, see van Zutphen, pp. viii-xi; Marjorie Curry Woods & Rita Copeland, p. 394 ff; Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*, (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1952, reprinted 1967); Fleming, in Wallace, pp. 357-58; and many works listed online at: <http://www.trinity.edu/rnewhaus/outline.html>; <http://www.rushman.org/seven/>; <http://www.le.ac.uk/arthisory/seedcorn/faq-sds.html>

⁴⁸ On this characteristically 'fraternal' genre, and Lavenham's success in it, see Fleming, in Wallace, pp. 357-8.

⁴⁹ Quoted by Fleming, in Wallace, p. 358.

⁵⁰ D.J. Lloyd suggested in 1943 that Lavenham had closely copied a Latin text, though the idea is not accepted by van Zutphen (pp. xxiii-xxiv), or Carruthers (p. 26).

⁵¹ Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavenham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32 (p. 25)

⁵² Spade, 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', p. 243. See also 'Notes on Richard Lavenham's so-called *Summulae Logicales*', p. 371; 'Richard Lavenham's *Obligationes*', pp. 225-26. This analysis of Lavenham is echoed by Dale Tully and Rondo Keele (p. 119). On the role of a *compiler* in medieval literature, see the index of Latin terms in A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages*, (London: Scolar Press, 1984).

⁵³ Spade, 'Richard Lavenham and the Cambridge Logic', p. 243.

⁵⁴ Keele, p. 119.

⁵⁵ See Marjorie Curry Woods & Rita Copeland, 'Classroom and confession', in David Wallace (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 376-406.

⁵⁶ *Jacob's Well* (Part 1), (ed.) Arthur Brandeis, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trübner, 1900), EETS OS 115. As Curruthers (p. 25) and van Zutphen (p. xxiii) point out, the resemblance between passages of *Jacob's Well* and the *Litil Tretyz* was first noted by D.J. Lloyd in 1943. The most substantial studies of *Jacob's Well* have been by Leo M. Carruthers: *Jacob's Well: études d'un sermonnaire pénitentiel anglais du XV^e siècle*, (thèse d'Etat, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1987); 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32. See also Marjorie Curry Woods & Rita Copeland, p. 399; H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), passim.

⁵⁷ H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 31.

⁵⁸ Charles Letherbridge Kingsford, entry on Lavenham in *DNB*.

⁵⁹ An edition of the Latin text is included in C. Horstmann, *The Three Kings of Cologne*, (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1886), E.E.T.S. O.S. 85.

⁶⁰ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 73, f. 2v. The text is listed below as number 51 in the appendix of Lavenham's Latin writings.

⁶¹ On Chaucer's sources for the Parson's Tale, see *Riverside Chaucer*, pp. 21-22.

⁶² Described in van Zutphen, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi. The manuscript is briefly mentioned in my Master thesis, p. 9; Leo M. Carruthers, 'Richard Lavynham and the Seven Deadly Sins in *Jacob's Well*', *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, 18, (Detroit, Michigan, 1991), pp. 17-32 (pp. 19-20).

⁶³ The colophon reads: 'Explicit Tractatus De Septem Peccatis Mortalibus. Quem Composuit Reuerendus Magister Frater Ricardus Lauynham. Ordinis Beatissime Dei Genitricis Marie De Monte Carmeli' (Ms. Harley 211, f. 46v). The title 'Magister' could refer to Lavenham being a Doctor of Theology, but we do not know whether this was the case when he originally wrote the text.

⁶⁴ Van Zutphen, pp. l & c.

⁶⁵ Van Zutphen, p. xxxiv-v.

⁶⁶ This *Register* is awaiting publication. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Copsey for allowing me access to a draft copy.

⁶⁷ He is recorded by Franz-Bernard Lickteig, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities*, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1981), p. 517. Lickteig's list of 2495 German Carmelite friars studying in London, other *stidia* of the Order, and European universities between 1281 and 1555 is derived from the acts of the provincial chapters of two of the three German provinces preserved in Frankfurt City Archives and the Saxon State Library in Dresden.

⁶⁸ As I remark in my Masters thesis (p. 8), 'Just as English Carmelites copied texts whilst studying abroad, it is more than likely that Whitefriars from the continent (such as those from Lombardy and Tuscany studying in Cambridge) copied English works.' To illustrate this point, I make reference to the case of Richard Paston, who copied a catalogue of Carmelite saints whilst studying at Paris (Copsey, 'Simon Stock', p. 672; Egan, in *CIBI*, pp. 93-94). Emden points out the international attraction of the Cambridge Carmelite convent [*BRUC*, p. xxii]. Oxford was not generally open to Carmelites of other provinces [Courtney, p. 70].

⁶⁹ Sometimes entitled *Regula vivendi (Rule of Life)*, *Emendatio peccatoris*, *Vehiculum Vitae*, or *Duodecim capitula*. Jonathan Burke Severs, Albert E. Hartung, & John Edwin Wells (eds.), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500* (New Haven, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1967-), IX, p. 3064; Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27:3 (July 1976), p. 232 n.3.

⁷⁰ On Rolle's life and writings, see Nicholas Watson, *Richard Rolle and the Invention of Authority*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁷¹ British Library MS Additional 37790 (Amherst Manuscript), ff. 1-95; Yale University MS Beinecke 331, ff. 1-136v; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 236, passim. The only printed edition of the translations, based solely on the Oxford manuscript, is by Ralph Harvey, *The Fire of Love & The Mending of Life or The Rule of Living*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 106 (London: Kegan Paul, 1896). On the Amherst manuscript see Marleen Cré, *Vernacular Mysticism in the Charterhouse: An Analysis of British Library, MS Additional 37790 in its religious and literary context* (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Université de Fribourg, September 2001). On the relationships between the manuscripts see Margaret Laing, 'Linguistic Profiles and Textual Criticism: The Translation by Richard Misyn of Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and *Emendatio Vitae*', in Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, & Margaret Lang (eds.), *Middle English Dialectology: essays on some principals and problems* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 188-223.

⁷² All references to Misyn's text [page/line] come from Harvey's edition.

⁷³ Not 1428 as claimed by Jonathan Hughes in *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 110. On the Guild of Corpus Christi, see David J. F. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547* (York: York Medieval Press, 2000).

⁷⁴ Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, pp. 184, 192, 207.

⁷⁵ York, Borthwick Institute, Probate Registry, Will 3, f. 590; Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p. 108; Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons*, pp. 244-5. Now the *National Centre for Early Music*, St. Margaret's is sadly not well documented, but see Philippa Hoskin, 'Some late fourteenth-century gild and fabric wardens' accounts from the Church of St. Margaret's,

Walmgate, York', in David M. Smith (ed.), *The Church in Medieval York: Records edited in honour of Professor Barrie Dobson*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24 (York: University of York, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1999), pp. 75-86. It is my belief that the small building still standing on the side of the church (figure 2) could be Heslington's anchorhold, and would once have provided a squint overlooking the altar.

⁷⁶ Felicity Riddy, "Women talking about the things of God': a late medieval sub-culture", in Carol M. Meale (ed.), *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 17 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Second Edition 1996), p. 107.

⁷⁷ On the rite of enclosure, see Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*, Appendix A; Georgia Ronan Crampton's edition of *The Shewings of Julian of Norwich*, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), p. 9.

⁷⁸ I elaborate on the role of Carmelites as defenders of orthodoxy throughout my thesis.

⁷⁹ *The Book of Margery Kempe* (eds.) S. B. Meech & H. E. Allen, Early English Text Society Original Series 212 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 169-70 [Book I, Ch. 70].