


**BODY-SOUL DEBATES IN ENGLISH, FRENCH AND  
GERMAN MANUSCRIPTS  
c. 1200 – c. 1500**

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**April 2009**

## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history of body-soul debates in English, Anglo-Norman, Northern French and German from c.1200-1500. Focusing uniquely on the question of contexts rather than origins for the debates, I summarise their roots in apocryphal and pre-Christian myth before turning to close readings of the debates themselves and detailed examinations of their manuscripts. I argue that the various adaptations of the Latin 'Visio Philiberti' should be seen not only within the context of each language's vernacular literature, but also as a reaction to doctrinal changes in Christian theology during the period in which they were written. I also look at how these adaptations reflect the transmission of the debates by the religious orders, and examine the evidence for my argument that each body-soul debate constructs specific paradigms of body and soul's relationship, focusing in particular on the differences between the hostile debates in England and France on the one side, and the 'friendly' debates in Germany on the other. Finally, I examine parallel developments in the regulation of vernacular devotional literature in England, France and Germany in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, using a case study of BL MS Additional 37049 to argue that these developments are reflected in more repressive and authoritarian adaptations of body-soul debates. Siting this hypothesis within the context of recent discussions of 'vernacular theology', I argue that body-soul debates functioned as literature which sanctioned authoritarian attitudes to vernacular literature and society, while at the same time presenting the possibility of a dialogic response to repressive measures and destabilising the *topoi* of obedience and subservience that they ostensibly support.

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### AUTHOR'S NOTE

The title page shows a detail of 'A dysputacion betwyxt þe saule & þe body', BL MS Additional 37049, fol. 83v; the full image is reproduced at fig. 9 of the illustrations.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine. I have generally translated secondary literature, where necessary, without first giving the original. Quotations in English from the Bible are from the Revised Version.

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmothers, Jean Betty Berger and Ivy Richards, and written in memory of my grandfathers, Joachim Berger and David Richards.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have completed this thesis without help from many sources.

I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council; a doctoral award from the AHRC made this project possible. I also thank the AHRC for the award of a grant to visit libraries in Germany and Austria in July and August 2007, and the Salter Fund at the Centre for Medieval Studies, York, for grants to visit the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Library and the Bodleian Library. Thank you to my family for their constant moral and financial support during times of difficulty.

I thank my supervisors, Jocelyn Wogan-Browne and Jeanne Nuechterlein, and my advisory supervisor, Linne Mooney. Their help, advice, patience and insight were remarkable and very helpful and I cannot thank them enough for taking much careful time to read and criticize the drafts of my work. My thanks are especially due to Jocelyn for her conscientious and engaged emails during times when we were both travelling!

I would further like to thank a number of scholars who assisted with certain aspects of this thesis and answered my questions, especially Henrike Lähnemann (Newcastle University) for her assistance with German translations and transcriptions, and for inviting me to give a paper at a conference in April 2008. I also thank Catherine Batt, Jessica Brantley, Eva De Visscher, Vincent Gillespie, Marianne O'Doherty, Nigel Palmer, Oliver Pickering and Brian Richardson. Dr Astrid Breith at the BBAW Berlin went out of her way to help me in deciphering archival notes on German manuscripts. An anonymous nun at the Benedictine Convent of St Walburga, Eichstätt, did much to help me understand the concept of 'Gelassenheit'. Thanks also to Dr Emanuel Braun at the Diocesan Museum, Eichstätt, for providing answers to several questions I had about items in the museum. Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, deserves a special mention for supplying advice on MS Selden supra 74's quire structure at the eleventh hour.

Dr Robert Lutton (Nottingham) and Dr Elisabeth Salter (Aberystwyth) encouraged me to write and publish a chapter based on work done at an early stage of the thesis on London, British Library MS Additional 37049, for which I am very grateful. Elisabeth Salter, in addition, has encouraged my academic work in the area of medieval studies consistently since we first worked together at the Canterbury Centre for Medieval and Tudor Studies in 2002, and without her belief in the value of academic work in general, and my contribution in particular, I would not be writing these acknowledgements today.

I would like to thank the staff of the following libraries: the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, the Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Vienna, the University Library of Cambridge, and Kings Manor and the University Library, York. Library staff were generally courteous, helpful and interested not only in my work, but in their own; this made visits (almost) invariably a pleasure.

During my research excursions in the United Kingdom and abroad I was helped by the willingness of several friends and acquaintances to provide me with a place to sleep; for this, and for their good company, I thank Erika Becker, Lukas Becker and Elaine Charwat, Marie-Luce Dauchez, Alexandra Geai, Astrid Küver and Paul Davis, Lizzie and James Reynolds, Antje Schunke and Jan Dobbelmann, Andrea Schwarzkopf and Ingo Busch, Chris and Ray Worman in Cornwall, and last but not least, “Auntie Bone” and Robert in London (and cats). I also thank Carola Großmann, Katharina Kurschat and Sabine Meyer for their willingness to drink tea and talk about ideas (and other things) with me, and for their friendship during the past few years.

Finally, I thank my partner and wife, Melanie Worman, for everything, especially for bringing me cups of tea in traditional wifely style and never failing to make my sandwiches.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AND	<i>Anglo-Norman Dictionary</i> – revised electronic format ( <a href="http://www.anglo-norman.net">http://www.anglo-norman.net</a> )
AND (1992)	<i>Anglo-Norman Dictionary</i> . Ed. William Rothwell, Louise W. Stone and T.B.W.Reid. 2 vols (London, 1992)
ANTS	Anglo-Norman Text Society
ANTS OPS	Anglo-Norman Text Society Occasional Publications Series
BL	British Library, London
BMZ, <i>Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch</i>	<i>Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch</i> . Georg Friedrich Benecke, Wilhelm Müller and Friedrich Zarncke (Leipzig, 1854-66). Revised edition with introduction by Eberhard Nellmann and an index by Erwin Koller, Werner Wegstein und Norbert Richard Wolf. 4 vols (Stuttgart, 1990)
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale
Bodleian Summary Catalogue (1922)	<i>Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the quarto series</i> , by Falconer Madan and H.H.E. Craster (Oxford, 1922)
Bossuat	<i>Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du Moyen Âge</i> , de Robert Bossuat. <i>Troisième supplément</i> , par Françoise Vielliard et Jacques Monfrin. 2 vols (Paris, 1986-)
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
Dean	Ruth J. Dean, <i>Anglo-Norman Literature: a guide to texts and manuscripts</i> . With the collaboration of Maureen B.M.Boulton. ANTS OPS 3 (London, 1999)
Degering	Hermann Degering, <i>Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Handschriften der preussischen Staatsbibliothek</i> . 3 vols (Leipzig, 1925)
<i>Dictionnaire historique</i>	<i>Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois</i> , ed. La Curne de Sainte-Palaye. 10 vols (Paris, 1877)



- EETS Early English Text Society
- Godefroy Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*. 10 vols (Paris, 1881-1902)
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URL: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
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- URL: <http://pld.chadwyck.co.uk/>
- Migne, PG J.P.Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris, 1857-1866)  
URL: <http://www.ellopos.net/elpenor/greek-texts/fathers/migne-patrologia-graeca.asp>
- NIMEV Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, *New Index of Middle English Verse* (London, 2005)
- n.s. new series
- ONB Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
- Omont Omont, Henri, Couderc, C., Auvry, L. and Ch. de la Roncière (eds), *Catalogue général des manuscrits français. Anciens petits fonds français nos. 22885-25696, par C. Couderc et Ch. de la Roncière* (Paris, 1902)
- o.s. original series
- Petzet Erich Petzet, *Die deutschen Pergament-Handschriften Nr. 1-200 der Staatsbibliothek in München. Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae Monacensis*, 5 (1) (Munich, 1920)
- Staub and Saenger Kurt Hans Staub and Thomas Saenger, *Deutsche und niederländische Handschriften mit Ausnahme der Gebethandschriften. Handschriften der Hessischen Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt*, 6 (Wiesbaden, 1991)
- Tobler-Lommatzsch *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*. Material collected by Adolf Tobler, edited by Erhard Lommatzsch. 12 vols (Berlin, 1925)
- Verfasserlexikon* Burghart Wachinger, Gundolf Keil, Kurt Ruh, Werner Schroeder and Franz Josef Worstbrock (eds), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. 2nd edn, revised by Christine Grundmann. 12 vols (Berlin and New York, 1999)
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## INTRODUCTION

*St Augustinus hatte einen Jungen, der fragte in vnd sprach: 'Lieber vatter, sag vns was eine sele seye, das wir so vil nott vnd arbeit umb sie haben vnd sie doch nie gesehen?' Saint Augustine had a disciple. The disciple asked him a question, saying, 'Dear father, tell us, what is this 'soul', which causes us so much pain and work although we have never even seen it?'*

(Berlin Staatsbibliothek, MS germ. quart. 1200, fol. 454v)

The question asked by St Augustine's no doubt long-suffering disciple is a question that many medievalists can probably identify with, and the conflict that it suggests is one at the heart of medieval body-soul debates. This genre, which flourished between the twelfth and late fifteenth centuries but was based on many earlier sources, shows body and soul each arguing with the other (generally with hostility, sometimes with affection) about the nature of their relationship and why each is obliged to put up with the other despite the problems this causes. More seriously, the debates show body and soul each arguing for their eternal lives; the debates take place after their separation through death, and each, in terror of imminent damnation, blames the other for the faults that have led them to this terrible impasse. There are exceptions to the rule; some bodies and souls are not damned. But even here, the essential differences between them lead to their speculation as to why they need each other at all. The answers lead us into the realms of medieval theology, cosmology and biology, and to the realisation that for medieval people, these subjects, like body and soul, were ultimately inextricably linked, even if logic might require their temporary separation.

Like St Augustine's disciple, I too came to realise that invisibility and intangibility are attributes that make no difference whatsoever to the perceived reality of 'the soul', nor to the urgency of the questions that surround the medieval relationship to it. In this way, the concept of the soul in medieval literature is similar to a modern concept of God: invisible, intangible, with no 'evidence' to prove its existence, and yet a being that demands

continual attention. And indeed, the medieval soul is, or aspires to be, a mirror of God; it is a reflection as much as a reality in its own right, that derives its qualities from its changing relationship to the Divine, its ultimate and eternal identity entirely dependent on human will subject to God's grace.<sup>1</sup> To his disciple's question, St Augustine answers: 'Dear son, ask not what a soul is; ask where it has come from; it has come from the heavenly country and flows from the Father's heart and its nature is made out of divine *Minne* and love' (my emphasis).<sup>2</sup>

The soul has come from God, and its nature, the matter it is 'made of', is also divine. This is reiterated in the words of the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman doctrinal work, *Mirour de seinte eglyse*, which is found in some manuscripts alongside body-soul debates:

Ke quant vous ne esteyes pas donques vous crea il : en alme a sa semblaunce  
demeine et vostre corps [...] forme il en ses sens et ses membres si noble si beals  
que hom ne poet deuiser.<sup>3</sup>

'For when you were not, he created you; your soul he created in his own likeness and your own body [...] he formed in its senses and its limbs so noble, so beautiful, such as no man could ever design [*or describe*].'

But the omission I have indicated in the above paragraph is equally significant. The full text reads: 'Ke quant vous ne esteyes pas donques vous crea il : en alme a sa semblaunce demeine et vostre corps *de pulente e puante escume dount est abominacioun a penser*'. The soul is created of divine matter, in the image of God; the body was created out of 'stinking and reeking scum such as it is abominable to think of'. It is not only the unseen

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<sup>1</sup>See Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages: the historical links between heresy, the mendicant orders, and the women's religious movement in the twelfth and thirteenth century; and the historical foundations of German mysticism*. Translated by Steven Rowan with an introduction by Robert E. Lerner (Notre Dame (Ind.) and London, 1995), pp. 176-77.

<sup>2</sup>'Da sprach Sant augustin lieber sun frag nit was ein' seyl' sey frag warinen sye komen sey. Sy ist kumen auss dem himelischen lannd vnd ist geflossen aus dem vetterlichen herzen vnd ist gemacht von der natur gotlicher mynne vnd liebe' (ibid.).

<sup>3</sup>Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74, fol. 45v. The manuscript is 'A3' in A.D. Wilshere (ed), *Mirour de Seinte Eglyse*. ANTS 40 (London, 1982); this passage is at p. 10 of Wilshere's edition.

soul that causes such ‘pain and work’, as Augustine’s disciple would have it; the body, too, was a problem for medieval thinkers. Made of stinking matter, yet formed by God (for, as the author of the *Mirour* points out, the body is also and at the same time more beautiful than man could ever invent): how were human beings to come to terms with this attractive, seductive and yet horrifyingly mortal object, their own body? The answers were not easy; and they were also not simplistic. For medieval Christians, neither hating the body (which would be heretical) nor loving it (which would result in sin) was supposed to be acceptable: so what was to be done? I argue that body-soul debates were a way of voicing this dilemma, and, in so doing, of trying to resolve it.

However, the writers of both the passages discussed above are not only making a metaphysical distinction between body and soul. They are also talking ‘scientifically’, according to the accepted late medieval view of human nature, against the backdrop of a difficult, and not always entirely successful, attempt to weld Aristotelian science with Christian and Platonic cosmology. In this belief system, body and soul were seen as two distinct, if attached, entities, although no-one was entirely sure of how they were attached.<sup>4</sup> To say ‘body and soul’ was not, as in modern parlance, simply another way of saying ‘with all my heart’ or ‘completely’; it was not a means of expressing wholeness, but a means of expressing difference. St Paul and St Augustine provided the Christian legitimation for this view of a natural conflict between flesh and spirit,<sup>5</sup> and Plato and Aristotle were the philosophers whose works provided the scientific arguments to support it.<sup>6</sup> In this world-

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<sup>4</sup> See further Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336*. Lectures on the History of Religions, n.s. 15 (New York, 1995); Tobias Kläden, *Mit Leib und Seele...Die mind-brain-Debatte in der Theologie des Geistes und die anima-forma-corporis-Lehre des Thomas von Aquin* (Regensburg, 2005); John P. Wright and Paul Potter (eds), *Psyche and Soma: physicians and metaphysicians on the mind-body problem from antiquity to enlightenment* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> John Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry: a critical anthology* (East Lansing, 1991), ‘Introduction’, cites Galatians 5: 16-17; Romans 8:13; I Corinthians 9:27 as Pauline sources. On the concept of a basic difference between the human, corruptible body and the Body of Christ, cf. also St Paul in Philippians 3:21, ‘[Christ] will transfigure these wretched bodies of ours into copies of his glorious body’. On St Augustine’s view of body and soul, see Norman Kretzmann and Eleanore Stump, *The Cambridge Companion to Augustine* (New York, 2001); Gareth Matthews, ‘Internalist reasoning in Augustine for mind-body dualism’, in Wright and Potter (eds), *Psyche and Soma*, pp. 133-146; Kurt Flasch, *Das philosophische Denken im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 37-46.

<sup>6</sup> The majority of Plato’s works assume a basic conflict between body and soul. The *Phaedo* sets out his influential view of the body as prison to the soul, which, if purified in life, will be liberated from the body at death (*Phaedo*, transl. Hugh Tredennick, in Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, *The Collected Dialogues*

view, ‘body’ was the material substance, formed out of natural material via sexual intercourse, and hence subject to the corruption that all matter was subject to, with the additional burden of original sin. ‘Soul’ was a different essence entirely, partaking of God’s nature and made (though here too there were disagreements as to how) out of an unchanging, incorruptible element; it was the soul that was the true image of God. Nonetheless, soul and body were joined to each other, for ever, save for their brief separation between death and the Last Judgment. This separation equalled death on earth; there were numerous discussions about how precisely separation and rejoining of body and soul took place, and how precisely the sins committed by someone while still alive affected the process of separation, purification (purgatory) and resurrection. People also asked how a sinner could be beyond salvation, the most terrible fate imaginable, if God was really good. The Church insisted that this was so, but how it could happen, and which part of humankind was responsible for it – body, soul or both – was the imperative question at the centre of body-soul debates.

This thesis is not an intellectual history. It does not set out to answer these theological questions, nor is its main purpose to examine the development of such answers as were given by medieval theologians, although these may play an important role in the development of body-soul debates over time. The outstanding work of such historians as Caroline Walker Bynum, Jacques Le Goff and others who have sought to illuminate the development of doctrine at its most complex (that is, scholastic and theoretical) level, is essential to our understanding of the intellectual background to the body-soul debates, and my debt to them will be evident throughout this study.<sup>7</sup> My interest, however, is not ‘top down’ but ‘bottom up’; I ask how body-soul debates reflected, reworked and deconstructed scholastic and popular ideas about the nature of humanity, sin and salvation.

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of *Plato* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 40-98, esp. pp 46-48 (64a-67e). The *Timaeus*, known throughout the medieval West even in the early Middle Ages, sets out the view that ‘nothing without intelligence is to be found that is superior to anything with it, and [...] intelligence is impossible without soul’. Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*. Ed. and transl. Desmond Lee, London, 1965, p. 42. See also and T. M. Robinson, ‘The defining features of mind-body dualism in the writings of Plato’ in Wright and Potter (eds), *Psyche and Soma*, pp. 37-56. Aristotle’s views and their influence on Augustine are discussed in Chapter 4; the most important text is his *De Anima (On the Soul)*, which I have used in the edition translated with an introduction and notes by Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London, 1986). An excellent summary is also found in Aristotle, *De l’âme*. Translated and introduced by Richard Bodéüs (Paris, 1993).

<sup>7</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984).

The body-soul debate is a genre that was indubitably ‘popular’, and it was most popular at a period when devotional writings for and by lay people might be said to come into flower, a period, too, when the Western Church was arguably facing one of its greatest challenges: how to combine the newly available ideas of Aristotle (and the ‘impulse to rationality’ that their reception brought with them<sup>8</sup>) with a Christian thinking that was largely based on Augustine and the neo-Platonic tradition. As Tobias Kläden writes, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ‘[t]he confrontation with a way of thinking that had no roots in Christian culture was an entirely new experience for Christian theologians, who were now forced to look at both the world, and knowledge itself, from a fundamentally different perspective. This posed a new challenge: how to integrate this new knowledge into the Christian *orbis*, without endangering the latter’s stability and primacy as a theological whole’.<sup>9</sup>

But the apparent stability of Christian discourse was, of course, itself a construction, guaranteed only by the exclusion of elements both within and without the Church that might pose a threat to it.<sup>10</sup> Among such elements were not only the clearly identifiable heresies (such as Catharism or Albigensianism) and the religions of Judaism and Islam, but also innumerable dangers within the Catholic Church itself, whose popes, bishops and doctors would spend hours, days and years defining and redefining orthodoxy as ideas and needs changed.<sup>11</sup> To mention only one important example, visionary experience was one such landmined area for women in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, one woman in England might find that speaking of her visions was of use to the Church,<sup>12</sup> while another could risk being viewed as a heretic for doing the same thing.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Kläden, *Mit Leib und Seele*, p. 130.

<sup>9</sup> Kläden, *ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>10</sup> On the ‘construction’ of orthodoxy see especially R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: power and deviance in Western Europe, 950-1250* (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> See among others Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: popular movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Oxford, 1992); R.N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c. 1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 257-310 (‘Inclusion and Exclusion’); John Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Mary C. Erler, ‘“A Revelation of Purgatory” (1422): Reform, and the politics of female visions’, *Viator*, 38:1 (2007), 321-45.

<sup>13</sup> See further Rosalynn Voaden, *God’s Words, Women’s Voices: the discernment of spirits in the writing of late-medieval women visionaries* (York, 1999); Lynn Staley (ed), *Book of Margery Kempe* (Kalamazoo, 1996).

Female religious in communities in Germany in the fourteenth century were encouraged to write down their visions, or at least tolerated when they did so; after the monastic reforms of the early fifteenth century, reformers such as Johannes Meyer took care to edit out such writings from manuscripts because of their potentially heretical, and certainly (in his eyes) foolish nature.<sup>14</sup>

Books, then, especially vernacular books, were a site where the lines of orthodoxy and unorthodoxy, and the dangers of the latter, could be altered and redefined.<sup>15</sup> Vernacular body-soul debates in England, France and Germany in the late medieval period are found, as I have indicated, mainly in manuscripts of vernacular devotional literature. This thesis examines the potential destabilising – and restabilising – of ‘orthodox’ discourse within body-soul debates, and how each manuscript context provides clues as to the kind of discourse being created for that manuscript’s readers. I ask, too, how reading the debates may have differed from the writing of them. This is a more complex question than it sounds: to write a debate, that is, copy it, the scribe and/or whoever decided upon the debate’s inclusion in that particular manuscript, must have first read it or heard it being read. Thereafter, he or she had to make decisions about what to alter, what to keep, what to omit and in some cases, what to add. In no two manuscripts are the debates – even where it is the ‘same’ debate – entirely alike, and the alterations made by the scribe/author are in some cases strikingly idiosyncratic, and strikingly appropriate for that particular manuscript.

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<sup>14</sup> Marie-Luise Ehrenschtner, *Bildung der Dominikanerinnen in Süddeutschland vom 13. bis 15. Jahrhundert*. Contubernium – Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 60 (Stuttgart, 2004), p. 266; Werner Williams-Krapp, “Wir lesent daz vil in sölichen sachen swerlich betrogen werdent.” Zur monastischen Rezeption von mystischer Literatur im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert’, in Eva Schlotheuber, Helmut Flachenecker, and Ingrid Gardill (eds), *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen. Religiöse Frauengemeinschaften in Süddeutschland. Beiträge zur interdisziplinären Tagung vom 21. bis 23. September 2005 in Frauenchiemsee* (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 263-78.

<sup>15</sup> See especially Nicholas Watson, ‘Censorship and cultural change in late-medieval England: vernacular theology, the Oxford translation debate, and Arundel’s *Constitutions* of 1409’, *Speculum*, 70 (1995), 822-864. For a recent evaluation, see Katherine Kerby-Fulton, *Books under suspicion: censorship and tolerance of revelatory writing in late medieval England* (Notre Dame, 2006).



### Early Body-Soul Debate Scholarship and its conclusions

The body-soul debate came to be identified as a genre in the nineteenth century, as a result of a general renaissance of interest in medieval languages and their literatures. French and German philologists, and less often their English or American colleagues, undertook astonishing projects of resurrecting medieval manuscripts and their texts, analysing the smallest linguistic details in order to contribute to what at the time was a very limited body of work on, for instance, Anglo-Norman French or the use of Latin sources in early Middle English poetry. Thanks to the work of such scholars as Théodor Batiouchkof, Paul Meyer, Hermann Varnhagen, Thomas Wright and others, a corpus of vernacular body-soul debates became widely known, while their origins in Latin, Greek and Egyptian legend – especially the ‘Visio Philiberti’, the Latin dream vision of Philibert the Hermit – became the subject of much scholarly literature.

In medieval Latin, the body-soul debate genre formed an element of the ‘debate culture’ practised by rhetoricians and their pupils and as such, is found in a number of scholastic poems about the nature of soul and body and which of each should take the greater blame for human sin. These quasi-judicial debates need not have any particular narrative framework and are often debates ‘about’ rather than ‘by’ the body and the soul; the body and soul can be either living or dead when the debate occurs.<sup>16</sup> Among these poems and dialogues, however, one particular story, which came to be known as the ‘Visio Philiberti’ (Vision of St Philibert), seized the imagination of readers and writers in both Latin and the vernacular, and was perhaps the single greatest influence on the second tradition of body-soul debates. In this dramatic – as opposed to purely rhetorical – debate, a narrator (usually said to be the seventh-century hermit saint, Philibert, although later sometimes identified with Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres in the tenth century) tells of how he witnessed an argument take place between body and soul. Waking in the night, he sees a bier which bears the corpse of a sinner who has just died. The soul of the dead man stands next to the

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<sup>16</sup> For a full discussion and list, see Hans Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. Revised by Paul Gerhard Schmid (Hildesheim, Zurich and New York, 1984); see also Conlee, ‘Introduction’; Thomas Reed, *Middle English Debate Poetry and the Aesthetics of Irresolution* (Columbia, 1990).

bier and taunts the body with the loss of its wealth and possessions, before accusing it of being to blame for their imminent damnation. The body replies, in its turn accusing the soul and citing the reasons why the body cannot be blamed, maintaining in particular that its nature means that it cannot take any responsibility for their fate. The poem ends with the appearance of horrible demons who drag the soul away to hell as it cries out for mercy.

There are some 130 manuscripts known to contain variations on the 'Visio Philiberti'; the earliest date from the thirteenth century, although the great majority, according to Walther, are from the fifteenth.<sup>17</sup> And the Latin 'Visio' was not only popular among medieval readers; it was edited several times in the nineteenth century,<sup>18</sup> and has been the subject of a number of illuminating articles and discussions in the twentieth.<sup>19</sup> These contributions make it clear how much medieval vernacular body-soul debates owe to the 'Visio' in their content and overall intention.

But the 'Visio Philiberti' was not the only source for medieval vernacular debates. From at least the tenth century, people were reading and writing very different descriptions of the relationship between body and soul in Old English and Irish. These, too, are concerned with how body and soul relate to each other after death, giving emotional, often deeply

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<sup>17</sup> Walther, pp. 211-14, lists 132 extant manuscripts of the Latin 'Visio', which has three main incipits. Of these seven are assigned to the thirteenth century, 31 to the fourteenth, 61 to the fifteenth and 7 to the sixteenth. Walther, p. 73, notes that 22 of the manuscripts are from England and have the incipit 'Noctis sub silencio' while four English manuscripts omit the first nine lines which make up the narrative framework of the vision, and begin with the debate itself ('Juxta corpus spiritus stetit et ploravit'). Walther, p. 73, does not clarify how many of the manuscripts have the third incipit, 'Vir quidam existerat dudum heremita' (which names Philibert as the visionary) but tells us that the earliest versions of this poem derive from England and begin 'Noctis sub silencio', while on the Continent the latter incipits were more widely used.

<sup>18</sup> The 'Visio Philiberti' was first edited together with two German debates by T.G. Karajan, *Frühlingsgabe* (Vienna, 1839), pp. 85-161, based on the then Vienna Hofbibliothek MS 3121 with the incipit 'Vir quidam existerat dudum heremita'. The poem is better known in the edition by Thomas Wright, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes* (London, 1841), pp. 95-106. Wright names 10 manuscripts besides Karajan's Vienna 3121; his edition is based on a comparison of the latter with London, British Library MS Harley 978, fol. 88v, and begins with the incipit 'Noctis sub silencio'. Another version was edited by E. Du Méril, *Poésies populaires du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847, repr. Geneva, 1977).

<sup>19</sup> See especially Michel-André Bossy, 'Medieval debates of body and soul', *Comparative Literature*, 28 (1976), 144-63; J. Justin Brent, 'From address to debate: generic considerations in the *Debate Between Soul and Body*', *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 32 (2001), 1-19; Robert Ackermann, 'The debate of the body and soul and parochial Christianity', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 541-65.

grieving voices to the soul, and eventually also to the body.<sup>20</sup> In addition, English addresses of the soul predate the earliest extant versions of the ‘Visio Philiberti’, which has led some scholars to postulate the origins of the body-soul debate itself in the British Isles.<sup>21</sup>

From the twelfth century, however, we find fully-fledged debates between body and soul in nearly all medieval European languages from Russia to Spain, which do show the direct influence of the Latin ‘Visio’, including elements such as the taunting of the body by the soul with the horrors of its decomposition, the contrasting of previous wealth and happiness with present misery, the argument of the body that it cannot bear any responsibility for sin, the soul’s argument that it was only the body’s evil lusts that led it into sin and the depiction of the demons and the horrors of Hell that await the soul. While some of these elements are arguably representations of universal human concerns and therefore need not be evidence of any particular source, others are specific; in both the ‘Visio Philiberti’ and numerous vernacular debates, the body refers to itself as a handmaid provided by God to the soul, its ‘mistress’, and again, in the ‘Visio’ and in many vernacular debates, body and soul discuss the likelihood that payments to the Church by friends or relatives can mitigate their terrible fate. And generally, as Brent remarks, ‘the body [in the Latin ‘Visio’]...is a remarkably crafty verbal opponent, trained in the art of

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<sup>20</sup> The Old English ‘Wulfstan’ legend, although probably based on a long version of the *Vision of St Paul*, includes the description of a sinner’s body lamenting its fate, which is not included in its Latin source. Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli. The history of the Apocalypse in Latin, together with nine texts* (London, 1935), pp. 6-12. A history of the Old English addresses of the soul to the body, and edition of one, ‘The Grave’, can be found in Conlee, ‘Introduction’, and pp. 3-5. See also W.S. Mackie (ed), *The Exeter Book Part II* (London, 1934). An Old Irish sermon (Homily XXXVI in the fourteenth-century *Leabhar Breac*) in which a soul accuses its body after death, and the body replies, is printed in Robert Atkinson, *The Passions and the Homilies from Leabhar Breac* (Dublin, 1887), pp. 266 and pp. 507-28; Atkinson does not name his sources. The same Irish homily can also be found in Paris, BNF MS fonds celtique et breton 1, f. 12r-14v and f. 72v-73v); and in a German version in Vienna, ONB MS Cod. 3009, fols.97v-102v. Heningham states that ‘the Latin source homily for the [Old Irish sermon] is describing the death of a sinner and is unusual for the time in that it includes body’s reply.’ Eleanor Kellogg Heningham (ed), *An Early Latin Debate of the Body and Soul Preserved in MS Royal 7 A III in the British Museum* (New York, 1939), pp. 7-8.

<sup>21</sup> Kleinert, pp. 23-30, argued that some of the verses in ‘Un samedi par nuit’ were based on Old English texts. More recently, Palmer also argues that the body-soul genre may have originated in England in the ‘first half of the thirteenth century’. Nigel F. Palmer, ‘Visio Philiberti’, *Verfasserlexikon*, 10:412-3.

dialectic, and, despite its claims to the contrary, vehemently determined to win the debate' – something that its offspring, the Body of the vernacular debates, certainly emulates.<sup>22</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth century, then, when body-soul debates first became a subject of academic debate, scholars were divided: was there a single origin for the body-soul debates, and if so, was this the Latin rhetorical tradition, or – as some scholars hazarded – were the vernacular traditions of Britain and Ireland the source for this strange and dramatic literature? The philologist Théodor Batiouchkof recognised that this conflict about origins drew artificial boundaries between the classical and the vernacular traditions, and set out to answer the questions which this raised. By the 1890s, it was newly possible for an interested scholar to draw on a wide body of research into body-soul debates, and Batiouchkof's expertise in numerous European languages besides Latin and Greek gave him access to a vast range of both modern and ancient texts.<sup>23</sup> The result was the seminal work on medieval body-soul debates, Batiouchkof's 1891 article 'Le débat de l'âme et du corps',<sup>24</sup> in which Batiouchkof showed that the majority of extant vernacular debates contained elements that must have been sourced more or less directly from the Latin 'Visio Philiberti', which, in turn, derived largely from two apocryphal legends: the vision of St Macarius, the desert saint, and the *Vision of St Paul*. Both of these legends included some of the most important elements of medieval body-soul debates: the vision of Macarius includes the motifs of the stinking corpse, the attribution of its stench to its sins, and the soul's unwillingness to leave the body, while the *Vision of St Paul*, in its longer versions,

<sup>22</sup> Brent, 'From address to debate', p. 17.

<sup>23</sup> Batiouchkof was, for example, able to make use of the following works, the majority of which were published in the decade or so before his article, besides working in close collaboration with Paul Meyer, that astonishingly prolific nineteenth-century scholar of medieval manuscripts. Besides the earliest printed editions of the 'Visio Philiberti' cited above, Batiouchkof argued for the significance of the apocryphal text, the *Vision of St Paul*, citing C. Fritsche, 'Die lateinischen Visionen im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts', *Romanische Forschungen*, 2 (1886), 247-79; and Hermann S. Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli. Ein Beitrag zur Visionsliteratur* (Halle, 1885) and *Über die Quellen der mittellenglischen Bearbeitungen der Paulusvision* (Halle, 1883). Editions of some of the vernacular body-soul debates had also recently become available: Wilhelm Linow, *þe desputisoun bitwen þe Body and þe Soule* (Erlangen and Leipzig, 1889, repr. Amsterdam, 1970); Edmund Stengel (ed), 'Desputeison de l'ame [sic] et du corps, ein anglonormannisches Gedicht', *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 4 (1880), 74-80, and 'Nachtrag zu S. 74 ff', in the same volume, 365-68; Hermann Varnhagen, 'Zu den streitgedichten zwischen körper und seele [sic]', *Anglia*, 2 (1879), 225-51, and 'Das altfranzösische Gedicht *Un samedi par nuit*', *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, 1 (1889), 115-86.

<sup>24</sup> T. Batiouchkof, 'Le débat de l'âme et du corps', *Romania*, 20 (1891), 1-55, 513-78.

showed how a good and a bad soul respectively are separated from their bodies and come to judgment.<sup>25</sup> Batiouchkof also indicated the importance of non-Christian sources – especially the Talmud – for the development of body-soul debates;<sup>26</sup> the Babylonian Talmud, unlike the *Vision of St Paul*, included a tradition that soul and body could accuse each other before God, and body-soul legends are also found in the aggadic (or Haggadic) *midrashim*, commentaries on the homiletic and mystical parts of the *Tanakh* (Jewish Bible).<sup>27</sup>

Batiouchkof then argued for a differentiated view of two separate – although linked – traditions for Britain and Ireland on the one hand and the Continent on the other, both having their source in the Latin ‘Visio’ but with other regional influences playing a part. He also noted that Middle English body-soul debates appeared to make use of an unknown source that was neither in the ‘Visio’ nor in earlier English writings. Heningham later argued that this hypothetical source may well have been a Latin dialogue between body and soul extant in a twelfth-century manuscript from Lincolnshire.<sup>28</sup>

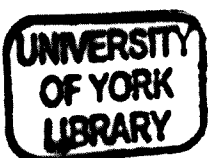
Batiouchkof’s work was of inestimable value for several reasons. Firstly, as noted, he was in a position to draw on a very recent body of research and editions by a number of other writers. Secondly, the nineteenth-century ‘rediscovery’ of apocryphal writings such as the *Testament of Peter* and the *Vision [or Apocalypse] of St Paul* allowed connections to be made between newly edited Anglo-Norman and Middle English body-soul debates and earliest Christian sources, and it was Batiouchkof’s enthralling – if at times exhausting –

<sup>25</sup> For a description of the various versions see Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*; on the shorter versions and medieval vernacular literature, see D.D.R.Owen, *Visions of Hell* (Edinburgh, 1970); Le Goff, *Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 35ff. A general bibliography of English medieval visionary literature is provided in Robert Easting, *Visions of the Other World in Middle English* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>26</sup> Batiouchkof, p. 14, cites Levi, *Parabole, leggende e pensieri raccolti dai libri talmudici dei primi cinque Secoli dell’E.V.* (1861), legend 83, ‘L’ultima ora della vita’; see also Linow, ‘Introduction’, *desputisoun bitwen þe bodi and þe soule*.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel Ehrmann, *Sagen und Legenden aus Talmud und Midrasch* (Vienna, 1880; 2<sup>nd</sup> revised edn, Wiesbaden, 2004), pp. 19, 135; see also Adin Steinsaltz, *The Talmud: A Reference Guide* (London and New York, 1996); *Babylonian Talmud*, ed. and trans. Michael Rodkinson (1918). URL: <http://www.sacred-texts.com/jud/talmud.htm>. Rodkinson’s text is said to be sometimes controversial but his version of the body-soul legend accords with that of Ehrmann.

<sup>28</sup> Heningham, p. 50; the manuscript is London, BL MS Royal 7 A.III, from Bardney Abbey in Lincolnshire and contains other Northern and visionary literature.



demonstration of the extent and nature of these sources that made his work truly groundbreaking. His work also stimulated new debate; Louise Dudley, for example, argued that in addition to apocryphal sources, body-soul debates probably owed much to the traditions of the Middle East and Egypt.<sup>29</sup> (Recent research bears this out, showing that Christian body-soul debates circulated in Syria as early as the sixth century.<sup>30</sup>)

Batiouchkof and Dudley's work, if read with due attention, should have liberated the medieval body-soul debate from a simple categorisation of it as macabre, folkloristic lay Christianity, although such tendencies unfortunately persisted into modern scholarship.<sup>31</sup> By showing the roots of the debates in pre-Christian legend and in early Egyptian Christianity, besides their relationship to apocryphal, Jewish and patristic literature,<sup>32</sup> these scholars gave them an important status as transmitters of early Christian thought that itself had grown out of much earlier Greek and Hebrew philosophies and legends. Indeed one might argue that like other literature often seen as macabre or folkloristic, such as ghost stories, body-soul debates adapted early ideas about the afterlife and the relationship of body and soul in such a way that these could continue to circulate during times when such ideas were not necessarily orthodox.<sup>33</sup> In this way, I argue, although the medieval vernacular debates certainly had an important function as *ars moriendi* literature, they also signify far more than conventional *ars moriendi* texts (such as the 'Disce Mori', for example), voicing – if unconsciously – ideas about body and soul that, had they not been 'Christianised' by their context, would probably otherwise not have been acceptable.

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<sup>29</sup> Louise Dudley, *Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and the Soul* (Baltimore, 1911).

<sup>30</sup> Sebastian Brock, 'The dispute between soul and body; an example of a long-lived Mesopotamian literary genre', *Aram*, 1 (1989), 55-64. Brock judges the poem's style to be that of the sixth century although its earliest extant manuscripts date from the twelfth.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Ackermann, 'Parochial Christianity'. It is also common for scholars to see the debates as located entirely within the *ars moriendi* tradition; cf. Mary Tuck's 'A study of body and soul poetry in Old and Middle English' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Texas, 1979).

<sup>32</sup> On patristic and other traditions of the voyages of the soul both before and after death, see Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà. D'après la littérature latine (ve – xiiiè siècle)* (Rome, 1994).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: the living and the dead in medieval society*. Translated by Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago, 1998); on the macabre and its significance see especially Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: ritual and representation* (London, 1996).

Contexts and codicologies: medieval body-soul debates and their manuscripts

Both the ‘Visio Philiberti’ and the vernacular body-soul debates were immensely popular until the fifteenth century; thereafter, there is little or no evidence for their recurrence except in isolated examples, where they appear almost entirely in the form of the drama.<sup>34</sup> This may suggest that the staged dramatic form came to replace the written dialogue as the most popular way of representing a *psychomachia*, or conflict between personified elements of a single or allegorical entity. On the other hand, perhaps the medieval body-soul debates as we now have them were themselves acted; they certainly could have been had the readers wished.<sup>35</sup> In the medieval context, however, body-soul debates are found overwhelmingly in manuscripts that otherwise contain devotional literature – in both the vernacular and in Latin – and frequently, although not always, this is literature intended for and read by laypeople, quite often specifically women. (By ‘intended for’ I mean either that the author makes specific reference to his or her intentional readership, or that the ownership and provenance of the manuscript allows us to identify its readers either at a period contemporary with production or very soon afterwards).

The most important period for body-soul debates, then, coincided with specific historical changes in Christian practices and views about reading and writing, particularly in relation to women’s devotional reading and to an increasing body of Church legislation about what did and did not constitute heresy. In addition, as noted above, it was the great period of Aristotelian reception, the age when the Church was struggling to assimilate the significance of Aristotelian, Jewish and Islamic ideas about the nature of matter and the soul; it was also the age of the Crusades and of a new availability of apocryphal and

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<sup>34</sup> Tempe E. Allison, ‘On the body and soul legend’, *Modern Language Notes*, 42:2 (1927), 102-106, discusses a fragment of body-soul debate in the late medieval play *The Castle of Perseverance*, but this probably consists only of a short address by the soul to the ‘body’ of Mankind; see Alexandra F. Johnston, *The Castle of Perseverance: a modernisation* (<http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~ajohnsto/cascomp.html>, Accessed 05.03.09), ll. 2856-64. The Jesuit staging of a play on the body-soul theme in 1559 is mentioned by Batiouchkof and cited by P.J.Houle, ‘An unknown version of *The Debate of the Body and the Soul*’, *Aevum*, 53:3 (1979), 356-69.

<sup>35</sup> The 1486 printed edition of the French debate ‘Une grante vision’ includes a form of ‘stage directions’ naming the characters (see Chapter 3). I have seen nothing similar in any manuscript versions of body-soul debates, however.

patristic literature from the Middle East via Latin translations. All of these elements had an influence on body-soul debates.

But this thesis does not set out to reiterate a grand narrative of change, although it is impossible to ignore evidence of transnational changes in vernacular literature and the repressions to which it was subject, as my conclusion will show. Body-soul debates show that changes in reading, writing, belief and illustration were also culturally and geographically specific, manifesting themselves differently in Germany, for example, than in England, despite the connections between these two countries. And these differences and similarities in the debates cannot be understood in isolation from the manuscripts in which they occur. Until now, the ‘Visio Philiberti’ and its vernacular derivatives have been examined almost exclusively as poems in their own right, rather than in terms of their manuscript contexts.<sup>36</sup> Batiouchkof’s approach, which attempted to design a stemma of manuscripts based on hypothetical vernacular source texts from which ‘Un samedi’ and other European body-soul debates were supposed to derive,<sup>37</sup> was especially influential, and had the effect of focusing the reader’s attention on the question of sources and genre, rather than on the individual significance of each vernacular debate.

Medievalists have come in recent years, however, to be aware of the huge importance of specificity in reading, and to focus strongly on what Derek Pearsall recently called ‘material manuscript culture’.<sup>38</sup> In chapters 1-4 of this thesis, I examine specific cultural differences and similarities as revealed in body-soul debates and their manuscripts in England, Northern France and Germany, from the earliest known vernacular debates (c.1200 in Anglo-Norman French), to what is probably the latest extant manuscript version we possess, the debate in the Middle English ‘Carthusian miscellany’, London, BL MS

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<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Hasenohr and Zink’s otherwise helpful article on ‘Débat de l’âme et du corps’, pp. 373-4. (Their assertion that ‘the fourteenth and fifteenth-century debates are unedited except for those that form part of larger works’ is incorrect; the majority are edited, see chapters 1 and 2).

<sup>37</sup> Batiouchkof, *passim*, but especially pp. 514-44.

<sup>38</sup> In Wendy Scase (ed), *Essays in Manuscript Geography: vernacular manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the sixteenth century* (Turnhout, 2007), p. 274.



Additional 37049 (c. 1465?<sup>39</sup>). These chapters are respectively based on each language used (without taking into account at this stage regional differences): German, Anglo-Norman, French and Middle English, focusing on debates and manuscripts that have not previously been discussed in detail by other scholars. This means a difference in approach for each chapter.

The two Anglo-Norman debates, examined in Chapter 1, are an excellent example of the hazards and benefits of nineteenth-century scholarship when studying medieval manuscripts. Both ‘Un samedi par nuit’ and ‘Si cum jeo ju’ were among the earliest vernacular body-soul debates to be edited by scholars, and the poem ‘Un samedi par nuit’, in particular, became the object of much attention, due to its undeniable similarities to the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’ and the fact that it is probably the earliest of the extant vernacular debates (as opposed to addresses) that we possess. Because of this, and also given the difficulties of accessing some of the five manuscripts of ‘Un samedi’ today, I focus mainly on the less well-known, later poem ‘Si cum jeo ju’. Often attributed to the Franciscan Nicole Bozon (*fl.* c.1290-1350?, in Stamford and Oxford), this is a much shorter poem than ‘Un samedi’, but in one of its four manuscripts, contains ten extra stanzas that throw a particularly interesting light on the literary knowledge of its author and thereby on the production and reception of a specifically Anglo-Norman corpus of devotional literature. I argue that both poems must be seen within the context of this relatively small corpus, and that both also deal with social and doctrinal concerns that were in currency in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in dialogue with other Anglo-Norman devotional works. However, while ‘Un samedi’ addresses these issues without answering them, and remains primarily dramatic and emotional in its impact, ‘Si cum jeo ju’, by contrast, sets out to answer these concerns in a deliberately didactic style.

The single known French (as opposed to Provençal<sup>40</sup>) body-soul debate, ‘Une grante vision’ (extant only in fifteenth-century manuscripts, but probably composed in the mid-to-late fourteenth century) is an interesting contrast to the two Anglo-Norman debates. In

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<sup>39</sup> See Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: private devotion and public performance in late medieval England* (Chicago and London, 2007). For further bibliography on MS Add. 37049, see Chapter 4.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Batiouchkof, pp. 535-40.

Chapter 2, I examine an early printed edition of this poem along with two manuscript versions, showing significant differences between them. The poem is – far more than ‘Un samedi’ – clearly a translation of the ‘Visio Philiberti’; but each version makes subtle and not-so-subtle changes to its source, creating finally a vision of the body-soul relationship which is extraordinarily harsh and punitive, veering dangerously close to heresy in its depiction of the body’s inherent sin. I ask why this poem, especially in its printed version, shows a narrower view of body and soul than the Anglo-Norman debates, and analyse the devotional compilation BN Paris MS fonds français 24865 as a means of analysing contemporary intellectual and religious agendas – especially Gersonian influences – that may also have influenced depictions of body and soul in this period. A note here on what I have excluded; although my thesis refers to ‘France’, I do not discuss the Provençal or other possible Southern French body-soul debates. Besides the sheer extent of new information that this would entail – which would render the thesis unreadable – the Southern body-soul debates were written in a context that differed significantly from its Northern counterpart, for instance in its experience of heresy and inquisition,<sup>41</sup> something that can only be touched on here.

The German debates present a number of unique features. Nine German and Middle Dutch versions of the ‘Visio Philiberti’ exist,<sup>42</sup> but there are also four body-soul debates which do not fit into the ‘Visio Philiberti’ pattern.<sup>43</sup> At least three of these four appear to be unique, and two are entirely unedited.<sup>44</sup> This means that we have, as it were, a set of ‘control cases’, where in the majority of cases, a writer has used the body-soul ‘genre’ independently of the ‘Visio Philiberti’ even though the ‘Visio’, judging from its vernacular variations, was widely available throughout Germany and the Low Countries in the medieval period; and such use of the genre appears to be unique. I have therefore chosen to focus on these four ‘different’ debates, partly because of their inherent importance and

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<sup>41</sup> On these differences see especially Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*.

<sup>42</sup> Palmer, ‘Visio Philiberti’. Palmer also lists the poems, editions and manuscripts of the German ‘Visio’ in his *Visio Tnugdali: the German and Dutch translations and their circulation in the later Middle Ages* (Munich and Zurich, 1982), pp. 417-8.

<sup>43</sup> Nigel F. Palmer, ‘Seele und Leib’, *Verfasserlexikon*, 8:1022. The debate in Vienna, ONB MS Cod. 3009 is printed in G. Thiel, ‘Die Todesfigur. Eine Studie ihrer Funktion in der deutschen Literatur vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert’ (unpubl. doctoral dissertation, Univ. Natal, Durban 1989), pp. 132-39, 268-79.

<sup>44</sup> References for editions are given in chapter 3, below.

interest, and partly because the German ‘Visio Philiberti’ debates are generally better-known and have been discussed by Palmer and others.<sup>45</sup> Because these four debates are little known, I have also provided a complete transcription and translation of one, and transcriptions of parts of others where appropriate. I examine how they may represent changes over time in Germany to paradigms of body-soul relationships, and I see these changes as centering on paradigms of ‘inclusion and exclusion’ (Swanson).<sup>46</sup> The uniquely German situation in the fourteenth century permitted the development of a new type of literature about body and soul which, I argue, allowed writers to develop a language of inclusion and (relative) equality; ‘exclusion’, on the other hand, refers to the increasing impossibility of developing this literature further within the context of new forms of censorship and increasing efforts in society to exclude and enclose the real-life bodies of Jews, heretics and religious women.

As the thesis progresses, it will become clear that the four known versions of body-soul debates in Middle English refer thematically and linguistically not only to Anglo-Norman sources (as might be expected) but also to later French and German ones. This is manifested not only in a greater self-consciousness within some texts of their status as mediators of orthodoxy, but also – at least in one case – in cross-cultural transmission of specific texts and illustrative styles. In Chapter 4, I argue that the body-soul debate in the Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, as rewritten in BL MS Additional 37049, is the culmination of the history of the medieval body-soul debate and its reception, presenting the reader with an analysis of the body-soul relationship that leaves the debate genre with little more to do thereafter, its inherent dialogicity subsumed in one authoritative, explanatory gesture.

I do not want to be the author of such a gesture myself, and it will be clear from my Conclusion that there is much further work that remains to be done on this subject. In particular, the transmission of the body-soul debates often remains mysterious, and there has not been time or space here to follow up all the possible ramifications of the

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<sup>45</sup>See Palmer, ‘Visio Philiberti’.

<sup>46</sup> See note 11, above.

ownership, provenance and style of the manuscripts; many of my own conclusions, as will become clear, can take us only as far as speculation about precisely how and why a particular debate circulated in one geographical area, or type of manuscript, and not in others. Equally, transmission of vernacular literature between Britain and the Continent in the medieval period remains too little studied. Yet even if we cannot hope to recover full knowledge about the transmission of specific works or manuscripts, I believe that we can and should examine the possibility of parallel developments in literary autonomy and literary censorship in different European countries. Nicholas Watson's hypotheses about 'vernacular theology' in England have been closely examined and deconstructed by scholars in this country in recent years,<sup>47</sup> and I argue that research in other countries implies similar developments in vernacular theology and its repression elsewhere, as the increasing availability of literature in the fifteenth century brought with it increasing attempts to censor, control and standardise it. A debate on this issue that crossed national boundaries would be of immense value to scholars, by locating research on this subject within a wider European context.

Within that context, it is my hope that this thesis will make body-soul debates, in all their various manifestations, interesting and accessible to other readers, particularly the debates in French and German, which in this country have received too little attention. The Anglo-Norman debates, in particular, appear to have played an important role in medieval literary England and have much to tell us about vernacular reading in the Anglo-Norman period. As a corollary, I hope that this thesis will suggest how important languages are for our understanding of medieval cultures and our ability to access both primary and secondary sources. Above all, however, I hope that this thesis will awaken or rekindle interest in poems and manuscripts that deserve to be read, not only listed in catalogues!

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<sup>47</sup> Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change'.

## CHAPTER 1

### ANGLO-NORMAN AND EARLY FRENCH DEBATES

#### 1.1. Introduction

I start my study with the very earliest known vernacular debates, written in early French (*langue d'oïl*) and 'Anglo-Norman', a description that, despite its imprecision, helps to distinguish the debates circulating between England and Northern France, from those certainly written in the French of Paris or of Southern France at a later date.<sup>1</sup> The description also implies my siting of these body-soul debates within a corpus of Anglo-Norman devotional literature, and we will see that the debates were not only written within the context of that literature but that they often also refer implicitly to it, as that literature implicitly refers to them in return. Anglo-Norman body-soul debates, read in their manuscript contexts, provide a window onto ideas about body and soul circulating in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England and Northern France, ideas which were being translated into a corpus of vernacular devotional literature even before the Fourth Lateran Council (1215).

There are two extant Anglo-Norman debates, both poems: 'Un samedi par nuit'<sup>2</sup> and 'Si cum jeo ju en un lit',<sup>3</sup> found in Anglo-Norman (and some early French) manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries. 'Un samedi' is the earliest known vernacular debate, probably composed in the late twelfth century, while 'Si cum jeo ju', frequently ascribed to the prolific Franciscan author Nicole de Bozon, is probably from the later thirteenth century. In Northern France, we also find a thirteenth-century sophisticated verse debate between the body and soul of a living man

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<sup>1</sup> At least two of the manuscripts in this chapter were written in Northern France (St.-Omer); but Dean argues convincingly in her Introduction, p. 10, for the use of 'Anglo-Norman' as a cultural, rather than a geographical term to describe literature circulating influentially between Normandy, Picardy and England at this period, as Continental authors used Anglo-Norman texts and vice versa. Cf. also Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270-1310* (New York and London, 2007), p. 155, who describes the clerics of St.-Omer as a 'conduit' for the transmission of literature between France and Anglo-Norman England. See also Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'What's in a "Name": the "French" of "England"' in the forthcoming volume *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c.1100-c.1500*.

<sup>2</sup> Dean 692. In this chapter numbers after 'Dean' cite her reference numbers only, not page numbers. Manuscripts and editions of this poem are listed at pp. 36-37 below.

<sup>3</sup> Dean 691. Ed. Stengel, 'Desputeison de l'ame [sic] et du corps'; there is a transcription of one version in J. S. Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana*, 1 (1858, repr. Nendeln, 1965), pp. 587-90.

in Gui de Cambrai's *Barlaam et Josaphat* ('*Barlaam*'),<sup>4</sup> which reveals how Anglo-Norman and Northern French devotional literature at this period shared a number of common ideas about body and soul's relationship, and how both used the 'Visio Philiberti' as a basis for developing a far more complex view of this relationship than that of their Latin sources. *Barlaam* is not the focus of this chapter, but I refer to it at certain points to show similarities, but also differences in the development of body-soul constructions in different linguistic and cultural spaces; this itself reveals the problems inherent in the use of terms such as 'Anglo-Norman' or 'Continental French'.

The extant manuscripts of our two debates, 'Un samedi' and 'Si cum jeo ju', show that significant changes were made to each individual poem by different scribes, articulating highly differentiated ideas about the religion, literature and society of their time. But there are also important differences between the two poems themselves. 'Un samedi' is a poem centred around guilt and blame on the part of both body and soul; each is given a long expository monologue on the faults of the other, before the soul turns to cursing its own fate and God, and the ending holds out little hope for sinners. The question of why human beings were created at all is asked, but not answered. 'Si cum jeo ju', on the other hand, manages to fit a remarkably thorough explanation of penance and redemption into a small space, with the preliminary accusations of body and soul minimised and the body soon taking on the role of pupil to the soul's teacher. This moves the focus to the reader's reaction to the poem and to the significance of his or her own will, as well as that of the hypothetical sinner; changes which may reflect the Church's increasing emphasis throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries on what Matsuda calls the 'intentionality of the sinner', rather than the status of the sin.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the poem's many implicit references to other Anglo-Norman texts and tropes provide what could be described as a meta-commentary on the act of reading devotional literature itself.

## 1.2. 'Un samedi par nuit'

As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, Batiouchkof's 1891 article, 'Le débat de l'âme et du corps', was especially influential in its comparison of 'Un samedi par nuit'

<sup>4</sup> Gui de Cambrai, *Barlaam und Josaphat*. Ed. Hermann Zotenberg and Paul Meyer (Stuttgart, 1864).

<sup>5</sup> Matsuda, 'Introduction', *Death and Purgatory*, pp. 14-15.

with the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’,<sup>6</sup> and the basic structure of ‘Un samedi’ is indeed similar to the ‘Visio’: the narrator is asleep when a vision appears to him of the soul, which proceeds to taunt its corpse and accuse it of spoiling its life and now, of causing its damnation; the body returns the accusations, and cites reasons why it cannot be blamed; eventually, after an exchange of hostile but often rational arguments, demons appear and drag the terrified soul away to hell. It should be noted that this final scene is omitted in two of the five extant versions of ‘Un samedi’.<sup>7</sup>

However, ‘Un samedi’ is a far more complex poem than the ‘Visio’. It is much longer, even in its shortest versions,<sup>8</sup> but more importantly, while the ‘Visio’ contrasts a lament for worldly losses with a rationalistic argument by soul and body respectively about why they are not to blame for their damnation, ‘Un samedi’ uses these themes in order to look at the bigger questions behind them: what is body and soul’s relationship and how does it mirror the human relationship to God? Further, it asks a question that receives only brief attention in the ‘Visio’, but is central to the vernacular debates: if body and soul are both created by God, who should obey whom? What is the hierarchy that governs their relationship?

In the ‘Visio’, it is the body that introduces this issue. The soul has just claimed that it is made in God’s image and given all the noble and rational faculties – well then, says the body, clearly the body must have been created to be the soul’s maidservant:

Sed si, ut praedixeras deus te creavit,  
Et bonam et nobilem sensuque dotavit,  
Et ad suam speciem pariter formavit,  
Ut ancilla fierem tibi me donavit.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore the soul is the mistress (‘domina’, l.26), and must take responsibility for their fate (ll.121-28). Further, if the soul is the one with the God-like attributes, then clearly,

<sup>6</sup> Batiouchkof, *passim*, but especially pp. 514-44.

<sup>7</sup> London, BL MSS Cotton Julian A.VII and Harley 5234.

<sup>8</sup> The ‘Visio’ even in its longest version is only approximately 350 lines long, while the longest version of ‘Un samedi’, in Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 3516, reaches nearly a thousand verses.

<sup>9</sup> ‘Yet if, as you say, God made you/And gave you goodness and nobility along with sense/And made you in His own likeness/He gave me to you in order that I should be your maid’. Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll.117-20.

the body cannot do anything independently of it: ‘Caro sine anima nihil operatur’ (l.129). This quasi-scientific, Aristotelian argument makes no further reference to the metaphysical relationship between body and soul, except insofar as this affects the respective responsibility of each. But it raises the important idea of a (social) hierarchy between body and soul: he (or she) who gives the orders must also bear the responsibility.

In ‘Un samedi’, this idea is all-important, but now located within a specifically feudal context; the body owes the soul not only service, but also fealty. While the soul is the ‘seignor’ (lord), the body is the treacherous servant who has failed in its duties, just as the soul has failed to show enough love and fealty to God. Even in this example, we can see the important role that historical and social context – here the analogy with an Anglo-Norman feudal lord and his servant – play in this twelfth-century perception of body and soul, and how in turn, such a view may have had implications for social practices and *mores*. If body and soul’s hierarchical relationship is God-given and a ‘natural’ law, then the social relationship between master and manservant, husband and wife, king and subject, may be equally ‘natural’ and right. We will see that the poem plays cleverly on these mirrorings between the social and the spiritual world to question (but also to confirm) ideas about social rules.

### 1.2.1. ‘Un samedi’ – manuscripts and editions

‘Un samedi’ is extant in five manuscripts, two now held in the British Library and three in Paris, Brussels and Turin respectively.<sup>10</sup> Dean dates the poem itself to the early twelfth century on the basis of the version in Cotton Julius A.VII, which may have been written at any time between the mid-twelfth and mid-thirteenth century. All four other

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<sup>10</sup> London, British Library MSS Cotton Julius A.VII (fols. 72v-77r) and Harley 5234 (fols. 180r-81r); Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 3516 (fols. 140v-143r); Brussels, Bibl. Royale MS 9411-9426 (fols. 83v-90r); Turin, Royal Library MS LV 32 (fols. 49v-56r). The version in Cotton Julius A.VII is printed by Wright, *Latin Poems*, pp. 321-33. **NB:** The current catalogue description of Julius A.VII is inaccurate; generally, the manuscript has since been repaginated and 2 folios should be added to each number given in the catalogue, but Dean’s folio numbers are correct.



manuscripts date from the thirteenth century except possibly Harley 5234, which is dated to the thirteenth/fourteenth centuries.<sup>11</sup>

Varnhagen's critical edition of 1889 set out four versions side by side with differences in the fifth detailed in footnotes,<sup>12</sup> and included an analysis of the possible manuscript stemma.<sup>13</sup> His edition is especially helpful given the difficulty of identifying one of the manuscripts today;<sup>14</sup> and perhaps especially interesting is his finding that Arsenal 3516, although of Continental origin, contains a number of verses found otherwise only in Cotton and Harley;<sup>15</sup> other items in Arsenal 3516 are listed by Dean as being of Anglo-Norman origin. Harley 5234 is a Benedictine manuscript and Arsenal 3516 and Brussels 9411 were possibly written at the Benedictine monastery at St.-Omer (Picardy), between 1246-67/8.<sup>16</sup> The earlier part of Cotton Julius A.VII, containing 'Un samedi', is probably from a Cistercian or Benedictine house as I discuss below.

Arsenal 3516 was probably designed for a very important patron; its structure and size encompass a vast range of devotional, historical, geographical and philosophical texts. Brussels KBR 9411, written possibly in the same scriptorium at St.-Omer, is also a large illuminated manuscript, but this time focused on worldly literature, poetry and legends; its illustrations are attributed to 'the Maître au menton fuyant and the assistant', who were 'active around Arras, Tournai, Cambrai and Douai'.<sup>17</sup> Harley 5234 is a collection of devotional works almost certainly once owned by St Cuthbert's Benedictine monastery at Durham and gifted to one Thomas Caly, monk, by William

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<sup>11</sup> This dating of Harley 5234 is given both by the British Library catalogue and for example by R. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 396; the illustration at fol. 5r is dated by *British Library Images Online* to 1300.

<sup>12</sup> Varnhagen, 'Das altfranzösische Gedicht *Un samedi par nuit*'.

<sup>13</sup> Varnhagen, *ibid.*, p. 116 notes that 'Si cum jeo ju' in BL MS Arundel 288 incorporates some verses from 'Un samedi'; Dean (691) adds that it contains 'stanzas VI-LVI [of the Selden supra 74 version of Si cum jeo ju] followed by 33 additional ones'. From my own examination, however, the 'Un samedi' verses are interspersed with the 'Si cum jeo ju' verses rather than following them. Cf. Stengel, 'Nachtrag' and my analysis of Arundel 288 below.

<sup>14</sup> No modern identification of the Turin manuscript is possible from Varnhagen's shelfmarks. Varnhagen states, however, that it is extremely closely related to Brussels 9411 and that they probably derive from a common source.

<sup>15</sup> Varnhagen, p. 117, also argues that Arsenal 3516 derives direct from a copy  $\beta$  of a hypothetical original O, while Cotton and Harley both derive from a separate copy  $\gamma$ .

<sup>16</sup> See Claudia Guggenbühl's excellent study of Arsenal 3516, *Recherches sur la composition et la structure du ms Arsenal 3516. Romanica helvetica*, 118 (Basle and Tübingen, 1988) p. 44.

<sup>17</sup> Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders*, p. 184, n.69.

Ebchester (prior 1446-56), possibly at Oxford.<sup>18</sup> It is a book that can interestingly be compared with other possibly monastic collections intended or used for personal/pastoral use, such as Arundel 288 (discussed later in this chapter); it is somewhat in the style of a ‘commonplace book’,<sup>19</sup> and includes works on confession, meditations by Bonaventure and Bernard of Clairvaux, Innocent III’s *De miseria condicionis humanae*, and a book of Honorius of Autun’s *Elucidarium*.<sup>20</sup> There are also a number of pencil drawings (now much faded) in the margins, numerous ‘nota’ signs and a full-page pen and ink drawing of the ‘Arbor Crucifixi’, illustrating Bonaventure’s eponymous work, on fol. 5r (fig. 1).

Cotton Julius A.VII is a composite of a number of items from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries,<sup>21</sup> with connections variously to (mainly Cistercian) monastic houses; it may be from the Cistercian abbey on the Isle of Man, while one item suggests that it may have been written by a scribe formerly at a Cistercian or Benedictine monastery in Worcester,<sup>22</sup> and by the fourteenth century it may have been owned by a London house.<sup>23</sup> It is written entirely in Latin except for ‘Un samedi’ and

<sup>18</sup> On fol. 4v, a pricked but unruled page, appears the inscription: ‘Liber dni’[domini] Thome Caly mo[na]chi eccie’ [ecclesie] Ca[u?]th’ Dunelm’ ex dono ven[erabi]lis patris/Magistri William Ebchestrri p[ri]oris ei[us]dem eccie’ [ecclesie] dunselmensis’ (‘Book of master Thomas Caly monk of the church of St Cuthbert’s at Durham by the gift of the venerable Father Master William Ebchester prior of the same church of Durham’). There is no record of a Thomas Caly at Durham Priory, but one Thomas Caly was prior (or warden) of Durham College, the Oxford cell of the Priory, between 1457-63, and William Ebchester had also previously been prior of that college from 1419-28. See Dobson, *Durham Priory*, and A.J.Piper, ‘The size and shape of Durham’s monastic community 1274-1539’, in Christian D. Liddy and Richard H. Britnell (eds), *North-East England in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 153-72; also ‘Priors of Durham’, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, 6 (1963): Northern Province (York, Carlisle, Durham), pp. 109-11. (URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=32560>. Accessed 16.07.08.); and ‘Houses of Benedictine Monks: Durham College, Oxford’, in *A History of the County of Oxford*, vol. 2 (1907), pp. 68-70 (URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=40176&strquer=caly>. Accessed 16.07.08.)

<sup>19</sup>The scribe, although observing the ruled lines, has apparently tried to cram in as much writing as possible into the ruled space, using very tiny writing. Each work follows directly on from the previous, only distinguished by a rubricated title.

<sup>20</sup> Dean 630.

<sup>21</sup> The first item is datable to 1162 and the second, a chronicle, extends to the papacy of Urban IV (1261-4); other works in the manuscript may also date from the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, with others as late as the fifteenth. Cf. Watson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, I, p. 103. The part containing ‘Un samedi’ is one of the earlier quires.

<sup>22</sup> Besides the *Chronicle* of the Cistercian Abbey at Rushen, Isle of Man (fols. 31r-51r), the only item in the earlier part of the manuscript to refer at all to provenance is at the end of the thirteenth-century chronicle of Popes (fols. 14r-30r) and reads ‘whoever wants to know of [Urban IV’s] victory, should read the schismatic book/book on schism that I wrote at Worcester [ad Wigo[r?]nem]’ (fol. 30r, my translation).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. a poem on the decline of the Cistercian order (not referred to in the 1818 *Catalogue of Harleian Manuscripts*); see Dr. N. Ramsay’s ‘Notes from the Cotton Manuscripts Project 1991-6’ held at the British Library Manuscripts Reading Room, and W. Meyer, ‘Zwei Gedichte zur Geschichte des

its epilogue; however, besides historical chronicles and ‘Un samedi’, both the earlier and later parts of the manuscript contain vision literature.<sup>24</sup> The Cotton manuscript is extremely interesting, firstly because ‘Un samedi’ is the only item in the vernacular to be included within it, although it is from a similar period to the writings that precede and follow it; and secondly, it is remarkable for the fact that the end of ‘Un samedi’ is followed by a unique statement that the damnation of body and soul is the result of the soul’s failure to control the body sufficiently.<sup>25</sup> Until the debate in the fifteenth-century manuscript BL Additional 37049, discussed in chapter 4 of this thesis, this appears to be the only case in which a scribe explicitly interprets a body-soul debate for its readers; but the addition is made in a different style and somewhat different hand to the remainder of the poem, which may indicate that it was added in later on, the scribe finding the original poem perhaps too ambiguous in its ending.

### 1.2.2 ‘Un samedi’ – the poem

My summary and line numbers here are based on Varnhagen’s edition of Paris, Arsenal 3516 (‘P’), the longest and probably oldest version of the poem; I have provided references to the other manuscripts where relevant.

‘Un samedi par nuit’ begins with a first-person narrator who describes how, while he slept, he had a vision of a dead body with a soul next to it ‘en guise d’un enfant’ (‘in the shape of a child’) (l.11). This ‘creature’ is small and as ‘green as a chive’ (13-16). This is a unique description of the soul, which is not described as having a physical appearance in any other body-soul debate; the gender of the soul remains (semantically and practically) unclear.

Without preamble, the soul breaks into accusations. Firstly, the body did not love either the soul or God enough: ‘...ne fesis rien/Qui me tornast a bien/Ne ainc ne gardas foi/Ne uers deu nen uers moi’ (‘you never did anything/that would have made me better/Nor ever did you keep faith/either with God or with me’) (23-26). Four versions

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Cistercienser Ordens’, *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1908), 396-405.

<sup>24</sup> The appearance of the Virgin to a Lincoln cleric, fol. 93r; the ‘Revelation of S. Michael’ in the last and latest part of the manuscript (fol. 125r), dated to 1492 and written in Cornwall.

<sup>25</sup> Wright’s edition, p. 333; Varnhagen’s edition, ll. 819-28.

add: ‘N’onkes n’eus amour/Uiers diu, ton creatour’ (‘And you did not even have love/ towards God, your creator’; my emphasis) (23-28); while in Arsenal 3516 this line, ‘Ne ainc ne gardas foi’, is found later in the poem, following the soul’s accusation that the body is ‘com a traitor/Uers deu ton creatour’ (‘like a traitor/towards God your creator’) (445-8).

This particular trope is not found anywhere in the ‘Visio Philiberti’, and refers to a very significant motif in Anglo-Norman devotional literature. The word ‘creature’ in Anglo-Norman and Old French has a spectrum of meanings. At one end of the spectrum, the word invokes the meaning of the human being (body and soul) as ‘creature’ of a ‘creator’; this belief is seen as distinguishing Christian belief from pagan in the lives of saints, for example.<sup>26</sup> But in ‘Un samedi’, the range of meanings of ‘creature’ may be used to emphasise the instability, both of gender and of social status, that appears to characterise the soul in this poem. Firstly, in Old French, the word ‘creature’ can also have the meaning of servant, someone who owes a service to a lord to whom he is attached.<sup>27</sup> As ‘creatures’ of God the body (and soul) owe love to their Creator; but they also owe service, as to a feudal lord. What is ‘created’ owes service, not only love, and a ‘creature’ is necessarily lower in the hierarchy than the ‘creator’. Yet here, the soul believes that the body owes service to him, implying that it should be to the body what God is to the soul; and because of the body’s failure to fulfil its alleged obligations, it is relegated by the soul to the status of a treacherous, useless servant (ll.171-82, for example). Even further along the spectrum, ‘creature’ in Anglo-Norman can have the association of somebody despicable, even to imply ‘courtesan’ or ‘prostitute’.<sup>28</sup> We will see below how both body and soul in ‘Un samedi’ similarly associate their moral disorder with sexual dishonour, with the soul lamenting that the body, in corrupting it morally, has also turned it from ‘virge pucele’ (virgin maid) into an ‘ancele’ (servant, but also used sometimes in the sense of ‘prostitute’).

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<sup>26</sup> See below in this chapter for a detailed discussion of the *Vie de S. Laurent*.

<sup>27</sup> The AND (1992), like Tobler-Lommatzsch, gives only one meaning for ‘creature’, that of a ‘being created by God’; the *Dictionnaire historique*, however, states that in usage, the word may imply not simply paid service, but the service of one attached to (owned by) a master. The *Dictionnaire historique* also cites Anglo-Norman sources, including the *Vie de S. Marie l’Egyptienne* (Dean 576) as examples of how writing of the Normandy associates the word ‘creature’ with disdain; a version of the *Vie de S. Marie* is found in Arsenal 3516.

<sup>28</sup> *Dictionnaire historique*, *ibid*.

The soul now taunts the body with having lost his treasure of silver and gold (61-62); a commonplace of the body-soul debate and also found in other Anglo-Norman literature that compares material to metaphorical treasure.<sup>29</sup> All five manuscripts also include the 'ubi sunt' motif found in the majority of Latin and English debates: Where is the beautiful tableware that the body was wont to use, where are his good clothes, the purples and silks? Where are his palfreys, given him by kings and counts in return for lies? (69-81).<sup>30</sup> But it is not only material things that have gone; the soul asks: 'Et ou sont ti ami?/Ia sont tot departi' ('And where are your friends?/They are all gone now') (89-90); all the body's friends are damned too. The soul tells the body that no-one will dare to speak to him or want to see him now: 'Qi ost a toi parler/Ne te uoille enconter' (111-12).

The soul then moves on to more threatening topics, reminding the body that he was baptised and received Christian instruction, but that this only had an effect for a little while; the body renounced God though later it will return to Him, or thinks it will ('Damedeu renoias/Ariere repairas', 131-2). (I am not sure whether the soul is being ironic here, saying that the body told itself it would be able to return to God later, or whether the soul is saying that the body is really now having to return to God whether it wants to or not.) The body, says the soul, was a 'dolente creature' (134) who was entirely false. This passage is found only in Arsenal 3516 and Cotton Julius A.VII, which may support the possibility that these have a similar source.

The soul describes himself as a guest who will now suffer eternal damnation thanks to the body's hospitality ('Por ta herbergerie/Pert io durable vie', 161-2), and as a pure virgin or virginal creature ('virge' and 'pucele') whom the body has forced to become an 'ancele', a maidservant (169-70), when in fact it was the body who should have served him:

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. the exchanges between the Emperor and S. Laurent in the *Vie de S. Laurent* (c. 1140-70) (lines 598-608). D.W. Russell (ed), *Vie de Saint Laurent: an Anglo-Norman poem of the twelfth century*. ANTS 34 (London, 1976); also the Anglo-Norman *Vitas Patrum* (c. 1180 ?), e.g. at p. 160 in O'Connor's edition where the writer does not want 'or ne argent' for his work, 'Kar Dex me soldrat mun labur plenerement/[...]al grant jugement'. B.A.O'Connor (ed), *Henri d'Archi, Vitas Patrum* (Washington, 1949).

<sup>30</sup> Part of this passage is reproduced almost exactly in the English poem 'In a bestri' (lines 14-15) and the reference to the 'palefreys' (palfreys) and 'stedes in dester leddes' (chargers) is also found in 'Als I lay in a winteris nyt' (ll. 35-6). Citations from the Middle English poems 'Als I lay in a winteris nyt' and 'In a bestri stode I stude' are taken from Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*.

Ce dist sainte escripture  
 Qe droit fust et mesure,  
 Qe tu seruices moi.  
 Tant con io fui en toi,  
 Io deuoie<sup>31</sup> regner  
 Sor toi et segnorer ;  
 Tu deuoies servir  
 Sos [*manuscript* : *sor*] moi et obeir.  
 Tu fesis a enuers  
 Con fait li maluais sers,  
 Qui traist son segnor  
 Et treit a deshonor.<sup>32</sup> (171-82)

This passage is found in all five manuscripts, showing the importance of the master-servant motif for body-soul debates, but it also underlines the poem's subversion of gender distinctions here. Gender in body-soul debates, although sometimes appearing fixed, can also be changeable. In 'Un samedi', the soul implies that it has been a betrayed master (comparing itself, as above, to a 'seignor' with a 'maluais sers'), a pure but then corrupted virgin maiden, and a maidservant. The soul appears to be complaining that while it should have been 'master', it has been relegated to the status of female maid or even prostitute. The soul's insistence that the body should have served 'under' it and obeyed it (the scribe's mistake, if it is one, in writing 'sor' (over) for 'sos' (under')) in this passage, exacerbates the confusion) seems to suggest that it is the body that should be playing the feminine role, serving its master the soul and subjecting itself to the soul's will, and may even be implying (as in *Barlaam's* use of the word 'ancele'<sup>33</sup>) that the body has forced the soul to prostitute itself for the sake of

<sup>31</sup> Varnhagen, *ibid.*, p. 130, inserts 'deusses' for 'deuoies' in this passage. He also inserts 'sos' for 'sor' at line 178.

<sup>32</sup> 'Holy Scripture says/That it is right and proper/For you to serve me/As soon as I was in you/I was to reign and rule over you/You were to serve/Under me and obey/You did just the opposite/Like a bad serf does/Who betrays his lord/And treats him with dishonour'. Letters in square brackets indicate Varnhagen's insertions; 'con' here should probably read 'com' as in the Brussels manuscript.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Barlaam's* diatribe against clerics who sell first Christ's body, then the Church (Christ's 'bride' or 'espeuse') to the next best bidder: 'Vostre espeuse [qu]jest et bonne et bieie/De la dame faites anciele' ('Your bride, who is both beautiful and good, is turned by you from a lady into a prostitute') (p. 291, ll.26-27). Faith, like the body in 'Un samedi', 'gist en bierre' ('lies on the bier'), and the Church, which

material goods. Body and soul's relationship, then, possibly reflect not only the soul's relationship to God, but also social relationships: feudal loyalty should be maintained, but so also should the obedience of woman to man and the 'segnor's' sexual and social honour. The treachery of the body has therefore not only resulted in the soul's moral destruction and in the loss of its status as 'segnor', but has led to a confusion of the soul's sexual status as well, with not only its moral integrity, but also its sexual honour, betrayed.

But that the soul should care so much for its own honour may also indicate its lack of moral understanding. The importance of this can be seen in contrast to the treatment of the theme in *Barlaam*, where the debate is between a living body and soul. Although clearly this debate was also influenced by the 'Visio Philiberti', here the Latin poem is subverted to posit an entirely different possible outcome. In *Barlaam*, the body says the soul has betrayed it by making it live in ascetic suffering (p. 266, l.32 - 267, ll.1-21), but the soul insists that it is the 'mistress': 'Je sui ta dame et tu mes sers' (p. 267, l.38) and owes this responsibility to the body, because the two of them must be saved together (p. 267, ll.29-30.). The soul then adds, however, that it will never be the body's master, because that honour can belong only to Christ: 'Ja ne serai signor de toi/[...]Se jou de toi signor faisoie/Nostre Signor en perderoie' (p. 268, ll.2-5).<sup>34</sup> By renouncing its ultimate sovereignty, the soul in *Barlaam* shows its innocence compared to the sinning souls of the other body-soul debates.

The complexities of servitude are further underlined in 'Un samedi' by the soul's implication that it 'served' the body by enabling it to do everything it needed to do: 'Io te faisoie aler/Et manger et parler./Io te faisoie oir/Et veoir et sentir' ('I made you walk/And eat and talk/I made you hear/And see and feel') (207-10).<sup>35</sup> But the body will subsequently reverse the soul's accusation to fit its own purposes:

[Body :] Mal me fesis sentir  
Et uanites oir

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has betrayed its 'creator' Jesus for material wealth, is bride ('espeuse'), prostitute ('femme de bordel') and servant/prostitute ('anciele'), all at the same time.

<sup>34</sup> 'I will never be your lord/ [...]If I tried to be your lord/I would lose Our Lord'.

<sup>35</sup> In 'Als I lay in a winteris nyt', however, it is the body who reminds the soul of this. Conlee, lines 273-76.

Et en mal lieu aller  
 Et folie parler  
 Et faire lecherie  
 Et ueior la folie<sup>36</sup> (675-80)

‘Folie’ can also imply sexual immorality, hence this whole passage may be emphasising the sinful carnality of the body. But more importantly, this passage is underlining the difficulties of deciding the important question of who serves whom. It may be the body that makes the soul feel, hear, speak, do and see, but what precisely is felt, heard, spoken, done or seen is decided on by the soul. In addition, by implication, if the body doesn’t have anything to do with the decisions that are made by the soul, why are both body and soul theologically necessary? These questions remain unanswered.

After reminding the body that his widow has probably already taken another husband (289), the soul taunts the body at length with descriptions of what the body now looks and smells like (371-438), finishing up: ‘Car tote creature/Reuient a sa nature’ (439-40). The body is again accused of betraying God, his creator, and we are again made to see the body as a treacherous servant, and a wretched sinner and prisoner (‘chaitif’) (457) in relationship to not only the soul but also God. Both the soul and God take on the role of lord and ‘segnor’; but the soul’s identification with God here may imply its pride as well as reinforcing the common doctrinal advice that the soul should be governor of the body.

The soul now goes on to describe the Day of Judgement in a long passage (459-564), where they will be among those on the left-hand side, destined to be damned (491-8); it curses the body, saying it is all the body’s fault that they will suffer eternal fire (561-4). Far from being irrelevant, as Batiouchkof implies,<sup>37</sup> this passage may be telling us something about the intended meaning of this poem: that both body and soul will be judged, and that both aspects of humanity are to have eternal life, whether in hell or in heaven.

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<sup>36</sup> ‘You made me feel bad things/And hear vain words/And go to bad places/And speak foolishly/And do lecherous things/And see follies [or: sexual immorality]’.

<sup>37</sup> Batiouchkof, p. 520.



It is at this point that the body raises his head and replies that it is going to accuse the soul in its turn, but with the important difference that he refers the outcome to reason's judgement:

Tu m'acuses forment  
 Et io toi ensement.  
 De l'acusacion  
 Soit esgarde raison  
 Et soit jugie a mort  
 Qui en ara le tort !<sup>38</sup> (575-80)

The body rejects the soul's accusation that it is all the body's fault, replying that on the contrary, the soul has only himself to blame (583-88). With further references to 'droit' and 'justice' (590), the body underlines the judicial, rather than purely feudal, context in which he is placing his argument.<sup>39</sup> This is reiterated in the body's reference to precedent: Adam did not sin of his own accord but required a tempter and similarly, the body was led astray by the soul (603-14). The body's identification here with Adam may be a retort to the soul's previous accusations that only the body turned it into an 'ancele', implying that on the contrary, it is the soul who is the direct descendant of Eve, the temptress, and must take responsibility for the evil it has caused.

The body also takes up the soul's references to its own status as 'creature', and replies that it, the body, was the 'fature' of God (614) and neglected God for love of the soul: 'Quant io mon criator/Deguerpi por t'amor' ('While I abandoned my creator for the sake of your love'). The use of the term 'deguerpir', again, has associations with legal situations where it was often used to describe a renouncing or abandoning of territory.<sup>40</sup> In *Barlaam*, Gui de Cambrai may have been thinking of this passage in 'Un samedi' when he introduces the body-soul debate with the verses (describing Josaphat's

<sup>38</sup> 'You accuse me fiercely/And I will accuse you just as strongly/Let Reason be the judge of the accusation/And whoever is wrong/Let him be sentenced to punishment of death!'

<sup>39</sup> The phrase 'Soit esgarde raison' may be a corruption of 'soit en asgard de raison', meaning 'be at the mercy of reason'; 'ester en asgard de' something was a legal term meaning to be 'at the mercy of'. See the AND, 'esgarde, asgarde'. Batiouchkof's description of this entire passage, p. 517, suggests that this is one of the first examples of the use of the 'plait' ('pleading') in French literature.

<sup>40</sup> See the AND. John Baker, *Manual of Law French* (Aldershot, 1990) cites 'deguerpir' from 'guerper' (to abandon, renounce, esp. territory or possessions) in the year books 20-21 and 33-35 (1291-93 and 1303-05) of Edward I.

renunciation of worldly goods), 'Ki tant amast son creator/Ne deguerpist si grant honor' ('Who loved his Creator so much/That he did not renounce such great honour', p. 262, ll. 25-26).

The use of the word 'fature' is ambivalent: the body may be referring to himself thus simply as a 'body', but the word 'fature' can be used theologically in two ways. It can refer to something created by God, but it can also mean the opposite. The Anglo-Norman *Vie de S. Laurent* (c. 1170) uses the difference between 'creature' and 'fature' to distinguish something created by God from something created by man.<sup>41</sup> In 'Un samedi', the word 'fature' may imply the body's own confusion; the body seems to be refusing to recognise the debt it owes as a 'creature' and prefers to think of itself as incapable of subjectivity and hence sin. This is supported by the body's description of himself as an 'instrument', a device that only worked once God and the soul had provided the breath to start it:

Io fui ton estrument  
 Et tu l'aspirement,  
 Que dex i aspira,  
 La ou il nous forma.<sup>42</sup> (637-40)

But with his insistence on the first person plural, the body also reminds the soul that they were both created equally in God's image :

A l'ymage de soi  
 Fist deus et moi et toi  
 Ensemble nos iosta  
 Baptesme nos dona,  
 De la crestiente  
 Fumes regenerere.<sup>43</sup> (641-6)

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Russell, *Vie de S. Laurent*, p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> 'I was your instrument/And you were the breath/That God breathed into it/When he made us'.

<sup>43</sup> 'God made us in his own image/you and me both/He joined us together/Gave us baptism/And we were reborn/Through Christianity'.

and that therefore the guilt belongs to them both equally:

Andoi somes copable,  
 Quant nos por le deable,  
 Deguerpimes l'amor  
 De nostre creator.<sup>44</sup> (669-72)

We have seen above how the body reverses the soul's argument when it comes to the senses, by pointing out that decisions on the use of the senses are all made by the soul; i.e. the body can have no influence on the will. The body uses the same strategy here; repeating almost exactly the same phrases that the soul used earlier, the body shows that all the things they have lost were the result of the soul's immoderate lusts anyway:

Tant estoies esprise  
 De male couoitise,  
 C'onques ne uis mantel  
 Ne precious uaiscel,  
 Tresor d'or e d'argent  
 Ne grant muis de forment,  
 Palefroi ne destrier  
 Ne deliteus mangier  
 Porpre ne ostorin  
 Ne uigne ne molin  
 Ne grant honor el [*en le*] regne  
 Ne nule bele feme,  
 Que tot ne couoitoie[s]  
 Ce que as ex [*a les yeux*] ueoie[s]. (685-98)<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> 'Therefore we are both guilty/When we deserted the love of our creator/For the devil'. Cf. Karajan, 'Visio', ll.194-7, and Batiouchkof, p. 521.

<sup>45</sup> 'You were so greatly possessed/By evil covetousness/That you couldn't even see a cloak/Nor precious goblet/Nor treasure of gold and silver, nor money/Nor a great store of grain [?]/Neither palfreys nor chargers/Nor a delicious meal/Neither purples nor ostorin [an Oriental fabric]/Neither a vineyard nor a mill/Nor a great honour in the kingdom/Nor any beautiful woman/Without immediately wanting/Everything you saw'. This entire passage (Arsenal 642-702) is lacking in Harley 5234.

Nothing bad would ever have happened to him, says the body, if it had not been for the soul (705-10), and as in the Latin 'Visio', the body continues that it would have preferred to have been a tree, a stone, a bird, a fish or any dumb beast that doesn't have to fear eternal damnation (719-36). Humanity's fate and its nature are far worse (733-6): body and soul will be forced to rise again and then suffer the terrible pains of hell for an eternity, with no mercy (737-64). This passage is theologically complex and shows the difficulties of reconciling Church doctrine with a sense of human justice (which the body has previously been keen to cite in its own favour). Body and soul were born better than other creatures, but will suffer a worse fate. Although they will have eternal life, it will be an eternity of pain where no intercession can have any effect.

Again inverting the soul's accusations that the body should have served him, the body points out that the soul was indeed his mistress ('Tu estoies ma domme [*dame*']) because the body bore the burden of all the soul's faults, including the burden of death (770-2). Looking back again to their aristocratic past, the body concludes that the soul is all to blame and calls him (as the soul called the body earlier), 'dolante' (796). The body was like a ship on the ocean that needed a master to bring her in to port but now, even the master will never get back to shore (803-10). This evocative metaphor is echoed in a different context in the Selden supra 74 version of 'Si cum jeo ju', where it is Mary, not the soul, who is asked to keep the speaker safe from the perils of the metaphorical sea,<sup>46</sup> and appears to have been first used in this way in the Anglo-Norman poems; it is not included in the 'Visio Philiberti'.

The body now falls into despair on top of all its other sins. Body and soul are so far from God, it says, that there is no way back from their damned state, for the scales of justice have found them wanting. The emphasis on their situation is probably intended as a warning to the reader:

Iamais por nul chasti  
 Ne serons mais ami.  
 De la deu amistie

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<sup>46</sup> Stengel's edition, stanza 62.

Sommes si esloignie,  
 Que iamais ne l'aurom,  
 N'a lui repaieron [*sic*],  
 N'i a mais recourance.  
 Uenuie est la balance.  
 Plus pesoit auarice  
 Que uertu ne iustice.  
 Par lui sommes [u]encus  
 [Et] mort [et] confondus.  
 Nostre dampnation  
 Ne puet auoir pardon.<sup>47</sup> (876-88)

This leads up to the body's next point, which is that once damned, no amount of money spent by relatives on masses and prayers will change God's mind; not even recluses and hermits will be able to help them (895-8). Although this point is found in the 'Visio Philiberti' and the majority of vernacular body-soul debates, here it is given an especially emotive rendering. The poet stresses not only the impossibility of changing God's mind, but also the terror this brings to body and soul, who are so far away from God that nothing can now bring them back. The reference in 'Un samedi' to hermits and recluses also appears to be unique; this may show a particular interest in the kind of anchoritic spirituality that was gaining in social significance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The body now uses the soul's motif of treasure, silver and gold, but now to remind the soul and the reader that however great earthly treasures, they cannot buy one single soul from the Devil (919-24). The body concludes by reminding the soul and the reader that once the soul departs, the body will no longer be able to speak (946-54). By doing this, the body is not 'stating the obvious': it is refuting its own subjectivity absolutely and thus, by implication, its ability to sin independently of the soul, a vitally

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<sup>47</sup> 'Never, not through any chastisement/Will we ever be loved./We are so far/From the friendship of God/That we will never have him/Nor ever return to him again/There is no redress/The scales of justice are come./Avarice weighs more/Than virtue or justice./It's his fault we are defeated/And dead and lost./Our condemnation/Can have no pardon'. 'Dampner' means to condemn in a legal sense as well as 'to damn' and here, in the context of 'pardon' seems to make more sense when the translation takes account of both meanings.

important point in its argument. (This is the point at which Cotton and Harley end the debate, and Cotton adds its unique ‘moral’.) It then lies down and sighs, ‘com hom qui ueut morir’, the writer adds, in a touch of irony or forgetfulness that the body is already dead (omitted in the Brussels manuscript).

The poem now describes the sufferings of the soul: the crux of the whole argument, and perhaps of the body-soul debate as such. The soul’s anguish is not grief at losing the body, but rage that the body should have been created at all. Railing at God and Nature, the soul states that nature itself must be bad: ‘Maluaise est la nature’ (989)! Why did God create the soul, if He now cannot heal it from its sins?<sup>48</sup> Who carries final responsibility for the damnation of a soul? How can God, who is all-powerful and sent Jesus His son to save us, now stand back and do nothing? If God loves His creation, how can He damn it?

Other contemporary Anglo-Norman literature shows how important these questions were for Christians at this period. The *Vie de Saint Laurent*, written in England c. 1140-70 probably for a woman,<sup>49</sup> contains several elements which link it closely to body-soul debates.<sup>50</sup> Most importantly, it deals centrally with the question of how God relates to humankind by contrasting this with how pagans ‘relate’ to their wooden idols. The discussion on ‘creature’ as opposed to ‘fature’ at ll. 444-515, unique to the Anglo-Norman version of the legend,<sup>51</sup> clearly highlights the status of the body in Anglo-Norman devotional texts, as the Emperor’s relationship to his idols is revealed as essentially different to Laurent’s relationship with God.

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<sup>48</sup> ‘Pere, tu me crias/Et puis me reformas./Por coi fis creature,/Quant de lui nen as cure?’ (991-4).

<sup>49</sup> Russell, *Vie de saint Laurent*, pp. 25-26. Hasenohr and Zink (p. 1334) claim female authorship of the poem, but the text is clear that the probable intended reader is described at lines 75-6 ‘Ceste ovre faz que ci commenz/Por une ancele saint Lorenz’ (my emphasis), although the poem may also have been written by one.

<sup>50</sup> For instance, the poet uses the ‘ubi sunt’ motif to reflect on how all earthly glories pass away (ll. 22-23, 38-42); a debate forms the central part of the poem; a rhetorical distinction is made between ‘tresor’, ‘or’ and ‘argent’ as material goods and as spiritual riches (ll. 598-608); and the date of St. Laurent’s feast day, 10<sup>th</sup> August, is found in later medieval writings as a date on which visions may occur, for instance in the Middle English ‘Revelations of purgatory’(cf. Erler, ‘“A Revelation of Purgatory”’), and the version of *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in BL MS Additional 34193 (‘Als I lay in a seint lawrence nyt’).

<sup>51</sup> Russell, p. 27.

The distinction between *faiture* and *creature* is made by Laurent in the context of his attack on the idolatry of the Romans. The god they worship, he says, is only a ‘faiture’, a material object made by men, while we are all ‘creatures’, created by God, to whom we therefore owe love and obedience:

Saint Lorenz dit als mescreable [*i.e., to the Emperor*];

‘Ohi, tu, membre de deable,

A quei dis tu que crestien

Aort deable cumme paen?

Nen est lei que crestien aort

Tel deu qui est mu et sort,

Car d’or sunt, d’argent et d’araim,

Et si sunt sort, mu, et vain.

Sainte Escripiture idles les nunme

Car faiture sunt de main d’unme ;

Or soit sus vous le jugement ;

Quel doit aorer tote gent,

Ou ceo qu’om fait ou cil quis fait ?

Decius dit : ‘Ceo comment vait ?

Ki est qui fait, et k’om fait qui ?’

Lorenz dit : ‘Ton deu que vei ici

Est ceo qu’om fait, et ne fait rien,

Car il ne fait ne mal ne bien.

Il est fait cumme faiture ;

Ceo que fait est, la creature

Ne doit par raison aorer,

Ne son Creator aviler.

Car quent ceo que l’en fait aore,

Sei avile, car creature

Est plus haute que faiture<sup>52</sup> (ll. 429-453; my emphasis)

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<sup>52</sup> ‘Saint Lawrence said to the wretched one/ ‘Alas, you limb of the Devil/How can you say that a Christian/Adores idols like a pagan?/ No Christian would ever adore one of those gods/ that is deaf and dumb/They are made of gold, silver and brass,/And they are deaf, dumb and vain./ Holy Scripture names them idols/Because they are objects, made by man’s hands./You can judge for yourself./What should people worship?/That which makes man, or that which man makes?/Decius said: ‘How should that

I have described the spectrum of meanings associated in Anglo-Norman with the terms ‘creature’ and ‘fature’, and we have seen that in ‘Un samedi’, human beings are not merely ‘fatures’ (although the body refers to itself once as such, possibly thereby revealing one of the reasons for its damnation) and hence have a special duty to love God and serve Him. ‘Creature est plus haute qe fature’ in *Laurent* expresses an important theological point – picked up later in the body-soul debates through their reiteration that material wealth cannot buy salvation – that the Christian religion should be based on a non-material relationship between Creator and created. ‘Un samedi’ places this question of creation and the relationship of ‘creature’ to ‘creator’ at its heart. Through depicting the relationship of soul and body as a reflection of what the natural order should be, and showing the disastrous effects when this natural order is undermined, it also shows the reader how failure of the body and soul to understand their relationship to each other reflects their failure to understand their relationship to God. The scribe of the epilogue in Cotton Julius A.VII goes even further, and tells the reader explicitly that damnation is a result of failure to control the body and its lusts.

But ‘Un samedi’ also shows the terrible sense of injustice that prevails among those who have expected mercy and are faced with damnation. How can God, faced with the sufferings of His ‘creatures’, remain cold? It was left to later writers to try to explain this doctrine. Intellectually speaking, free will has to mean that some humans choose evil over good; but ‘Un samedi’ explores the emotional impact of this doctrine, showing that for readers, it was perhaps by no means clear that the will could also have saved body and soul, given their apparently hopeless situation. In ‘Si cum jeo ju’, however, perhaps a century later, the poet places the will (‘la volonté’) at the heart of his didactic explanation of how damnation is possible, and how it is not really at odds with God’s love. I now turn to this poem to examine how the point is made, and what else it tells us about belief – and literature – in the later Anglo-Norman period.

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be?/Who is it that makes, and what is it that man makes?/Lawrence said, ‘Your god, that you see here/Is the thing made by man, and it doesn’t make anything itself/It makes neither good nor evil./It is made, a made thing [or: ‘body’]./Reason tells us that a creature [i.e. a created being]/should not worship something that is made [by hands]/or despise its Creator./It is the thing that is made/that should be despised/For a created being is higher than a made thing’.



### 1.3 'Si cum jeo ju en un lit' / 'Le mois de mai'<sup>53</sup>

'Si cum jeo ju' is a very different poem from 'Un samedi'. Structured in tail-rhyme form (*aabccb*) in a varying number of stanzas, it was traditionally attributed to Nicole Bozon, the prolific Franciscan writer of Stamford, Oxford and (probably) Nottinghamshire, who composed numerous popular poems and sermons in Anglo-Norman in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.<sup>54</sup> There is no concrete evidence for or contemporary attribution of authorship, although stylistic and thematic similarities in Additional 46919, a manuscript of 'Si cum jeo ju' that is also one of the most important sources for Bozon's work, support the theory of his authorship to some extent.<sup>55</sup> Like other works by Bozon, 'Si cum jeo ju' stresses the importance of penance and of free will in deciding body and soul's eventual fate; it differs in this from the extreme bleakness of 'Un samedi par nuit', and also makes much more interesting and lively use of the dialogue form.<sup>56</sup>

The poem is extant in four manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden supra 74 (fols. 7r-8v), and London, British Library MSS Additional 46919 (fols. 76r-77v), Arundel 288 (fols. 123r-126r) and Cotton Vitellius C.VIII (fol. 57r).<sup>57</sup> All four extant versions span a period from around the turn of the century (c.1300, Selden supra 74) to the mid-fourteenth century (Arundel 288).<sup>58</sup> The poem differs in length in each manuscript but is at its longest in Arundel 288 (366 lines), which mixes tail-rhyme verses from 'Si cum jeo ju' with rhyming couplets based on 'Un samedi'.

<sup>53</sup> Dean 691. The second incipit is found in Selden supra 74 only where the main body of the poem also begins 'Si cum jeo contrai' rather than 'Si cum jeo ju'.

<sup>54</sup> Paul Meyer, 'Notice et extraits du MS. 8336 de la Bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillips à Cheltenham', *Romania*, 13 (1884), 497-541. Dean only notes the attribution without supporting it. On Bozon, see Hasenohr and Zink, 1069-1071, for bibliographical information and a short *vita*.

<sup>55</sup> See Appendix 1.1; D.L. Jeffrey and B.J. Levy, *The Anglo-Norman Lyric: an anthology* (Toronto, 1990) ('Anthology'), which includes a number of Bozon's poems from this manuscript; also Brian J. Levy, *Nine Verse Sermons of Nicholas Bozon: the art of an Anglo-Norman poet and preacher* (Oxford, 1981).

<sup>56</sup> In all five manuscripts of 'Un samedi', the dialogue is almost in the form of two monologues, especially as the soul speaks for longer uninterrupted (Arsenal 3516: 564 lines; the body then takes over, speaking for a further 390 lines).

<sup>57</sup> The current official catalogue description for Cotton Vitellius dates back to 1808 and is now inaccurate, as the manuscript has since undergone repair and has been restructured. Cf. Ramsay, 'Notes from the Cotton Manuscripts Project 1991-6' (BL Dept. of Western Manuscripts Reading Room).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Dean 691.

Stengel's 1880 edition is the most recent, and is based on the unique version in Selden supra 74, which contains five stanzas respectively at the beginning and end of the poem not found in any other version, and in which the main body of the poem begins 'Si cum jeo contrai' ('As I will relate') rather than 'Si cum jeo ju' ('As I lay').<sup>59</sup> In two manuscripts (Arundel 288 and Cotton Vitellius C.VIII), 'Si cum jeo ju' has been added in after the original manuscript was complete, while Additional 46919 is a well-known compendium that would be impossible for me to examine in detail here. While all the manuscripts contain fascinating evidence about the poem, and the probably Franciscan context of its production and readership, I therefore focus here particularly on Selden supra 74, which is not only unique, but possibly also the oldest extant version of 'Si cum jeo ju'. In addition, the poem seems to have been chosen and possibly adapted deliberately by the compiler/scribe to accompany the other works in the manuscript; this probable intention on the part of the compiler provides a fascinating insight into the poem's function and status within a bigger corpus of Anglo-Norman literature.

### 1.3.1 'Le mois de mai'/'Si cum jeo contrai' in Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74

The author of 'Si cum jeo contrai', the version of 'Si cum jeo ju' that appears in Selden supra 74, appears to have been not only a gifted poet, but a sophisticated reader of other Anglo-Norman verse. The poem's additional, unique stanzas contextualise the poem within a prayer to Mary for intercession; but also place the body-soul debate itself within the framework of a meeting between a younger and an older man. The Marian context and the meeting between age and youth link the poem in Selden supra 74 to other writings in the manuscript, but also to other devotional writings of the period, obliquely referencing the *chanson d'aventure* genre and allegorical debate literature, and arguably referring to poems by Bozon and Chardri's *Le Petit Plet*.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Stengel's stanzaic format has no basis in the manuscripts, where the poem is written as a continuous whole, with the tail-rhymes both separated from and linked to their preceding two lines by using a bracket. I use his stanza numbers here, however, for ease of reference.

<sup>60</sup> Edited by Brian Merrilees, *Le Petit Plet*. ANTS 20 (Oxford, 1970).

Transcription of the initial five stanzas of 'Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju' in Selden  
supra 74<sup>61</sup>

- 1 Le mois de mai en vn beau pre  
Ou de flurs auoit plente  
- me solasai –
- 3 mes flur ne trouai qe me plut  
Autre querir fut mon dedut  
- auant alai –
- 5 Apres en vn petit erber  
pur les beaux flurs espier  
- me reposai –
- 7 Vn homm meur de grant age  
Simple sobre qointer [*sic*] sage  
- jeo trouai –
- 9 Il me dit quei aletz qerant  
Et jeo respondi maintenant  
- vn beau flur –
- 11 Et il me dit ben douz amis  
La douce dame de parais  
- vous doi'nt socur –
- 13 Et puis tret hors de son sein  
Et me bailla par sa main  
- vne Rose –
- 15 En qi trouai mult bien espuit  
Entre le corps & le esprit  
- bele chose –
- 17 qe est vn altercacion  
funde par mult grant reson  
- diuersement -
- 19 le corps del alme qui fu seueretz  
Durement fu chalangetz

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<sup>61</sup> Based on both my own transcription and Stengel's edition.

- oiez comment –

21 Si cum jeo cuntraï, en vn lit  
 Oi la vois de vn esprit  
 - qi fu dampne –  
 pleder forment adsun corps  
 qe jeut au cimitier de hors  
 - en terre – .<sup>62</sup>

The poem's opening here is that of a *chanson d'aventure*, with the young man's search for a lover redirected by the old man towards the Virgin. The Marian symbolism is seen in the fact that this is Mary's month, May, and that it is Mary's flower, the rose, within which the debate appears to take place: 'Et me bailla par sa main/Une rose/En qui trovai mult bien espuit/Bele chose:/Qe est un'altercacion/Funde par mult grant reson' (stanzas 4-5 after Stengel, 'And he offered me/A rose/Within which I found well explained /A wonderful thing/An altercation/Based on great reason'). Like the *chanson d'aventure* reference, the phrase 'bele chose' – used notoriously by the Wife of Bath in Chaucer to refer to the best part of her anatomy – may be used here by the poet in a similar way, again disconcerting the reader by a worldly reference that turns into a spiritual one.

Although the poet then goes on to repeat the usual beginning to the poem (the narrator is in bed, where he hears the voices of body and soul), the first placing of the debate within a rose leaves a far greater impression and creates a powerful allegorical and allusive framework, implying the possibility of mercy – but also the possibility of reading the debate on different levels – even before the debate itself begins. The reader herself is so to speak 'within' the rose as she reads the debate proper, contained by the references to Mary, who can protect her from sin if she accepts its message. The final

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<sup>62</sup> 'In the month of May, in a beautiful meadow full of flowers, I sought repose [from care]. But I could find no flower to please me, and so decided to look for another before leaving. Afterwards I rested in a little garden to search out beautiful flowers. I found [*lit. met*] an old man of great age and simple, sober, astute and wise. He asked me, 'What are you looking for?' and I answered, 'A beautiful flower'. So he said to me, 'Good, gentle friend; may our sweet lady of paradise help you'. And then he took from his breast a rose and offered it to me. Within it, I saw well explained [*or seen*]/a marvellous thing/: a conflict between the body and the spirit, which was a cunning argument based on reason. The body had been separated from the soul, and was being faced with a stiff challenge: hear how it was done! As I will relate, I was lying in my bed when I heard the voice of a damned spirit speaking violently to his body, that was lying in the ground in the graveyard outside', etc.

stanza explicitly tells the reader that reading the poem can itself be a form of penance; the reader, by ‘inscribing’ the poem on his/her heart, can gain an indulgence worth 40 days from the Church. The most important question here, therefore, is not whether it is the soul or the body that ‘wins’ – it is the question of the reader’s relationship to the poem.

Following the five-stanza prologue, at first the debate follows a similar pattern to ‘Un samedi’, with soul and body discussing who is to blame and who should have the governance of the will. But ‘Si cum jeo ju’ goes on to develop quite a different style and treatment of the subject matter. The dialogue in ‘Si cum jeo ju’ is of a more lively kind than in ‘Un samedi par nuit’, with a frequent change between voices, not always concurrent with a change of ‘stanza’. Indeed, the soul manages only five stanzas of accusation before the body interrupts: ‘Quei estes vous que apertement/La vie qe menai folement/Avetz descrit?/ Este vous mesmes cel esprit/A qui ceo corps quant vesquit/Fu marie?/Oil, fet l’autre, jeo le sui’ (stanzas 12-13) (‘Who are you, who so boldly describe the life of folly I led/Are you yourself that spirit/To whom this body, while it lived/Was married?/Yes, said the other, I am’). The body’s question here anticipates a pattern; its interjections, especially towards the end, are increasingly questions of a theological or rhetorical type, while the soul’s answers take up more room as they increasingly fulfil a didactic function for the reader.<sup>63</sup>

In these first exchanges, then, body and soul are doing two things. Firstly, they establish that they belong together and were closely linked – ‘married’, even. In addition, the body here is already voicing important theological questions, which the soul attempts to answer. Neither animosity, then, nor fear, are the main preoccupations of the two parties, although these do play a part in the poem. Instead, the rhetorical link which binds the two main aspects of the poem – the didactic use of dialogue, and the dramatic effect of body and soul’s situation – is the emphasis on the will (‘volunte’) and intent (‘purpos’) of the sinner. While in ‘Un samedi par nuit’ the dramatic effect is gained by the emotional invective used by the soul to the body and the judicial sharpness used by the body to the soul, and the question of blame is left unanswered (except in Cotton Julius A.VII), here the poet’s intention appears to be a reminder to

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<sup>63</sup> Stanzas 27-37 provide a particularly good example of this.

the reader of the role played by the will in human behaviour, and hence the necessity of penitence before death.

The word 'volunte' (will) is used four times in the poem, twice by the body and twice by the soul. Each time, this is either at the beginning or end of a stanza, adding to the word's emphasis. This distinctive stress on the centrality of the will is unusual: although all hostile body-soul debates implicitly refer to the will by arguments about the responsibility for sin, no other makes the question explicit in this manner.

The body uses 'volunte' first when asking the soul why it submitted to the body's will, when it was after all the soul's job to guide it: 'Pur quoi dunkes assentites/A ma folie et suffrites/Ma volunte?' ('Why did you consent/to my folly and suffer/ my will?'). The soul replies that the body's 'malveis charnel delit' ('evil carnal pleasure') was too strong for it; the body scorns this reply, saying, 'Vous dussetz donk par reson bele/Moi chastier//Et refréindre ma volunte' (stanzas 18-20) ('You should have chastised me/by using reason/And restrained my will').

The soul uses the word 'volunte' in a high-profile position again some twenty stanzas later. Having explained to the body that God will save those who repent, he adds that:

Deu ne se prent mie tut al fet  
 Mes il regart ou plante est  
 La volunte.

Quant volunte ne fuist mal,  
 Deu fet peine per ingal  
 Al pecche;  
 Kar ele san fin mal vodreit,  
 Si Deu par mort ne defeat  
 Sa maveste.<sup>64</sup> (37-38)

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<sup>64</sup> 'God doesn't just pay attention to the deed/But looks at the position of the will./When the will was not evil/God hands out a punishment equal/ To the sin./Because it [the will] would go on desiring evil without end/If God did not defeat its wickedness/Through death'.

Here the syntax displays an interesting confusion. The ‘ele’ (which due to the gender of the nouns in this stanza can only refer to the will) comes, confusingly, immediately after the ‘pecche’. Although the poet appears to be saying – or making the soul say – that it is the will (‘la volunte’) that wants evil without end, raising interesting questions about the nature of free will, he or she seems thereby almost to contradict the first line of the stanza that refers to the will as not intending harm. Death is here described as a form of mercy, without which the will would remain bound to original sin; but the reader (and probably writer) would probably also be familiar with the topos that death is a result of original sin, not its solution. Does the somewhat confused structure of this sentence reflect some theological ambivalence on the part of the poet, or indeed of the ‘character’ of the soul?

The body goes on to ask various questions regarding hell and the soul answers, again with some ambiguity. At stanza 26, the soul has already warned the body, ‘Temps de merci est ja passe/Temps de vengeance presente/A vous et moi’ (‘The time for mercy is past/The time of vengeance is coming/For you and me’), and that the time of pain will seem to go on for ever (stanza 33); but does it really last eternally? If a sinner repents of his sin, then God will save him (stanza 35) but anyone who doesn’t even intend (‘purpos’) to repent will inevitably be damned (‘La verite esprove ai/En vous et mei’ – ‘And we’re proving it now’, says the soul). It is here that the soul explains that even if one remained a sinner throughout one’s life, God would still take the will into account, not just the deed.

But what about pity? the body asks. Won’t God the all-merciful have pity on the damned? (‘E quele pite [...] /Moustre Deu a cheitifs mors/Qe sunt dampné?’) The soul, surprisingly, answers:

Il escou[r]te lour delit  
 E par taunt  
 La duresce de peine abrege  
 Serra par sa grant pite  
 Merci grant.

D'autre part il[s] aveont  
 Meindre peine q'il[s] ne unt  
 Deservi.  
 Kar tute chose q'est crie  
 Surmunte dampnade  
 La merci.<sup>65</sup>

The body is not reassured, however: 'N'est pas pite, ceo me semble' ('That doesn't seem much like pity to me'). And indeed, the soul explicitly rejects the idea later on that Christ's mercy could extend as far as Hell; the body's desperate question 'Ou est donke Jesus Crist [in hell]/[...]Et la merci qe il premist?' is answered chillingly, 'Ne pas la.../Mes dehors' (49) ('So where is Jesus Christ/And the mercy he promised?'... 'Not there.../But outside').

If mercy is no use, what about money? the body wonders. Can riches or 'dignete' on earth makes any difference to damnation? Not at all, says the soul; God's mercy is great, but the fates of those damned cannot be changed – not even if every drop of the sea was a priest to sing Mass. At the knowledge that once damned, nothing can help him, the body lets out a cry of horror. The next four stanzas are spent exclaiming over the pains to come, finally regretting that unlike the living, he can no longer repent. Stanzas 56-57 force this point home to the reader as well:

Alas, qe ne usse mal lesse  
 E ma vie amende,  
 Quant temps avoi,  
 Jeo fusse ore en ciel a glorie  
 Ou en voie de purgatorie !  
 Ceo dit la foi.

Vous qe temps avetz de mercy  
 Tant cum estes al secle icy,  
 Ne lessetz mie

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<sup>65</sup> 'He lessens their crime, and their punishment will be shortened proportionally. Great mercy! And also they will have less pain than they deserve, because God's mercy is greater than any created thing'.



Le temps cure en nunchaler,  
 Einz devetz par temps amender  
 Vostre vie.<sup>66</sup>

The reader is further reminded that death can come without warning, and this leads into prayers to the Virgin to intercede for us all, for none will perish if she protects them; repenting here on Earth will lead to 'joie [...] pardurable'.

At this point, where 'Si cum jeo ju' in Arundel 288 (and almost certainly in Cotton Vitellius if it were not damaged) ends, Selden supra 74 again adds five stanzas. These are not a conventional or superfluous epilogue, but reflect the first five stanzas of the prologue while also referring back also to the body-soul debate itself. Prayers to Mary comparing her to the master that guides the ship home refer to her 'droit gwiement' (right government/steering) of the ship; this contrasts with the soul's inability to 'guier' (guide/govern) the body in stanzas 18 and 23. Those that read the poem are offered the joys of heaven 'douce plus qe mel' ('sweeter than honey'), and sanctifying the use of the body-soul debate on a more official plane, the poet adds 'Vous qe avetz oi ceo livre/Le pardoun poetz escrire/En vostre queor/Qe amonte XL jours/Done del evesque dotours/A Wesmoiter' ('You who have read this book/May write the pardon/Within your heart/Which is worth 40 days/And was given by the Bishop of Tours/At Westminster'). This is not found in any of the other three extant versions of 'Si cum jeo ju'. Possibly, the reference to the 'Bishop of Tours' may even be to Hildebert of Tours (c. 1055-1133), who was the author of a Latin body-soul debate, *De querimonia et conflictu spiritus et carnis*.<sup>67</sup>

'Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju' in Selden supra 74 hence has a number of features that indicate carefully considered choices on the author's part. This version of the poem makes the most explicit references to the reader and what he or she can expect from reading the poem. It also maintains a symmetry of meaning and metaphor that allow

<sup>66</sup> 'Alas, that I didn't leave off doing evil/and didn't amend my ways/while I still had time/[If I had] I would now be in heaven, or on purgatory's path!/That's what faith tells us./You who still have merciful time/While you are here on earth/Don't neglect the time you have to heal your sin/Make sure you sort your life out/in good time'.

<sup>67</sup> Hildebert of Tours, *De querimonia et conflictu spiritus et carnis*. Migne, PL 171, 989; Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, p. 75. Hildebert's main area of influence was in Normandy and Anjou, and he also spent a year in England as a prisoner of William II in 1099-1100.

the reader to refer back to his or her own experiences of reading, for instance, romance literature or other poems, such as its positioning of Marian next to secular symbolism. Such a blurring of what for the modern reader are boundaries between religion and romance is common in medieval literature. Of interest to us here is: why in this particular manuscript?

### 1.3.1.1 Selden supra 74 - the manuscript

Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74 is a fairly small (225 x 110 mm) parchment manuscript, almost certainly written in England.<sup>68</sup> It contains several works that might be classified generally as 'devotional', but perhaps more importantly, a number of these also have a practical, social function. Oschinsky divided the manuscript into two 'parts' (fols. 1r-43v, fols. 44r-end);<sup>69</sup> but six scribes in total appear to have worked on the manuscript, and the quire structure and hands suggest that four separate 'booklets' may originally have been created, which, however, were probably put together at a very early stage.<sup>70</sup>

In particular, fols. 1r-43v, a compilation of several well-known Anglo-Norman and Latin devotional and 'practical' texts, appears to have all been written by a single scribe, whose hand probably also appears at the end of the third 'booklet' on fol. 59v. The first eight folios, the first 'booklet', contain the practical/didactic texts probably designed for those concerned with management of an estate, Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz de langage*<sup>71</sup> and Walter of Henley's 'Husebondrie',<sup>72</sup> but also the body-soul debate 'Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju'. Fols. 9r-43v contain, among other Anglo-Norman works, Bozon's *Proverbes de bon enseignement* and several devotional poems of which one, 'Urbain le Courtois' is also about the education of young men, and others are by a monk, 'Simon of Carmarthen', whose religious imagery and themes echo those

<sup>68</sup> A full description of the manuscript can be found in Appendix 1.2.

<sup>69</sup> Dorothea Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises of Estate Management and Accounting*. (Oxford, 1971), p. 44.

<sup>70</sup> I am grateful to Dr Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library for carrying out an examination and suggesting that the quires can be broken down as fols. 1-8 (one quire), fols. 9-43 (five quires), fols. 43-59 (two quires), 60-125 (six quires).

<sup>71</sup> Walter de Bibbesworth, *Le Tretiz*. Ed. William Rothwell. Plain Texts Series ANTS 6 (London, 1990).

<sup>72</sup> Ed. Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley*.

of 'Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo contrai' as I show below.<sup>73</sup> This may indicate that Oschinsky's 'part 1' was intended to be used by young 'gentlemen' intended to benefit from their elders' knowledge;<sup>74</sup> but Simon of Carmarthen's poems and the Latin eschatological texts *Evangelium Nicodemi*,<sup>75</sup> *Vindicta Salvatoris* and the 'Fifteen signs of judgement', as well as the satirical work 'St Nemo'<sup>76</sup> may all also indicate a monastic background.

The second part of the manuscript (to follow Oschinsky's distinction) appears more probably to have had a monastic readership, or to have been intended for this purpose, although the two types of readership I have hypothesised here (monastic, or young men growing up to manage estates) are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Besides the French instructional work *Romaunce de l'image du monde* (c. 1246),<sup>77</sup> Part 2 contains a copy of Edmund of Abingdon's *Mirour de seinte eglyse* (c. 1240-50)<sup>78</sup> and a long extract from Pope Innocent III's *De miseria condicionis humanae* (c.1195).<sup>79</sup> The *Mirour de seinte eglyse* in Selden supra 74 version has been classed as one of the 'unrevised "religious"' versions, probably destined for male religious,<sup>80</sup> and excerpts from the *De miseria* in Selden supra 74 certainly seem to point to a (male) monastic readership, emphasising the dangers of pride and ambition but also of 'luxuria' (lust, carnal desire, lechery), masturbation and homosexual behaviour; there are also several references to the dangers of thinking about women. (These sections are particularly well-endowed with 'nota' signs.)

<sup>73</sup> Ed. E. Stengel, in 'Handschriftliches aus Oxford. V. Fünf didaktische Gedichte der Hs. seld. supra Nr. 74 fol. 31-37', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 14 (1892), 146-58. Dean collates the three poems by Simon of Carmarthen under a single rubric (593).

<sup>74</sup> Cf. George R. Keiser, 'Practical books for the gentleman', in Lotte Hellinga & J. B. Trapp (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, 3, 1400-1557 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 470-494, at pp. 473-4 and n. 17.

<sup>75</sup> See Z. Izydorczyk, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus. Texts, interpretations and contexts in Western Europe* (Tempe (Arizona), 1997).

<sup>76</sup> See Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1922; revd. and repr. 1963), p. 176.

<sup>77</sup> 'Le romaunce del Ymage du mounde', by Gautier or Gossuin de Metz, fols. 60r-102r. Edited by N.D. Fahs, *An edition of Gossuin's Image du Monde* (Berkeley (CA), 1938). Hasenohr and Zink, pp. 1483-4, note that the work uses themes from the *Vision of St Paul*. An Anglo-Norman version exists (Dean 326) but this is not it.

<sup>78</sup> Wilshere (ed), *Mirour*. The Latin text is edited by Helen Forshaw, *Edmund of Abingdon. Speculum Religiosorum and Speculum Ecclesie*. Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi, 3 (London, 1973).

<sup>79</sup> Lotario dei Segni (Pope Innocent III), *De Miseria Condicionis Humane*. Ed. Robert E. Lewis (Athens (Georgia), 1978) (wrongly described in the Summary Catalogue (1922) as the *De contemptu mundi*, a work written by Bernard of Cluny in the eleventh century).

<sup>80</sup> Wilshere, p. 6.

Scribal and codicological evidence arguably indicates that the various ‘parts’ of the manuscripts were either bound together soon after composition, or that they were in fact copied together.<sup>81</sup> The choice of texts and probable date of copying in all four hypothetical ‘booklets’ suggested by the quire structure, imply that Selden supra 74 was a manuscript compiled by someone with access to its texts not long after they were composed. The dates of composition of several of the texts (especially the *Tretiz* and ‘Husebondrie’) may be as late as 1290,<sup>82</sup> and parts of the manuscript, including ‘Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju’, may have been copied as early as 1300. Overall, all the texts of the manuscript appear to have been composed within fifty years of each other at the most.<sup>83</sup>

There are a number of themes that make ‘Le mois de mai/‘Si cum jeo ju’ a significant part of this apparent miscellany and allow its language and scenario to resonate within the manuscript context. Its prologue places the body-soul debate in the context of a meeting between an old and a young man, and as we have seen, the debate itself characterises body and soul as pupil and teacher. This links the body-soul debate to the didactic treatises that precede it (the *Tretiz* and ‘Husebondrie’), while morally, it reiterates themes of Simon of Carmarthen’s poems (fols. 31v-33r).

Neither these three poems, nor ‘Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju’ are known to exist in any other manuscript, and their thematic similarities (God’s mercy to the timely repentant, and the danger and impotence of wealth) may indicate common preoccupations among source and copyist, particularly in their reiteration that God will save repentant sinners according to their intentions (‘entente’), not their deeds:

Ne puet perir qe deus auance  
 Quant entendi sa meffesaunce,  
 De ses pecchez fist repentaunce ;  
 De tut li fist deu deliuraunce,

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<sup>81</sup> See Appendix 1.2.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Hasenohr and Zink, 1500-01. ‘St Nemo’ also circulated in different forms as early as c. 1290; Lehmann, p. 176.

<sup>83</sup> Dean, 629, estimates the first half of the fourteenth century for the *Mirour*, the same estimate she gives for the copy of the *Tretiz* (Dean 285) and for some of the ‘moral poems’ in ‘part 1’ (Dean 258).

Quant vit s[on] entente e sa creauce.<sup>84</sup>

The message is reiterated in stanzas 14 and 15 and in the story of David who admitted his sin in time (29-38). Simon reiterates that ‘Ne nul ne deit desesperer’ (no-one need despair) because God will show his willingness to approach the repentant sinner (39). The poem also indicts the rich who persecute the poor (stanzas 7, 24-29) and priests who only care for money (stanza 5).

We can also read ‘Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju’ in the context of contemporary questions about the meaning of the body in God’s creation, questions at the centre of the two longer devotional works in the manuscript, the *Mirour de seinte eglyse* (*Mirour*) and the *De miseria condicionis humanae*.<sup>85</sup> Although it would be easy to classify both the *Mirour* and the *De miseria* as works of general meditative piety, one important question in both, as in body-soul debates, is about the significance of the body in relation to the God-created, human self. Like body-soul debates, both texts use themes such as the horrors of decomposition, hell and demons; but again like body-soul debates, the theology of both texts, which at first sight appears strongly dualistic (soul good; body bad), uses these to construct more complex views of body and soul .

The *Speculum ecclesie*, composed around 1216 by Edmund of Abingdon, was an extremely popular didactic work which was probably written first in Latin (although any source text is lost), then translated as the *Mirour* towards the middle of the century, and finally re-translated into Latin.<sup>86</sup> It urges self-knowledge, asking the reader firstly to meditate on the evils of the body and its difference to the soul in order to know him/herself and eventually, to approach God more nearly. The following citations are all taken from the *Mirour* as it appears in Selden supra 74.

Knowledge of oneself means recognising where the body comes from and the horrors of matter; this is brought about by meditating not only on the horrors of physical

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<sup>84</sup> Poem 2, stanza 11, p. 148 (Stengel’s edition). ‘No-one can perish whom God looks after/when he has understood his misdeeds/and repented of his sins;/God will deliver him entirely/When He perceives his intentions and his faith.’

<sup>85</sup> The *Mirour* is also found (in its ‘lay’ version according to Wilshere) in another of our manuscripts, Arundel 288; while the *De miseria* is also found in Harley 5234, a manuscript of ‘Un samedi’.

<sup>86</sup> The earliest extant copies of the work are all in Anglo-Norman but Wilshere and Forshaw both argue for an original Latin text, now lost.

conception, which of course is the means of transmission of original sin, but also on the horrors to come after death:

La conisaunce de vous meymes poez vous meymes poez [*sic*] i venir par deu meditacion e a la conisaunce deu par pure contemplacion. A la conisaunce de vous meymes poez vous venir en ceste maniere. pensez ententivement souvent quel vous estes, quel vous futes equal vous serrez, inprimes quant a vostre cors puy quant a vostre alme [paraph.] Quant a vostre cors vous este plus uil que nul fimer. uous estes engendre de si grant ordure ke ceo est hompte a nomer e abhominacion aparler ou penser. vous serrez liurez a crapauds pur uous deuorer et maunger<sup>87</sup>

Besides this meditation on physical decomposition, however, we also find a distinction between hating the flesh as matter, and loving the flesh because of its likeness to God, its creator, a distinction that ultimately goes back to Platonic thought:

Ke quant vous ne esteyes pas donques vous crea il : en alme a sa semblaunce demeine et vostre corps de pulente e puante escume dount est abominacioun a penser. forme il en ses sens et ses membres si noble si beals que hom ne poet deuiser. Amez pur ceo celuy de ky tote vostre beaute uient e amez tote gent espiritualmente e cessez desormez amer charnement<sup>88</sup>

An emphasis on humanity as composed of body and soul as two distinct, equally important parts, is maintained throughout the *Mirour*, and this includes an awareness of the special role of the body (particularly the senses) in leading to awareness of God, a

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<sup>87</sup>Fol. 45r (Wilshere, p. 8). 'The knowledge of yourself [*repeats* you can yourself] you can come to it by meditating on God and to the knowledge of God by pure contemplation. You can arrive at self-knowledge by the following means. Think diligently and often of what you are, what you were and what you shall be, firstly in relation to your body, secondly in relation to your soul. Regarding your body you are much more vile than any dung. You are conceived in such filth that it is shameful to name and abominable to speak or think of. You will be delivered up to toads for them to eat you up and devour you.' The 'B' version in Arundel 288, intended for lay readers if Wilshere is correct, omits the reference to meditation and contemplation

<sup>88</sup>Fol. 45v (Wilshere, p. 10). 'For when you were not, he created you; your soul he created in his own likeness, and your body from stinking and reeking scum such as it is abominable to think of. He also formed your senses and your limbs with such nobility and beauty such as no man could ever invent. Therefore love Him from whom all your beauty derives, and love all people spiritually, and cease from now on to love carnally.'

theme later developed into doctrine by Thomas of Aquinas. Chapter 3 of the *Mirour* is entitled ‘Coment home deit venir a la conaissaunce de sey mesmes en cors e en alme’ (‘how man may come to knowledge of himself both in body and in soul’), while for Chapter 16 the titles of each subsection read respectively ‘De .vii. doayres en cors e .vii. en alme’ (‘On the seven gifts of the body and seven gifts of the soul’) and ‘De peynes d’einfer en cors e en alme saunz fyn’ (‘The unending pains of hell in body and soul’), where in hell each part (body and soul) will receive the exact opposite of their specific gifts. Body and soul, then, in accordance with much medieval theology, each have their own special role to play in both a positive and a negative sense.<sup>89</sup>

Lotario da Segni’s (Innocent III’s) *De miseria* is more strongly misogynistic and dualistic than the *Mirour* (to the extent that later writers took it upon themselves to correct the former).<sup>90</sup> Lotario urges the reader to reflect on the horrid origins of humanity from ‘the filthiest sperm’ (‘spercissimo spermate’)<sup>91</sup> conceived in ‘the stench of lust’ (‘fetore luxurie’)<sup>92</sup> and nourished by menstrual blood in the womb ‘qui fertur esse tam detestabilis et immundus’ (‘that is said to be so detestable and unclean’) that it can kill crops and produce illness.<sup>93</sup> The body is the prison of the soul (‘carcer anime corpus est’),<sup>94</sup> and its components and humours, which in life are already disgusting, are simply preparing to be food for worms and the begetters of rotteness (‘putredinem’).<sup>95</sup>

Anticipating or reflecting the reproaches of the body-soul debates, Lotario points out the transitory nature of human glory: ‘Qui modo sedebat gloriosus in throno modo iacet despectus in tumulo; qui modo fulgebat ornatus in aula modo sordet nudus in tumba; qui modo vescebatur deliciis in cenaculo modo consumitur a vermibus in selpuchro’.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> For a discussion of the ‘gifts’ of body and soul in thirteenth century resurrection theology, and how this was used to explain the necessity of the body to the soul, see especially Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp. 232-45, 267-9.

<sup>90</sup> See Lewis, pp. 3-4.

<sup>91</sup> Lewis, p. 95, l. 26.

<sup>92</sup> Lewis, p. 95, l. 27.

<sup>93</sup> Lewis, p. 101, ll. 4-9.

<sup>94</sup> Lewis, p. 129, ll. 1-5.

<sup>95</sup> Lewis, pp. 205-7. This is expanded on at length in this section ‘De putredine cadaverum’ (‘Of the rotteness of corpses’).

<sup>96</sup> ‘He who was lately sitting glorious on the throne now lies despised in the grave; he who was lately shining splended in the palace is now slighted naked in the tomb; he who was lightly filling himself with delicacies in the dining hall is now consumed by worms in the sepulcher’. Lewis, p. 207.

In Lotario's view, the 'impii' (impious) have no more chances 'for God gave them an opportunity for repentance and they wasted it' ('dedit enim Deus eis locum penitencie et ipsi abusi sunt eo').<sup>97</sup> Describing the torments of the impious after death before mentioning their opportunity to repent, he seems to bypass the actual moment of and reasons for judgment, unlike the writer of 'Si cum jeo ju'; perhaps this was one theological anomaly that body-soul debates were trying to resolve.

Like the soul in 'Si cum jeo ju', however, Lotario makes it his business to remind us that 'in inferno nulla est redemptio' (in hell there is no redemption) and that we are wrong if we think that his mercy extends to those already condemned.<sup>98</sup> And again as in 'Si cum jeo ju' (and the 'Visio Philiberti'), the rich are not immune: 'Argentum eorum et aurum non valebit liberare eos in die furoris Domini' ('Their silver and gold shall not be able to deliver them in the day of the wrath of the Lord').<sup>99</sup>

In body-soul debates, the soul's first instinct is frequently to reject the body for its hideous stench and other signs of its decomposition. But through the body's reproach to the soul for its lack of charity for its old companion, the writer reminds us (and himself?) that the body, too, was created by God. To avoid heresy, one must avoid real dualism, and even where horror at physical existence predominates in the debates, we can also see the influence of – or struggle with – a more complex theology. The *De miseria* reproduces Plato's concept of body as prison only to meditate on the vileness of human matter and its effect on the human soul;<sup>100</sup> but the *Mirour* reminds us of the paradoxical nature of the body by a syntax that closely links the 'filth' from which the body is made and the beauty that God has given to it.

In different, but complementary ways, then, both the *Mirour* and the *De miseria* deal with the meaning of physical existence, adapting a neo-Platonic view of the body for their own ends. These meditations, like body-soul debates, require the reader to make a philosophical (Aristotelian) distinction; he or she must imagine and believe in the horror of flesh as matter, but also in its eternal destiny as God-given form. In the body-

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<sup>97</sup> Lewis, p. 209.

<sup>98</sup> Lewis, p. 217.

<sup>99</sup> Lewis, p. 231.

<sup>100</sup> Lewis, pp. 96-98.



soul debates we have looked at so far, both elements are present: the soul frequently vocalises the horror at the body, with the body articulating that both are ultimately linked.

That they are linked was not doubted. More difficult for contemporary readers and writers was to understand how, if body and soul were already corrupted through original sin, they could come to salvation at all; but on the other hand, if God was merciful, how was it possible that they could not come to salvation? As we have seen, ‘Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju’ in Selden supra 74 attempts to answer this question directly by emphasising free will, intercession and penitence, but also indirectly, through the context of the manuscript’s other Anglo-Norman devotional writings. I turn now to another fourteenth-century compilation, BL MS Additional 46919, which is one of the most important sources for our knowledge of Anglo-Norman devotional writings and which also – unlike Selden supra 74 – offers clear evidence of its provenance and compilation. It is also one of the most important sources for the works of Nicole Bozon. Given the clear Franciscan context of ‘Si cum jeo ju’ in Additional 46919, and its attribution to Bozon since, what can this manuscript tell us about the readership and production of the poem, and how does this contrast with its presentation in Selden supra 74?

### 1.3.2 BL MS Additional 46919

Additional 46919 is a Franciscan compilation, largely compiled and commented on by William Herebert of Hereford (d. 1333); the manuscript was probably put together in its present form towards the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>101</sup> ‘Si cum jeo ju’ formed part of the original compilation,<sup>102</sup> and thus dates from some thirty years later than the poem in Selden supra 74. Like Selden supra, however, Additional 46919 also includes devotional, satirical, lyrical and practical texts in Anglo-Norman and Latin (with some English), beginning with Walter of Bibbesworth’s *Tretiz*; it has been seen as a similar Anglo-Norman compilation for ‘gentlemen’ including texts for both practical and

<sup>101</sup> A full description can be found in the British Library Catalogue, and Paul Meyer, ‘Notice et extraits du MS. 8336’; Jeffrey and Levy, ‘Introduction’, *Anthology*.

<sup>102</sup> The ‘disputacio inter corpus et animam’ is listed in the fourteenth-century table of contents on fol. 1v.

spiritual use,<sup>103</sup> but has also been described as a collection of ‘pastoralia, miscellanies primarily designed to provide material for mendicant preachers’.<sup>104</sup>

‘Si cum jeo ju’ (fols. 76r-77v) is preceded by a poem to Mary on the Annunciation,<sup>105</sup> and followed by one to Mary as Queen of Heaven (‘Reine couronee, flur de paradis’),<sup>106</sup> and the ‘Dispute between the Virgin and the Cross’.<sup>107</sup> Although ‘Si cum jeo ju’ here does not include the Marian stanzas of Selden supra 74, the reader thus still approaches and leaves it via by prayers emphasising Mary’s joys and sorrows. There are also some specific textual similarities between texts in Additional 46919 and ‘Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju’ in Selden supra 74. The words and metaphor of ‘Ave Virge Marie/Estelle ke dreit gwie’ (fols. 50v-52v), for example, directly echo those in ‘Si cum jeo ju’: ‘Ave Virge Marie/Estelle ke dreit gwie/La nef ke par tempeste/Ne seit quel part s’areste/En mer tant perillouse’ (‘Hail, Virgin Mary, star who guides the ship that has lost its way in the storm, in such a perilous sea’).<sup>108</sup> However, ‘Si cum jeo ju’ in Additional 46919, whether or not it was written by Bozon, is a unique adaptation. Despite the manuscript’s generally Marian focus, the changes made by the scribe or his source do not centre on Mary but on what eternal punishment and salvation actually entail for body and soul. In Additional 46919, the worst fate is not pain, but exclusion from the Beatific Vision and the loss of

la beaute de noble vis  
le jei celestre.

Nule peyne pusseit greuer  
cely ke veit la sa face clere  
adessement,  
Ne nule joie solacereit celi  
ke sa face ne veit

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<sup>103</sup> Keiser, ‘Practical books’.

<sup>104</sup> Jeffrey and Levy, *Anthology*, p. 4.

<sup>105</sup> Dean 739.

<sup>106</sup> Dean 956.

<sup>107</sup> Dean 968.

<sup>108</sup> In ‘Si cum jeo ju’, in the version of Selden supra 74, the poem reads ‘Le maufe, le pautener Ne les oundes de la mer/Ne fauceront/La nef de vostre gwiement,/Qei qu face orage ou vent Qe transverseront’. Stanza 62.

a sun talent.<sup>109</sup>

And at the end of the poem, the soul is led off to hell while the poet prays that God forgive our trespasses ‘et au solaz nous amene, hou [*sic*] james ne cet homme las de regarter sa bele face de joie pleyne, amen’ (‘and lead us to that comfort where this man may never cease to regard His beautiful face full of joy, amen’).

Bynum notes that the 1330s, when ‘Si cum jeo ju’ in Additional 46919 was probably written, was the period of a ‘beatific vision controversy’<sup>110</sup> between those who believed that the soul could achieve the ‘visio Dei’ even without the body – as souls in purgatory could experience disembodied pain after death – and those who argued that the soul could not receive such a reward without the body. In the early 1330s, the Franciscans officially supported the first view in moderation, saying that while a blessed soul could see God immediately after death, its perception would be limited until the Last Judgment, when body and soul would be reunited and see perfectly.<sup>111</sup> This in turn referred back to an earlier Franciscan argument that the soul’s longing for the body after their separation is not something negative, but a natural expression of the fact that body and soul need each other as much after death as before. The Franciscans aimed at refuting theologians who thought that the soul, whether blessed or damned, would be better off without its earthly embodiment.<sup>112</sup>

The Franciscans of this period, then, were deeply concerned about the role of the body in encounters with God, and its necessity to the soul not only after death but also in life, and the adaptation of ‘Si cum jeo ju’ in Additional 46919 reflects the importance of these issues. Again, David L. Jeffrey, writing of Franciscan spirituality and its expression in compendia such as Additional 46919, describes the granting of the ‘temporal vision of God’ as one of the longed-for results of ‘sacramental grace’ linked

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<sup>109</sup> ‘the beauty of that noble face, the celestial joy. No pain can touch him who now sees that face clearly. Nor can any joy solace him who is not able to see that face’. Not written in stanzaic form in the manuscript, but here so transcribed for ease of reading. A full transcription is provided in Appendix 1.4.

<sup>110</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection*, p. 279.

<sup>111</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection*, p. 284.

<sup>112</sup> Bynum, *ibid.*, p. 286.

to full acceptance of penance.<sup>113</sup> Penance, which is clearly emphasised in ‘Si cum jeo ju’, involves more than merely an act; it also requires an ‘infusion of grace’, which comes through identification with divine suffering. Marian devotion as such is not mentioned by Jeffrey but in Additional 46919, many of the poems invite the reader to identify with Mary in both her joys and sorrows.

Hence, the repentance of body and soul is not only a technical necessity in the scheme of salvation. It is the means whereby their longing for each other can be eventually assuaged, and the potentially dangerous aspects of such longing transformed into the eternal fulfilment and reward of a clear view of God Himself. And in Additional 46919, the transformation of ‘Si cum jeo ju’ itself into a poem about the Beatific Vision shows how the poem could be used – whether consciously or not – to refer to the body’s place in broader political and theological conflicts.

### 1.3.3 BL MSS Cotton Vitellius C.VIII and Arundel 288

Our final two manuscripts of ‘Si cum jeo ju’, Cotton Vitellius C.VIII and Arundel 288, were both compiled in an earlier form before ‘Si cum jeo ju’ was added at a later date. In each case, ‘Si cum jeo ju’ appears to have been written in spontaneously and – at least in terms of aesthetics - carelessly, in contrast to the neat and ordered preparation of the original manuscript; but at the same time, the poem has arguably been added with some awareness of the remaining content of the manuscript, so that the writer appears to have been doing more than simply taking the first piece of paper (or parchment) that came to hand.

Arundel 288 is a very different kind of manuscript to any of the others here discussed, being purely ‘devotional’ in content; it is also unique in combining two known body-soul debates, adapting verses from ‘Un samedi’ to fit in with ‘Si cum jeo ju’.

Physically, it is a small manuscript,<sup>114</sup> with no illustration of any kind, except for

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<sup>113</sup> David L. Jeffrey, ‘Authors, anthologists and Franciscan spirituality’, in Susanna Greer Fein (ed), *Studies in the Harley Manuscript: the scribes, contents, and social contexts of British Library MS Harley 2253* (Kalamazoo, 2000), pp. 261-70, p. 266.

<sup>114</sup> The size of the folia is 185 x 125mm with size of the text space 130 x 90mm. The manuscript has been repaired by sewing the (original?) quires on to paper binding within a leather cover; my measurements refer to the medieval folia only, not to the ‘new’ book.

decoration in red and blue of some initials. The first quire appears either to have been added in at a later date or to have suffered a great deal of damage,<sup>115</sup> and codicological details indicate that quires 8-11 also originally formed a separate (although probably contemporaneous) manuscript. The majority of texts in both parts of the manuscript probably date from the second half of the thirteenth century. But from fol. 122r, where the original texts end, four Anglo-Norman works have been added in an untidy, probably fourteenth-century bookhand. Two of these are addresses to monastic audiences on living as a religious,<sup>116</sup> of which one ('Les IX paroles') is well known. The other two are 'Si cum jeo ju' (fols. 123r-126r) and a unique poem on the mercy of God to repentant sinners, 'Niule pecchere ne puet faire peche si ordz' (fol. 126v).<sup>117</sup>

'Si cum jeo ju' and 'Niule pecchere' (and to a lesser extent the other two added-in texts), although dating from at least a half-century later, all echo preoccupations of earlier items in Arundel 288, most of which appear to be addressed to a monastic or clerical audience but may have been used privately by a religious charged with the instruction of the laity. The longest work in the manuscript (fols. 5r-83v) is the *Manuel des Péchés* (or 'Pechiez'), a treatise on confession and the sacraments probably for the use of the clergy who did not speak Latin, and for the instruction of lay people, attributed to a cleric in the York diocese, c. 1260;<sup>118</sup> the second longest is a copy of the *Mirour de seinte eglyse*, in the version probably written for laypeople.<sup>119</sup> Other items include 'Les peines de purgatorie', a sermon attributed to Robert Grosseteste, and numerous shorter prayers and meditations.<sup>120</sup>

We have already seen that 'Si cum jeo ju', in contrast to 'Un samedi', is strongly preoccupied with the question of whether God 'really' damns souls for all eternity or

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<sup>115</sup> The two bifolia of which it is made up are very much rubbed and the writing, which is similar to that of fols. 5-83 as far as this can be discerned, is faded and undecorated.

<sup>116</sup> Dean 617 and 715. See Appendix 1.1 for further details.

<sup>117</sup> Dean 616. Unedited. See Appendix 1.3 for full transcription and translation of this poem.

<sup>118</sup> Dean 635. There are numerous surviving manuscripts of this work from the period c. 1275-1325, which 'circulated from York outwards' (Dean). See also Matthew Sullivan, 'The readers of the *Manuel des Péchés*', *Romania*, 113 (1992-5), 233-42

<sup>119</sup> Wilshere, p. vi. Although Sullivan, 'The Readers', p. 236, includes Arundel 288 under those 'definitely' of a religious provenance, this need not be a contradiction if the manuscript was owned by someone whose tasks included instruction of the laity.

<sup>120</sup> 'Les peines de purgatorie', Dean 645; ed. Robert J. Relihan, 'A critical edition of the Anglo-Norman and Latin versions of *Les peines de purgatorie*' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa 1978; not seen).

whether mercy prevails. The question is made much more explicit in Arundel 288, where the poem ‘Niule pecchere’ explains that no matter how great your sin, your good deeds and God’s mercy will save you. Even Peter, who denied Christ three times, was pardoned. The only sin that cannot be forgiven is the sin of despair (which is a sin ‘en l’espirit’ – in the soul), because it means that the sinner has not trusted to God’s mercy. This poem squarely places the responsibility at the believer’s door to trust to God; judgment is not simply a matter of what one has done (as in ‘Un samedi’ it appears to be), but of what one finally wants and intends. In this way, it reflects ‘Si cum jeo ju’ emphasis on ‘volunte’, the will, and the role of penance in belief.

Elsewhere in Arundel 288, ‘Les peines de purgatorie’ (fols. 84r-91v) also deals with what is due to both body and soul and the necessity of purging the soul in order to enter the joys of heaven.<sup>121</sup> Like ‘Si cum jeo ju’ the sermon emphasises the need to think about hell and do penance while there is still time, and emphasises that souls cannot be freed by trying to purchase (‘purchacer’) their redemption through merit (fol. 86r). As has been pointed out, ‘Si cum jeo ju’ in Arundel 288 contains a number of ‘interpolated’ verses from ‘Un samedi par nuit’;<sup>122</sup> one of the most extensive of these passages is that in which the soul reiterates the impossibility of any monk, mass, prayer or other earthly agency purchasing salvation for a soul:

Nostre dampnacion  
 Ne poet auer perdoun  
 Par messe ne par matine  
 Sus ciel nad cele moigne  
 Pur veir ne chanoigne

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<sup>121</sup> ‘& apres nous dirrom certeyne & uerreye resoun purquei nous deuez enterement penser du grant iour de iugement. Puis apres ceo nous dirrom de la grant peine de enfer. Au drein nous tucherom les glories ke les cors e les almes sauues enauerunt e les confusions ke les dampnes auerunt saunz fin. e ai tant finerom nostre sermon de purgatorie’ (fols. 84r-84v). ‘And afterwards we will describe the certain and true reason why we must always think entirely of the Day of Judgment. Then we will talk about the great pains of hell. Afterwards we will touch upon the glories that the bodies and souls of the saved will have without ending and the confusions of the damned. And thus we will finish our sermon on purgatory’.

<sup>122</sup> Varnhagen, ‘Das altfranzösische Gedicht’, p. 116; Dean 691; Stengel, ‘Nachtrag.’ Stengel argued that nearly all of them are taken from the Cotton Julius A.VII manuscript version of ‘Un samedi’ which may point to a common Yorkshire/Lincolnshire source, especially as the *Manuel des péchés*, which forms a large part of Arundel 288, also originated in York; but the adaptation of the verses is not exact and there may have been another or additional source that we do not have.

Qe vous freit medicine  
 Ne reclus ne hermit  
 Cet soit de grant merit<sup>123</sup>

This appears to be a point particularly important to the writer, or one that he or she was fond of, but it is also a point made explicitly in ‘Les peines de purgatorie’.

Another long passage adapted from ‘Un samedi’ is deployed to emphasise the material nature of the body’s losses, while a shorter passage adds the description of the soul’s physical appearance (‘green as a chive’). Both of these add to the dramatic element of the body-soul debate, providing more of a ‘picture’ for the reader of the body in its lifetime. Clearly, the writer of ‘Si cum jeo ju’ and the other three ‘added-in’ texts in Arundel 288 had read other body-soul debates and had knowledge of a range of Anglo-Norman devotional texts; but the uniqueness of the poem ‘Niule pecchere’ may also signalise that he or she was an author, not only a copier of texts.

In Cotton Vitellius C.VIII, ‘Si cum jeo ju’ appears in a manuscript of the letters of the Franciscan scholar and political advisor to Simon de Montfort, Adam de Marisco (or Marsh, d. 1259).<sup>124</sup> This collection of his letters was almost certainly created as a manuscript in its own right, c. 1280-1300, before being integrated at a much later point into the present Cotton MS. A large number of Adam’s letters were addressed to Robert Grosseteste (1170-1253), with whom he enjoyed an almost lifelong friendship, and the compilation may have been made at the Franciscan friary at Oxford, where Grosseteste requested his personal library to be deposited after his death.<sup>125</sup> These associations are of particular interest given that ‘Si cum jeo ju’, as we have seen, has other Franciscan connections (attributed to Nicole Bozon and included in Additional

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<sup>123</sup> ‘Our damnation [or condemnation] can have no pardon/ Not by a mass, nor by matins/On earth [lit. beneath heaven] there is no monk/nor, truly, any canon/who would make you a medicine [for this]/nor any recluse or hermit/However good they are’, etc.

<sup>124</sup> C. H. Lawrence, ‘The letters of Adam Marsh and the Franciscan school at Oxford’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42 (1991), 218-38, p. 220. The letters are edited by Brewer, *Monumenta Franciscana*, pp. 77-489, summarised pp. cvii-xxxv, with a transcription of ‘Si cum jeo ju’ at pp. 587-90.

<sup>125</sup> Lawrence, *ibid.*, p. 221; but Lawrence also indicates that the style of the manuscript differs from the usual ‘products of the Franciscan studium at Oxford’.

46919), while Robert Grosseteste has often been thought to be the author of the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’.<sup>126</sup>

‘Si cum jeo ju’ appears as a fragment of 92 lines<sup>127</sup> in a hand slightly later than that of the scribe of the letters, beneath a letter of advice to the Prioress of Godstow Priory, Oxfordshire.<sup>128</sup> Urging the Prioress to ensure the strictness of convent life, he notes that unless she enforces the rules of chastity and diligence on the nuns in her care, she will be called dreadfully to account at the Last Judgment.<sup>129</sup> Adam’s reference to the Last Judgment may have inspired our writer’s insertion of ‘Si cum jeo ju’ which here ends: ‘E vostre juïse receveretz/A grant tristour’ (‘And you will receive your judgment/With great sorrow’). It is even possible that he or she associated the body-soul debate with literature intended for the edification and meditative practice of women – associations that we will see that it may have had in France, Germany and England.

#### 1.4 Some conclusions – literary and historical contexts

I have argued above that there are several Anglo-Norman and Latin works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (exemplified here particularly in the *Mirour de seinte eglyse*, the *De miseria*, and the *Vie de S. Laurent*) which provide a literary and spiritual context for contemporary body-soul debates. These can, like the *Vie de S. Laurent*, be texts from ‘outside’ body-soul debate manuscripts; similarities, for instance, between ‘Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo ju’ in Selden supra 74 and Chardri’s *Le Petit Plet*, from around the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, show that the author of ‘Le mois de mai’ had probably read Chardri’s work.<sup>130</sup> Other texts that we do

<sup>126</sup> See, for instance, Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, pp. 70-74, although the date which Walther sees as probable (1231) is much too late for the ‘Visio’.

<sup>127</sup> Although a couple of lines appear to have been ‘compacted’ between columns 2 and 3, the poem then continues with the same number of lines as Selden supra 74 before breaking off altogether at the point where the spirit is explaining to the body how God will cause it to rise again (‘Oil [sic] e chetiff releverez/plein de dolor pur vos pechez/le dr[eit jour?]/De Dan Ihu est vendrez’). If the writer followed the previous pattern, and did not continue the poem elsewhere, it would end with ‘E vostre juïse receveretz/A grant tristour’ (‘And you will receive your judgment/With great sorrow’).

<sup>128</sup> Letter 151, pp. 286-7 in Brewer’s edition.

<sup>129</sup> Many thanks to Dr Marianne O’Doherty (Southampton University) for her assistance with translating this passage.

<sup>130</sup> *Le Petit Plet* is a story in verse of a dialogue between an old and a young man/child (referred to as ‘l’enfant’ in the text, like the soul in ‘Un samedi’). Both poems begin in a garden and both narrators meet an old man who approaches them. In ‘Le mois de mai’, the old man offers the younger man a flower and urges recourse to Mary’s guidance; at the end of the *Petit Plet*, it is the young man who



not have the space to consider here include the twelfth-century *Livre de dammedeu Juis* (better known under its French title *Li Ver del Juïse*), which includes an address of the soul to the body at the day of Judgment,<sup>131</sup> and Guischart de Beaulieu's *Sermon del secle*.<sup>132</sup> Manuscripts of 'Un samedi par nuit' and 'Si cum jeo ju' take up themes, ideas and even linguistic detail from these and other Anglo-Norman works, yet show how writers adapted and changed these two poems to suit particular spiritual and social agendas; they also show how authors and scribes were well aware of other Anglo-Norman works, so that the body-soul debates, far from descending 'vertically' directly from apocryphal and Latin literature, must be read 'laterally' against a contemporary Anglo-Norman corpus.

Compilations of Anglo-Norman devotional writings extant from the thirteenth century<sup>133</sup> show that many of the above-named texts circulated alongside *Vitas patrum* tales and the *Vision of St Paul*, another work that was influential on vernacular body-soul debates.<sup>134</sup> This suggests that the body-soul debates' relationship to early legends – something often emphasised by earlier scholars – should be viewed in the context of contemporary literature's filtering of earlier and contemporary Eastern source material. The rise of anchoritism and the associations of 'desert spirituality' with ascetic ideals – hence with body-soul conflicts – manifested itself in an interest in stories of the desert fathers, and patristic and apocryphal legends. The works of the Templar of Temple Bruer, Lincolnshire (writing c. 1170-1200?),<sup>135</sup> especially his *Vitas Patrum (Verba seniorum)*,<sup>136</sup> show a number of similar concerns to body-soul debates. In one especially reminiscent of the debates, a young monk approaches his abbot to ask whether the rich or those of good repute are automatically saved, just as in 'Un samedi'

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advises the old to look at the flower God has created for comfort, and tells him to turn to the Virgin for help (ll. 1757-80). As in Selden supra 74, the *Petit Plet* even takes the rose as its theme, but in the *Petit Plet*, earthly women are compared unfavourably to flowers (1261-2) and to wild roses (1299), where their changeability is criticized in the context of a misogynistic diatribe: 'Femme resemble flur de engleter/Et si se tent cum vent en mer/Ore est al wet, or est en le est'. 'Women are like the wild rose blossoms/And behave like the wind at sea/Sometimes in the west, sometimes in the east'.

<sup>131</sup> Dean 638. Edited by Erik Rankka, *Li ver del juïse : sermon en vers du XIIIe siècle* (Stockholm, 1982).

<sup>132</sup> Dean 597.

<sup>133</sup> See, for example, BL MSS Egerton 2710 and Harley 2253, and Paris, BN MS f.fr.19525. The relationship between these manuscripts is discussed by Russell, *Vie de S. Laurent*, in his introduction.

<sup>134</sup> Anglo-Norman and French versions of the *Vision of St Paul* generally only deal with the punishments of Hell rather than the separation and debate of body and soul. See Owen, *Visions of Hell*.

<sup>135</sup> Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Templar* (Stroud (Glos.), 2001), p. 151.

<sup>136</sup> Edited B.A. O'Connor, *Henri D'Archi, Vitas Patrum*. Studies in Romance Languages and Literatures, 29 (Washington, 1949). See also Paul Meyer, 'Notices sur le ms. fr. 24862 de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 35 (1896), 131-68.

and *Si cum jeo ju* the body asks the soul whether money or ‘dignete’ make any difference to their fate; the abbot replies by telling the story of a hermit who asks God to show him how the soul is separated from the body.<sup>137</sup>

But if there is, as I argue, a corpus of Anglo-Norman and Northern French literature in circulation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which is asking similar questions to those of the body-soul debates, what was the specific significance of (and need for) the body-soul debates themselves? What did they articulate that the other texts did not? I have suggested above that one of the underlying concerns of Anglo-Norman literature is to distinguish between a Christian view of the human individual’s relationship to God, and a supposedly pagan view that is materialistic and idolatrous. Constructing the Christian faith around material/spiritual distinctions, however, is fraught with risk, because the body is itself ‘material’ compared with the soul. The distinction, then, must be carefully made in order to make sure that the body is not equally excluded, which would be heretical. ‘Un samedi’ clearly articulates the problem of believing in the goodness of Creation and divine mercy when the body is at the same time felt and seen to be corrupt, and Nature appears to lead inevitably to sin.

‘*Si cum jeo ju*’ goes further and attempts to reconcile creation with salvation, hell and repentance, as the soul attempts to answer the body’s questions about mercy and suffering. This may be related to ‘*Si cum jeo ju*’s’ probable Franciscan provenance or at least Franciscan circulation; what Lambert describes as the ‘revolutionary’ attitude of the Franciscans consisted not only in their ‘stress on the incidents of Christ’s life and His sufferings’ but also in an ‘acceptance of the created world and joy in nature. [...] the indirect answer to Cathar rejection of the world and their non-human Jesus’.<sup>138</sup> Such an emphasis on joy, and the glories to come, is found in the Franciscan manuscript Additional 46919 and in the alterations it makes to ‘*Si cum jeo ju*’. Jeffrey and Levy suggest further that the Franciscan provenance of so many Anglo-Norman lyrics is not coincidental, but that from the beginning, the Franciscans used song and poetry as an integral part of their preaching.<sup>139</sup> Looked at in this context, the fact that

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<sup>137</sup> Meyer, ‘Notice sur ms fr. 24862’, p. 146; O’Connor, VI, iii, 13, pp. 156-60.

<sup>138</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 97.

<sup>139</sup> Jeffrey and Levy, *Anthology*, pp. 6-8.

‘Si cum jeo ju’ is so often altered in such creative and liberal ways may reflect the confidence in creation that it and its authors appear to transmit.

But body-soul debates can also reflect more immediate, contemporary concerns about the Church and about worldly justice and injustice. ‘Un samedi’ implicitly claims an analogy between a feudal social structure and the relationship of body and soul, showing how moral destruction results when structures of obedience – obedience of servant to lord, but also of woman to man – are not maintained. In the ideal Anglo-Norman world, the body owes service to the soul, just as the soul owes service to God; both are His creations, while other religions have only material gods made by men themselves. Similarly, in the body-soul debate in *Barlaam*, the value of the ascetic (monastic, anchoritic) life, is subsequently contrasted with the corruption of the Church and its ‘prostitution’ through the simoniacal behaviour of its prelates and clerics.

The Anglo-Norman debates, then, explore exciting constructions of body and soul, incorporating new literatures and new ideas about the role of the body in Christianity and what it means for society. Curiously, our next, later poem – the Parisian French ‘Une grante vision’ – reverts to a narrower view of body and soul based much more closely on the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’ than are the Anglo-Norman poems, and revealing what is potentially a much harsher view of body and soul’s relationship.

## CHAPTER 2

### FRENCH DEBATES

#### 2.1 Introduction

I turn now to the late medieval French poem, ‘Une grante vision en ceste livre est escripte’, a version of the ‘Visio Philiberti’ that shares features with the Anglo-Norman poems ‘Un samedi’ and ‘Si cum jeo ju’. However, it also differs strikingly from the Anglo-Norman poems. Its harsh insistence on the body’s essential capacity for evil makes this poem uniquely punitive in the body-soul debate canon, setting ‘Une grante vision’ apart not only from the other vernacular debates, but also from the ‘Visio Philiberti’, its most immediate source.

‘Une grante vision’ is also the only known body-soul debate to have been written as a debate in its own right in northern or central France from the later medieval period (the other known debates are the early sixteenth-century dramatic version of the body-soul debate documented by Houle,<sup>1</sup> and the body-soul debate in Deguileville’s *Pèlerinage de l’âme*<sup>2</sup>). ‘Une grante vision’ may date from the mid-to-late fourteenth century, but the majority, if not all of its copies are from the fifteenth century. Its composition is probably somewhat later than the *Pèlerinage de l’âme* (1355-58), which I discuss in Chapter 4. Unlike the latter, however, ‘Une grante vision’ is closely based on the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’,<sup>3</sup> including the naming of Philibert as the visionary, the taunting of the formerly wealthy body by the soul, the body’s rejection of responsibility, the emphasis that no wealth or worldly advantage can change God’s mind once damnation has been decreed, the despair of both body and soul, the appearance of the devils, and Philibert’s decision on waking to abandon the worldly life for an ascetic future.

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<sup>1</sup> Houle, ‘An unknown version’.

<sup>2</sup> At ll.4047- 4351. Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le pèlerinage de l’âme*. Ed. J.J. Stürzinger (London, 1895).

<sup>3</sup> Based on the incipit ‘Vir quidam exstiterat dudum heremita’; cf. Karajan’s 1839 edition. Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, p. 73, believes this to be the ‘French incipit’, added to the original English poem after this reached the Continent in the thirteenth century.

Although there are at least seven extant versions of ‘Une grante vision’, even without those that may exist outside Paris repositories,<sup>4</sup> I focus here on two manuscripts in particular. The first is Paris, BN MS f.fr.24865, a collection of devotional material including saints’ lives in French and Latin and two important vernacular works: the *Mirour des pecheurs*, a reworking of a Latin sermon by Bernard de Clairvaux attributed to Jean Gerson (1363 – 1429),<sup>5</sup> and the ‘Jardin amoureux de l’âme’, also attributed to Gerson but possibly by his patron and teacher Pierre d’Ailly (1351 – 1420).<sup>6</sup> The second is Paris, BN MS f.fr.2198, a probably early fifteenth-century devotional manuscript, in which ‘Une grante vision’ contains an entire section not occurring in any other version I have seen.

There is also, uniquely among vernacular body-soul debates (except for those within bigger texts, such as the *Pèlerinage de l’âme*), an early printed edition of ‘Une grante vision’ from 1486, by Guyot of Paris; this probably post-dates all seven extant manuscripts, and was reprinted in facsimile in 1862.<sup>7</sup> Neither edition supplies any clue as to its sources,<sup>8</sup> but the edition contains a number of stanzas and details that occur neither in the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’ nor in the two manuscripts noted above. This in itself raises interesting questions: were these changes first made by the 1486 printers, by the 1862 editors, or were they taken from a manuscript source? What implications do the additions have in terms of developments in medieval reading and devotional literature, if the changes were indeed made at the end of the fifteenth century? I argue below that the changes in the

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<sup>4</sup> For reasons of time and space, I include here only manuscripts from Paris repositories. These are Paris, BN MSS fonds français 957 (fols. 127r-131v), 1055 (fols. 64r-67v), 1181 (fols. 114r-120v), 1505 (fol. 139r), 2198 (fols. 26r-29v), 24436 (fols. 95r-99r) and 24865 (fols. 178r-185v). These manuscripts are all from Vidier and Perrier, *Catalogue Général* (1933), and Omont. Searches also give BN MSS f.fr. 4963 and 17068 – which do not appear to be described in any catalogue – and 25544, which does not contain a body-soul debate.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Giuseppe A. Brunelli, ‘“Le mirouer des pecheurs”’. Edizione del volgarizzamento francese di un “ars moriendi et bene vivendi” già attributa a Jean Gerson’, *Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali, serie seconda* (Milan, 1958), 167-207.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Jardin amoureux de l’âme’, ed. P. Glorieux in Jean Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1962-70), vol. 7.1, 309 (all works cited in this chapter are from volumes 7.1 (1966) using Glorieux’s reference numbers). Both Hasenohr and Zink, p. 1157, and more recently Professor Julia Boffey think the ‘Jardin’ is more likely to be by Pierre d’Ailly, Gerson’s patron. In fact there appear to be two versions of the ‘Jardin’, one attributed to d’Ailly and found only in ‘Avignon MS 344’ (listed in Glorieux’s Introduction to vol. 7.1, p. xli). I thank Professor Boffey for permission to use a copy of her paper on the ‘Tree of Love’ given at York in July 2007.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Débat du corps et de l’âme’ in *La grande danse macabre des hommes et des femmes* (Paris, 1486. Reprinted from an 1862 facsimile, 1994).

<sup>8</sup> BN f.fr.1181 contains all four texts in the 1862 edition, but is unlikely to be the source due to numerous discrepancies.

printed version may reflect particular ideological viewpoints about the meaning of ‘Une grante vision’ and how it was intended to be read. I also ask why ‘Une grante vision’, a poem chronologically later than the two Anglo-Norman debates we have seen, relies far more closely on the Latin ‘Visio’ than do the Anglo-Norman poems, and offers a harsher view of the body than either the Latin or the Anglo-Norman sources.

## 2.2 ‘Une grante vision’

### 2.2.1 Extant manuscripts – some general points

‘Une grante vision’ seems to have circulated widely in a fairly consistent form, probably as a result of its close adherence to the ‘Visio Philiberti’, although the length of the poem varies (78 monorhymed quatrains in the printed version, 72 in BN f.fr.24865 and 67 in BN f.fr.2198). The manuscripts, on the other hand, are all noticeably different.<sup>9</sup> BN f.fr.1505 appears to have been written specifically for secular women, with two of its four works addressed specifically to women ‘mariées ou a marier’ (married or to be married), and BN f.fr.1181 contains numerous works on courtesy and good manners, probably addressed to well-educated secular readers, including Christine de Pizan’s *Enseignements moraux* (here called the ‘Regime’).<sup>10</sup> BN f.fr.1055 is probably from the Benedictine Abbey at Cluny, and BN f.fr.24436 originated probably at a monastic house in Paris before being acquired by the monks of St Victor in 1424. BN f.fr.24865, our ‘case study’ in this chapter, almost certainly belonged to the Celestine order from 1422 or thereafter, but shows what is arguably evidence of female, secular readership at an earlier date, especially in its vernacular focus on female saints, the majority of whom also figure strongly in Book III of Christine de Pizan’s *Cité des Dames*. The significance of this for the manuscript’s readership, and for the dating of the manuscript, is discussed below in the case study.

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<sup>9</sup> A description of the five manuscripts which are not examined in close detail in this chapter is provided in Appendix 2.1.

<sup>10</sup> Angus J. Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan: a bibliographical guide. Supplement 2* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2004), p. 304. Dr Karen Fresco, of the University of Illinois, is currently working on an edition of the *Enseignements* which may when completed offer more information on this manuscript.

Evidence of handwriting and of the composition of certain works generally suggest that the manuscripts perhaps date from the late fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Indications of provenance, where they exist, point to a mainly northern French/Parisian circulation, but deductions about authorship can only be made only in the significantly altered version of ‘Une grante vision’ in BN f.fr.2198. As that version omits numerous verses included consistently in other manuscripts, it is unlikely that this was the original composition even though it is probably the earliest of our manuscripts. Whatever its source, the poem’s circulation in different contexts, although in a similar form, raises interesting questions about its intended readership, its status for scribes, patrons and Church authority, and about the significance of the changes that do occur.

### 2.2.2 ‘Une grante vision’ - the poem

In this analysis, I want to show how the poet of ‘Une grante vision’ uses the ‘Visio Philiberti’ to do two things. Firstly, he (I use the masculine pronoun here both for the sake of clarity and also because of the poem’s similarity to known texts by male authors in France at this period) is clearly basing the poem upon the ‘Visio’, and this adaptation may be part of a bigger movement for vernacular devotional literature for the laity in the late medieval period, often adapting Latin sources for a lay audience. Gerson’s *Mirour des pecheurs*, for example, found alongside ‘Une grante vision’ in BN f.fr.24865, was adapted from a Latin sermon for this reason.

Secondly, I want to show how, in using the well-established genre of the body-soul debate, ‘authorised’ by a Latin source, the writers and editors of ‘Une grante vision’ adapt and subvert the ‘Visio Philiberti’ in line with their own didactic agendas. ‘Une grante vision’ –

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<sup>11</sup> The latest known date in connection with any of the manuscripts is 1424, when a colophon in BN f.fr. 24436 states that it was acquired – not written – by the monastery of St Victor at Paris from its former prior. Similarly, the final section of BN f.fr.24865, a list of the papal privileges granted to the Celestines of Paris, is dated 1422, but this section is almost certainly from a later period than the remainder of the manuscript’s contents. The hand of BN f.fr.1181 may indicate a much later date (late 15<sup>th</sup> to early 16<sup>th</sup> c.), while that of BN f.fr.2198 is very similar to the fourteenth-century hand A of Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74, but is dated to the fifteenth century by several scholars and so is probably our earliest manuscript. Cf. Silvia Buzzetti Gallarati (ed), *Le testament maistre Jean le Meun. Un caso letterario*. Scrittura e Scrittore, Serie monografica, 4 (Alessandria, 1989), p. 13.

especially in its printed version – displays a far greater consciousness than the ‘Visio’ (and indeed than most body-soul debates) of its status as a text; that is, its authors/editors have built in verses that indirectly tell the readers why they ought to read it and that legitimise its existence in the vernacular. Such a self-consciously didactic attitude to the reading of this text may point to its intended use in a France strongly influenced by a programme of instruction for the laity that was promoted (and in great part implemented) by Jean Gerson. Gerson’s programme was intended to counteract the dangers of heterodoxy inherent in widespread reading, in the knowledge that many more people – including women – could now read and write than had ever been the case before, and that many secular people wanted and asked for spiritual instruction on a level with that enjoyed by the officially religious.<sup>12</sup> ‘Une grante vision’ is a poem that appears to offer the reader such instruction, yet at the same time, as we shall see, subverts official doctrine in its movement towards an almost dualistic view of the body. Its manuscript contexts offer us, in turn, convincing evidence of how constructions of the body (and soul) might have been read at this period; but a comparison with the 1486 edition shows how such constructions might have been given even greater force and legitimation in print.

The following reading of ‘Une grante vision’ uses a facsimile of the 1486 print as a basis,<sup>13</sup> and line numbers refer to this unless otherwise stated. I compare this with transcriptions of the poem in BN MSS f.fr.24865 and 2198, which show significant differences to the printed edition.<sup>14</sup>

The opening in all three versions is consistent. It tells how Philibert (‘Hubert’ in BN f.fr.24865) benefited from his own witnessing of a body-soul debate, emphasising his decision to flee the world thereafter: ‘Quant luy fut réuelée la dicte vision/Tantost deuint ermite par grant deuocion’.<sup>15</sup> Indirectly the reader is already placed in the position of Philibert, about to witness a scene that will – if read correctly and taken to heart – bring

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<sup>12</sup> On this see especially Geneviève Hasenohr, ‘Religious reading amongst the laity in France in the fifteenth century’ in Peter Biller and Anne Hudson (eds), *Heresy and Literacy, 1000 – 1530* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 205-221.

<sup>13</sup> I.e., the 1994 reprint of the 1862 facsimile.

<sup>14</sup> For full transcription of all three versions, see Appendix 2.3.

<sup>15</sup> ‘As soon as the vision here described was revealed to him/He became a hermit because of his great faith’.



him spiritual advantage. This self-referential beginning, which we shall see reiterated later in the poem, is not taken from the Latin 'Visio' despite its reference to Philibert and its depiction of his noble birth and character; the 'Visio' is told in the first person and makes no explicit reference to the effect of the vision upon either Philibert or the narrator until the very end of the poem.<sup>16</sup>

In the night, Philibert hears the voice of a corpse murmuring in his ear, while perceiving the soul at his other side (omitted in BN MSS f.fr.24865 and 2198). The narrative in all three versions summarises the debate for the reader, again implicitly pointing out good reasons for reading it:

L'ame se plait du corps et de son grant outrage  
 Le corps respond que l'ame a fait tout ce dommage  
 Lors allèguent raison, lors allèguent usage  
Tout ce retient l'ermite comme preudomme et sage.<sup>17</sup> (ll.13-16, my emphasis)

A stanza now follows which points out the sudden fall of the body from esteemed lord to shameful, wretched body ('doulant corps'): 'Tu estoie devant hier pour sage homme tenu [...] / Or es soudainement a grant honte venu' ('Only the day before yesterday [or the other day] you were held for a wise man [...] / Now you've suddenly come to great shame'). This is an important motif in *ars moriendi* literature, as the reader needs to be made aware of the dangers of a sudden death that gives no time for repentance.

In the 'Visio Philiberti' at this point, the soul sums up the losses the body must now suffer: the loss of the world's honour, the loss of family and heir, the loss of its noble houses, etc. It points out the sins of the body that have destroyed the soul's innocence, once guaranteed by baptism; it laments the horrors of eternal damnation to come and regrets it was ever

<sup>16</sup> Karajan, 'Visio Philiberti', p. 85, ll.1-16.

<sup>17</sup> 'The soul complains about the body and about its great injury/The body replies that the soul has done all the damage/Now they cite reason, now they cite custom/The hermit remembers all this like a good and wise man [should]'.  
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born, all in the space of some 30 verses.<sup>18</sup> The French poem is built up somewhat differently in ‘Une grante vision’. Making no reference as yet to family, ‘Une grante vision’ in all three versions first dwells on the loss of power suffered by the body, and the loss in particular of its buildings and the monies accruing from these (ll.21-28), before turning to the reversal of the body’s fortunes (‘Tu es bien renuersé’, l.31): formerly it was accustomed to rule over others like a king (‘comme roy’, l.29), but now it is ruled itself by worms (‘Maintenant ont les vers la signorie de toy’, l.30). The printed version now also goes on to add that the body is now so stinking (‘puanz’, l.35) that no-one can see it without disgust and shame (‘Nully ne te regarde qui n’ait de toy vergoigne’, l.36). In total, the printed version here has three stanzas omitted by the manuscripts, two on the reversal of the body’s fortunes and the third on the disgust of others at the body’s stench and appearance;<sup>19</sup> this third stanza even interrupts a comparison, to the detriment of the poem’s structure, between the body’s earlier palatial home and its current entombment.<sup>20</sup>

Following the ‘Visio’ closely, all three versions of ‘Une grante vision’ now show the soul telling the body how God made it as a noble ‘créature’ out of noble ‘matière’ and gave it a noble ‘figure’; the soul was made ‘innocente et pure’ by baptism, and only the body has led it into vice and filth (‘Par toy suis en péché, par toy suis en ordure’) (ll.41-44). No good ever came of the body: ‘Tout comme [tu] as vescu en la mortelle vie/De toy bien ne me vint ne de ta compagnie’ (ll.49-52).

In these verses, ‘Une grante vision’ shows important differences both to its Latin source and to its earlier Anglo-Norman influences. The ‘Visio’ does not refer to the soul’s ‘matter’, only to its ‘form’ (‘formam’),<sup>21</sup> and ‘Une grante vision’ here demonstrates its medieval and Aristotelian understanding of the soul as made of divine substance, implicitly comparing it to the body’s earthly and corruptible nature. But here, too, unlike the Anglo-

<sup>18</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio Philiberti’, ll. 19-49.

<sup>19</sup> All of this section (ll.21-36 of the printed version, i.e. four stanzas) is omitted by BN f.fr.2198, and BN f.fr.24865 includes only the first stanza that deals with the loss of the body’s houses.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the logical sequence in BN f.fr.24865, where a stanza on the body’s former ‘grans edifices’ (BN f.fr.24865 ll. 21-24) is immediately followed by the stanza on the ‘vii. pies de terre’ that are now the body’s only home (ll. 25-28).

<sup>21</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll. 33-37.

Norman body-soul debates, only the soul is characterised as a ‘creature’ of God; the body has no corresponding claim to spiritual meaning, and no account is given of the body’s own participation in baptism. This departs conspicuously and surprisingly from the ‘Visio’, where the soul exclaims that it was ‘ab omni crimine baptismo mundata/Et ut fructum facerem tecum ordinata’: ‘freed from all crime by baptism/and ordained with you to be fruitful’ (my emphasis).<sup>22</sup> ‘Une grante vision’ here appears to be implying something that the printed version later seems to confirm, that is, the essentially bad nature of the body.

Now, once again (except in BN f.fr.2198) the soul enumerates the body’s losses at some length,<sup>23</sup> citing the many objects, lands and animals once owned by the rich body, and reminding it that its family, having inherited all the body’s wealth, won’t spend a farthing of it to save it from damnation:

De toute tes richesse, de toute ta substance  
 Que tu leur as lessez en très grande habundance,  
 Ne donnerroient pour toy ne pour ta deliurance  
 Pour un pour homme auoir ung jour sa substance (ll.85-88)<sup>24</sup>

This cruel reminder contrasts, however, with the soul’s later insistence that ‘deliurance’ cannot be obtained by money and only drives home the point that once dead, no-one will care for you and your wealth will be meaningless. In addition, the soul makes it clear that these possessions were not rightfully the body’s in the first place, as it only gained them through violence and deception :

Ce qu[e] a[s] par péchée par long temps amassé  
Par force, par rapine, par serment faulsé  
 Par peine, par labeur, par toy mesme lassé

<sup>22</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll.35-36.

<sup>23</sup> Printed version: ll. 57-100. BN f.fr.24865: ll.44-83.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Of all the riches and possessions that you have left them in such abundance, they won’t give even as much as a poor man would need to survive for one day’.

En une petite heure est ensemble passé (ll.73-76 ; my emphasis)<sup>25</sup>

In BN f.fr.24865, as in the Latin ‘Visio’, the deceptive and false character of the body is emphasised more than its violence:<sup>26</sup>

Ce que tu as par peche pur long temps amasse  
Par fraudes par fallaces par serment fausse  
 Par paine, par labeur & par ton corps lasse  
 En vne petite heure est ensemble passe (ll.62-65; my emphasis)<sup>27</sup>

Again, in the ‘Visio’ it is time that steals by force (‘rapuit’) while in the printed version this violence is allocated to the action of the body itself (‘par rapine’).

In BN f.fr.2198, this entire passage about worldly goods is omitted; this may support the likelihood that BN f.fr.2198 was written by/for a monk or male religious, as other evidence, discussed below, also indicates. But BN f.fr.2198 now rejoins the other two versions in the soul’s injunction to the body to ‘Regarde bien ta vie puis ta mort si remire’ (‘Look well on your life, then contemplate your death likewise’, l.101). The soul accuses the body of being the cause of the soul’s own imminent suffering, telling the body that it, the soul, will undergo punishment while the body undergoes none until the Last Judgment.

The body is now forced into a response by the soul’s unfair accusations. It makes a great effort, finally lifting its head and managing to get its breath back (!) (ll.109-12, a detail not found in the ‘Visio’), and then makes its answer. But here, there is an interesting omission. In the ‘Visio’ and other body-soul debates, the body’s first words are those of

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<sup>25</sup> ‘Everything that you amassed by sin, over a long time, that you got by force, theft, false words, pain and work and by your lazy self, has all vanished at once in a little space of time’.

<sup>26</sup>Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll. 67-70: ‘Quidquid dudum vario congregasti more/Dolo, fraude, fenore, metu vel rigore/Longaque per tempora cum magno labore/A te totum rapuit sors unius horae’ (Whatever once by various means you managed to hoard up for yourself/by guile, by fraud, by [? fenore is not included in any Latin dictionary I have seen], by intimidation or by strength/and over a great deal of time with much hard work/it’s been seized from you all at once in an hour’.).

<sup>27</sup> ‘Everything that you amassed by sin, over a long time, that you got by fraud, by deception, by false words, by pain, by work and by your lazy body, has all vanished at once in a little space of time’.

surprise and horror: is it really his own soul that is speaking to him in this horrible way? ‘Es ne meus spiritus, qui sic loquebaris?’ ‘“You surely can’t be my soul, speaking like that?”’ (my emphasis).<sup>28</sup> Here the body is not permitted such a moment of reflection or grief, but plunges straight into its self-defence. Admitting it didn’t do well in the soul’s service, it argues that it could not help it, as in itself (‘de par soy’) the body has no perfections:

Se n’est pas merueille se le corps se meffait  
 Car de par soy en luy il n’y a rien parfait  
 Légèrement s’encline et tantost a deffait  
 Tout ce que le droit veult [*BN f.fr.24865 : Ce que raison ordonne*] et ce  
 que raison fait (ll.117-20)<sup>29</sup>

This seems to be saying that the body, in fact, is naturally born to vices. Again, this is not based on anything in the ‘Visio’. In that poem, the body admits that it often caused the soul to err, but asks how it could possibly be the cause of its sin, when the world, the flesh and the devil are even more to blame.<sup>30</sup> It certainly does not admit that ‘il n’y a rien parfait’ (‘there is nothing perfect’) about the body in itself.

In ‘Une grante vision’, the body does not ask the soul to explain or justify its reasoning. Instead, it supplies for itself the answer that the soul gives in the Latin poem: ‘Il t’a faicte ma dame et a toy m’a donnée/Ta chambrière suis, par toy suis gouuernée’ (‘He made you my mistress and gave me to you/I am your handmaid, I am ruled by you,’ ll.127-28<sup>31</sup>). Therefore, the soul should have stopped it doing wrong; that was the soul’s job, the reason why God gave the soul knowledge and reason. The body can do nothing but the soul’s will, and wise men (‘sages hommes’) all know that the flesh can never be blamed for

<sup>28</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio’, l.105. Cf. the body in ‘Si cum jeo ju’, Stengel’s edition, stanza 13: ‘Este vous mesmes cel esprit/A qui ceo corps quant vesquit/Fu marie?’

<sup>29</sup> ‘It’s no wonder if the body does wrong/For in itself, there’s nothing good in it/It is easily bent [to sin] and has just as easily perverted/Everything that Righteousness wants [*BN f.fr.24865: That which Reason ordains*] and reason’s achievements’.

<sup>30</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll.106-16.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Visio’: ‘Ut ancilla fierem tibi me donavit’, Karajan, l.120.

anything; in BN f.fr.24865, l.118, the poet declares, indeed, that everyone knows, thanks to reason, that nothing can be the flesh's fault ('Pour ce doit on scauoir & par raison entendre'), for 'Le blasme en est a l'ame qui ne se veult deffendre' ('The blame goes to the soul that doesn't want to resist').

That argument is based, as indicated, on the Latin 'Visio'. However, the next passage of 'Une grante vision' moves away from the predominantly cognitive and metaphysical arguments of the body in the Latin poem. The body is now revealed dramatically as self-seeking, contradictory and essentially wicked.

Firstly, the stanza in which the body describes how reason and wisdom logically tell us that the body cannot be to blame, ends with a very unreasonable, even visceral, image that undermines the body's apparent rationality, and which does not derive from the 'Visio'. While the printed version notes only that 'Corps se doit déliter et tous ses aises prendre' ('The body must needs enjoy itself and take all its pleasures'), both manuscripts end the stanza with an injunction to let the body 'stuff itself' with the best of everything (BN f.fr.24865: 'Le corps laisse remplir & les cras morceaulx prendre', BN f.fr.2198: 'Corps se veust manger les grands morciaulx'<sup>32</sup>).

The body now tells the soul that the soul should have been harsher towards it. The soul must make the body hunger, freeze, thirst and burn to help it avoid sin, otherwise 'Longuement sans pechie ne puet le corps durer' ('The body can't last long without sinning', BN f.fr.2198, l.80).<sup>33</sup> This stanza recalls the arguments of the ascetic soul in Gui de Cambrai's *Barlaam et Josaphat* that it needs to make the body suffer for its own good, an argument that the body in *Barlaam* firmly rejects.<sup>34</sup> But in 'Une grante vision', it's the body arguing this point for its own ends, adding that it can have no more responsibility than a dumb beast. In such a way it undermines its own authority even as at the same time

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<sup>32</sup> Literally, 'Let the body stuff itself and take the large lumps' and 'Body wants to eat all the big morsels'.

<sup>33</sup> BN f.fr.24865 also has 'ne puel la char durer', but the printed version says only 'Sans péché gaire ne peult homme durer' ('Without sin, man can't last long'); also in the sense of 'Man [or 'the flesh'] can't go long without sinning'.

<sup>34</sup> *Barlaam*, pp. 262-79.

it is making a case for itself. And, it reiterates, the soul should be the body's mistress and nurse: 'l'esperit doit estre sa dame et sa nourrice' (l.144).

The printed version now adds a (unique?) stanza that really drives home the intrinsically wicked nature of the body. Committing sin is the body's nature and therefore also its right:

Vices et péchés faire ce estoit ma nature  
 Pourtant se j'ay mal fait je n'ay fait que droicture :  
 De droict faire ne doit aucune créature  
 Estre blasmée, ne qu'on luy dye ou face injure (ll. 145-48)

'I was naturally full of vices and sin/Yet [*or* For that reason] if I did wrong I did nothing but right/No creature may be blamed for doing right, nor should he be done any injury for it in word or deed'.<sup>35</sup> The body is here using a quasi-judicial argument to try to prove its own freedom from guilt, but at the same time, the poem appears to be making the point that the nature of the body is bad, never good; this brings it dangerously close to a dualistic view of body and soul that it is not at any pains to refute later. This is something new in the body-soul debate; neither the 'Visio', nor 'Un samedi', nor 'Si cum jeo ju' contain anything similar.

'Une grante vision' now returns to its Latin source as, in all three versions, the body now points out that, as the soul is here at fault, it must pay the penalty; it then adds graphically that it is in no state to argue as it is being devoured by worms! An even nastier stanza is added here in the printed version which does not appear in either manuscript.<sup>36</sup>

The soul refuses to give up the fight, however, saying that the body is wrong. Yes, it should have punished the body for wrongdoing, and it is true that the soul must chastise the

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<sup>35</sup> Professor Ad Putter argues for an alternative translation of 'ne qu'on luy dye ou face injure' as 'unless one does him an injury'.

<sup>36</sup> Ll.157-60: 'Celle menue maignie sont plusieurs vermisseaux/Gros enuiron comme sont pointes de fuseaux/Mon ventre en est tout plain, si est toute ma peaux/De moy ilz feront plus de cent mille morceaux' ('This nasty company is a number of worms/As fat as kindling sticks/My stomach is full of them, so is my skin/They're going to turn me into more than a hundred thousand little morsels').

body ('Verité est que l'ame doit la char châtier', l.169<sup>37</sup>). But even if it had done so, the body would still have gone on drinking, overeating, and generally abandoning itself to sin. The soul was seduced by the body's 'flateries' and could not help itself, while the body also actively deceived and betrayed the soul ('tu la m'as fortraite par ta lozengerie', 'you have betrayed me with your lies', l.178).<sup>38</sup>

As in the 'Visio', however, the soul admits that the body was also deceived. The world gave it wealth, heritage and pleasures and promised it a long life; but now it is time to pay the price ('Ore te fait la moe, c'est paier ton musage', l.192). The two manuscript versions expand with some pathos on this theme in two stanzas not included in the printed version, describing how the world should be called a 'barreteur' ('flatterer') for its deceits: the more it gives, the more it takes away in death. The once admired and loved flesh wanted to please the world and is now damned for it: 'Voulu as plaire au monde, pour ce es dampnee' (BN f.fr.24865, l.177).

The body is distressed by the soul's accusations and cries pitifully (the narrator adds 'Forment est dur le cueur à qui pitié n'en prent' - 'It's a hard heart that pity [for the body] doesn't touch', l.196; a plea for pity not included in the 'Visio'). The body mourns its losses and admits it never wanted to be reminded of death, and thought it would live for ever; now it sees that no earthly power can allow it to escape the grave. Now it regrets its life of sin, which, it says, would only have been well spent if it had studied the art of living and dying well:

Il ne souffisoit pas tout le temps de ma vie  
 Sans autre chose faire, si non a estudie  
 Pour bien viure et morir, mais je ne congnoissoye mie  
 Le mal que je faisoye ne ma grande folie (ll.205-08)<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For 'châtier' read 'mestrier', BN f.fr.2198, l.101; 'adresser', BN f.fr.24865, l.146.

<sup>38</sup> 'Visio': 'Per mundi blanditias me post te traxisti/Et peccati puteo dulciter mersisti'; Karajan, ll.164-5.

<sup>39</sup> 'All the time of my life would not have been enough, unless I spent all of it studying how to live and die well, but I never knew the evil I did nor my great folly'.



In a self-referential trope, this passage implies that ‘Une grante vision’ is itself part of the literature that the body regrets it did not study earlier. This places the reader directly in the position of the body, while implicitly inviting him or her to do better and read and meditate upon the relevant literature and practices. This stanza is unique to the printed version; it is not taken from the ‘Visio’, nor is it included in the two manuscript versions here discussed.

At this point in the poem, returning to its Latin source, the body insists in all three versions that now it sees it was wrong. Nothing, neither worldly goods nor authorities (whether secular or religious), can halt death, and the body will suffer later, even if only the soul will suffer immediately (ll.213-16). The body notes, too, that the more God gives to a man, the more He will expect and the greater is the shame when the man sins. But as in the ‘Visio’, the body also uses this pious consideration for its own ends, reminding the soul that God gave it (in contrast to the body) everything: ‘raison, sens, entendement/Volonté de fuir mauvais consentement [*BN f.fr.2198 and 24865: mouvement*]/Et puissance de faire son commandement/De ce rendras tu compte au jour du jugement’ (ll.221-24).<sup>40</sup> (The ‘Visio’, however, makes no reference to the Last Judgment, although the reminder of the judgement to come plays an important role in the Anglo-Norman body-soul debates, as we have seen.) God gave no powers at all to the body, a ‘poure chartiere’ (‘poor prisoner’<sup>41</sup>) which (in an echo of the ‘Visio’ and more closely, ‘Un samedi’) would not even be able to move without the soul: ‘La char ne peult sans l’ame ne venir ne aller [...] Sans l’ame ne peult elle ne sentier ne parler/Ne les uns reuétir, ne les poures hosteler’ (ll.233-36, ‘The flesh cannot come or go without the soul [...] It cannot hear nor speak/Nor clothe the naked, nor give shelter to the poor’).<sup>42</sup> The body can neither ascend to Heaven nor go to Hell on its own, nor do either good or bad; again, this latter reference is also not from the ‘Visio’ where the argument remains a purely scientific one about the body’s powers compared with the soul’s.

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<sup>40</sup> ‘reason, sense and understanding/Will to flee bad judgment [movement]/And power to do His commandment/You will render your account at the Last Judgment’.

<sup>41</sup> BN f.fr.24865, l.206. The printed version has ‘portière’ (l.229), possibly a misreading of the source or possibly an interpretation that the body is the doorkeeper of death! The word is only semi-legible in BN f.fr.2198, l.161; it may read ‘Mais a moy peut ne que ceste pouure chartier’ but possibly also *charniere* (cemetery).

<sup>42</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll. 210-14.

Again following the ‘Visio’, the body says that if the soul wanted to do good, then the body would automatically follow.<sup>43</sup> But in what does this ‘doing good’ consist? Here there are some interesting variations, neither based on the Latin source.<sup>44</sup> Both manuscript versions have: ‘Amer messeigneur et faire son seruice/Honnorer son prouchain et l’amer sans faintise’ (BN f.fr.2198 ll.170-71, f.fr.24865 ll.215-16). But the printed version amends ‘loving one’s neighbour’ to ‘serving the Church’: ‘Amer Dieu de bon cuer et faire son seruice/Honnorer son prouchain et seruir sainte eglise’ (ll.238-39, my emphasis). Following further regrets of the body, the poem now recalls the importance of remembering last things, and the printed version adds ‘O comme fol est l’homme a qui point n’en souuient’ (l.248). Again, this points the moral to the reader, urging him or her implicitly to remember the coming of death. As in the ‘Visio’ and in ‘Un samedi’, the soul responds by crying out that it envies dumb beasts whose souls die too when the body dies (ll.253-56).

We now come to an important theological point, originating in the ‘Visio Philiberti’ and which, judging by its inclusion in the majority of body-soul debates in Anglo-Norman, French and Middle English as well as the accuracy of the translation from the Latin in each case, was perceived to be of supreme importance to all of its audiences.<sup>45</sup> The body asks the soul whether those who are in hell in such ‘penitence’ (BN f.fr.24865 ‘penance’ ) have any hope of help or deliverance? And what about the rich? If they have left monies to relatives, can this give them any advantage over the other damned? The soul replies that the body’s question is unreasonable: no prayers nor force will help the damned.

Ta demande, dit l’ame, est trop peu raisonnable  
 Car selon la sentence de Dieu ferme et estable  
 Tous ceulz qui son dampnes ont peine pardurable

<sup>43</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll. 215-16.

<sup>44</sup> The Latin describes doing good here in terms of ethical behaviour that has nothing to do with Christianity as such; Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll. 217-20.

<sup>45</sup> Karajan, ‘Visio’, ll.237-63. ‘Si cum jeo ju’, Stengel’s edition, stanzas 43-44, 48-51; ‘Un samedi’, Varnhagen’s edition, ‘P’ text, ll.887-93, where the body tells the soul: ‘Nostre dampnation/Ne puet auoir pardon./Aumosne de parent/Ne nos uaut mais noient/Ne messe ne matine/Ne nos ert medecine./Sos ciel nen est cel moine/Prouoire ne canoine/Ne reclus ne ermite/Tant soit de grant merite./Qui a nos puist aidier/De nos mals alegier.’

Ne force ne priere ne puet faire muable. (BN f.fr. 24865, ll.242-45; BN f.fr. 2198, ll.193-96)<sup>46</sup>

The soul expounds on the point:

Se tous religieulx, prebends [*printed version : prescheurs*] & cordeliers  
Cantoient tousiours messes & disoient psaultiers  
Se tout le monde aulx poures [*printed version : pour Dieu*] donnoit ses  
deniers  
Ne trairoit vne ame en cent mille milliers. (BN f.fr.24865, ll.246-49)<sup>47</sup>

The printed version omits the reference to the poor, but is otherwise identical in meaning; however, the substitution of the Church/God for the poor here may be similar to the substitution of the Church for one's neighbour as the object of one's virtue that we have seen above.

Both in 'Une grante vision' and in 'Un samedi', the soul goes on to explain that the devil simply enjoys tormenting souls and whether you pay him or sacrifice yourself to him won't make any difference.<sup>48</sup> In 'Une grante vision', as in the 'Visio', the further point is made that the rich are worst off, since the highest fall furthest. 'Tant plus sont estés hault de tant plus sont arrière' (l.279). In the printed version, the soul then describes the horrors of hell: darkness, worms, snakes, toads, dirt. This is omitted in the two manuscript versions, and its inclusion in the printed version echoes the inclusion of the 'grisly' stanza at ll.157-60, which describes in detail the horrors of the worms that are devouring the body.

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<sup>46</sup> The printed version has 'Ne force ne priere point ne leur est aidable' but is otherwise identical. 'Your demand, said the soul, is not very reasonable/For according to God's firm and unchanging decree/All of those who are damned will have perpetual pain/No force nor prayer can change this'.

<sup>47</sup> 'If all religious, prebendaries [*preachers*] and cordeliers [*a kind of friar*]/Sang masses and said psalms all the time/If everyone gave all their money to the poor [in God's name]/It wouldn't rescue one soul among a hundred thousand thousand'.

<sup>48</sup> 'Un samedi' reads : 'por tot le tresor/De l'argent et de l'or/Qui est des orient/Deci en occident,/Ne donroit Belgibu/L'ame d'un seul perdu./Quant on plus l'a serui,/Plus l'aime l'anemi ;/Et gregnor tormenta/Cil, qui plus serui l'a.' Varnhagen's edition, P text, ll. 919-928. 'Not for all the treasure, gold and silver on earth from the East to the West, would Beelzebub give up a lost soul. He loves to hurt you in proportion to how you have served him on earth, and the more you have served him, the more he'll torment you'.

The end of 'Une grante vision' is fully in the 'Visio Philiberti' and 'Un samedi' tradition; the narrator tells how three (in BN f.fr.24865 two) devils appear to take away the soul. They carry pitchforks and their eyes burn horribly, and their breath is like stinking flames, while poisonous serpents emerge from their nostrils (BN f.fr.24865: their ears) (ll.289-91). The soul screams 'like a beast in pain', but also cries out to Jesus and begs Him to think of David and of His own kindness. But the devils remind it that it misspent its life, and consequently, will never see Jesus again.

The visionary awakes and, as in the 'Visio', resolves to serve God for the rest of his life; unlike in the 'Visio', however, the manuscript versions explain that this is partly in order that God may absolve his sins before his death ('Dont dieu deuant sa mort de ses pech[i]ez absoille', BN f.fr.24865 l.284, similar in BN f.fr. 2981 l.235), while the printed version substitutes 'Et seruir Dieu du cueur des lors jour et nuit veille', l.312. The poem in the printed version ends with a prayer that we may all be forgiven and eventually live in God's grace forever. This stanza is omitted in both manuscript versions, which continue for a further stanza with the description of what happened to Philibert:

Tantost se rent a dieu & tous honneurs desprise  
De tous les biens mondains perdit la couuoitise  
Son corps et same met a faire son seruice  
Es mains de Jhucrist & a sa commandise (BN f.fr.24865, ll.285-88).<sup>49</sup>

Here the poem in BN f.fr.24865 ends ('Cy fine la disputacion de corps & de l'ame'). BN f.fr.2198 adds (or took from its source) a much longer warning to the reader, clearly intended to form part of the body-soul debate as the writer has written 'Explicit liber de disputacione anime & corporis' after the eight extra stanzas. The 32 additional verses emphasise the dangers of wealth and the impossibility of buying spiritual advantage; if you are rich, people will think you are also good; but you should wish for enlightened reason ('rayson enluminee') rather than wealth, as eternal fire lasts longer than any of the

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<sup>49</sup> 'Immediately he devoted himself to God and despised all honours/He lost his desire for all worldly goods/He put his body and his soul to work in his service/Into the hands of Jesus and his commands'. BN f.fr.2198 has virtually the same stanza, slightly rearranged.

pleasures you might wish for (BN f.fr.2198, ll.254-55). If wealth could acquire eternal life, then it would not be folly to wish for it, but in fact it cannot: ‘Mais de telle marchandise ne s’entremet la mort’ – ‘Death doesn’t deal in that kind of merchandise’(l.260). All must finally arrive at that port, so the writer urges the reader – apparently a friar, ‘Frere’ – to pray for him that he too may be delivered from sin. The significance of this ‘extra’ passage in BN f.fr.2198 links it to its manuscript context, and is discussed below.

### 2.2.3 Summary

As the reader can see from the description above, ‘Une grante vision’ closely follows much of the content of the ‘Visio’ and also has many similarities to ‘Un samedi’ and ‘Si cum jeo ju’. However, there are also important differences to the earlier poems. One is clearly that ‘Une grante vision’ is constructed more consciously within the *ars moriendi* tradition, especially in the printed version where additional stanzas emphasise the grisly nature of the body’s plight even where this disturbs the continuity of the poem (as we have seen in the example above where the printed version (ll.33-36) ‘interrupts’ the sequence contrasting the body’s former palace with his present tomb, to say how disgusting the body now is). To this may be added the body’s regret, in the printed version, that it didn’t study the arts of dying and living well in its lifetime (ll.201-08); part of the self-consciousness indicated above of the poem as a text, and its emphasis on the importance of devotional reading.

However, by far the most conspicuous – and indeed disturbing – aspect of ‘Une grante vision’ compared to the earlier poems is the body’s insistence that it is not only unable to do anything of its own accord (an essentially rationalist, Aristotelian argument that the majority of ‘bodies’ in body-soul debates use), but also that it is ‘born to sin’: the body has no natural virtues of its own and its sins are natural and therefore ‘right’. Most body-soul debates, even hostile ones, emphasise that body and soul are both part of human nature; thirteenth-century theology, especially the writings of Aquinas and Bonaventure, had made

this point central to doctrines of resurrection and creation.<sup>50</sup> Here no Thomistic awareness of the body's importance in salvation is allowed to shine through at any point, even though the poem's pre-Aquinas source, the 'Visio', also clearly indicates that body and soul were intended to be saved together. This is an argument against Gerson's authorship of 'Une grante vision', for as we will see in my discussion of BN f.fr.24865, Gerson took care in the majority of his vernacular writings to stress the importance of the body as well as the soul, even if he sometimes appears to find this problematic.

Here there is no hint at all that body and soul were both created by God for a good end, and although the body says it can't go to Heaven without the soul, there is no corresponding thought that the soul cannot be saved without the body either. The printed version makes this especially clear in its stanza 'Vices et péchés faire estoit ma nature', discussed above (ll.145-48),<sup>51</sup> in which 'nature' is equated with 'droicture': doing what is natural is also right (an equation that in itself is not found in other body-soul debates). Yet if the body is essentially wrong – as opposed to misled, or gone wrong through sin – this implies that created matter itself may also be inherently bad. This is a catch-22 situation for the body, and hence also the reader (as well as being in direct contradiction of an orthodox theology of creation). The body states that it is naturally evil and cannot, of itself, do good (although it is implied it can and will do bad of its own accord). Yet should it do good, it would be 'unnatural', and therefore also wrong. Moreover, in a further complication, it is the body itself who is making out a case for itself by saying it is naturally bad; is the reader to believe that this is true, or is he/she supposed to 'deconstruct' the text, realising that the body is doubly bad for making out its badness to be inevitable? The potential irony in this stanza can hardly be felt amidst the moral confusion into which it throws the reader.

How this – and the rest of the poem – is read, however, must also depend on the context. As we have seen, the Anglo-Norman debates can be read in an historical context of literary and theological developments that attempted to make sense of the meaning of the flesh and

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<sup>50</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp. 232-47; F.C.Coplestone, *Aquinas* (Harmondsworth: 1955, repr. 1975), esp. pp. 167-76; Kläden, *Mit Leib...*, pp. 71-72, 145-65.

<sup>51</sup> 'I was naturally full of vices and sin/Yet if I did wrong I did nothing but right/No creature may be blamed for doing right, nor should he be done any injury for it in word or deed'.

the creation of the body, and to refute dualistic heresies, while also emphasising the soul's special status as the image of God. Some works – such as Innocent III's *De miseria humana* – focused more strongly on the horrors of the flesh than others, but such an approach was controversial even at the time.<sup>52</sup> What was the context for fourteenth and fifteenth century readers of 'Une grante vision'? I attempt to answer this question in part by looking at the two manuscripts of 'Une grante vision' in more detail.

### 2.3 Paris, BN f.fr.2198

This short, apparently uncompleted paper manuscript (44 fols., 200 x 100 mm) is written throughout in the same small, neat book hand. The hand is similar to that used by Scribe A in the fourteenth-century Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74 ('Si cum jeo ju'), which may indicate that the manuscript is earlier than the 'fifteenth century' attributed to it by the catalogue, but may also only indicate the individual scribe. At least three works in BN f.fr.2198 are addressed explicitly to religious: the 'Memoire des IX paroles que maistre Aubert Arcevesque de Coloigne dist', that is, 'The Nine Words of Charity of the Archbishop of Cologne' (which also occurs in Arundel 288, a manuscript of 'Si cum jeo ju'); 'Quatre choses qui couviennent au vray religieux' ('Four things that true religious should do/possess'); and 'L'Ordenance de la messe'. Its copy of the 'Purgatoire de S. Patrice' commences, 'Pour la bonne gent conforter' which may indicate its instructional value. These texts, along with the scribe's adaptations of Jean de Meun's *Testament* and of 'Une grante vision', all point to the manuscript having been both written and read by male clerics or religious with responsibility for the care of laypeople. The manuscript appears to have been written by a single scribe. There are no illustrations and no obvious variations in style, and the manuscript breaks off in the middle of the last item, the 'Vie de S. Marguerite' (fol. 38r).

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<sup>52</sup> See Christian Kiening with Florian Berger, 'Contemptus mundi in Vers und Bild am Ende des Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 123 (1994), 409-57, esp. pp. 409-10.

The longest single item in the manuscript is Jean de Meun's *Testament* (fols. 1r-26v), which immediately precedes 'Une grante vision'.<sup>53</sup> This is a long poem of advice to a young man to adopt the Christian life early rather than late, as death can come at any time. Besides containing warnings about the dangers of the world, the flesh and the devil, the poem also includes descriptions of the torments of the damned (fol. 23v) and, notably, a number of long passages concerning simony, and the temptations of the worldly life for priests; it also includes positive examples of religious who '[will] flee the court' ('fuiront la vie de court') yet offer spiritual succour to kings and queens (fol. 10r). These passages are emphasised by manicule signs and extensive marginal comments, so at fol. 7r: 'Coment les benefices sont dones par les prelas aqui & coment & tous pur symonie' ('How benefices are given by prelates, to whom and how, and all for simony'), while in a passage of ten lines in the text at fol. 11r the poem describes how priests abuse their office by 'purchasing' it, thus leading those in their care into equal corruption.<sup>54</sup> The poem also describes the terrors of sleep for the sinful, who have visions of their fate to come ('visiones de dyables' fol. 23v) and, in contrast, ends with prayers to Mary asking for the 'parfait vision' of God (fols. 25v-26r).

'Une grant vision' (fols. 26v-29r) is entitled 'Cy parle des tourments d'enfer & enquel guise cil qui font cet enfer [s]ont tormentez &c' ('This speaks of the torments of Hell and in what way those who constitute that hell are tormented'). This links 'Une grante vision' to the latter, monitory part of the *Testament* by explicitly describing the poem as a vision of hell (although it is not). It also connects 'Une grante vision' with the multivalent use of the word 'vision' in the *Testament* and links it to that poem's focus on the necessity of thinking at a young age about one's fate after death, while the explicit opening of 'Une grante vision', as we have seen, in turn reminds the reader that he or she can be like

<sup>53</sup> Ed. Buzzetti Gallarati, *Le testament maistre Jean le Meun*.

<sup>54</sup> 'Mais [s ?]a autri domage il[s] pourchassent office./Moult de gens y pourroient noter erreur ou vice/Cont le [pr ?]etre des ames doit cognoistre & entendre/Cil qui en doit adieu compter ou rayson rendre/Donc ne le puet nul autre fortraye sans mesprendre/Le pouoir & les ames dont il se doit deffendre/S'il [-]jauoit pechie si est ce uilene./Car long temps il este honore & chierei./Ceste gente dis prelas si ne deussent mic.' 'But the other wrong is that they buy their office/Many people could remark that as an error or vice/when the priest should know and understand the condition of souls/He who must render account to God./Thus he cannot steal from another without abusing/the power and the souls that he is charged with./If he sins so badly and if he is such a wrongdoer/While for a long time he has been honoured and revered/The people will say that prelates are worth nothing'.



Philibert who saw the vision and remembered its lesson, just as the young man in the *Testament* learns his.

But this version of ‘Une grante vision’ also refers to the *Testament* indirectly, in its focus on the dangers of attempting to purchase spiritual goods. It could be argued that the poem here addresses itself less explicitly to the worldly rich, than to those, perhaps prelates, who are at risk of spiritual sin and corruption, and there are several conspicuous changes made by the scribe that support this argument. For instance, ‘Une grante vision’ in BN f.fr.2198 omits twelve of the 22 ‘ubi sunt’ stanzas near the beginning of the poem (stanzas 7-9, 14-24); these are verses that predominantly refer to specific possessions of a rich man, such as his ‘signouries’ (fiefdoms), and the ‘rentes et reuenues’ he would have received from others. Although such rents may also be received at monasteries, the other forms of wealth here omitted refer probably to a secular lord.<sup>55</sup>

Most conspicuously, as we have seen above, BN f.fr.2198 omits the final stanza of the printed version (in which the writer asks for God’s mercy and ‘joye pardurable’) and instead adds eight stanzas that are not in the printed edition at all.<sup>56</sup> These eight stanzas focus on the mistaken belief that acquiring possessions or temporal goods (including bodily health (l.258) but also the favour of others ‘la faueur de vous que tant est desiree’, ‘that favour that is so desired by you’, l.255) can somehow prevent death. Although the writer also talks about rich men, he says, ‘If you are a rich man’ (‘Se tu es richez home’, l. 248); he then urges the reader not to think about worldly riches; instead ‘Pour vous deuroit prier rayson enluminee’ (‘reason should pray for you’). In the penultimate stanza the poem addresses a ‘Frere’ – perhaps really a fellow friar, or perhaps ‘Frere’ in the sense of ‘brother man’: ‘Frere ne te vault [y] soulas voi[r] ne confort/A la fin te conuient arriver a tel port’ (ll.262-3).

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<sup>55</sup> BN f.fr.2198 omits references, for example, to ‘champs’ (fields), ‘vignes’ (vineyards), ‘maisons’ (houses), ‘pierres précieuses’ (gems), ‘couronnes dorées’ (golden crowns), ‘robes’ (rich robes), ‘espices’ (spices), ‘esperuiers’ (sparrowhawks), ‘nobles oyseaux’ (noble birds, i.e. birds of prey), ‘maistre ouvrier’ (master craftsman), ‘cheuaulx’ (horses).

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix 2.3 for full transcription.

Here, then, despite the poem's inclusion in a manuscript alongside texts which could be used for the instruction of the laity, the writer appears to be more interested in its applicability to the instructors, that is, to the brothers or priests who have ostensibly given up wealth and power and are (or ought to be) materially poor, but who may be tempted to use the Church's authority for their own material gain. Its placing in the manuscript after Jean de Meun's *Testament*, and intertextual relationship with that poem, also frame 'Une grante vision' as a form of 'advice literature', perhaps in a similar way to how 'Si cum jeo ju' can be read in Selden supra 74. The importance of context becomes clear when we contrast the inclusion of 'Une grante vision' in BN f.fr.2198 with the structure, history and probable readership of BN f.fr.24865.

#### 2.4 Case study of Paris, BN f.fr.24865<sup>57</sup>

This manuscript is of particular interest within a study of vernacular devotional literature, and confronts the reader with a dense and complicated body of information about its provenance, use, authorship and readership. It is an attractive, clearly set out little book, which has been written by at least four hands. Close examination reveals that the manuscript falls into three 'sections'; only the middle section can be said with some likelihood to have formed the original book.

Primarily, the manuscript as it now stands may be characterised as a small devotional manuscript on paper from the fifteenth century, probably originally for private use, containing a number of *vitae*, prayers and meditations in French and Latin together with 'Une grante vision' and two other long vernacular texts, the *Mirour des pecheurs* and the 'Jardin de l'âme amoureux', both attributed to Jean Gerson. Its first 25 folios may also originally have formed a separate booklet of two Latin *vitae*, and it ends with what again appears to be a separate section, a French and Latin summary of the privileges granted to the Celestine order in Paris in 1422. The manuscript displays a strongly local bias towards St Hildevert, a saint little-known outside Gournay in Normandy where his bones are said to have been buried, but also indicates affiliations with the Amiens/Picardy region. The

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<sup>57</sup> Omont, pp. 459-61. A full description can be found in Appendix 2.2.

complexity of the manuscript allows us to consider different reasons and contexts for its inclusion of ‘Une grante vision’, particularly in terms of devotional reading, ‘vernacular theology’, women’s reading and the significance of the body in vernacular literature. The manuscript’s probable later history also indicates an interesting trajectory for the various works that go to make up the modern whole.

#### 2.4.1 Structure of the manuscript

What I have termed the three ‘sections’ of the manuscript differ clearly from each other, although they are also linked thematically and historically. Section 1 (fols. 1r-25v) is written in a distinctive hand (Hand A), entirely in Latin. It contains only two saints’ lives, of Quentin and Firminius, both martyrs associated with the city of Amiens. Although both *vitae* are in the same hand, a clear division between the two legends may indicate that the scribe originally envisaged writing only the story of St Quentin. Despite its obviously different hand, language and style from Section 2, Section 1 also has elements which can be seen (and may have been seen by a compiler) as linking it with the next part of the manuscript, including an interest in the incorruptibility of saints’ bodies (Firminius and Hildevert), martyrdom in the early centuries of the Church, and the Amiens region.

Section 2 (fols. 26r-fol. 237v) contains *vitae* predominantly of female saints, but also a unique *vita* of St Hildevert or Hildebert, and prayers in both French and Latin, plus two versions of the Passion story; it ends with three long vernacular works, ‘Une grante vision’, the *Mirour des pecheurs* and the ‘Jardin amoureux de l’âme’. Probably two hands, B and C, are responsible for all the items in this section.<sup>58</sup> Content, style and language all – I argue – indicate a probable readership of devout women, religious or secular or on the border of both worlds.

The first *vita* in Section 2 is that of St Margaret (fols. 26r-40r), the patron saint of women in childbed, given an especially prominent position here at what may originally have been

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<sup>58</sup> There may also be a third hand, which I have designated B-1, between fols. 90r-174r; see Appendix 2.2 for discussion of this point.

the very beginning of a book.<sup>59</sup> The last is that of St Hildevert (fols. 90r-110r), which is unique to this manuscript and may indicate a regional, even parochial interest in Gournay, where the saint's bones were said to be buried,<sup>60</sup> especially as Hildevert otherwise appears to have little connection with the virgin martyrs that otherwise predominate in this section of the manuscript. Between Margaret and Hildevert – framed by them, so to speak – the manuscript invites the reader to meditate upon the lives of and/or pray to saints Barbara,<sup>61</sup> Apollonia,<sup>62</sup> Catherine of Alexandria, and Christina of Bolsena,<sup>63</sup> and provides prayers to Christopher,<sup>64</sup> Peter and Paul, and Michael, all of whom were especially important for souls approaching death.<sup>65</sup> The containment of these stories and prayers by on the one hand, St Margaret, and on the other, St Hildevert, may indicate a secular owner of this manuscript in the Gournay parish, or someone who crossed boundaries between a monastic and a secular life, for example a widow or wife whose spiritual advisors urged her to a monastic spirituality. Early traditions believed that Apollonia had been a 'virgin advanced in years', before her cult turned to depicting her as a young maiden, and while she is frequently depicted in art alongside Catherine, Barbara and Margaret, her inclusion in this manuscript may also indicate an older woman's ownership of this book.<sup>66</sup> The prominence of St Margaret may even indicate a woman who has entered religious life after losing a child, reinforced by the fact that it is followed by a meditation on the Passion and a prayer to Mary Our Lady of Sorrows, citing Mary's grief before the Cross.

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<sup>59</sup> On St. Margaret, see Hasenohr and Zink, p. 1358, and Bossuat, 3422-29; on her importance for women in childbed see Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Not of Woman Born: representations of caesarian birth in medieval and Renaissance culture* (Ithaca, 1990).

<sup>60</sup> *Hagiographies*, II, 348.

<sup>61</sup> 'Je te salue, espouse de Jhesucrist/Sainte barbe qui souffreis grief torment', fol. 61v. Cf. Hasenohr and Zink, p. 1353 and Bossuat, 3400; there are three medieval French versions of her life, two of which are edited in Wolfram Kleist, *Die erzählende französische Dit-Literatur in "quatrains alexandrins monorimes" mit Editionen der "Vie saint Leu", der "Vie de saint Christofle", der "Vie saint Jehan Paulus", des "Miracle de saint Servais", der "Vie de sainte Barbe", der "Vie saint Yves", der "Vie de saint Lain" von Jehan le Roy und der "Istoire du mauvais riche homme"* (Hamburg, 1973). Kleist notes that the *Vie de S. Barbe* dates from the fifteenth century and is probably from Picardy.

<sup>62</sup> For a history of this saint's veneration see M. Coens, 'Une passio S. Apolloniae inédite', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 70 (1952), 138–59.

<sup>63</sup> *Hagiographies*, II, 350, states this to be a fifteenth-century, anonymous version of Christina's life in '73 octosyllabic octains', unique to this manuscript.

<sup>64</sup> The 'popular' prayer attributed to Innocent III; ed. Kleist, from BN MS f.fr.25549, p. 217. The prayers to St Christopher are not included in the BN catalogue description of BN f.fr.24865.

<sup>65</sup> St Christopher was held to protect from unshriven death, while Peter, Paul and Michael are all associated with the moment of judgment and entry into the afterlife.

<sup>66</sup> Coen, 'Une passio S. Apolloniae', pp. 139-140.

The common linking of these popular saints may mean, of course, that their inclusion in this manuscript is not evidence of its ownership at all. However, the most obvious characteristic of the *vitae* and prayers is their clear emphasis on virgin saints and especially early virgin martyrs. Barbara, Catherine and Margaret are even three of the four ‘*Virgines capitales*’, while St Catherine was said to be the protector of virgins and cloistered women, as well as scholars, which may make her appropriate for a manuscript belonging to a (female) religious order. Both St Barbara and St Christopher were said to guard from sudden death, and the twice-repeated prayer to St Christopher (by what I think are two different hands on fols. 69v-70r and fols. 199r-v respectively, but identical except for orthographic differences) refers to a common belief in the Middle Ages that looking at his image will save the devotee from unshriven death that day.<sup>67</sup> This may indicate that this manuscript’s inclusion of ‘*Une grante vision*’, and the *Mirour des pecheurs*, both of which can be seen as belonging to the *ars moriendi* tradition, may indeed have been seen by the reader as having a similarly monitory and ultimately protective function if read and acted upon.<sup>68</sup>

The repeated ‘*oraison*’ to St Christopher is particularly revealing as to the possible assumptions and beliefs with which this manuscript may have been read. The prayer indicates that the devotee is looking, or thinks of looking, at Christopher’s picture at the same time as he or she is praying; this will protect the devotee from (near) death if it is done with pure intentions (‘*la sainte escripture/Tesmoigne qui [d’]entente pure /L’image saint xpo fle regarde [sic]/Devotement que il n’a garde/D’entrer en langleur la journee*’<sup>69</sup>). The stress on the use of imagery here also links the prayer to the ‘*Jardin amoureux*’, in which the writer tells of how part of the soul’s task is to pass through a garden of images which teach her correct faith. But the prayer to St Christopher also echoes the implicit (and explicit) topos of the body-soul debate that the soul should ‘govern’ the body, when

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<sup>67</sup> I am grateful to Dr. J. Nuechterlein for this information.

<sup>68</sup> Hiltgart L. Keller, *Lexikon der Heiligen und biblischen Gestalten. Legende und Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst*. 10th edn (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 109-11.

<sup>69</sup> ‘...as witnessed in Holy Scripture/whoever gazes upon the image of St Christopher with pure intention, devotedly/need not fear entering into [danger/death] during the day’. Kleist, p. 217 has ‘*laigneur*’ here (from BN MS f.fr.25549, fol. 90r) rather than ‘*languueur*’, my reading of BN f.fr.24865’s text, which approximates to modern English ‘languish’ rather than merely ‘languor’ or ‘languid’ and can mean a state near death (cf. Godefroy, *alongorer, enlangorir*).

the writer later says, ‘Veillez garder mon corps et m’ame’ (‘I pray you to guard my body and my soul’), and asks Christofle to ‘gouverner’ (‘govern’) the devotee’s five senses so that they may always be directed towards serving the saint. Similarly, the inclusion of the saints Peter and Paul and the archangel Michael in Section 2, besides referring to their obvious importance generally as holy figures, may also point to their connection with other-world visions (‘Vision of St Paul’, ‘Revelation of Peter’) while Michael traditionally appears at scenes of the judgment of souls and plays an important role in the ancient source texts for body-soul debates.

The Latin works in this section of the manuscript also indicate a practical use in everyday devotions by a secular or religious person (if religious, then probably female and/or non-monastic). They are works or phrases which could be memorised and recognised easily, apart perhaps from the life of St Apollonia. The titles of all the works in this section are in French, whatever the language of the following text, which may also indicate that the owner of the manuscript was not Latinate, but could understand a text already known to him/her. Similarly, in the ‘joys’ of Catherine of Alexandria each verse is preceded by the word ‘Gaude’ to introduce each prayer, and this is written each time larger than the other words and in red, giving the impression of a litany-like chant. This repetitive style, like parts of the liturgy, is not dependent on the reader’s understanding of Latin in general, but only of the repeated words used to pray to the saint.

#### 2.4.2 Female saints for female readers?

Four of the female saints featured prominently in BN f.fr.24865 – Barbara, Catherine, Christina and Margaret – also play important parts in Book III of Christine de Pizan’s *Livre de la Cité des Dames* (1404/05), the part told by the allegorical figure ‘Justice’.<sup>70</sup> The story of St Christina of Bolsena (fols. 74r-89r) occupies a particularly large space within the manuscript’s collection of *vitae*, and is also particularly significant in Christine de Pizan’s book.

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<sup>70</sup> Christine de Pizan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*. Translated with an introduction and notes by Rosalind Brown-Grant (London, 1999).

The *Cité des Dames* was written in defence of the female sex and its virtues, as a reaction against the misogynistic works of Jean de Meun and other Parisian scholastic authors. In her effort to provide an alternative, positive view of women and their moral and spiritual part in the world, Christine de Pizan was supported by Jean Gerson and others.<sup>71</sup> Her work was also addressed to women and undoubtedly read by them, and at least one version of ‘Une grante vision’ was included in a fifteenth-century manuscript alongside a text attributed to her.<sup>72</sup> While we cannot know whether the readers of the vernacular works in BN f.fr.24865 were originally women, we do know, therefore, that the *vitae* of the saints in this particular manuscript, ‘Une grante vision’ and Christine de Pizan’s works were all circulating at the same period and that readers of one of these works may well have been aware of the others. This points to potentially complex readings of the (female) body in this manuscript.

In *The Allegory of Female Authority*, Maureen Quilligan notes that the virgin martyrs described by Christine in Book III of the *Cité des Dames*

are curiously resistant to mutation [...] Just as they have already triumphed in life over politically motivated dismemberment and death, so too, in their deaths their “bodies” are not transmuted metaphorically into allegorical elements. The position thus given the female saints’ legends within the overall metaphor of the city’s now completed construction underscores the text’s logic by doubly emphasising the untransmutable corporeality crucially central to these stories of dismemberment; twice unchanged, both by resisting dismemberment and also by Christine [de Pizan’s] treatment, the bodies remain sainted forms.<sup>73</sup>

As Quilligan also notes, many modern readers have found these stories of dismemberments and sadistic torture of young girls and women – in two cases, St Christina’s and St Barbara’s, by the agency of their own fathers – deeply disturbing and out of alignment

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<sup>71</sup> Regine Pernoud, *Christine de Pisan* (Paris, 1982); Christine de Pizan, *Das Buch der Stadt der Frauen*. Translated with a critical commentary by Margarete Zimmermann. 4th edn (Munich, 1995), pp. 9-34.

<sup>72</sup> BN f.fr. 1181.

<sup>73</sup> Maureen Quilligan, *The Allegory of Female Authority* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 191-2.

with the 'self-consciously pro-woman text' that Christine is writing.<sup>74</sup> But Quilligan argues that in rewriting these stories in the context of her 'City of Ladies', Christine is also rewriting the meaning of the female body as active agent in its own martyrdom.

We may note here that martyrdom, in particular the public, highly performative martyrdom of these female saints, means a disturbance of the boundaries between living and dead bodies. Before their actual deaths, the martyrs undergo sufferings that would kill anyone else, but they do not die, even if they at first appear to. Instead, their bodies are shown to be holy by performing miracles (coming back to life, spurting milk instead of blood) while the voyeurism of the onlookers leads frequently to their own deaths, inflicted by divine will. Sometimes these phenomena coincide. Christina was daughter to the pagan King Urban, who subjected her to a number of hideous tortures which she survived through miraculous help, before finally succumbing to two arrows.<sup>75</sup> Her father ordered that her tongue should be cut out at the root, to stop her praying to Jesus, but Christina, inspired by God, spat out the bits of tongue and these blind her father. In this way, Christina's martyred body becomes the means both of punishing her persecutor and by this miracle, converting unbelievers. As Kevin Brownlee shows, this particular story makes the body, particularly the female body, extremely powerful in those moments when it is most persecuted, and most 'heard' when it should be silenced;<sup>76</sup> and these stories make the relationship of the reader of BN f.fr.24865 to 'the body' as such very complex.

In addition, the heroines of these stories are usually young women, persecuted by older men, sometimes fathers, always powerful. If it is true, as Swanson has suggested, that the 'great efflorescence of female piety and female sanctity' in the later Middle Ages led to a 'conviction that the privileged conduit for divine revelation was young, poor, and female',<sup>77</sup> then these stories may provide role models for readers who themselves wish to

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<sup>74</sup> Quilligan, *ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>75</sup> Keller, *Lexikon der Heiligen*, pp. 107-8; Hasenohr and Zink, p. 1354. For a full description and discussion of the story, see Kevin Brownlee, 'Martyrdom and the female voice: Saint Christine in the *Cité des Dames*', in Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Tímea Szell (eds), *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca and London, 1991), pp. 115-35.

<sup>76</sup> Brownlee, *ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, citing D. Bornstein, pp. 304-5.



emulate such holy women. But it may also not be too fanciful to suggest that these stories see a re-enactment of the body-soul argument in a different form. The lustful, rich and spiritually blind King Urban, St Christine's father, may remind us of the body in the 'Visio Philiberti', a rich man who was never willing to listen to or be governed by the spiritual Soul, and not until it is too late does he realise the truth of the Christian doctrine. This is a particularly possible reading if we are thinking of 'Une grante vision' where the body is entirely bad.

The possible readings of both the saints' *vitae* in BN f.fr.24865 point to a network of meanings, whereby martyrdom of the body can become a means of immense power; the body itself can be transformed even as it is seemingly mutilated. These readings add to the levels on which 'the body', as well as 'the soul' can be read in 'Une grante vision', and the longer vernacular works in BN f.fr.24865 add yet further levels to the reading process.

#### 2.4.3 The longer vernacular works in Paris, BN f.fr.24865

The final part of Section 2, from fol. 178r to fol. 237v, contains three popular longer vernacular works: 'Une grante vision' (fols. 178r-185v), the *Mirour des pecheurs* (fols. 202r-221r) and the 'Jardin amoureux de l'âme' (fols. 221v-235v). The latter two are generally attributed to Jean Gerson.<sup>78</sup>

The Celestines played an important role in disseminating Gerson's work both during his lifetime and after his death,<sup>79</sup> and while there is no direct indication that the 'Jardin amoureux' or other vernacular works in BN f.fr.24865 were copied by a member of the Celestine order, there was a Celestine house at Amiens, the city of SS. Firminius and Quentin, whose *vitae* are celebrated at the beginning of the manuscript. It is not impossible that it was in fact a Celestine who compiled the manuscript as we now see it

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<sup>78</sup> See note 6, above.

<sup>79</sup> Hasenohr and Zink, pp. 782-85. Gerson maintained close relationships to both the Celestine and Carthusian orders, and instructed that they be the 'authorised' copyists of his work. On the Celestines' importance for ecclesiastical and secular authorities, see also Karl Borchardt, *Die Coelestiner. Eine Mönchsgemeinschaft des späteren Mittelalters*. Historische Studien, 48 (Husum, 2006),

(almost certainly its last medieval home was with the Celestine order). If so, this might support the argument that the longer works are by Gerson, but might also simply mean that all of the works were perceived to be orthodox and to support his programme of ‘vernacular theology’. The three works indeed share common themes of a particularly Gersonian ‘vernacular theology’; but ‘Une grante vision’, which at first sight shows a number of textual and ideological similarities to the other two works, both confirms and undermines official doctrines and beliefs about body and soul found in the *Mirour des pecheurs* and the ‘Jardin’.

#### 2.4.3.1 *Mirour des pecheurs*

The *Mirour des pecheurs* is traditionally attributed to Gerson and is almost also certainly by him.<sup>80</sup> It is a reworking of a Latin sermon by Bernard of Clairvaux, an admonitory work meditating on death, the horrors of mortality and the importance of knowledge and perception of the ‘last things’,<sup>81</sup> and emphasises the need for knowledge to understand oneself and love God, knowledge which can only be arrived at through meditation on death. This meditation shows a number of similarities to the descriptions of death in ‘Une grante vision’ and to *ars moriendi* texts that we have already seen in connection with Anglo-Norman body-soul debates, such as the *Mirour de seinte eglyse*. For instance, in chapter 5 the reader is asked:

Qui est ou monde plus vile chose que homme? Car tantost qu’il est mort, il devient si puant qu’il ne peut demorer en l’ostel par l’espace de trois jours pour la grant puantise de lui, mais le fault comme vil fiens geter hors et bouter en terre. Lors devient vile charoigne et viande a vers<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Ed. Brunelli, ‘“Le mirour des pecheurs”’.

<sup>81</sup> Brunelli, pp. 167-86. See also Hasenohr and Zink, pp. 1017-19; they describe the Latin source, the *Speculum peccatoris*, as being strongly influenced by Innocent III’s *De contemptu mundi*.

<sup>82</sup> ‘What is there in the world that is more vile than a man? For as soon as he is dead, he becomes so stinking that he cannot remain indoors for three days, so badly does he stink; instead, he must be thrown outside like dung and lands in the earth. There he turns into vile flesh and food for worms’ (Brunelli, p. 196, ll.45-48).

The descriptions of hell and the devils awaiting the unrepentant sinner are also almost identical to the description in 'Une grante vision'. In chapter 7 of the *Mirour des pecheurs*, the author writes of the 'dyables noirs et horribles et tres mauvais en braiant et hulant comme lyons afin qu'il puissent prendre et ravir leur proye' ('the black and horrible and evil devils who bray and roar like lions before they can take and ravish their prey', i.e. the soul);<sup>83</sup> the devil is described as 'serpent envenimés' (envenomed serpent'), like the 'serpents envenimés' that issue from the ears (or nostrils) of the devils in 'Une grante vision',<sup>84</sup> and like them he is said to have 'flambes de feu' (fiery flames) that come from his eyes.<sup>85</sup>

But it is not only the horrors that are similar (and that are partly, of course, generic to *ars moriendi* texts). Gerson also emphasises the need for repentance in this life, as we have seen similarly in Anglo-Norman body-soul debates and in 'Une grante vision'. Why are humans so afraid of death? It is because death changes everything into finality; separation of soul from body means that judgment is final and nothing more can be done:

Car tant comme nous avons l'ame ou corps, nous sommes ou temps de grace et qui ne recevra discipline et fera penitence ou temps qu'il vit, apres la mort ne trouvera point de pardon<sup>86</sup>

The *Mirour des pecheurs*, then, is related to body-soul debates, and especially 'Une grante vision' in numerous ways. One might wonder whether this indicates a common authorship, but we have already seen how closely Anglo-Norman body-soul debates often resemble other devotional literature of their time or just previous to them. However, it is certainly of interest that 'Une grante vision' seems to be grouped in BN f.fr.24865 with two works attributed to Gerson that in different ways are meditations on human fate, the *Mirour* focusing on death and the perils of the body and the 'Jardin amoureux de l'ame'

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<sup>83</sup> Brunelli, p. 199, ll.3-5.

<sup>84</sup> On fol. 185r in BN f.fr.24865, for example.

<sup>85</sup> Brunelli, p. 202, l.63.

<sup>86</sup> 'For so long as we have body and soul [together], we are in the time of grace and whoever doesn't receive discipline and doesn't do penance during his lifetime, he will find no pardon after death'. Brunelli, p. 198, ll.60-63.

focusing on the joys and tribulations of the soul in her attempts to reach God. All of these works in conjunction act to show the complexity of constructions of 'the soul' for their readers and writers.

#### 2.4.3.2 'Jardin amoureux de l'âme'

The 'Jardin amoureux' (fols. 221v- 235v)<sup>87</sup> is a prose work ending with a poem, depicting the soul as a woman who is trying to reach Jesus. In a setting and with language highly reminiscent of the *Roman de la Rose*, it portrays a picture of the relation of the soul to God and implicitly, the relation between body and soul, that is very different to that of the *Mirour des pecheurs*; like the Anglo-Norman poem 'Le mois de mai/Si cum jeo contrai', it transforms a secular literary model into an allegory of the sacred.

The 'Jardin amoureux' is a garden of love (lit. 'loving garden') in the midst of the desert that is this world. The 'Dieu d'amours' ('God of Love') lives there and, echoing the Song of Songs, calls to his lover, the soul, his 'doulce suer' and 'chiere espouse' ('gentle sister' and 'dear spouse'). At this point, however, the reader does not know this is the soul, and is given the impression of an actual woman whom Jesus calls to.

The first mention of the soul comes in the title to the second chapter. Here, Jesus is described as the soul's 'loyal amant' ('faithful lover') and her spouse by 'affinité de grace' ('affinity in grace'), by the beauty of Divine grace and by 'mariage espirituel'. He is her brother by virtue of their 'consanguinité de nature' ('natural consanguinity', sharing of blood) and 'par la semblance de nature humaine que il prist en la vierge' ('by the appearance of human nature that he took in the Virgin'; my emphasis). The soul – not the body – should be praised for her 'grant lignage' ('noble lineage') and her 'hault mariage' ('noble marriage'), as only the soul is truly related to God; the 'lignage naturel' (natural lineage) also referred to is a lineage of the soul only, and Christ's humanity only a 'semblance' in this context. This already distinguishes between two types of 'nature'; the body is both created in God's image, and yet in and of its conception in the flesh is

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<sup>87</sup> Edited from BN f.fr.24865 and one other manuscript (Avignon 344a) by Glorieux, no. 309, pp. 144-154.

disgusting. This is a paradox that we have already seen in connection with body-soul debates in Anglo-Norman manuscripts, especially in the *Miroir de seinte eglise*, which the *Mirour des pecheurs* often echoes.

The soul longs to reach the garden (chapter 2), but is hindered by her own feet, which represent the weakness of her powers, and by her enemies the world, the flesh and the devil (chapter 3). She reaches the narrow, but true path of penitence (chapter 4); this leads her to the garden she desires, but she cannot enter as it is surrounded by a wall of austerity, poverty and humility (chapter 5). Dame Obedience, who guards the gate, eventually recognises the soul and gives her four ladies to accompany her through the gate (the four cardinal virtues, chapters 6 and 7). Once inside the garden, the soul rejoices and wants to rush through it to find her lover, but the four ladies restrain her, telling her to observe its beauties first (chapter 8). Chapter 9 describes the paintings on the wall of the garden, which are images of Bible stories, saints, angels, miracles etc, and notes 'O comme icy a noble peinture qui contient telle doctrine a qui ne se puet comparer la mondaine philosophie ne quelleconque science humaine'.<sup>88</sup> Here the writer appears to be voicing support for the use of images in devotion, perhaps linking them to the need for all, whether literate or not, to be able to access the faith. He continues 'Après ce que la sainte ame est par ceste peinture suffisamment endoctrinee' ('after the blessed soul has been sufficiently taught by these paintings') in chapter 10, where the soul wanders through the garden, enjoying its beauties, which are all allegorical ('les arbres de haulte contemplation, les fleurs de honeste conversation'). Seeing the the Tree of the Cross, she weeps at the death of her lover (chapter 11), but is comforted (chapter 12) by three women (Faith, Hope and Charity), who assure her that she will meet her lover after her own death and be reunited with him for ever in joy. This makes the soul long for death and the separation of body and soul:

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<sup>88</sup> 'Oh how much noble imagery is here, containing such doctrines, which cannot be compared with any worldly philosophy nor with any human knowledge'.

Quant la sainte ame oit ces nouvelles: hélas, dit elle, et quant venra la mort, et quant venra le jour qu'elle me separera de mon corps; certes je desire estre du corps separee et estre avec Jhesucrist.<sup>89</sup>

Separation of body and soul here is seen as the precondition for eternal joy; this contrasts strongly with the implication in the *Mirour des pecheurs* that the soul must be afraid of this separation because it means the ultimate judgment cannot be reversed.<sup>90</sup>

In the thirteenth chapter, the soul encounters the fountain of grace, and in the fourteenth, she is further consoled by the birds in the garden; these are souls who have ascended from the active to the contemplative life, from worldly to immortal things. The fifteenth chapter describes the lovers and the beloveds ('amans et amies') who learn how to love 'joyusement'. The art of love, it is said, cannot be learned through 'raison naturelle' alone; natural reason must be tamed ('domptee') by 'foy de divine escripture' ('faith in Holy Scripture'). The author warns against confusing this kind of love with sexual desire, which is 'fol' ('mad'), and readers are urged to 'fuyez, fuyez' ('flee') this perverse love full of filth ('ordure'). The contrast between the two kinds of love, the carnal and the spiritual, is reiterated in the last chapter, where the soul, rather than feeling jealous, rejoices in others and their love for Jesus. Having passed through the school of true love directed by faith, she feels compelled to burst into song to give voice to her joy. There follows a poem in which the author, through the soul, explains how love created all things, including material reality: the planets, the stars, the earth, the beasts, and men and women, made in God's own image. 'Oncques ne fut faicte ou imaginee/Plus belle figure' ('Never was made or imagined/a lovelier figure'). In a moving sequence, the author in 'Jardin amoureux' describes how eternal things became fused with the material through Christ's birth :

Amour lui fist son pouvoir humilier

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<sup>89</sup> 'When the blessed soul hears this news, she says, "Alas, and when will Death come, and when will the day come when death will separate me from my body? I truly desire to be separated from my body and to be with Jesus Christ'.

<sup>90</sup> Brunelli, pp. 194-5, p. 198.

Quant d'une femme naquit humainement  
 Qui vierge et mere fut sans contrarier<sup>91</sup>  
 Qui Dieu et homme conceut divinement.  
 Divinité<sup>92</sup> print lors charnelle vesture  
 Eternité print mortel couverture,  
 Immensité fut lors amesuree  
 Infinité fut lors enviroonee  
 Soubz breve closture.<sup>93</sup>

All of these stanzas underline that only the Incarnation is capable of uniting nature with God; this may imply that divinity and nature can be equally united in human bodies, but also places Christ's Incarnation on a different plane from incarnation, that is, human nature *per se*, which in other texts in the manuscript is connected with filth and dirt.<sup>94</sup>

Similarly, the 'Jardin' now describes how love was joined with matter (the body) when Christ allowed himself to be hanged on the cross. But Christ also had to turn human hearts towards God, and this was difficult, 'Car de soy est nature esnamouree/Sur toute riens' ('Nature is in love with itself above all'). This is similar to the body's self-defence in 'Une grante vision' where it explains that it naturally did nothing but bad: 'Il n'est de merueille se la char se meffait/Car quant est de la char en luy n'i a riens parfait' ('It's no wonder if the flesh does wrong/Because as to the flesh, there's nothing good about it'),<sup>95</sup> or even more strongly in the printed version where it declares, 'Vices et péchés faire estoit ma nature' (ll.145-48).

<sup>91</sup> BN f.fr.24865 here reads 'Quant de vierge nasquit tres dignement/Qui mere pucelle et sans contrarier'. See Glorieux, no. 309, p. 153.

<sup>92</sup> BN f.fr.24865 'Dhumanite', Glorieux, *ibid*.

<sup>93</sup> 'Love made Him humble his power/When He was born humanly of a woman/Who was virgin and mother at once/Who conceived both God and man./Divinity took fleshly apparel/Eternity took a mortal covering/Immensity was now measurable/Infinity was then enclosed/In a little space'.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. BN f.fr.24865, fol. 178v (l.32 of my transcription) where the body is connected with 'peche' and 'ordure' (sin and filth).

<sup>95</sup> BN f.fr.24865, fol. 180v (ll.102-3 in my transcription).

The 'Jardin' ends on an appropriately ambiguous note (although it may not have seemed ambiguous to contemporary readers). After praising the true love characterised by 'douceur' (gentleness), taught to us by God, the poem urges its readers to love all that is beautiful that God also loves, and to love all created beauty, but only that 'Sans villaine ordure': 'Aimons la belle qui est de lui amee/Aimons pour lui toute beaute cree/Sans villaine ordure' ('Let us love the beauty that He loves/Let us love for His sake all created beauty/Without villainous filth').

In these stanzas, one can see the difficulties for Gerson (and/or his teacher) in teaching readers both to avoid dualism and to recognise the God-created status of matter, while at the same time, trying to distinguish between 'good' love of material things and 'bad' love of the same. The 'ordure' spoken of in the last line of the 'Jardin amoureux' is a word often signifying fleshly lusts (sex) although it can also signify sin generally, as we have seen in 'Une grante vision'. We ourselves have a similarly difficult task in interpreting this literature. On the one hand, it is important not to dismiss Gerson's attitude to the body as merely negative, nor can we simplistically assume such dualism because he urged his readers to 'flee the world' and to meditate on death. This common trope was intended to lead to greater joys, not to fewer, as Gerson himself wants the reader to understand; hence the 'Jardin amoureux' stresses the joys of the soul, not its sufferings, and the writer is at pains to emphasise that matter in itself is created by God, too.

#### 2.4.4 Constructions of body and soul in Paris, BN f.fr.24865

Whatever Gerson and other authors may have intended, our task here is to attempt to evaluate the significance of how 'Une grante vision' and BN f.fr.24865 may have been read, a very different question. The similarities between 'Une grante vision' and the other long vernacular works that, besides Latin prayers, form its immediate context in BN f.fr.24865, the *Mirour des pecheurs* and 'Jardin amoureux', mean that it is worth trying to reconstruct the experience of reading all three works together, as whether or not they were read in this way, someone, at some point, thought it suitable to join these three works in a



single manuscript.<sup>96</sup> What, then, can we deduce about the readership of these three works, and how do they ‘fit’ together? What do they tell us about contemporary beliefs about the body, or alternatively, about the beliefs that Gerson and writers like him wanted people to develop?

Clearly, all three works are in different ways explorations of death and the various outcomes death may have; that is, the fate of body and soul both before and after death, although as we have already seen, the body is not mentioned in the ‘Jardin’ except allegorically and in the *Mirour* only negatively. In ‘Une grante vision’, the body, of course, is given its own voice as dialogue partner. But this voice too is conspicuously negative. Despite the ‘Jardin’s emphasis that God created matter, there is no hint of this in ‘Une grante vision’. As we have already seen, the body emphasises how naturally it tends towards the bad and would not do good:

Il n’est de merueille se la char se meffait  
Car quant est de la char en luy n’i a riens parfait’ (BN f.fr.24865, fol. 179v)

and again,

Pour ce doit on scauoir & par raison entendre  
Que mal ne doit la char ne blamer ne reprendre<sup>97</sup>

And, again:

Longuement sans peche ne peult la char durer.

La char qui se pourrist ne se sent de malice  
On la peut amener comme vne beste nice<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> This seems even more clearly the case if, as Professor Linne Mooney has suggested (in correspondence), the hand of both the ‘Jardin’ and the *Mirour* is different from that of the previous devotional texts in Section 2 of the manuscript.

<sup>97</sup> ‘If it’s something you can only know by reason and knowledge/Then you can’t blame the body for not doing it’, BN f.fr.24865, fol. 181r (ll.118-19).

<sup>98</sup> ‘The body can’t go long without sinning/ The body now rotting doesn’t mean any harm/You just have to lead it like a dumb beast’, BN f.fr.24865 fol. 181r, ll.126-29.

The body in the printed version, as we have seen, is yet more extreme, going so far as to say that vice and sin was ‘ma nature’ (l.141). Of course, this is the body defending itself, but while in other body-soul debates the body also cites its lack of subjectivity, it does not otherwise go so far as to say that it ‘naturally’ does wrong. This insistence undermines the message of the ‘Jardin’ that God created matter, too, as does the soul’s insistence in ‘Une grante vision’ that it was baptised and made pure without acknowledging that the body, too, was baptised.

Readings of the soul are perhaps easier, perhaps because unlike the body, the ‘soul’ is an intangible – if ever-present – idea, more easily turned to allegorical purpose. I have discussed the possibility that ‘Section 2’ of BN f.fr.24865 may have been intended for women readers, and in the ‘Jardin’ the allegorical figures are entirely female (the guardian of the Garden, the four daughters of Obedience, the three women who console the soul). Further, the emphasis on distinguishing between pure and impure love, the use of the allegory of the lovers and beloveds, and the emphasis on female saints in the manuscript, may point to its direction to a worldly audience, especially a female one. An important aspect of Gerson’s enormous literary output was his intention to provide vernacular books of doctrinal instruction for laypeople that would be useful to all, from dauphins to the ‘simples gens’ – both ‘filz et filles’, sons and daughters – for whom he wrote his ‘ABC’ (1401-2).<sup>99</sup> This is only one of Gerson’s vernacular works about the soul specifically addressed to both women and men. For instance, in the ‘Miroir de l’alme’, he writes: ‘En special [Dieu] governe les creatures humaynes hommes et femmes, ausquelles il ha donne et donne ames immortelles creés a sa semblance pour le cognoistre, amer, servir et honnourer’.<sup>100</sup> The influence of Bonaventure, Bernard and other mystical writers, as well as that of medieval asceticism and ‘desert spirituality’ can be seen in the number of Gerson’s vernacular works that focus on the soul and the joys of paradise, as we will see below; the quotation from the ‘Miroir de l’alme’ above also makes it clear that he is writing in these traditions: God has created the soul in his own image, and given this soul to both sexes, and through the soul they can come to know him.

<sup>99</sup> Glorieux, no. 310, pp. 154-7.

<sup>100</sup> ‘And particularly God created men and women; he has given and gives them immortal souls in his image to know, love, serve and honour him’. Glorieux, nr. 312, p. 193.

Gerson is here (in the 'Mirour de l'alme) paying indirect tribute to a literature of the soul and its capacity for knowledge of the divine, that we will see predominated in women's vernacular, semi-mystical literature in Germany at an earlier period, while at the same time entirely omitting the body, which played an important part in that literature.<sup>101</sup> Again, while Gerson makes use of themes of the *devotio moderna*, such as dialogues between the self and the soul, he uses these themes in a completely different way, and for quite a different reason, to the language of *Minnemystik*, which emphasised the possibility of direct contact with God. Gerson, instead, uses these to underpin a deliberately didactic 'vernacular theology' which, far from encouraging direct contact with the divine, made this subservient to devotional practice regulated by orthodoxy and authority. For example, in the *Dialogue spirituel* (1407), a supposed dialogue by Gerson between a number of female religious and their male adviser, the importance of meditation on death is directly linked to an eremitic spirituality and to 'fleeing the world',<sup>102</sup> and Gerson links this implicitly to earlier literature of the horrors of death. The 'Sisters' ask:

Frere, c'est bien une merveilleuse merveille que homme mortel puisse oublier la mort[...] Chascun peut remember la mort des ses parents et amys ou autres de sa congnoissance qui n'a guerez estoient et maintenant pourrissent les corps en terre<sup>103</sup>

Having heard the brother's reply that thinking of death can ensure freedom from the 'triste et angousseuse convoitise du monde' ('sad and anxious desire for the world/worldly desire'), and his emphasis on the pleasures of the afterlife to come, the sisters answer:

Frere, nous apercevons bien estre verité ce que vous dittes et que pour ce seult on remembrer la mort et la briefveté de cette vie... Pour ceste cause aussy trouvons nous de plusieurs qui faisoient ou ordonnoient leur sepulcre en leur vie; les aultres ont fait ymaiges des mors; les aultres ont habite les sepulcres aucunes foys; les

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<sup>101</sup> See Amy Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife : Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete, and Meister Eckhart*. Studies in Spirituality and Theology, 1 (Notre Dame, 1995).

<sup>102</sup> Ed. Glorieux, no. 311, pp. 158-92.

<sup>103</sup> 'Brother, it is a wonder that any man can forget his own death. [...] Each man must remember the death of his relatives and friends and others of his acquaintance, who have just recently been [alive] and yet now their bodies rot in the earth'. Original from Glorieux, no. 311, p. 162.

aultres ont fuy en solitude et desert en grande austerité de vie pour acquerir cette memoire de la mort<sup>104</sup> (my emphasis)

In this way, Gerson interprets for the reader the spiritual meaning of the eremitical life primarily as a ‘memoire de la mort’.

Similarly, in *La Mendicité Spirituelle* (1401) (which Hasenohr notes was written specifically for a woman<sup>105</sup>), Gerson takes up the theme of the ‘gouvernement du corps’ by the soul.<sup>106</sup> We have seen this to be a common motif in body-soul debates, but in the *Mendicité*, Gerson rewrites the body-soul tradition. Rather than a direct dialogue between soul and body, the soul (presumably that of the woman for whom Gerson was writing) complains to the unknown ‘self’ or ‘man’ (‘omme’) (possibly meant as a metaphor for the spiritual advisor, or to be read as one’s own consciousness) about the body: the body, it says, makes so many demands that the soul is unable to concentrate on its spiritual endeavours. The ‘omme’ answers that it is the soul’s duty to look after its bodily necessities, but not to serve its wishes (‘Tu veulx trop complaire au corps et le servir, non mie a necessité mais a volenté’<sup>107</sup>). The soul, still dissatisfied, complains further that the body demands beauty and other pleasures for its senses; again, the reply is that she should ignore its demands and attend solely to ‘governing’ the body, by giving it what it needs, but no more. Here, as in ‘Si cum jeo ju’, there is talk of the ‘volenté’ (‘will’) of the body, but the meaning is very different. Gerson is not describing the free will of the person that bears responsibility for his or her ultimate spiritual salvation; his ‘will’ – and here specifically the will of a woman? – is more that of a naughty child that must be controlled or even broken: ‘Or est sa [*i.e. the body’s*] volenté si desordonee, si gloute, si

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<sup>104</sup> ‘Brother, we can see clearly that what you say is true and for this reason one must think of death and the brevity of this life [...] For this reason, too, we find many who create or ordain their grave in their lifetime; some make images of death; some have lived for a period in their graves [*i.e. as anchorites?*]; others have lived in solitude and in the desert, in great austerity of life in order to acquire this remembrance of death’. Original Glorieux, no. 311, p. 163.

<sup>105</sup> Hasenohr, ‘Reading’, p. 208.

<sup>106</sup> Glorieux, no. 317, pp. 220-80, here pp. 228-9.

<sup>107</sup> ‘You try to please the body and serve it to excess, not just when it needs it but when it wants it.’ Glorieux, no. 317, p. 228.

convoiteuse que jamaiz ne pourroit estre saoullée qui tout lui vaurroit baillier a son gre'.<sup>108</sup> In the *Mendicité*, as in the 'Jardin amoureux' – despite the moving allegorical descriptions of the soul-as-woman – the body is used only as a trope, either as an allegorical embodiment of a spiritual reality (for example, the soul's hurting 'feet' as she tries to reach God), or, as the abstraction of 'flesh', as a warning of the dangers of earthly bonds.

## 2.5 Conclusion

Looking at the importance of 'Une grante vision' overall in BN f.fr.24865, I suggest that it plays a vital role in linking different constructions of body and soul found throughout the manuscript. Appropriately for a body-soul debate, this may be due as much to its form as to its content; although the 'voice' of the body is a construction of the authors and readers, nonetheless the form is a dialogue and the body's voice is not silenced by argument until the soul is taken to hell.<sup>109</sup> Thus, despite its negativity about the body, 'Une grante vision' is the only item in BN f.fr.24865 to construct the body as having a voice equally valid to the soul's; and at the same time, it allows us to read the stories of martyrdom in the manuscript, and the two contrasting works *Mirour des pecheurs* and 'Jardin amoureux de l'âme', as equally powerful reminders of the centrality of both body and soul in medieval Christianity.

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<sup>108</sup> 'Yet its will is so disordered, so gluttoned, so greedy that no-one who gives it all it wants can ever be cleansed'. Glorieux, no. 317, p. 228.

<sup>109</sup> An exception is the body-soul poem 'Ver Sele' in Munich Cgm. 100, where the body does actually seem to have been silenced by what the soul has to say, but this is unique and the poem itself does not 'end' with any final outcome.

## CHAPTER 3

### GERMAN BODY-SOUL DEBATES – SAMENESS AND DIFFERENCE

#### 3.1 Introduction

Up to now, we have encountered only hostile bodies and souls, whose relationships are characterised by hate and resentment. This testifies to the importance of the ‘Visio Philiberti’ for medieval vernacular body-soul debates as well as to the doctrinal and literary influences I have discussed in the previous chapters. But, while there are also several body-soul debates based on the ‘Visio Philiberti’ in various German dialects (which I discuss briefly at the end of this chapter),<sup>1</sup> there are also four debates from medieval Germany and Austria that do not fit the ‘Visio’ tradition.<sup>2</sup> All of these date from the late thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries and are, as far as we know, unique.<sup>3</sup> More significantly, two of them depict relationships between body and soul that are based on *Minne* (love) rather than hate.

This chapter examines these four ‘different’ debates, all of which reveal paradigms of the body-soul relationship, and of the body-soul debate as a genre, that differ from those we have seen in Anglo-Norman and French manuscripts. I suggest that these depictions of body and soul should be read within specifically German literary and devotional traditions, and that in particular the possibility of depicting friendly bodies and souls could only arise – or seems only to have arisen – within the context of German ‘Frauenmystik’ (female mysticism) and its complex relationship with the *cura monialium* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; further, I explore the possibility that this changed in the course of the

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<sup>1</sup> Palmer identifies nine medieval German versions of the ‘Visio’. See Palmer, ‘Visio Philiberti’, and *Visio Tnugdali*, pp. 417-8, for list and bibliography. See also Kiening, ‘Contemptus mundi’.

<sup>2</sup> Palmer, ‘Seele und Leib’, *Verfasserlexikon*. A search under [www.manuscripta-medievalia.de](http://www.manuscripta-medievalia.de), the main German internet portal for manuscript searches, also gives [Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek MS 3067](#), an early sixteenth-century collection of fragments excluded here firstly because it falls outside our period and secondly because the body-soul item (fol. 72r only) is not a dialogue but a ‘Klage’ (complaint) of the soul about the body. It should be noted, though, that Darmstadt 3067, like other manuscripts in this study, is Franciscan.

<sup>3</sup> Two are each extant in a single manuscript (Basle and Munich); one (Darmstadt) has only one copy, in a ‘twin’ manuscript, while the fourth, ‘Von dem jüngsten Tage’ (Vienna) is also extant in a Latin variation and its Irish translation, but unknown in other German manuscripts.

fifteenth century, as the regulation and control of religious life and devotional reading intensified.

### 3.2 The debates and their manuscripts

The earliest manuscript in our group is Basle, Universitätsbibliothek MS B.X.14, dating from around 1300-1329.<sup>4</sup> This manuscript, from the Basle Dominican monastery, appears to have been used in the context of the *cura monialium* of both Beguines and Dominican sisters in Basle, and it includes a poem of praise to a rich female patron in the same hand as the body-soul debate and on the pages immediately preceding it.<sup>5</sup> The ‘debate’ itself, ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ (fols. 189v-190v) is a poem in rhyming couplets, containing numerous Latinisms and allusions to classical legends; the part of the manuscript that contains it was owned by Petrus de Monasterio, a monk first at Cologne, then at Basle, and Virchow thinks the poem itself may have been written by him.<sup>6</sup> It is the only work in the vernacular in the manuscript, and depicts gratitude and love between soul and body in the form of *Minne* (a word used from the twelfth century to mean something similar to the English term ‘courtly love’, in both an erotic and a devotional context<sup>7</sup>).

Our second manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Cod. germ.100, is a collection of devotional and semi-mystical texts also in the *Minne* tradition, probably from the early fifteenth century, that belonged to the St Christopher Seelhaus (Püttrichkloster) in Munich.<sup>8</sup> The house was founded by the Munich Püttrich family, and the women there were charged with the duties of praying for the dead and caring for the sick.<sup>9</sup> A ‘Seelhaus’

<sup>4</sup> For catalogue description see Meyer and Burckhardt, 2:552-68. For a more recent discussion, see Corinna Virchow, ‘Der Basler Dialog zwischen Seele und Leib’, *Medium Aevum*, 71(2) (2002), 269-85.

<sup>5</sup> Virchow, ‘Der Basler Dialog’, p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> Virchow, ‘Der Basler Dialog’.

<sup>7</sup> On *Minne* in women’s spiritual writing and its relationship to courtly literature, see especially Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: studies in medieval religion and literature* (Philadelphia, 1995). I discuss Newman’s *Minne* between the soul and God, and my understanding of *Minne* between the soul and the body, later in this chapter.

<sup>8</sup> Catalogue description in Petzet, pp. 175-79.

<sup>9</sup> On the Püttrich Seelhaus see Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte (HDBG), ‘Klöster in Bayern’ (URL: <http://www.datenmatrix.de/projekte/hdbg/kloster>); Max Joseph Hufnagel, ‘Franziskanerinnenkloster der Püttrichschwester zum heiligen Christophorus in München’, *Bavaria Franciscana Antiqua*, 3 (1957), 273-308.

(lit. ‘soul house’), or ‘Regelhaus’ (‘rule house’) was a women’s community similar to a beguinage which was voluntarily affiliated with the Rule of a recognised religious order. In this case the women lived voluntarily under the Franciscan Rule, without taking vows, until 1484, when the house became a cloister of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans and they were required to be professed if they wished to stay; the majority chose to leave and continue their work elsewhere.

‘Ver sele und herr lip’ (fols. 133r-134r) is a vernacular poem in irregular rhyming couplets with some narrative interpolations. The feminine soul declares her wish to leave the masculine body, but grieves at doing so; the body angrily says that he does not want her to go. Body and soul are ambivalent about their relationship, expressing both affection and anger with each other. Like the other items in the manuscript, it is in a ‘naïve’ style reminiscent of folk-rhymes, although it also bears a strong resemblance in both form and content to dialogues by the influential German mystic Mechtild of Magdeburg (c.1207-c.1282) and the Dutch Beguine Hadewych (*fl.* early 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

The two manuscripts of ‘hostile’ debates are both from the fifteenth century. Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek MS 2667<sup>10</sup> is a magnificently illustrated manuscript in *Mittelniederdeutsch* (Middle Low German, but here in a variant said to be found frequently in fifteenth-century mystical literature originating in the Cologne and Trier region<sup>11</sup>). It has a ‘twin’ with almost identical content in a private collection, Sayn-Wittgenstein’sche Schloßbibliothek, Berleburg MS RT2/2 (*olim* A170).<sup>12</sup> Both manuscripts are structured around a collection of chapters from the early fifteenth-century didactic work, *Tafel der kerstense ghelove (Sommerstuc)* (‘Table of Christian Belief – Summer part’) by the

<sup>10</sup> Catalogue description in Staub and Saenger, pp. 123-28. Darmstadt is not covered by Borchling’s survey of *Mittelniederdeutsche* manuscripts in German libraries, and he records only one version of the ‘Visio Philiberti’, the manuscript *olim* Wernigerode Fürstlich Stolbergische Bibliothek Zb 28, fols. 1r-12v, ‘Dit ist eyne en pridden man [...] Ess waz in eyner wynter nacht’. Konrad Borchling, *Mittelniederdeutsche Handschriften*, 3 (Göttingen, 1902), pp. 228-9.

<sup>11</sup> Borchling, p. 5. The dialect of both manuscripts is said to be that of the Alsace region influenced by Ripuarisch ‘North-West Moselle/Frankish’ (Staub and Saenger, p. 123).

<sup>12</sup> In private ownership. A full description can be found at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (BBAW), Berlin (URL: <http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/dtm/HSA>); see also Staub and Saenger, *ibid.*, and Gunhilde Roth, ‘Die “Tafel vom christlichen Glauben und Leben” – Die westdeutsche Bearbeitung von Dircs [*sic!*] van Delft “Tafel van dem Kersten Ghelove”’, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 130:3 (2001), 291-7.



Dominican monk Dirc or Dirk van Delft, a contemporary of Meister Eckhart who taught at Erfurt (c. 1396) and later in Cologne (1403).<sup>13</sup> The *Tafel* was first dedicated to Albrecht I of Bavaria, and it is almost certain, judging by inscriptions in the manuscript, that Darmstadt 2667 and its twin were commissioned for the family of Margarethe von Rodemachern (1426-1490), whose library of devotional works was famous and whose daughter, also named Margarethe (d.1509) married Eberhard von Sayn und Wittgenstein.<sup>14</sup> Other books owned by Margarethe von Rodemachern were probably illustrated by a Cologne artist who was familiar with Dutch art,<sup>15</sup> and both the language and illustrative style of Darmstadt 2667 appear to point to a similar provenance. Because of the almost identical structure and content of the two manuscripts, I will discuss only Darmstadt 2667 in detail in this chapter; conclusions, except where otherwise stated, therefore apply to both Darmstadt and Berleburg RT2/2.

In both manuscripts, chapters from the *Tafel* are interspersed with other devotional and theological works, including *Adversus Judaeos* literature, eschatological works such as the ‘Fünfzehn Zeichen’ (Fifteen Signs of Doomsday), the ‘Learn to Die’ chapter of Heinrich Seuse’s *Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit* (the German *Horologium sapientiae*),<sup>16</sup> and semi-mystical devotional works, including one associated with Beguine spirituality in the Low Countries, ‘Die schöne Jagd der minnenden Seele’ (‘The hunt of the loving soul’).<sup>17</sup> The body-soul debate (fols. 176v-180v, ‘Der geist des menschen wirt dickwijl verhauen’) is unedited; it is in prose, interspersed with rhyming couplets. It is one of the texts not deriving from the *Tafel*, and a source has not been identified.<sup>18</sup> The hostility between body and soul is unmistakable and the first part of the debate reflects a number of elements of the ‘Visio Philiberti’. This, of course, is not unusual; what is unique about this

<sup>13</sup> The book also has a ‘Winter’ part not included in the manuscript. The whole is edited by L.M.Fr. Daniëls, *Dirk van Delft, Tafel van den kersten ghelove*. 4 vols (Antwerp, Nijmegen and Utrecht, 1937-9).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Konrad Kratsch, *Das Gebetbuch der Margarete von Rodemachern: eine Bildfolge* (Berlin, 1978), ‘Einleitung’, esp. p. 34.

<sup>15</sup> Kratsch, *ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> Heinrich Seuse, *Horologium Sapientiae*. Ed. Pius Künzle after Dominikus Planzler (Freiburg, 1977), discusses the relationship between the German and Latin texts.

<sup>17</sup> Edited by H. Beckers as ‘Die scone [sic] jagd der minnenden sele. Eine allegorische Dichtung aus dem Kreis der spätmittelalterlichen niederländisch-norddeutscher Beginenmystiken’. Cited in Staub and Saenger, p. 127.

<sup>18</sup> Palmer, ‘Seele und Leib’. ‘Der geist des menschen’ is said by Roth and the description in the BBAW to appear in Berleburg RT2/2 but to lack the beginning and end.

debate is that it first lists the punishments suffered by the damned, and then describes how the soul not only finally meets its doom, but is also tormented with the very punishments it earlier described, while the body looks helplessly on.

Our final manuscript, Vienna, ONB MS Cod. 3009,<sup>19</sup> is a collection of numerous religious and astrological texts in several hands. From inscriptions in the manuscript at least one part of it appears to have been written in Baden, in the Alsace;<sup>20</sup> Palmer describes the dialogue as ‘Viennese Alsatian’.<sup>21</sup> It includes both the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’ (fols. 28r-35v) and a vernacular address of the soul to the body as it leaves the body at the day of the Last Judgment (fols. 100r-100v). This address is incorporated into a wider dialogue (fols. 97v-102v) between Death, the Soul, the Body and the Devil (fols. 97v-102v),<sup>22</sup> known as ‘Von dem jüngsten Tage’.<sup>23</sup> The manuscript contains a relatively high proportion of *ars moriendi* texts (unlike the other three manuscripts in this chapter), and its inclusion of both these and astrological texts makes it similar to compendia made at the Benedictine abbey at Mondsee, Austria by the monk Johann Melk (1440-1518),<sup>24</sup> although the first evidence of Benedictine ownership is from the sixteenth century, when the manuscript was owned by the Benedictine monastery at Altenburg bei Horn in Lower Austria. Thiel has argued that the body-soul dialogue in this manuscript was written as a result of the fifteenth-century Benedictine reform movement in Germany.<sup>25</sup> But although her siting of the manuscript as a whole within this context may be substantially correct, the debate – or more properly sequence of addresses – may date from far earlier. Comparisons show that much of ‘Von dem jüngsten Tage’ is a more or less exact translation of the unidentified

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<sup>19</sup> Catalogue description in Menhardt, pp. 764-77.

<sup>20</sup> Kiening, ‘Contemptu mundi’, pp. 418-419, notes seven scribes for the manuscript, of which only one is identified, the scribe of the Markgrafen of Baden. Although one scribe has left a Latin inscription of his work and the date (1437, on fol. 162v), and a letter which forms the inner binding also indicates that it was sent to the Margrave of Baden, Kiening’s analysis may indicate that part of the manuscript was written elsewhere.

<sup>21</sup> Palmer, ‘Seele und Leib’; Kiening, ‘Zwiegespräch zwischen Tod, Leib, Seele und Teufel’, *Verfasserlexikon*, 10:1631-2.

<sup>22</sup> Kiening, ‘Zwiegespräch’, treats the dialogue and the address as two separate items, but the codicology of the manuscript and the way in which the two merge into each other leads me to treat them as a single ‘debate’, especially as the Latin homily on which they appear to be based also includes both.

<sup>23</sup> Printed in Thiel, ‘Die Todesfigur’, pp. 132-39, 268-79.

<sup>24</sup> Kiening, ‘Mondsee’, *Verfasserlexikon*, 8:1014-5.

<sup>25</sup> Thiel, ‘Die Todesfigur’, pp. 132-3.

Latin homily described by Dudley and Heningham as one of the most important sources for medieval vernacular body-soul debates overall and which was the probable source for an Old Irish address of the soul to the body.<sup>26</sup> This shows that this Latin source was probably circulating not only in Ireland, but also in Central Europe, so might have been influential for other body-soul debates as well as this one.

### 3.2.1 General observations

Although all four debates are very different, their manuscripts exhibit some interesting shared features. All of them date from between c. 1300 and c. 1450, a period of intense spiritual and literary change in Germany, especially evident in women's writing at this period.<sup>27</sup> Three are mainly or entirely in the vernacular; the body-soul debate in Basle B.X.14 is also in the vernacular, although the remainder of that manuscript is in Latin. Three manuscripts show connections with the Dominican and Franciscan orders: Basle B.X.14 is from the Dominican house at Basle, Darmstadt 2667 is based around Dominican writings and may have been written/compiled by a Dominican spiritual adviser for a royal or aristocratic personage, and Munich Cgm. 100 was owned by a member of a women's religious community affiliated with the Franciscan Rule and later part of the Tertiary Order of Franciscans. At least three probably originated in the Rhineland, a region very significant for the development of vernacular literature in medieval Germany,<sup>28</sup> and while nothing is known about the origins of 'Ver sele vnd herr lip', Munich Cgm. 100 is almost certainly from Munich and shows many similarities in theme and style to books extant from other female religious houses.

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<sup>26</sup> Heningham, *An Early Latin Debate*, pp 7-8. Atkinson, *Leabhar Breac*, p. 266, pp. 507-28. Dudley, *Egyptian Elements*, includes a special discussion of this homily at her chapter 8, pp. 128-44, but does not identify its source. For full references see Introduction, note 20.

<sup>27</sup> Grundmann, *Religious Movements*; subsequent research is discussed at section 3.2.2 of this chapter.

<sup>28</sup> Madeleine Blondel and C.Leroy (eds), *Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden* (Paris, 2000); Ehrenschtendner, 'Einleitung', *Bildung der Dominikanerinnen*; Paul Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality in Late Medieval English Society: the Dominican priory of Dartford* (York and Rochester, NY, 2001); A.I. Doyle, 'Carthusian participation in the movement of works of Richard Rolle between England and other parts of Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries', in *Kartäusermystik und -mystiker, Analecta Cartusiana*, 55:2 (1981), 109-120.

Despite their connections to religious orders, however, none of the manuscripts, even Basle B.X.14, appears to have been intended for the use of a strictly monastic environment or an enclosed convent. Illumination, size and style of Darmstadt 2667 show that it was probably created for a wealthy patron – perhaps Margarete von Rodemachern – in a ruling secular household. It is difficult to identify the origins and intended readership of Vienna Cod. 3009, but various items suggest that it was more likely to have been compiled for worldly, rather than religious, readers; and numerous items are addressed to women, so that perhaps the manuscript circulated among one or more families associated with the Markgrafen of Baden's circle. By contrast, Basle B.X.14 was almost certainly compiled from a number of documents for the use of the Dominican brothers themselves and Munich Cgm. 100 is a small, vernacular manuscript, an *Andachtsbuch* focused on Eucharistic devotion, *Minne* and private meditations and prayers, compiled probably for personal use by a sister in the *Seelhaus*. All of the manuscripts may be located within the period of establishment of the *cura monialium* and an increasing number of vernacular books of devotion for the laity (including women living in informal religious communities, as at the 'Regelhaus'), often under the guidance of the religious orders.<sup>29</sup>

An accompanying aspect of the *cura monialium* and indeed of pastoral care of the laity in general, especially among the Dominicans, was a mandate to guard against heresy and apostasy.<sup>30</sup> In Northern Europe, both the spiritual care of the laity and the fight against the laity's 'corruption', seen as threatened by both heretics and Jews, were tasks frequently entrusted to the Dominican and Franciscan orders. The Dominican order, in particular,

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<sup>29</sup> Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, pp. 187-201, especially pp. 195-98. Although Grundmann showed that vernacular religious literature as such was not at first encouraged by the Dominicans or other advisers, he also argued that it was only in the context of strong relationships between women's religious communities and the friars that such literature could arise. On the Beguines and their relationship with (and influence on) vernacular literature, see Juliette Dor, Lesley Johnson and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (eds), *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: the holy women of Liège and their impact*. Medieval Women Texts and Contexts 2 (Turnhout, 1999); Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife*; Barbara Newman, 'Visionäre Texte und visuelle Welten', in *Krone und Schleier: Kunst aus mittelalterlichen Frauenklöstern*. Edited by the General Directorate, Bonn Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle and the General Directorate, Ruhrländmuseum Essen (Essen, 2005), pp. 104-116, esp. pp. 115-6; Eva Schlotheuber, 'Bücher und Bildung in den Frauengemeinschaften der Bettelorden', in Schlotheuber et al., *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen*, pp. 241-62; John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life; devotio moderna, self-made societies, and the world of the later Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania, 2008).

<sup>30</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 96-97; Moore, *Formation*, p.176.

received its authority and status directly as a result of problems with heresy in the thirteenth century;<sup>31</sup> while Lambert has also argued that the Franciscan ethos of embracing God's creation in nature was intended to counteract dualistic tendencies that were threatening to become powerful during the same period.<sup>32</sup> Basle B.X.14 and Darmstadt 2667 both contain *Adversus Judaeos* texts, while Munich Cgm.100 contains an anti-Jewish poem,<sup>33</sup> and Basle B.X.14 also reveals a particular concern with dualistic heresies such as Manichaeism. The manuscripts' connection to the Franciscan and Dominican orders, together with their inclusion of both devotional works for the laity – particularly for women – and of anti-heretical material, again locate them within the same context of vernacular literature both intended to encourage lay devotion and to ensure it remained orthodox.

This leads finally to the question of 'women's reading', an enthralling, if vexed, subject, in medieval German scholarship. One manuscript in our group (Munich Cgm. 100) certainly belonged to a woman; one was very possibly commissioned for and/or later owned by a woman (Darmstadt 2667, plus its 'twin'); one, Basle B.X.14, was written in the context of the *cura monialium*, and the body-soul poem in it follows on directly from a poem of praise to a female patron. The dates of our manuscripts also extend from the period well before monastic reform in Germany (c.1300), to the time of its most zealous implementation (c.1450), especially in women's religious houses. The meaning and subjects of 'women's reading' changed – in some cases drastically – during this period, and it is therefore necessary to take a brief look at the impact of these changes and what they may have meant in the context of our four manuscripts.

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<sup>31</sup> Monika Marsmann, *Die Epistel des Rabbi Samuel an Rabbi Isaak* (Munich, 1971), p. 13; Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, pp. 96-97.

<sup>32</sup> Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, p. 97.

<sup>33</sup> Munich Cgm.100's penultimate work is a poem against the Jews in the vernacular, 'Fräwe dich aller heiligen schrift' (fol. 183r).

### 3.2.2 'Women's reading'?

The question of women's literacy, and its association with *Frauenmystik* in medieval Germany, has been an increasing subject of interest since Grundmann's 1935 study, and now encompasses a formidable body of research, influenced both by feminism and its opponents.<sup>34</sup> This research falls mainly into two areas. One is aimed principally at the recovery of women's writing and the influence of female mysticism, and focuses on the work of twelfth- and thirteenth-century visionaries such as Hadewijch, Gertrud the Great, Mechtild of Hackeborn and Mechtild of Magdeburg, in the context of the *devotio moderna* and fourteenth-century groups which encouraged spiritual friendships between women and men, such as the 'Friends of God', based in the Rhineland and founded by Dominican friars.<sup>35</sup>

Much of the evidence about German mystical writing prior to the fifteenth century is, however, only recoverable from later manuscripts compiled by (male) members of religious orders or by women in observant, i.e. reformed convents,<sup>36</sup> and the second major strand of research focuses on the significance of monastic reform in the fifteenth century for the transmission of vernacular literature. Monastic reform, which began as a movement in the fourteenth century, aimed at reinstating the strict observance of monastic Rules among the religious orders, and ensuring that houses which did not adhere to any particular Rule were brought under the jurisdiction of a well-established monastic order (as

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Peter Dinzelbacher and Dietrich Bauer (eds), *Frauenmystik im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1985); and their *Religiöse Frauenbewegung und mystische Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter* (Cologne and Vienna, 1988) for an overview to the late 1980s; thereafter Anne Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles: women writing about women and reform in the late Middle Ages* (Pennsylvania, 2004), provides an excellent bibliography upon the subject since.

<sup>35</sup> The 'Friends of God' was founded by the Dominicans Henrich Seuse and Johannes Tauler. Lee, *Nunneries*, p. 16, describes this as 'a group of men and women of all ranks of society and states of life in Bavaria, Switzerland, the Rhineland and the Low Countries, who communicated by visits and correspondence'.

<sup>36</sup> Hans-Jochen Schiewer, 'Literarisches Leben im dominikanischen Frauenklöstern des 14. Jahrhunderts: Das Modell St. Katharinental bei Diessenhofen', in Falk Eisermann, Eva Schlotheuber and Volker Honemann (eds), *Studien und Texte zur literarischen und materiellen Kultur der Frauenklöster im späten Mittelalter* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 285-307; Winston-Allen, 'Libraries and Literary Activity', *Convent Chronicles*, pp. 169-204, p. 204.

at the Munich Püttrichkloster).<sup>37</sup> Particularly in women's houses, the reformers also enforced enclosure, strict poverty and communal life, and enclosure was often particularly strongly resisted by women. Strict enclosure was not *per se* something implied in the monastic rule; it appears to have been far more strongly enforced against women than against men, and reformers often justified physical enclosure with arguments that equated it with spiritual chastity.<sup>38</sup>

Most importantly for our purpose, the reform also aimed to regulate reading. It is generally agreed that monastic reform, while leading to an exponential rise in the actual numbers of books available to women, also redefined what it was acceptable for women to read.<sup>39</sup> These definitions generally focused on the undesirability of anything but simple moral *exempla*, saints' lives and liturgical works; reading theology was 'vana curiositas'<sup>40</sup> and too 'subtle' to be good for women.<sup>41</sup> The greatest anxiety among the reformers, however, concerned the prevalence of mystical and visionary experience and its documentation among female religious. As Winston-Allen writes, 'Women's revelatory writings were considered particularly subversive because the direct line to God that they established created an alternative hierarchy that bypassed the authorities. The church responded with censorship [...] Soon the relationship between clerics and visionary women changed from encouragement to caution'.<sup>42</sup> As elsewhere in Europe in the fifteenth century, women's visions were increasingly seen as a result of spiritual pride and demonic temptation; any report of a direct, individual experience of God was treated with

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<sup>37</sup> For a historical account of the reforms see especially Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*; Antje Willing, 'Einführung', *Literatur und Ordensreform im 15. Jahrhundert. Deutsche Abendmahlschriften im Katharinenkloster* (Munich and Berlin, 2004).

<sup>38</sup> Heike Uffmann, 'Innen und Außen: Raum und Klausur in reformierten Nonnenklöstern des späten Mittelalters' in Gabriela Signori (ed), *Lesen, Schreiben, Sticken und Erinnern: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte mittelalterlicher Frauenklöster* (Bielefeld, 2000), pp. 185-212.

<sup>39</sup> Werner Williams-Krapp, 'Die Bedeutung der reformierten Klöster des Predigerordens für das literarische Leben in Nürnberg im 15. Jahrhundert', in Eisermann et al., *Studien und Texte*, pp. 311-29, p. 313; Williams-Krapp, ' "Wir lesent daz vil in sölichen sachen swerlich betrogen werdent." Zur monastischen Rezeption von mystischer Literatur im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert', in Schlothgeber et al., *Nonnen, Kanonissen und Mystikerinnen*, pp. 263-78.

<sup>40</sup> The Dominican reformer Johannes Meyer, cit. Ehrenscheidtner, *Bildung*, p. 266.

<sup>41</sup> The Dominican reformer Johannes Nider, cit. Williams-Krapp, 'Bedeutung', p. 317.

<sup>42</sup> Winston-Allen, *Convent Chronicles*, p. 209.

immense suspicion.<sup>43</sup> Although, then, reform may have led to a greater number of vernacular books for women in religious communities overall, the censorship and even destruction<sup>44</sup> of women's reading at this period, as well as the fact that 'unreformed' houses often no longer had the means to record or increase their book holdings,<sup>45</sup> means that our knowledge of the overall effect of the transition on women's reading is both limited and biased.<sup>46</sup>

Our four manuscripts and their body-soul debates may all help us to increase our understanding of this transition, but my interest here is more specific. Heike Uffmann has recently suggested that the growing acceptance and implementation of enclosure were reflected, in women's religious writing, in an increasing use of metaphors based on positive images of enclosure, a phenomenon that Uffmann argues represents an internalisation of reformist ideals.<sup>47</sup> This implies that metaphorical imagery used in devotional literature can and does reflect bigger social and political agendas. I will argue that the 'uniqueness' of the friendly debates between body and soul in the two earlier manuscripts reflects paradigms of their relationship in mystical literature, while in the fifteenth century, these paradigms appear to have been overshadowed by a greater hostility and stronger sense of conflict between body and soul, reflecting a changing social and spiritual order.

Policies of regulation and enclosure for women at this period were only part of a bigger effort to regulate spiritual and social life in the German Church in the fifteenth century, and was carried out alongside more obviously repressive measures such as the expulsion of

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. Voaden, *God's Words, Women's Voices*; Dyan Elliott, 'The physiology of rapture and female spirituality', in Peter Biller and A.J.Minnis (eds), *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1997), pp. 141-74.

<sup>44</sup> This did happen; in the course of the reform of the Cistercian convent in Medingen, near Lüneburg, around 1479, the abbess was deposed against the will of the nuns by both religious and secular authorities, and a number of books from the time before the reform are reported as having been destroyed. I owe this information to Dr Wolfgang Brandis, archivist of the Lüneburg convents, and Dr Hans-Walter Stork, Director of Special Collections at the Hamburg University Library.

<sup>45</sup> Schiewer, 'Literarisches Leben'.

<sup>46</sup> Despite the practical problems of recovering pre-reform texts, Williams-Krapp ("Wir lesent daz vil") recently argued that censorship during the monastic reform process is the single biggest factor affecting our relative ignorance of pre-reform literature.

<sup>47</sup> Uffmann, 'Innen und Außen'.



Jews from German cities and attempts to make Bavaria ‘Jew-free’ in the fifteenth century.<sup>48</sup> I suggest that these two phenomena should be seen – as they were sometimes seen by reformers themselves – as linked,<sup>49</sup> and that monastic reform in the fifteenth century went hand in hand with other processes of exclusion and demarcation, which although building on earlier prejudices and anxieties within the Church about heresy, Jews and women, took new and often violent steps to enclose and exclude those whose liberty was perceived as threatening. I also argue that devotional literature both reflected and formed these developments, by standardising what could be read and hence also, indirectly, attempting to control what was thought and practised.<sup>50</sup> The four body-soul debates in their manuscript contexts are one means by which we can attempt to trace these developments.

### 3.3 Close readings of the debates

#### 3.3.1 Basle, Universitätsbibliothek MS B.X.14 (‘Ein sele zum dem libe sprach’)<sup>51</sup>

This manuscript, a collection of mainly administrative documents written in various thirteenth and fourteenth-century hands (Appendix 3.1),<sup>52</sup> contains inscriptions that

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<sup>48</sup> Richard Bauer and Michael Brenner (eds), *Jüdisches München. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2006); Caroline Walker Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: theology and practice in late medieval Northern Germany and beyond* (Pennsylvania, 2007), describes similar repressions in Northern Germany in the fifteenth century. Such repression was not, of course, limited to the fifteenth century, but appears to have been particularly virulent in Bavaria at this time compared to relative tolerance in Bavarian cities in the fourteenth century.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Johann von Eych, Bishop of Tegernsee; he was active in the reform of both women’s and men’s houses and in 1450 oversaw both the destruction of the strong Jewish community of Eichstätt, Bavaria and the reform of St Walburga’s Benedictine Abbey in that city (Israel Schwierz, *Steinerne Zeugnisse jüdischen Lebens in Bayern*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Munich, 1992), p. 307). Von Eych’s anxiety that male monasticism should not become too ‘feminine’ is documented by Dennis D. Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform: the world of Nicholas Kempf*. Studies in the history of Christian thought, 49 (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1992). Fears about the Christian heresy of Hussitism appear to have been closely connected to the pogroms against Jews in Vienna at the beginning of the fifteenth century which spread to Bavaria; see Bauer and Brenner (eds), *Jüdisches München*.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Williams-Krapp, ‘Bedeutung’, p. 311.

<sup>51</sup> My codicological description here is based upon that of Meyer and Burckhardt, and Virchow, ‘Der Basler Dialog’. ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ is edited by Max Rieger, ‘Zwei Gespräche zwischen Seele und Leib’, *Germania*, 3 (1858), 396-407.

<sup>52</sup> Meyer and Burckhardt give the following basic information about the manuscript’s structure: 316 folios, including one flyleaf at the front and back respectively, which have not been paginated separately. Little

indicate its provenance to be the Dominican monastery in Basle, and identify the previous owner of the part containing the body-soul debate as Petrus de Monasterio (prior 1305-1320); Virchow argues convincingly that this part of the manuscript can be dated to around 1300. Petrus de Monasterio, like many Basle Dominicans, was educated at Cologne before becoming active in the *cura monialium* in Cologne and Basle. The Dominican nuns' house at Basle was originally situated at Klingental, in the Alsace region, and Virchow speculates that the poem may have been intended for the nuns of the convent there.<sup>53</sup> The manuscript's contents are mainly papal and episcopal missives and directives in Latin, the vast majority relating to the *cura monialium* and the mission of the Dominicans against heresy. 'Ein sele zu dem libe sprach', fols. 189v-190v (item 18), is the only item in the vernacular, and is immediately preceded on the same page, and in the same hand, by a prose piece in Latin praising an anonymous woman named only as 'T' whose financial support had provided an altar for the Basle Dominican monastery and church. The proximity of this to the body-soul debate suggests that they were seen as linked by the scribe, and the loving relationship between (female) soul and (male) body may represent, allegorically, a sense of spiritual connection and mutual necessity between the unknown benefactress and her beneficiaries. Neither the debate itself nor its quire appear to have been inserted at a later date.<sup>54</sup>

The contents of the manuscript reveal two main preoccupations. Firstly, it gathers together authoritative texts regulating the spiritual care and the rights of female religious and Beguines, including letters and a treatise on the *cura monialium* by Hermann of Minden (d.1294), provincial of the German Dominican province from 1286-90;<sup>55</sup> Hermann is known to have maintained correspondences with women as a spiritual adviser in his

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illustration or rubrication. The size of the written page varies as the various parts were added in at different times.

<sup>53</sup> Virchow, 'Der Basler Dialog', p. 279.

<sup>54</sup> The body-soul debate is the eighteenth of 26 items listed by the cataloguers and is followed by a blank page which ends the quire (fols. 174v-190v).

<sup>55</sup> The letters and treatise are edited by Gabriel Löhr, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 33 (1925), 161-66; cited in Virchow. Other letters by Hermann of Minden are edited by Heinrich Finke, *Ungedruckte Dominikanerbriefe des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn, 1891), pp. 22-43.

province.<sup>56</sup> Secondly, the manuscript shows a preoccupation with heresy, particularly heresies and religions from the East such as Manicheism, Judaism and Islam, and which at least in the case of Manicheism emphasise the evil of the the body and matter generally. The bull against Manichaeism<sup>57</sup> is found in the manuscript almost immediately after the body-soul debate, perhaps pointing to a link between the two. The manuscript also includes the sermon of Macarius from the *Vitae Patrum*. The legend of Macarius, thought by Batiouchkof to be an important source for body-soul debates in general,<sup>58</sup> describes bodily corruption itself as being caused by sin.

All of these texts provide a context for 'Ein sele zu dem libe sprach', a poem in 60 rhymed couplets, which indirectly reiterates the message that body and soul are both part of God's creation and will both be saved; in the context of the *cura monialium*, body and soul's relationship here – which depicts the soul as a woman and the body as a man, reflecting the language of *Minne* – may also reflect spiritual friendships between religious women and men.

The setting of the poem does not at first appear to be a deathbed. Although we soon see that death is probably imminent for body and soul, the setting is more reminiscent of mystical (and indeed sexual) experience, with the debate beginning with the soul lying weak or exhausted from her experience of God's love. This is described here as *Minne* (love), but a later hand has scratched out the word 'minne' and written in 'suachheit' (weakness) as if to try to eradicate what might seem an all too erotic or emotional metaphor.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ehrenscheidtner, pp. 12, 251-263; Johanna Thali, *Beten – Schreiben – Lesen. Literarisches Leben und Marienspiritualität im Kloster Engelthal* (Tübingen and Basle, 2003), pp. 41-42. See also P. Denifle, 'Über die Anfänge der Predigtweise der deutschen Mystiker', *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte*, 2 (1886), 649-51.

<sup>57</sup> Migne, PL 54, 177C-179B 14.

<sup>58</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>59</sup> Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, p. 175, notes that this was a common practice among editors of Mechtild von Magdeburg's work, who 'found it necessary to weaken her erotic, immediate experiences into mere spiritual encounters'.

The soul's first words to the body are 'Ich danke dir' – she is grateful to the body, without whose help she could not experience the 'suzzekeit' (sweetness) of love (11.3-4). This is reminiscent of Richard Rolle and other mystical references to physical sensations of sweetness when experiencing God; more importantly, it is also an immediate reminder that body and soul need each other for salvation. From this, the soul moves on to talking about the death to come, urging the body not to be afraid (7-8). Death will allow the soul to deepen her knowledge and her experience of God. But she longs for the body and can hardly bear to leave him; she is the bee in the body's honeycomb, where she wants to rest: 'wan du daz kar und ich du bine/in dem ich mahte râzen./kume mak ich dich virlazen/so getruwe min giselle' ('you are the beehive where I would like to have my honeycomb and I am the bee /I can hardly bear to leave you, my loyal companion', 28-9). Body and soul are two necessary parts of one entity: the soul is the student in the body's study (or monk's cell), the guest in the body's house, the candle in his lantern (30-32).<sup>60</sup> This contrasts strongly with neoplatonic views of the body as the soul's prison common in many medieval texts, and is also reminiscent of a dialogue of Mechtild of Magdeburg between herself and God.<sup>61</sup>

The soul then tries to comfort the body, explaining how death will eventually free him from his material weight and mutability, and implying that the body will itself be renewed. In a surprising image compared with other body-soul debates, the soul describes how the rotting of the flesh in the grave is itself the final liberation of the body – for when the body rises again, it will take on a new kind of materiality, with no volume or weight:

wanne du wenest sin verswunden  
 so wirstu enbunden  
 von des todes brodekeit  
 unde wirt dir sa bereit  
 Snelle clarheit ane liden,

<sup>60</sup> 'ich studens und du du celle/Du daz hus und ich der gast,/du lucerne und ich der glast.'

<sup>61</sup> " "Ich bin das licht und din Brust ist der lühter" ("I am the light and your breast is the lantern"). Cit. Elizabeth A. Andersen, *The Voices of Mechtild of Magdeburg* (Oxford; Bern; Berlin; Brussels; Frankfurt am Main; New York and Vienna, 2000), p. 117.

corperhafte groze miden.<sup>62</sup>

Burial is a part of God's plan, without which resurrection could not happen. This is in extreme contrast to the usual complaints of the soul about the body's 'rotting' stench and the horrors of decomposition in body-soul debates; it may reflect the influence of the German visionary Hildegard of Bingen in its emphasis that the body will lose one kind of materiality in order to gain another that is not subject to decay.<sup>63</sup> Using another, more common allegory to explain this extraordinary fact, the soul describes the body as being like the seed that must 'die' in the earth before it can bear fruit (49-52).<sup>64</sup>

The body now replies, stating that he does not need the soul's comfort as he is safe in the grave, his chamber ('gadem') that will keep him safe from all worldly harm, even from death itself (66-69). Death is merely a means of attaining eternal life; earthly life itself is merely a pilgrimage and even the pilgrim may be homesick (73-4). The body urges the soul to go towards God, reassuring her that all her work looking after his needs is at an end:

ende hat din arbeit  
mit der du bikumberet were  
alles umbe min givore  
und umbe die noturft mine<sup>65</sup>

Addressing her as 'vrunden zarte' (tender friend), the body speaks of the day when the soul will come to wake him from the grave and he will stretch his arms out to her:

min slaf ist ane pine  
unze mich du busune wekke

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<sup>62</sup> Ll. 39-44: 'When you think you have gone/you will be freed/from Death's weakness/and you will find ready for you/sudden clarity, with no pain,/and you will no longer need bodily size [volume, mass]'.  
<sup>63</sup> Cf. Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp. 160-62.

<sup>64</sup> On the seed metaphor for resurrection see Bynum, *Resurrection*, 'Introduction', and pp. 63-66, 129-37, 176-80.

<sup>65</sup> 82-85 'Your work is at an end/That encumbered you/all for the sake of my wishes/and my needs'.

daz ich die arme strekke  
 gegen dir, vrunden zarte<sup>66</sup>

The soul, says the body, was a good teacher; thanks to her, he is ready for the heavenly halls, where knights and virgins will sit together with angels (102-3). The body, too, therefore, reminds the reader how body and soul each need the other in order to finally enjoy heavenly bliss; but may also be hinting that the themes of courtly *Minne* poetry are themselves only reflections of the ultimately divine destiny of ‘knights and virgins’.

Rieger, the nineteenth-century editor, found the poem naive, and suggested that its apparent clumsiness meant that there must be a Latin source for it.<sup>67</sup> Theologically speaking, however, the poem is sophisticated. On a doctrinal level, it reflects ideas about body and soul found in the writings of Bernard de Clairvaux (d.1153), Hildegard von Bingen (d.1179) (whose writings about resurrection show what Bynum describes as a ‘confidence in organic change, [...] the person as psychosomatic unity’<sup>68</sup>), and later Thomas Aquinas: a person cannot be truly human, nor truly saved, without body and soul together.<sup>69</sup> The Basle manuscript deals with this point obliquely in other ways – such as the papal bull against Manichaeism found on fols. 192r-193r – and it is possible that the author or scribe was making a deliberate doctrinal point. ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ also includes numerous Latin and Classical references, indicating a well-read and potentially Latinate audience; the writer makes extensive use of classical mythology to express the symbiosis of life and death, with the Fates spinning the thread of life and ‘Atropos, who cuts it through’.<sup>70</sup> All of these aspects of the poem, as well as its oblique references to secular *Minne* poetry, are entirely compatible with a possible audience of Basle religious

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<sup>66</sup> 86-89: ‘My sleep is without pain/From it the trumpets will awaken me/And I will stretch my arms out/To you, tender friend’.

<sup>67</sup> Rieger, pp. 398-9.

<sup>68</sup> Bynum, *ibid.*, p. 163. See also Barbara Newman, *Sister of Wisdom: St Hildegard's theology of the feminine*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Berkeley, 1989).

<sup>69</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp. 156-99; Kläden, *Mit Leib und Seele...*, *passim*.

<sup>70</sup> Virchow, p. 271.

women, the majority of whom – at least in the Dominican convent – were of noble birth and were likely to have enjoyed an excellent education.<sup>71</sup>

But the poem also speaks to the reader as part of a vernacular corpus of *Minne* poetry and mysticism, and is reminiscent of the writings of Mechtild of Magdeburg (d. 1282), the first German woman to write in the vernacular.<sup>72</sup> Mechtild, a former Beguine who became a member of the Benedictine convent at Helfta, Saxony, was the author of highly influential works depicting her visions of God and the soul.<sup>73</sup> These include a number of conversations between the soul and ‘Lady Minne’, which Newman describes as both creating and reflecting a language of ‘courtly mysticism’ (*mystique courtoise*) unique to the Beguines and other women writers influenced by them.<sup>74</sup> However, the same works by Mechtild also include dialogues between body and soul which are not ‘debates’, but are characterised by mutual gratitude, sometimes mutual annoyance and frustration, but more often a joyful anticipation of their future resurrection together, recalling ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’, as the soul thanks the body and tells it that all its pain and work will be over at the Last Judgment, and that they should therefore wait patiently and gladly for their coming fate.<sup>75</sup>

Although Virchow argues that ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ is too early a poem to have been influenced by Mechtild of Magdeburg’s work,<sup>76</sup> the convent at Helfta maintained strong contact to the Dominicans and her works were probably disseminated by that order.<sup>77</sup> During the fourteenth century Dominican monks were certainly responsible for spreading knowledge of her work in Basle.<sup>78</sup> Whether or not there is any direct influence, clearly both Mechtild’s work and ‘Ein sele’ derive from a similar joyful paradigm of body and soul’s relationship both before and after death. Moreover, the poem may show that

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<sup>71</sup> Virchow, *ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> For a history of Mechtild’s life and works, see Andersen, *Voices*.

<sup>73</sup> I cite here from her most important work, the *Fließendes Licht der Gottheit (FLdG)*. Edited and translated into modern German by Margot Schmidt. 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt, 1995).

<sup>74</sup> Newman, *Virile Woman*, chapter 5, ‘*La mystique courtoise*’.

<sup>75</sup> *FLdG*, ed. Schmidt, VII, 65 (p. 341); discussed further below, pp. 150-52.

<sup>76</sup> Virchow, ‘Basler Dialog’, p. 281.

<sup>77</sup> Andersen, *Voices*, pp. 91-93.

<sup>78</sup> Andersen, *Voices*, p. 85, pp. 141-2; Grundmann, *Religious Movements*, pp. 197-8.

among some Dominicans, the theological developments advanced by members of their order such as Aquinas and his teacher, Albertus Magnus in the thirteenth century, had at this time (c. 1300) already found their way into a vernacular, expressive literature of devotion, fusing theological beliefs about body and soul with thirteenth-century mystic expressions of the desire and love between them. The poem may also be located in the context of writings exchanged between men and women as part of a spiritual friendship. The fourteenth century furnishes a host of evidence for such friendships particularly between Dominican brothers and sisters;<sup>79</sup> in the thirteenth century, the women at Helfta also had strong associations with the Dominican brothers.<sup>80</sup>

Our next text, the body-soul debate in Munich Cgm. 100, was written down, and possibly even composed, by a member of the *Regelhaus* at St Christophorus, Munich; the little that is known about the books that were available to the women at the *Regelhaus* suggests a similar use of *Minnemystik*, while their affiliation to the Franciscan Rule may indicate – as with Basle B.X.14 – that their reading may have taken place in the context of the *cura monialium*. Again, however, this poem does not appear to have been disseminated elsewhere and remains unique, as far as we know. Again, the ambivalent attachment between body and soul is reminiscent of Mecthild of Magdeburg’s conversations between body and soul.

### 3.3.2 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS Cgm. 100 ('Ver sele und her lip')

This is a small,<sup>81</sup> fifteenth-century parchment manuscript of 184 folios, written in *Spätmittelhochdeutsch* in a Middle Bairisch dialect, from the semi-autonomous Püttrich *Seelhaus* in Munich, almost certainly from the period before the house was reformed in 1484.<sup>82</sup> Its provenance is based on two inscriptions: one on fol. 1r, which reads: 'das

<sup>79</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, pp. 12, 250-269; Grundmann, pp. 187-201; Williams-Krapp, "'Wir lesent daz vil.'"

<sup>80</sup> Andersen, *Voices*, pp. 84-88.

<sup>81</sup> Page: 145 x 102 mm; text: 98 x 64 mm.

<sup>82</sup> That it dates from this early period seems indicated by its use of *Spätmittelhochdeutsch* which was already dying out by the fifteenth century. Further, Munich, BSB MS Cgm. 775, another manuscript from the Püttrichkloster dating from 1454, is in a similar dialect and contains similar texts reflecting the influence of *Minnemystik* and the contemplative ideal; see Karin Schneider, *Die deutschen Handschriften der Bayerischen*



piechl [mod. German *Büchlein*] gehertt zu der schwester margret in der pitterich regelhaus' ('the little book belongs to Sister Margaret in the Püttrich Regelhaus') and one on paper stuck into the book which reads 'Der wirdigen vnd ginstigen schwester Margret...in dem Bittrich Regelhaus meiner herez lieben Bassen' ('To the worthy and good sister Margaret in the Püttrich Regelhaus, my dearest cousin [*i.e., relative*']). Capital letters spelling out AMEN on fol. 4v of the manuscript resemble the inscription on fol. 1r.<sup>83</sup> The manuscript is written in single columns, and contains only a minimum of rubrication and no illustration; the texts usually follow straight on from one another, probably indicating maximum use of minimal space.

There are three main hands in the manuscript; Hands 1 and 2 occur only on the first nine folios. The devotional writings begin on fol. 1v, but it seems probable that the first nine folios originally formed a separate booklet.<sup>84</sup> Both 'books', however, focus on God's *Minne*, the soul, and the Eucharist. Fols. 1r-9v contain the poem *Der Minne Baum der minnenden Seele*<sup>85</sup> and a prayer to be said before taking Holy Communion. Fols. 10r-183v contain 'Traktat von den Sechs Namen des Fronleichnams' ('Six Names of Corpus Christi') and 'Von sechserlei Gnaden des Fronleichnams' ('On the six graces of Corpus Christi') by the Monk of Heilsbronn, a Cistercian who wrote a 'vernacular theology' in the contemplative tradition for a non-monastic audience; the 'Sechs Namen' is among the best-documented vernacular devotional texts from women's religious houses in

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*Staatsbibliothek München: Cgm 691-867* (Wiesbaden, 1984), pp. 304-5. Its final text, 'Geistliche Gemahelschaft', describing the soul's 'marriage' to Jesus, is illustrated with two full-page miniatures, one of which is reproduced in *Krone und Schleier*, fig. 396.

<sup>83</sup> The three hands of the body of the manuscript are each a form of a Gothic textualis, with a straight [s] that sits on the line, a two-compartment [a] and [g] and otherwise unlooped descenders and ascenders. There are also inscriptions, barely legible, on the flyleaves, in a Gothic textualis hand similar to those used in the body of the manuscript. These appear to refer to the contents of the manuscript; one reads 'Das w[un]d[er] ist daz sine/mine u[n]s ein vmbehanc [Umhang?] ist [--] sin selbes/ und aller sin[er] werke' ('The wonder is that his *Minne* [or possibly *Miene*, face] is a veil for us [--] his self and of all his works').

<sup>84</sup> Quire numbers have been written in from fol. 10r, with catchwords added from fol. 38v, but folio 31 has been counted twice, accounting for the manuscript's inconsistent quire numeration.

<sup>85</sup> Ed. Urs Kamber, *Arbor amoris. Der Minnenbaum. Ein Pseudo-Bonaventura-Traktat. Herausgegeben nach lateinischen und deutschen Handschriften des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 96, 115-117. This and several of the other texts in the manuscript are found also in a Giessen manuscript that contains a number of writings by Meister Eckhart, University of Giessen MS 879.

Germany.<sup>86</sup> Besides these two longer texts, these folios contain a collection of semi-mystical poems and sermons on *Minne* and body and soul. Many of these emphasise the need for self-knowledge and a contemplative ideal of attaining the vision of God through love, such as Johannes von Indersdorf's *Von dreyerlei Wesen des Menschen*, also in the Püttrichkloster manuscript Munich Cgm. 775.<sup>87</sup> The mystical poem *Der Minne Baum der minnenden Seele*, which begins Cgm. 100, is also in the tradition of *Minnemystik*, describing the three roots and twelve branches of 'suzz minn' (sweet love) that the soul must climb on its path to God as it 'gasps' (*chuchen, keuchen*) in 'hitzigg min' (burning love).

But the gentle tone of this manuscript sits oddly with its ending. The manuscript breaks off in middle of a text at fol. 182v, but fols. 183r and 183v contain a poem possibly in the same hand, but in a less formed manner. It begins 'Fråwe dich aller heiligen schrift/div den iuden ist ein vergift/wan sie wollen ir niht verstan/dann müzzen si ewige pan han' ('Rejoice in Holy Scripture/that is poison to the Jews/if they don't want to understand it/then they will have to suffer through all eternity'). The antisemitism of this poem emphasises the torments to be suffered by unrepentant Jews; it is repeated in mirror writing on the inside of the back cover. It is impossible to say whether this poem was written spontaneously by one of the scribes of the manuscript, whether it was written by another person at the same time or by another person at a different time. That the manuscript breaks off at fol. 182v, followed probably by some missing leaves, suggests that it was unfinished and the following page 'filled in' with the antisemitic poem, although it is in very similar writing to Hand 3 of the main manuscript.

The body-soul debate in Munich Cgm. 100, 'Ver sele und herr lip' (Lady Soul and Sir Body, fols. 133r-134r), is a naïve-seeming dialogue in 58 verses, mostly in rhyming couplets, with a sentence of introduction and some other narrative interpolations.<sup>88</sup> Besides

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<sup>86</sup>See Willing, *Literatur und Ordensreform*, for an analysis of this work within the context of Eucharistic mysticism. On the the Eucharist as a focal point for devotion, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>87</sup> See Petzet, pp. 175-9.

<sup>88</sup>A full transcription and translation are provided in Appendix 3.2.

the two characters of 'Frau Seele' and 'Herr Leib', the poem includes a third 'voice', that of a commentator or narrator who contextualises the debate and gives a short moral exposition at the end, although arguably this could also be the soul speaking. While in my transcription I indicate the names of the speakers, in the manuscript this is only made clear through the addressing of each character by the other, which allows for some ambiguity about which character speaks when. The tidiness of the poem, the unusual number of abbreviations, and the use of a slightly different dialect to the remainder of the manuscript, may suggest that the writer is copying it from another source; but none has been identified (fig. 2).<sup>89</sup>

The narrator introduces the debate by explaining how the soul must serve (God) well before the 'sack', which was given her for her to rule over, is 'worn out' (*verslize*). Although 'sack' was a metaphor used by other German medieval religious writers – including Luther – when they wanted to emphasise the body as a rotting and horrible corpse,<sup>90</sup> here no further mention is made of that common topos, the horror of decomposition. This conflict between body and soul is not about their dislike for each other or about responsibility for damnation. It is, instead, a picture of the difficulties inherent in their separation.

Firstly, the soul ('Ver sele' or 'Frau Seele') explains to the body ('Her Lip' or 'Herr Leib') that she wants to spend her whole time loving God:

Her lip hört ir div mere;  
 lat iv niht wesen swere:  
 ich wil disen sac  
 bezzern ob ich mac.  
 Ir dienet mir vmb den tac  
 da niuwe freude springet,

<sup>89</sup> The poem contains a larger number of abbreviations than is found in the manuscript generally, and uses [c] rather than [g] in words where modern German, and the rest of the manuscript, prefers [g], e.g. 'mac' rather than 'mag'.

<sup>90</sup> BMZ, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 'sac'.

vnd gût in minne ringet.  
 Daz ist dirre trank  
 den ich getrinken mac.<sup>91</sup>

The soul wants to drink ('getrinken') the love ('minne') of God. But, as if to remind the soul and the reader of their earthbound situation, the body replies with irritation and accusations. He, personally, is unable to follow her ambitions to 'love God all day': 'Ver sele, ir svlt glauben/daz ich bin siech vil taugen/daz ich allen tac/geminnen nihten mac' ('Frau Seele, you know I've been sick for so many days that I am too sick to love all day'). She doesn't want to believe him; he is too heavy for her, empty of love's lightness whereas she wants to love all day, if possible:

Her lip, ir sit zchwere  
 vnd sit von minnen lere.  
 Ic wil vmb disen tac  
 minnen ob ich mac.<sup>92</sup>

The body is shocked at this and accuses her of lacking *Minne*. Far from doing him a favour, her 'rûwe' (penance) is not a deed of love at all as it is frightening him; he's had enough! ('Ist diz minnen tat/der wird ich schiere sat!') In despair at his failure to understand her, the soul now indicates that she must leave him. But she grieves over the fact:

Her lip, ir sit min eigen,  
 ich mûz mich von iv scheiden.  
 Swann ich rume den sac,  
 daz ist ein iamertac.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> 'Herr Leib, hear this story. Don't let it be a burden to you [or Do not take it as severe criticism]. I will try to better this sack if I can. You serve me because of the day on which new joy springs and goodness fights for love. That is the drink I can drink.'

<sup>92</sup> 'Herr Leib, you are too heavy and empty of love. I want to love on account of this day if I can.'

<sup>93</sup> 'Herr Leib, you are my own. I have to leave you as soon as I leave this sack – this is a mournful day!'

They are strongly attached; he is 'her own' ('ir sit min eigen') and she laments the need to leave him and despairs at his unwillingness to see sense. She begs him to serve God and let her go: 'Herr lip, dient mit flize,/daz der mich von iv rize/Der mich in ivch goz.'<sup>94</sup> Far from fulfilling her wish, however, the body falls silent, having had enough or been made too sad by her speech: 'dem lip der rede verdroz' ('the body was too angry to speak' or possibly 'this speech saddened the body'<sup>95</sup>); then he asks her angrily whether she is really prepared to leave him to his own devices 'Als man den hunden tût' ('like they do with dogs'). These are his last words. The soul now becomes angry in turn, telling the body that he should be tied up; he should not keep wanting to move when he has to stay still:

Herr lip, man mûz ivch gevangen  
han vnd vil sere gebunden  
vast zu allen stunden,  
swie gern ir wollet gan.<sup>96</sup>

The soul ends the debate with a long passage explaining to the body that he is doing himself no favours and in refusing to let her go, is really 'stealing' from himself: he is making himself into a thief who should be hung for robbery, when he was made for 'princely honour' ('kaiserliche[n] ere'). Following this, either the narrator (or the soul) urges the reader (or the body, which can in this verse stand for the reader too) to think about what has happened; serving God with actions alone will not help:

[ L]ir [*Lieber?*] beginnet morgen.  
es ist weger [?] ir stet e' vf frûwe an dem morgen  
vnd dienet mit fliz vnd mit sorgen  
den awent vnd den morgen.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> 'Herr Leib, serve faithfully so that He may tear me from you, He who poured me into you before.'

<sup>95</sup> 'Verdroz' can also imply the verb 'to wait', so that only a temporary silence may be implied here. Modern German uses a dative construction of 'verdrießen' as in 'Es verdroß ihm die Rede' ('He was too angry/annoyed to speak') but Professor Putter suggests that here, the word 'verdrosz' is equivalent to mod. German 'betrüben' (to make sad).

<sup>96</sup> 'Herr Leib, you should be imprisoned and tied up fast at all times, you are so eager to to move.'

This debate has a dramatic yet comic quality that is in stark contrast to the many hostile debates we shall be looking at later on, mainly because there is no discussion of ultimate blame or of past sins. The relationship between body and soul does not achieve love, however; it is characterised by attachment – on both sides, although they express it differently – and this merely natural affection is shown to be inadequate for a truly devoted soul. Their debate questions the idea of ‘Minne’ (love) that features in the remainder of the manuscript so strongly: what can *Minne* mean in human terms? Both body and soul struggle with their human condition, with no ultimate outcome.

Each party also shows ambivalence in their relationship. The soul, here characterised as a woman, desires mystic union with God but is unwilling to abandon the body, while the male body, for his part, is entirely unwilling to let her go and doesn’t even see the necessity of doing so. The body is characterised as a ‘sack’, given to his mistress, the soul, to be her servant (‘vnd ze knechten [ge]geben’), but even this commonplace of body-soul debates is ambiguous. Body and soul talk to each other as equals, and even though the body is meant to be the servant, he is addressed throughout as ‘Herr Leib’ (Master Body). In addition, the soul, although she criticizes the body’s attitude, is not shown to have reached the point of abandoning her emotional attachment to him, perhaps because such a step would indicate the hostility of a damned soul.

Ambivalence is also expressed stylistically. At first, body and soul appear to be equally weighted. But as the poem continues the soul gradually takes up more and more room, while at one point, as we have seen, the body literally gives up speaking because he has had enough (‘dem lip der rede verdroz’). However, the body is never explicitly shown to give up his point of view and he expresses neither agreement, nor fear of damnation. Equally, there is no indication at all of body and soul’s ultimate fate.

While hostile body-soul debates end almost always with certain damnation, and hence can be (and frequently are) read as *ars moriendi* texts, this poem can be read on different

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<sup>97</sup> ‘Better start tomorrow – it is in vain [?] that you always get up early in the morning and serve diligently and with care evening and morning.’

levels. Munich Cgm. 100 closely links metaphors and allegories centred around body and soul with a focus on the Eucharist and the incarnation, constructing a devotional reading experience to which the idea of the body is central. The ‘Sechs Namen des Fronleichnam’s’ (fols. 10r-110r), the longest single item in the manuscript, emphasises God’s gift of Christ’s body ‘den er ze einer spise hat gemachet sinen kinden’ (‘which He has given as food for His children’, fol. 12v), while *Der Minne Baum der minnenden Seele* makes use of allegory where the body and the senses are media by which the feminine, desiring soul can more closely approach God, and describe her experience; the language of ‘Ver sele’ even reflects some of the semi-mystical language in *Der Minne Baum*.<sup>98</sup>

But if the soul strives so hard towards God, what happens to the real (as opposed to the allegorical) body that finds such ambitions difficult to realise? The soul in ‘Ver sele und herr lip’ seeks liberation from the body in order to fulfil its desire for union with God, but at the same time the body resists such an ‘escape’, revealing the problems of such spiritual ambition. The body’s unwillingness to let go of the soul means that their union cannot be transformed into eternity, as it is in the case of ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ in Basle B.X.14. The poem can be read as a reflection of the real conflicts of the would-be contemplative life such as that presumably striven for by its readers. But it might also be a reflection of the simple belief that it is always the body that prevents true union with God, never the soul, and the distress that this entails (however spiritual, no-one can actually give up their body). The dialogue’s emphasis on the ties of earthly affection against the soul’s longing to be freed from them can be read both as a metaphor of the demands of the religious life and as an indication of the difficulties human nature has in reconciling its different desires.

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<sup>98</sup> For instance, as in other German mystical literature, the soul uses the verb ‘to pour’ (‘giessen’/past participle ‘goz’): ‘“Herr lip dient mit flize/daz der mich von iv rize/Der mich in ivch goz”’ (‘Herr Leib, serve faithfully so that He may tear me from you, He who poured me into you before’; here the soul is referring to being ‘poured into’ the body, as if into a mould or like wine into a wineskin, a metaphor used by Bernard of Clairvaux. Cf. Wilhelm Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter*. 2 vols (Leipzig, 1881), I, 4-5; Ulrich Köpf, ‘Bernard von Clairvaux in der Frauenmystik’, in Dinzelbacher and Bauer (eds), *Frauenmystik im Mittelalter*, pp. 48-77.

### 3.4 The implications of female readership

While all four of the debates studied in this chapter may have been read by women, it is the two ‘friendly’ debates that show the strongest evidence of female readership and/or authorship. But as we have already seen, evidence about female readership – or an intentionally female audience – for medieval German devotional literature has been interpreted in different ways by modern scholars. Recently, some scholars have hypothesised that body-soul debates might have formed part of a ‘repertoire’ of vernacular literature for those involved in the *cura monialium*, designed to repress over-enthusiastic asceticism;<sup>99</sup> similar reductionist interpretations of the uses of vernacular literature for women are not uncommon.<sup>100</sup> Although certainly there were contemporary arguments about how much asceticism was good for women (and men),<sup>101</sup> modern interpretations of the *cura monialium* may also in part derive from the negative reaction of many male Dominicans at the time to a task imposed upon them by papal decree, after much debate as to whether such work was worthwhile or even possible.<sup>102</sup> But they may also be ascribed to a backlash against what has sometimes been perceived, rightly or wrongly, as a danger of imposing anachronistically feminist interpretations on medieval women’s lives and their writings.<sup>103</sup> Both feminist and anti-feminist interpretations may rely on equally one-sided constructions of ‘women’s spirituality’ and ‘mysticism’ in Germany at this period, however,<sup>104</sup> and it is the evidence of literature and its transmission that can provide the clearest evidence of how and why vernacular literature developed as it did.

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<sup>99</sup> Virchow, ‘Der Basler Dialog’.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Uta Störmer-Cayser, *Meister Eckhart: Deutsche Predigten – Eine Auswahl* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 205-11 (pp. 206-7); Theresia Heimsler, *Frauenmystik – Männermystik? Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede in der Darstellung von Gottes- und Menschenbild bei Meister Eckhart, Heinrich Seuse, Marguerite Porète und Mechtild von Magdeburg* (Münster, Hamburg and London, 2002), esp. pp. 42-45, pp. 191-98.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Ehrenscheidtner, *Bildung*, pp. 258-9.

<sup>102</sup> Gertrud Jaron Lewis, *By Women, For Women, About Women; the Sister-Books of fourteenth-century Germany* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 181-86; it was not until 1267 that Clement IV finally arrived at a compromise that satisfied both sides, while in 1286/87, ‘the pastoral care of the Dominican women was given only to especially learned friars’ (p. 185).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Heimsler, *Frauenmystik – Männermystik?*

<sup>104</sup> Williams-Krapp, ‘“Wir lesent viel”’; Alois M. Haas, ‘Was ist Mystik?’, in Kurt Ruh (ed), *Abendländische Mystik im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 319-341.



Women's desire for books and learning is strongly documented in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century German-speaking countries, not least by the women themselves. Among the Dominicans in particular, Ehrenschwendtner has documented an extraordinary amount of evidence recording their desire to learn, including, for example, their writing-down of sermons by visiting preachers, even when this was forbidden,<sup>105</sup> and the importance of correspondence with spiritual advisers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>106</sup> Dominican spiritual advisers are documented as gifting books to the women in their charge in the fifteenth century,<sup>107</sup> and a number of the women in Dominican houses were Latinate.<sup>108</sup> The Rhineland was particularly important in this respect; extant documentation clearly shows the predominantly well-educated background of the women in religious houses in the Lower Rhine region (stretching from Cologne via Strasbourg to Basle) and how they contributed to the development of a sophisticated vernacular theology; extant manuscripts from these houses are among our most important evidence for vernacular reading in Germany at this period.<sup>109</sup> In addition, Meister Eckart's theology, for example, was developed in the context of his work in Strasbourg from 1313 in the *cura monialium*; like the work of Mechtild of Magdeburg, Eckart's sermons created new paradigms of body and soul's relationship, particularly in his use of feminine imagery.<sup>110</sup> He preached to women as well as men, and there is evidence that his work in the *cura monialium* involved personal visits to convents, where he advised nuns on their theological and devotional concerns.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, p. 269-70.

<sup>106</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, *ibid.*, pp. 12, 251-263; Thali, *Beten – Schreiben – Lesen*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>107</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, *ibid.*, p. 263.

<sup>108</sup> M.-L. Ehrenschwendtner, 'Puellae litteratae: The use of the vernacular in the Dominican convents of Southern Germany', in Diane Watt (ed), *Medieval Women in their Communities* (Cardiff, 1997), pp. 49-71.

<sup>109</sup> The majority are held in Berlin at the Staatsbibliothek and catalogued in Hans Hornung, 'Daniel Sudermann als Handschriftensammler'. 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Tübingen, 1957); see also Blondel and Leroy (eds), *Les dominicaines d'Unterlinden*, and *Das christliche Gebetbuch im Mittelalter*. Catalogue published by the Stiftung der Museen im Preussischen Kulturbesitz (SMPK). 2nd edn (Berlin, 1987).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. sermon Q2, pp.9-21, in *Meister Eckhart*, ed. Störmer-Kayser, which plays on the different meanings that can be ascribed to the terms 'virgin' and 'woman' respectively; and Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife*, esp. chapters 5 and 6 (pp. 120-72), which also discuss the particular meaning of 'widow' in Eckart's theology.

<sup>111</sup> Ehrenschwendtner, *Bildung*, p. 250.

These ‘networks’ of men and women recall Felicity Riddy’s comments about the development of English vernacular writing: ‘[W]e 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 [...] In the relation between the male clerks and their women readers it must often have been difficult to tell who followed and who led’.<sup>112</sup> As she also notes of the probable female readers of the Vernon manuscript, ‘[t]he women [...] would have had their own sources and networks for procuring texts’.<sup>113</sup> Similar networks are noted by Williams-Krapp when he discusses the importance of secular women’s books for the reformed Dominican houses in Germany.<sup>114</sup>

The ‘vernacular theology’ of the Basle and Munich manuscripts is therefore suggestive. Both the author of ‘Ein sele’ and the author of ‘Ver sele vnd her lip’ appear to have been familiar with mystical and literary traditions that saw body and soul as quasi-equal partners in salvation, and used *Minne* topoi and ideals to describe this relationship. Munich Cgm. 100 shows evidence of familiarity with ideas about the soul deriving from writers such as Bonaventure and Hugo of St Victor, as well as a focus on the Eucharist and body of Christ, while ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ in Basle B.X.14 explores a joyful and passionate relationship between body and soul that shares its dialogicity (and some aspects of its language) with the writings of Mechtild of Magdeburg, while its philosophy owes much to writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Hildegard of Bingen. While ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ may be seen as forming part of a shared repertoire of body-soul language between male and female Dominicans at this period, Munich Cgm. 100 seems clearly to be an example of a typical *Andachtsbuch* of the kind described by Schiewer and others,<sup>115</sup> in this case, however, it is not from a privileged Dominican house, but from an unregulated *Seelhaus*, albeit one with relatively high status and which was inhabited, at least before its reform, by several women from the aristocracy.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Felicity Riddy, ‘“Women talking about the things of God”: a late medieval subculture’, in Carol M. Meale (ed), *Women and Literature in England 1150-1500* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 104-27, p. 107.

<sup>113</sup> Riddy, *ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Williams-Krapp, ‘Bedeutung’, esp. pp. 322-25.

<sup>115</sup> That is, ‘intentional compilation of excerpts from theological literature with the aim of self-education in theological questions and as a basis for meditation’. Schiewer, ‘Literarisches Leben’, p. 299.

<sup>116</sup> Hufnagel, ‘Franziskanerinnenkloster der Pütrichschwwestern’.

While both poems, in their respective ways, may in a sense be ‘anti-ascetic’, this is not to say that this was their sole function or purpose. I suggest rather that their dialogic nature should be seen in the context of actual spiritual dialogue in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Germany, especially that among women and between women and their male advisers, and in the literary context of Newman’s *mystique courtoise*.<sup>117</sup> But I also argue that the body-soul poems differ essentially from *mystique courtoise*, in that each poem hypothesises a relationship between a presumed actual (although constructed) body and soul, which are, within the dialogue and when confronted with the greatness of *Minne*, equal to each other. Their desire for each other is characterised neither by the ‘glamor of absence’ nor by a playful eroticism that allows them to change roles between lover and beloved, dominant and abject partner.<sup>118</sup> Although the soul in ‘Ein sele’ is exhausted by *Minne*, it is love for Christ, not for her own body, that has made her weak, and although the body longs to ‘stretch out [his] arms’ to the soul when he is resurrected, his attitude to her is not one of abject adoration, but of affection and profound love mediated by their intimate knowledge of one another. In that sense, if the relationship between the soul and *Minne* in *mystique courtoise* is analogous to the lover relationship in courtly literature, that between body and soul is perhaps analogous to that between husband and wife.

More importantly, while the ‘otherness’ of ‘Frau Minne’ in *Minne*-soul dialogues may allow her to be seen, as Newman argues, as an infinitely variable personification of various qualities and abstractions, and even as an aspect of the soul itself, the body-soul poems remind the reader of the real body, defined through specific attributes which are essentially different to those of the soul. They also give that body a voice and inherent meaning of its own. The body-soul poems, as ‘Ver sele und her lip’ makes extremely clear, bring us back to the actual body, not away from it. The differences between Mechtild of Magdeburg’s dialogues between the Soul and *Minne*, and her dialogues between Soul and Body, reflect this; while the soul’s speeches to *Minne* reveal her desire for the other world and spiritual fulfilment in this one, her speeches to the body reassure or instruct him on the particular part that he has played, and will play, in their joint salvation:

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<sup>117</sup> Newman, *Virile Woman*.

<sup>118</sup> Newman, *Virile Woman*, p. 165.

[The soul says to the body]: “Eia, mein allerliebstes Gefängnis,  
in dem ich gefesselt bin,  
ich danke dir, dass du folgtest mir;  
wenn ich auch oft betrübt ward von dir,  
du bist mir doch zu Hilfe gekommen;  
dir wird noch all deine Not genommen  
an dem Jüngsten Tage  
Darum lassen wir die Klage;  
es soll uns alles wohlbehagen,  
was Gott mit uns getan.  
Du mögest nun tapfer aushalten  
und süße Hoffnung behalten”.<sup>119</sup>

Hollywood has described how the ‘locus of sinfulness’ is moved away from the body and towards the will in Eckart’s and Mechtild’s writings, implying body and soul’s equality – and equal nothingness – before the fulness of God.<sup>120</sup> While reminding the reader of earlier paradigms of body and soul (the body is described as ‘prison’ in Mechtild’s poem above and as ‘sack’ in ‘Ver sele und her lip’), this new language also rewrites them, creating new paradigms of equality between these two parts of human nature. In this way, the reader’s attention is drawn to the reality of both body and soul, sometimes painfully so; ‘Ver sele und her lip’ shows human nature in conflict with *Minne*, not because the body is, of himself, less worthy to ‘love all day’, as the soul would have it, but because his ‘heaviness’ and his attachment to the soul do not allow him to participate in *Minne* in the same way that she can.

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<sup>119</sup> *FLdG*, VII, 65 (p. 341): ‘“Oh, my dearest prison in which I am bound/Thank you for following me/Even when I was annoyed with you/you were always there to help me/and one day, at the Last Day, all your troubles will be taken away too/So enough of this complaining/We should be grateful for everything God has done for us./Now you may bravely endure/and keep sweet Hope”’.

<sup>120</sup> *Soul as Virgin Wife*, p. 172.

The question is, however, whether a paradigm of equality in the context of *Minne* continued to be ‘available’ later in the fifteenth century, when visionary writings became more subject to suspicion and aspirations to mysticism were discouraged, repressed and censured by reformers. Certainly it is not a paradigm thereafter found in body-soul debates in Germany (or elsewhere). While our first two manuscripts – or at least our first two debates – might be said to demonstrate forms of ‘inclusion’, I argue that the following two fifteenth-century manuscripts and their body-soul debates were intended to create ‘exclusion’, dividing lines to separate body from soul, and orthodoxy from heresy.<sup>121</sup>

### 3.5 Two further body-soul debates: Definition and exclusion in fifteenth-century Germany?

#### 3.5.1 Darmstadt, Hessische Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek MS 2667

As we have already seen, this elaborate and richly decorated manuscript (fols. 1r-354v<sup>122</sup>) is based around extracts from the devotional work of the Dominican Dirk van Delft, *Tafel van den kersten ghelove (Somerstuc)* (c. 1405)<sup>123</sup> along with a number of other devotional and theological texts. The emphasis throughout the manuscript is neither on a mystical identification with Christ’s sufferings, nor on timely penance or contemplative practice. Instead, its division into chapters suggests a didactic compendium in which Christian doctrine is explained step by step. Similarly, the pictures (63 historiated initials, usually a ‘D’) although taking up an impressive, and significant, part of the page,<sup>124</sup> do not invite identification, but are contained in a heavily outlined frame, showing frequently groups or couples talking together rather than Passion iconography. Even the ‘interspersed’ texts (especially the *ars moriendi* texts) are placed in a framework that links them to the other

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<sup>121</sup> Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe*, pp. 257-310.

<sup>122</sup> Fols. 355r-366v contain various secular texts which were almost certainly added in at a much later date and which therefore I am excluding from this discussion.

<sup>123</sup> F.L.M. Daniëls, OP, *Meester Dirck van Delft. Zijn Persoon en zijn Werk* (Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1932), p. 211.

<sup>124</sup> The text block size is 184 x 132 mm with the historiated initials approximately 95 x 80 mm.

chapters: the writer explains what the chapter will be about, why it was written, and what it is intended to achieve.<sup>125</sup>

Roth argues that Darmstadt 2667 was intended as a ‘mirror to princes’ (it contains an actual ‘mirror to princes’, the *Secreta secretorum*, at fols. 267r-277v). She sees the manuscript as structured in five parts, with the additional texts used to support various chapters of the *Tafel* to provide everything a ruling, secular family needed to know about Christianity. Both the manuscript’s *Adversus Judaeos* literature, and the ‘eschatological section’ – the extract from Heinrich Seuse’s *Horologium Sapientiae* (Book V) on the art of dying well (fols. 169r-176r), the body-soul debate (fols. 176r-180v), and Gerard von Vliederveen’s *Cordiale quattuor novissimorum* (fols. 180v-209r) – are seen by Roth as forming part of this knowledge.

The origins of the body-soul debate in the manuscript, ‘Der geist des menschen wirt dickwyl verhauen’ (fols. 176r-180v<sup>126</sup>) are unknown. Vooy suggests that its author (like the artist of the manuscript) may have lived in the Rhine region and visited the Low Countries, and hence would have known Dutch devotional literature, but he is unable to identify the body-soul debate.<sup>127</sup>

Despite the difficulties of transcribing this work, it is possible to make out some evidence about its content. The debate in Darmstadt 2667 is the only one in our group to be illustrated, and the picture (fol. 176v, fig. 3) bears a strong resemblance to other illustrations of body-soul debates. The naked, pink soul stands on a sarcophagus lid, which is above and to the left of the prone skeleton body, and looks down; the skeleton’s ‘head’ is raised and a speech scroll issues from its mouth. The soul also has a speech scroll. Jesus looks down from heaven, which is depicted as the upper third of the historiated, and he too has a speech scroll. The speech scrolls of Jesus and the soul issue from their respective left hands. Hence the soul stands between the body and God, looking down at

<sup>125</sup> The only text that varies from this pattern is the *Minnejagd der minnenden Seele* (fols. 216v-224r), where after a short introduction to the chapter, the poem immediately begins with no further didactic explanation.

<sup>126</sup> Berleburg RT2/2 fols. 267r-274r; incomplete.

<sup>127</sup> C.G.N. de Vooy, cit. Daniels, p. 215.

the body, which is separated from the soul by its horizontal position in an open grave, as in most other representations.

The words spoken by each figure appear to show that despite the hostility of the body-soul debate, in this case too body and soul are ultimately to be saved:

Body: 'Was ist diß gerucht daß mich so swerlich erswecket von dem tode?'

(*'What is this clamour that wakes me so painfully from death?'*)

Soul: 'Ich voerchte mich sere vor der hellen pin din halp.'

(*'I am sore afraid of hell's torments [??]'*)

Christ: 'Du werd folgent die mich'.

(*'They will follow me'*)

The body expresses shock at having been woken to come to Judgement, and the soul is frightened, yet Christ appears to imply that like it or not, they will eventually come to Him, hence to salvation. But the debate itself does not reflect this optimism, and the image itself is ambivalent; despite the soul's and Christ's higher status, the skeleton might be said to dominate the situation; its horizontal position fills the lower third of the picture and its raised hand seems to indicate benediction, warning or accusation, but not supplication or abjection.

The debate itself falls into two parts. It appears to begin in prose and end in rhyme, and its structure and themes are also complex. Overall, it is based on the 'Visio Philiberti' tradition, being told by a third party who appears to be the witness of the scene between 'sele' and 'lycham' (fol. 176v), and at the end wakes and promises to reform. As in the 'Visio', too, the soul is afflicted by devils who come to bring its punishment. Some more specific details also show the influence of the 'Visio'. The soul begins the debate 'with a hoarse voice' ('mit hoiuser stymmen', fol. 176v), and with an immediate attack on the body's 'vile' nature ('vuele vleysch'). It tells the body how all the body's friends have deserted it (fol. 177r), and asks it where all its gifts and beauties have gone. The body, responding, admits that God created the soul with nobility ('edel') in His image ('na[ch]

syne buelde’) and gave the soul speech and reason (‘reden vnd verstantnis’). Further, the body tells the soul ‘du weirs myen vrouwe und ich was dyne maeghet’(you were my mistress and I your maid), and that therefore it was up to the soul to rule over the body (‘regeren’) and not give into its desires. The body itself could not distinguish good from evil (‘Ich en hende nit ondescheyden dat/bösse’). The soul is filled with ‘bitter anger’ (‘zorn’); it is shocked to hear these words, and says that the body is ungrateful (‘undanck’) to both the soul and God for all the chances it was given in life, especially as God gave the body the soul, which allowed the body to have senses and feelings: ‘Ich bin dyen geist durch welch du onphyenghest dat leuen der naturen, durch welch du synne hettas[t]’. God also gave baptism, but the body has forgotten its ‘creatur’ (Creator) (fol. 177r). But the soul also admits it did not always do its duty, and uniquely refers to itself as ‘Richter in dem recht zu ordelen alle sachen’ (‘a judge in/with the right to make decisions about all things’, fol. 178r).

Here, however, the debate changes. From fol. 178v, the arguments are not followed further, and instead, the soul turns to describing hell (its ‘sulfur’ and ‘gall’) and the horrible punishments to which sinners are sentenced by God for specific sins. This takes the form of a list, with sins and their punishments iterated with a paraph. mark before each one; the soul is itself then subjected to a number of these punishments, while the body is filled with horror at this apparent lack of mercy on God’s part. Following this, the narrator wakes and promises to reform his sinful nature.

This body-soul debate contains numerous negative references to the body as such: the soul describes the body as ‘vuele vleysch’ (vile flesh), and later says it is a ‘beestelich natuer’ (beastlike nature, fol. 177v). Evil spirits are said to have had the body in their power, and the body curses nature for having made it her ‘creatûr’ (both fol.177v). The body refers to itself later – in the fear of hell – as ‘puluor vnd erden slÿm’ (dust and slime of the earth, fol.178v). Both body and soul, however, wish that they had done penance when they talk of the punishments to come, and the evils of the body are seen alongside the weakness of the soul as leading to specific punishments for each. This is clearly meant to be a Christian warning about the perils of death before penance, and about body and soul’s relationship to



each other, where the flesh is vile, but not evil; it is led astray by the temptations of the devil. But it is not the only construction of materiality in this manuscript.

As we have seen, it has been argued that Darmstadt 2667 was intended as a ‘mirror to princes’, as its dedication and some of its texts suggest.<sup>128</sup> But the manuscript is principally structured around a Dominican exposition of faith, and other texts in the manuscript can also be seen in the context of Dominican anti-heretical activity and as a warning to its readers of the importance of distinguishing between Christian beliefs about the body and soul and what were perceived as Jewish beliefs. There are several *Adversus Judaeos* texts in the manuscript, and one in particular has a significant relationship to the Dominican attitude to Judaism and heresy. Towards the end of the manuscript, chapters 45-46 of the *Tafel* precede a dispute between Pope Silvester and the Jews, from a historical text on Emperor Constantine and the Church (fols. 325v-330v)<sup>129</sup> and the ‘Epistola Rabbi Samuelis ad Rabbi Isaac’ (fols. 330v-337r), a vernacular version of an extremely popular Latin work written c. 1339 by the Dominican Alphonsus Bonihominis after Petrus Alphonsus and thereafter translated into a number of European languages.<sup>130</sup> Petrus Alphonsus was a twelfth-century Spanish Jew who converted to Christianity and thereafter wrote a number of extensive dialogues between his ‘new self’, Petrus, and his old self, ‘Moses’ focusing on the supposed materialism of Jewish faith.<sup>131</sup> The ‘Epistola’, a much shorter text aiming more at a ‘popular’ style, and with little knowledge of actual Jewish theology, was among the most widely read texts of the later Middle Ages and was transmitted in various languages throughout Europe.<sup>132</sup> It was written (probably in Paris) at a time when Jews were experiencing harsh persecution in Austria, partly through the

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<sup>128</sup> Roth, p. 291.

<sup>129</sup> This text is found in only two other medieval manuscripts and was edited by L.M.F. Daniels after Leiden, Universitätsbibliothek MS Ltk. 338. See *Verfasserlexikon*, 11:364-7. It is not listed in Heinz Schreckenberg’s survey, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld* (Frankfurt am Main, 2002).

<sup>130</sup> Karl Heinz Keller, *Textgemeinschaften im Überlieferungsvorgang: Fallstudie aus der Überlieferung der ‘Epistel Rabbi Samuels an Rabbi Isaac’* (Göppingen, 1992), p. 144. For a critical edition of Irmhart Oeser’s work see Marsmann, *Die Epistel*. This particular version does not appear to be the well-known German translation by Irmhart Oeser and is not listed by Marsmann, suggesting that, like the body-soul debate in Darmstadt 2667, it may be unique and/or written by another Dominican.

<sup>131</sup> See especially Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: ideas of the Jew in medieval Christianity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, and London, 1999), pp. 201-18.

<sup>132</sup> Schreckenberg, p. 391.

efforts of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, and Keller shows that it was frequently disseminated with other *Adversus Judaeos* texts, as here.<sup>133</sup>

As Cohen writes, *Adversus Judaeos* texts served to construct a concept of Jews and Jewish beliefs against which to privilege the truth of the Christian revelation. During the thirteenth century, Cohen argues, Christian scholasticism moved from a relative acceptance of Judaism in the Augustinian tradition (which saw the Jews as playing a special, albeit eternally inferior, role in Christian belief) to a concept of the Jewish faith as one heresy among many. Theologians justified this by blaming contemporary Jews for living out a ‘distortion of [Judaism’s] ancient heritage’.<sup>134</sup> In theological terms this culminated in the work of Thomas Aquinas, like Dirc van Delft a Dominican, who ‘echoed the ideological basis for [a] newly aggressive program of anti-Judaism, even as he opposed its implementation in practice’.<sup>135</sup> The work of Dominicans such as Dirc van Delft and Aquinas may have paved the way for the far-from-theoretical violence towards Jews in the fifteenth century in Germany and Austria, for instance the expulsion of Jews from Trier and Cologne, where Darmstadt 2667 may have originated, in 1418 and 1424 respectively.<sup>136</sup>

While the implications of this are, of course, immense, I want here to look only at the specific reason why the anti-Jewish works in Darmstadt 2667 may be important as a context for the body-soul debate. Is the body-soul debate within the manuscript intended to be ‘purely’ a form of *ars moriendi* literature (as Roth implies), or does it also articulate other aspects of medieval Christianity? Its inclusion alongside the ‘Epistola’ of Alphonsus Bonihominis arguably links it to a network of other texts that reveals the relationship of constructions of body and soul to ideas about Judaism and heresy in the late medieval period.

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<sup>133</sup> Keller, p. 145 and *passim*.

<sup>134</sup> Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 376.

<sup>135</sup> Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>136</sup> Rainer Barzer, ‘Anfänge im Mittelalter (1229-1442)’, in Bauer and Brenner (eds), *Jüdisches München*, pp. 21-38.

Petrus Alphonsus, an important influence on the 'Epistola' and similar writings, had been a court physician to King Alfonso I after the Reconquista, and spent some time in England, and possibly Northern France, in the second decade of the twelfth century. His *Dialogi* cover a wide range of questions posed by the 'former Jew', Moses, to his new 'Christian self', Petrus, about Christian doctrine. Among other accusations, Petrus accuses the Jews of a kind of spiritual anthropomorphism and criticizes their attribution of a human body and emotions to God.<sup>137</sup> In chapter 3, he accuses the Jews of the messianic era of believing in the physical resurrection of the dead, and alleges that this is completely at odds with biblical Judaism.<sup>138</sup> Cohen argues that Petrus Alphonsus' works can be seen in the context of his 'Sefardic origins': 'the issues over which [Peter] criticized rabbinic aggadah, especially the matters of divine corporeality and the resurrection of the dead, engaged numerous Spanish and Provençal scholars of the High Middle Ages'.<sup>139</sup>

The Spanish writer Alphonsus Bonihominis, Bishop of Morocco from 1344, journeyed widely in the Middle East, including to Cyprus and Egypt, where he appears to have had access to a number of ancient legends and to have translated some from Arabic into Latin, including the legends of St Macarius and St Anthony, two of the 'desert saints' most influential in the development of body-soul debates.<sup>140</sup> The 'Epistola' themselves also criticize the materialism of Jewish faith, although with a different emphasis to Petrus Alphonsus, citing the 'blindness' of the Jews towards Christ, as well as describing the 'fleyschlich' ('bodily') nature of Jewish sacrifice and ritual as opposed to the 'geystlych' ('spiritual') sacrament of the Christian Eucharist which has replaced it.<sup>141</sup> He also talks of Jewish 'blindness' and their material understanding of sacrifice, which will eventually damn them.

The inclusion of *Adversus Iudaeos* texts in Darmstadt 2667 references, intentionally or unintentionally, the Christian need to distinguish their own beliefs about physicality and

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<sup>137</sup> Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>138</sup> Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>139</sup> Cohen, *ibid.*, p. 209.

<sup>140</sup> Marsmann, *Epistel*, p. 17.

<sup>141</sup> Marsmann, *ibid.*, p. 199 (Chapter 21 of the 'Epistola').

spirituality from the beliefs they attributed to Jews and heretics. But they also point to the difficulties inherent in doing so. Alphonsus Bonihominis also translated the legend of Macarius, in which physical corruption is equated with sin, and in the body-soul debate in Darmstadt 2667, the body is characterised as ‘vuele vleysch’ (vile flesh). Clearly, Christians were always dangerously close to equating materiality itself with sinfulness, and the distinction between the two was not always easy to maintain.<sup>142</sup>

Both the body-soul debate and the ‘Epistola’ in Darmstadt 2667 appear to be unique versions of their genre. This may mean that they were written specifically for the patron who commissioned the book (or for the intended recipient), but also that a body-soul debate was perceived as a necessary part of a didactic compendium for those in power. Darmstadt 2667 appears to be such a compendium. The ‘rulers’ who were to receive this particular manuscript – the Rodemacher family – were, it seems, expected to engage both with the meaning of their own bodies and souls in the scheme of salvation (and, of course, to be reminded of death, a common topos for the wealthy), but also, it appears, expected to engage with issues of Judaism and heresy, and act to prevent both.

As Cohen has argued, *Adversus Judaeos* texts could smooth a path for actual violence and repression towards those on the ‘outside’ of the Christian community, and so despite their theological fluency, the real danger that they represented to real people should not be underestimated. It is possible that the body-soul debate, too, ‘paves the way’ for view of the Christian self as both privileged and endangered, ultimately confirming the superiority of Christian bodies and souls even as it shows their vulnerability. Like the rulers of the social order themselves, Christian bodies and souls are eternally privileged by God, but they are also, again like those rulers, in continual peril from evil both from within (the flesh’s weakness) and without (the devils). In this particular version of the body-soul debate, the manuscript appears to emphasise that danger comes more from without – the evil spirits – than within. As such, it may be stressing not only the inherent fragility of status, but also the importance of excluding external ‘dangers’ (heretics, Jews, the devil).

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<sup>142</sup> Cf. Kiening, ‘Contemptu mundi’, pp. 409-10.

Our final manuscript, Vienna Cod. 3009, may have circulated in a similar region (the Lower Rhineland) to Darmstadt 2667; we know, however, little or nothing of its origins, only one of its scribes having been identified, as the scribe of the Markgrafen at Baden. It appears to be aimed at secular readers, but as Thiel has speculated, may also have been deliberately written within a ‘reform’ context.

### 3.5.2 Vienna, ONB MS Cod. 3009

This is a pocket-sized,<sup>143</sup> mostly unillustrated paper manuscript described by Kiening as a ‘Sammelhandschrift’ or compendium similar to those composed by the fifteenth century Benedictine Johann Hauser at Mondsee abbey in Austria.<sup>144</sup> Despite its later Benedictine ownership, the content of much of the manuscript seems to indicate a secular, mixed audience. All of it, apart from the Latin ‘Visio Philiberti’ (fols. 28r-35r) is in the vernacular. One hand seems to have written all of fols. 1r-35v, but there is a gap of three blank pages between the poem ‘Schatz der Seele’ on fol. 35v and the next item, *De contemptu mundi*, which may indicate that two or more books were originally envisaged.

The verso side of the single front flyleaf contains a contemporary table of contents which includes the body-soul debate. Below this, a vernacular poem to Our Lady precedes 27 pages of astrological descriptions, also in the vernacular, before the ‘Visio Philiberti’ in Latin. The remainder of the manuscript is entirely in the vernacular, except for some Latin glosses or single words in the margins, and consists of devotional works and exempla, frequently of a monitory nature. The ‘astrological’ pages contain spaces for illustrations, but there is no other indication of intended illustration in the manuscript and only sparse use of rubrication, mostly to stroke the initial letters of verses.

Some of the items in the manuscript appear to have been written with especial care. For instance, a poem on the treasures of the soul that follows the ‘Visio Philiberti’ on fol. 35v is very carefully laid out with the first letter of each line stroked in red and Latin

<sup>143</sup> Binding: 100 x 70 mm. The top and bottom margins of the manuscript pages appear to be intact, with the sides having been cut or worn away. The side margins have also been used for notes and insertions.

<sup>144</sup> Kiening, ‘Zwiegespräch’.

'keywords' used in the margins to emphasise certain points. The poem tells the reader that the writings of the Gospel are the soul's most expensive treasure and should be kept safe in her/his 'shrine', closed up like jewels, along with the avoidance of sin, patience in suffering, joy in poverty and doing good for evil. Jewellery is not necessarily a female possession, but a number of the other items in the manuscript do refer specifically to women: the Story of the Three Virgins (fols. 49r-58v), the Crown of Chastity (fols. 59r-63r), a morality tale about a married woman (fols. 63r-63v), a piece 'against adornment' beginning 'Women should avoid adorning their bodies richly' (fols. 64r-72v), the dangers of dancing (fols. 73r-85v), a treatise on obedience ending 'and the Holy Virgin revealed all this to those sinful women of the same convent' (fols. 88r-89v), the four duties of a nun, beginning 'A holy woman lay on her deathbed in a convent' (fol. 136v), and a letter of St Gregory to a woman (fols. 209r-210r). However, there are also numerous other pieces, for instance some on sins such as gambling, and so this is not conclusive evidence about (intended) readership. Its focus on death and dying may also place it in an *ars moriendi* tradition: the manuscript includes a version of the popular poem *De contemptu mundi* (title given in Latin, otherwise in vernacular), ending 'Mensch, schaff diner armen sele heil/Wann der lib musz sin der wurme teil' ('Man, save your soul/When the body becomes food for worms');<sup>145</sup> a warning to a damned soul; a treatise on death and judgment, *De morte et iudicio* (title in Latin, treatise in vernacular); a treatise on the pains of purgatory; and the art of dying, followed by a prayer for a dying person to say.

As noted above, the 'body-soul debate' (fols. 97v-102v) in Vienna Cod. 3009 is more than a simple debate. It is a long sequence of mostly frightening and macabre discussions between Death and the Body, the Body and the Soul and the Soul and the Devil, and centres around the pains suffered by the soul when the time comes for it to leave the body.<sup>146</sup> The whole is preceded by an interpretative explanation of why people do not want to die, relating this explicitly to sin. A soul that knows it is sinful does not want to leave the body. But, just as Adam was thrown out of paradise, so the soul, fighting with

<sup>145</sup> Ed. Kiening, 'Contemptu mundi'.

<sup>146</sup> Although this debate has been edited by Thiel, in 'Die Todesfigur', I was not aware of this until after completing this chapter; the transcriptions and translations are my own.

death, is thrown out of the body: ‘so nit der tot bindt das huss der sele das/ist der lip’ (it is not death that imprisons the soul in its house, it is the body).

Death then proceeds to make the accusations against the body, taking the part usually played by the soul in body-soul debates:

“O was hast du hoffart getriben bis her! O wie hast du dirs so wol gebotten mit schinberlichem essen! O wie bistu so wol köstlich und sensst gecleit gewesen, wie starck, wie schnell vnd behende! Sag mir, war vme bistu nit me[r] hoffertig, wol gecleit, krefftig vnd wolgestalt? War vme werst du dich nit? Warvme hastu nit sorg vme Richtume, vme golt, silber, cleynet köstlich cleider vnd vme schoneheit vnd freude? Wa ist nu din gewalt?”<sup>147</sup>

Further observations made by Death to the body continue to take the part of the soul in body-soul debates, commenting on the body’s awful appearance: ‘ “Warvme werdent entblossent din zene, zugetan din augen, din antlitz bleich, dien naseloch enge, din lefftzen swartz? War vme wirt kalt aller din lip vnd glieder?”’.<sup>148</sup> But Death speaks also to the soul, asking her to come out. This element is a reworking of the Hebrew ‘refusal to die’ motif described by Dudley, although in the Hebrew legends it is usually an angel of death, rather than Death itself, who is sent to separate soul and body.<sup>149</sup> The soul goes first to the lips:

die sprechent zu ihr “O sele was wilt du tun?“ Entwurt die sele “Ich muß vß gen”.  
So sprechen die lefftzen “Du nit hier indomen [comen], du solt auch nit hier vß

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<sup>147</sup> “O you have been living the high life until now! O, how well you have treated yourself with fine foods! O, how expensively and attractively you were dressed! How strong and quick and nimble you were! Tell me, why are you no longer proud, well dressed and good to look upon? Why do you not defend yourself? Why do you not care any more about riches, gold, silver, clean and expensive clothes, and beauty? Where is all your authority now?”

<sup>148</sup> “Why are your teeth bared, your eyes closed, your face pale, your nostrils closed up, your lips black? Why so cold your body and limbs?”

<sup>149</sup> Dudley, *Egyptian Elements*, chapter 8.

gehn“. So get die sele zu den nasslochen vnd zu den anderen glidern, die entwurte[n]t ire als die lefftzen zu.<sup>150</sup>

Finally, the soul goes to the top of the head and manages to get out that way.

As Dudley points out for the original Latin homily which contains this scene, this Christian interpretation of the ‘refusal-to-die’ tradition differs from its origins in important ways. The Hebrew legend describes a soul that is destined to be saved, and sends an angel of Death to rescue it. Death here, however, is not described as an angel, and its coming only taunts the damned soul. Secondly, in contrast to the Hebrew legends, the members of the body do not name any sacred reason why the soul cannot pass; here they simply say that she did not come in that way and so cannot go out. Like other Christian reworkings of Jewish legends, this interpretation substitutes a single, punitive meaning for what was originally a positive depiction of a sacred interaction between the soul, the body and God.<sup>151</sup>

Here, eventually the soul manages to leave by her own trickery, and having done so, sits on the top of the head, looking around to see whether or not she is damned. Now she sees clearly that she is, and laments, until suddenly she catches sight of a fine dress, last worn at her baptism. Then it was white as snow; now it is ‘black as coal’. She cries out to find who has done this, and Satan, appears (referred to here as both ‘der tufel’ (the devil) and ‘der engel sathanas’ (the angel Satan)). Satan tells her that it is he who has blackened her dress, in thanks for all the obedience the soul has shown him throughout her life. He then dramatically describes her fate in hell:

“Da wirt sin weinen one lachen, zene cleppern one vff hö[r]en, Trurikeit one freude, Hunger one spyse, turst one tranck, vinsterniss one licht, Boser geschmacke one spetzery, sinertze [*or* schmerz] one trost, schryen vnd weinen one vnderlass,

<sup>150</sup> ‘[The lips] say to her “O soul what will you do?” The soul answers, “I must go out”. And the lips speak to her thus: “You did not come in this way, therefore you may not go out”. So the soul goes to the nostrils and to the other limbs and they give her the same answer as the lips.’

<sup>151</sup> Cf. my discussion of the Talmudic element in BL MS Additional 37049 in Chapter 4.4 below.



Russen one swigen, Murcmeln one ei[n]samkeit, hulen on masse, Ewig brynnend  
düre on[e] alles abnemen, Grosser fürig wint on[e] alle stillikeit, frost one würme,  
hitz on herkulunge, Nacketheit on[e] cleyder, Armut on[e] Richtum, durstikeit  
on[e] wollust vnd alles vbel on[e] alles gut. Da suchent vil den tot vnd mögent Ihne  
nimme vinden”<sup>152</sup>

In her terror the soul hopes for help from her good angel, who now approaches, but the good angel reminds her that she never even noticed him when she was alive. It is at this point that the soul speaks angrily to her body, accusing him of being entirely to blame:

“O du durstig lichnam, ein tempel des tufels, dine werck hant mich entreint vnd  
vnsüber gemacht. O du vermaledites vnd verfluchtes ertrich, o du wonnunge des  
tufels, stand vff bald vnd komme nu mit mir, das du sehest die stette der pine die  
ich liden muss vnd dir mir bereit sint von dienen wegen, In den ich bliben muss  
biss an den Jüngsten tag. Aber darnach, so das vrtel des strengen gericht  
vßgesprochen ist, so kommestu auch zu mir vnd wrest enpfinden mit mir ewige pin  
one ende”.

Darnach spricht furbaß die sele zu dem lichnam, “Verflucht sint din augen, dann sie  
wolte nie gesehe den weg der gerechtikeit noch auch das licht der warheit.  
Verflucht sint din oren [d]ann sie wolten nie in sich gelassen die wort der heiligen  
tugenden, die götlich predigt vnd die fruchtbar straffunge der laster vnd sünde.  
Verflucht sy din zunge vnd dine lefftzen, [d]ann sie wolten nie versüchen die  
süssekeit der ewikeit vnd hant auch nie vffgetan die pforte ires mundes zu loben die  
gutikeit ihrs schöpffers. Verflucht sint din hende, [d]an durch sie sint nit worden  
die almusen den armen menschen. Verflucht sy din hertz vnd din Brust, [d]an von  
Ine sint gegangen die allerbösten Reche vnd gedencke. Verflucht sint din fuß, [d]an  
sie nie gesucht haben die krech in recht meynnungen sunder dich zu tantze getragen

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<sup>152</sup> “There will be weeping without laughter, the chattering of teeth with no end, sadness and no joy, hunger and no meat, thirst and no drink, darkness and no light, evil tastes and no food, pain and no comfort, shrieking and wailing with no end, calling out but never silence, muttering but no solitude, howling without restraint, eternally burning fire that never lessens, a great fiery wind that is never stilled, frost without warmth, heat without any cooling, nakedness and no clothes, poverty with no wealth, thirst [desire] without lust and everything that is evil and nothing that is good. Many there seek death and cannot find it.”

hant. Vnd vermaledyte sind alle dine wercke [d]an sie hant mir gemacht vnd vberkommen ewige pine”<sup>153</sup>

There is no love for the body here at all; the soul does not even attempt to consider whether she too might be at fault. Without the body, there would have been no sin. Where the soul *is* now at fault, however, is in her inability to repent, ‘Sie wölt gerne wider bringen die dinge die sie versümt hat vnd verlorn, Aber sie wirt nit herhört’ (‘She would dearly love to bring back the things she neglected to do and that she lost, but her pleas are rejected’). The body is to blame; this is re-emphasised as the soul feels shame and despair at being cut off from paradise, a punishment which is directly related to her having a body:

daz sie vme so kurtzten vnflätigen lust des fleisches vnd der laster verlorn hat die vnoßprechlich wünde der ewigen sußekeit. Sie schemt sich auch das sie von der materien wegen die der wurme spise ist vnd werden muss, daz ist durch des fleisches willen versümt hat. Die creature die den engeln zu gefugt solt werden in dem hymmel, das ist die sele<sup>154</sup> (my emphasis)

This debate reveals clearly the difference between the soul’s difficulty in separating from the body, and its feelings towards that body. Leaving the body is, in itself, terrible and the soul suffers greatly in so doing: ‘sie bliebe gern in dem libe aber sie wirt gez[w]ungen vß zu gende’ (she would like to stay in the body but is forced to leave it) and she is ‘torn’

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<sup>153</sup> “O you body full of desires, you temple of the devil, your work has polluted me and made me unclean. O you accursed and hated earthly kingdom, o you house of the devil, get up and come with me so that you may see the place where I must suffer such pains, made ready for me all because of you, where I must stay until Judgment Day. And afterwards, when the judgment of that severe court has been spoken, you will join me and you too will suffer eternal pain without end.’ Then the soul speaks further to the body, ‘Accursed be your eyes, that never wanted to see the way of justice, nor the light of truth. Accursed be your ears, which never wanted to let in the Word of holy virtue or godly sermon and the fruitful condemnation of sins and vices. Accursed be your tongue and your lips, that never wanted to taste the sweetness of eternity, and never opened the door of their mouth to praise the goodness of their creator. Accursed be your hands, that never gave alms to the poor. Accursed be your heart and your breast, which gave birth to the most evil thoughts and angers. Accursed be your feet, that never went to church with honest intentions, but instead took you dancing. And accursed be all your works now they have led me to eternal suffering”.

<sup>154</sup> ‘That she has lost the indescribable wound of eternal sweetness because of the short, nasty lust of the body and the vices. She is also ashamed that because of her materiality which is the food of worms and must be, that is, because of the will of the flesh, she has neglected to do what she should. The creature that should join the angels in heaven, that is the soul’.

inwardly (fol. 101r). And because of her damnation, her leaving is accompanied by demons, as in the *Vision of St Paul*: ‘wer mag vssgesprechen wie vil schare der bösen geiste Ir engegen lauffen’ (‘who may say how many hordes of evil spirits hurry to meet her?’).<sup>155</sup>

The writer goes on to draw the moral that those who are willing to meditate on hell in this life and do good deeds will not suffer this fate after death. This, clearly, places all the emphasis on human works and deeds and none at all on God’s mercy or grace; God does not appear in this debate. Perhaps it is to rectify this omission that the following item in the manuscript, a vision of St Brigitta, points out that all people, so long as they are still alive and have repented of their sins, can receive absolution. This vision also complements, and perhaps ‘corrects’, the preceding story of the damned soul in a further way; it is the vision of an angel and a devil who have come before God to argue for the soul of a sinner. Each of them has accompanied this sinner throughout his life, keeping notes of what he has done or failed to do. This too goes back to the earliest origins of the body-soul debate and the ‘judicial’ rendering of the soul’s fate after death.

### 3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has examined four body-soul debates, none of which is a version of the ‘Visio Philiberti’ or variations on any of the French or English debates. They appear to have been composed or copied in relative isolation and reveal four different sets of preoccupations. They also show different levels of poetic (or prose) sophistication. I have argued for a precise reading of each debate in its manuscript context and, while identifying any similarities that may be present, I have also shown that it is important to read each debate as a work in its own right.

At the same time, the debates share a number of historical and religious connections. They occur predominantly in manuscripts connected to the Dominican and Franciscan (possibly

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<sup>155</sup> We find this in the English debates ‘Als I lay’ and ‘In a þestri’ where, too, the soul is destined for hell, for instance in the Auchinleck manuscript, lines 448-535, where the soul is assailed ‘Wip a þousand fendes & 3ete mo’ (459). Quoted from <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/mss/body-soul.html>. Accessed 25.01.05.

also Benedictine) orders, but not in theological or scholastically-influenced manuscripts. Although Basle B.X.14 belonged to a monastery, clearly it was used by those whose work took them outside of the monastery in connection with the *cura monialium*. Darmstadt 2667, again, appears to have been written by Dominicans or those with access to Dominican texts for a wealthy, secular family; instruction of the laity may also have been the purpose of Vienna Cod. 3009.

But the meaning of ‘instruction’ here, as we have seen, may be complex. For example, ‘Ein sele zu dem libe sprach’ although written (probably) by someone involved in the *cura monialium*, is not a work that appears to have been viewed as a text with general instructional value within the Dominican order; if it had been, it seems likely that it would have been more widely disseminated. However, this is not the case (as far as we know); there is no evidence of it having been transmitted to female Dominican houses even in Basle, although Mechtild of Magdeburg’s texts certainly were.<sup>156</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that it was transmitted, but has not survived.

I would argue that in view of the different paradigms of body and soul in these four vernacular debates, we should differentiate our views of vernacular ‘didactic’ or ‘instructional’ literature for (or by) the laity. This is particularly the case for ‘women’s writing’. As Andersen has pointed out, there are no secular vernacular texts written by women in Germany in the Middle Ages.<sup>157</sup> For women at this time, ‘to write’ appears to have meant ‘to write devotional literature’, and, if devotional literature was the only literature that could be written, then, I argue, it is the language of devotional literature that women were using to ‘think with’. That is to say, the language of devotional literature becomes the language in which complex constructions of reality can be thought and expressed, and therefore also in which constructions of body and soul can be made and remade. If, as I have argued, the ‘friendly’ debates between body and soul are linked to a particular ‘vernacular theology’ in Germany in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which used language strongly influenced by female mysticism, then the repression of

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<sup>156</sup> Andersen, *Voices*, pp. 141-42.

<sup>157</sup> Andersen, *ibid.*, p. 19.

visionary and mystical language in the fifteenth century had more serious implications than the censorship of books (serious though that is); it also meant that this type of language was no longer available in the same way for ‘thinking with’.

It is no coincidence, I think, that the vast majority of German body-soul debates in the ‘Visio Philiberti’ (that is, hostile) tradition are from the fifteenth century; the very earliest is from the fourteenth,<sup>158</sup> while in Northern France and England, there is no version of the body-soul debate that departs from the ‘Visio’ tradition until the debate in Degauleville’s *Pèlerinage de l’âme* (1355-58) and its English reworking, the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (c. 1413?), which are unique in their depiction of a saved body and soul as opposed to a damned one. This suggests that – as Palmer’s and Kiening’s articles imply – the ‘Visio Philiberti’-style debates in Germany must be viewed as reflecting different paradigms of body and soul, within a different tradition, than the ‘friendly’ or semi-mystical debates;<sup>159</sup> it may be that an increased interest in *Contemptus mundi* literature in Germany in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may have led to a renewal of interest in the ‘Visio Philiberti’ which is not evident in Germany prior to this date.

But one must still ask why the possibility of ‘friendly’ body-soul debates thereafter seems to be impossible. One answer, as I have indicated, may lie in the new censoring of mystical writing that arose in the fifteenth century as a result of monastic reform and, as Martin has argued, also as a result of an increased distrust of ‘affective theology’ (whether among men or women) which was perceived as ‘feminine’, i.e. receptive and emotional in nature.<sup>160</sup> The fact that our two ‘hostile’ debates in this chapter are of a later date than the ‘friendly’ debates reminds us that the development of vernacular theology and the body-soul debate genre itself took place in the context of wider political and ecclesiastical developments. Medieval Germany, like the rest of medieval Europe, was characterised by continual intense religious debate and change, and this was particularly so in the fifteenth century after the Councils of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-18) and Basle (1431-49).

<sup>158</sup> Palmer, ‘Visio Philiberti’, lists nine German versions of the ‘Visio’, of which seven are from the fifteenth century and two from the fourteenth.

<sup>159</sup> Kiening, ‘Zwiesgespräch’; Palmer, ‘Seele und Leib’ and ‘Visio Philiberti’.

<sup>160</sup> Martin, *Carthusian Reform*, p. 14.

These Councils were where the Church hammered out its policies about vernacular reading and heresy, and the 'reforms' to which it led were often reforms of exclusion, censorship and enclosure.<sup>161</sup> This, in Germany, almost invariably meant an extreme change for religious women from a (relatively) autonomous way of life to one which was highly controlled, financially, physically and spiritually, and this change met with various degrees of resistance. It was a serious, usually permanent change for the individuals affected; but scholars do not often seem to have undertaken a detailed look at how this serious change might have affected constructions of the self, of religious practice and of metaphysical ideas, in contrast to the many studies of the transmission of literature following the reforms.<sup>162</sup> Similarly, other 'reforms' to medieval lives in Germany, such as the expulsion of Jews from German cities, were undoubtedly destructive for those affected, and Christians must have been aware of what was occurring. Again, however, the question of how these differently 'reformed' groups viewed each other, and how this may have impacted on their respective literatures and cultures, has rarely been explored, although this seems an obvious question to ask; for example, a by-product of the destruction of the Jewish communities in Bavaria may have been the transmission (or stealing) of Jewish literature and manuscripts to Christian libraries, which may have led to an increased interest in, and access to, Talmudic legends and moral tales.<sup>163</sup>

In this chapter, I have attempted to take some steps towards joining up these different elements of German religious and social life in the fifteenth century by making connections between the antisemitic and anti-heretical material present in all four manuscripts, and their vernacular constructions of body and soul in the context of women's

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<sup>161</sup> On the Councils see also Hasenohr, 'Religious reading'; Margaret Deansley, *A History of the Medieval Church 590-1500* (London, 1925, reprinted with corrections from the 9<sup>th</sup> edition, 1972), pp. 232-9; Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change'. Cf. also Cf. Denise L. Despres, 'The Protean Jew in the Vernon manuscript', in Sheila Delaney (ed), *Chaucer and the Jews: sources, contexts, meanings* (London, 2002), pp. 145-64, on the earlier Councils of Lateran IV (1215) and Oxford (1222), which, Despres argues, saw the implementation of 'principle[s] of separation', outlining Christian identity as opposed to Jewish or Albigensian 'heresies', including refutations of the latter's 'position on the essential evil of matter' (Despres, p. 147).

<sup>162</sup> Exceptions are Uffmann, 'Innen und Außen', and Winston-Allen's *Convent Chronicles*.

<sup>163</sup> A copy of the *Haggadah* was owned by Johann von Eych's monastery at Tegernsee, produced by the Jewish copyist and illustrator Joseph bar Ephraim in Southern Germany at the end of the fifteenth century (Barzer, 'Anfänge im Mittelalter', p. 23). Cf. also Schwierz, *Steinerne Zeugnisse*, p. 307, who describes how one Rabbi David of Eichstätt created a list of 42 Hebraic manuscripts for the secular authorities.

reading and the *cura monialium*. We have seen how, in the writings of Petrus Alfonsus and Alphonsus Bonihominis, Jews were often linked to bodies and *materia* in general as a means of denigrating both individuals and their religion, while Bynum has explored in detail the paradoxical casting of Jews as ‘revealers’ (through their alleged desecrations) of God’s power in the material Host and blood.<sup>164</sup> Kathleen Kamerick has examined how Jews were frequently blamed for idolatry and image-worship, an accusation which again may go back to a Christian construction of Jewish belief as corporeal and materialistic, hence distinguishing it from Christianity’s ‘spiritual’ nature.<sup>165</sup> As we have seen in the debate in Vienna Cod. 3009, ideas taken from Jewish sources about body and soul, which in their original context may have had a number of meanings, were rewritten into a Christian narrative in which they could have only one.<sup>166</sup> In this, the manuscripts are laying claim to ownership of what kind of religious narrative is permissible.

Like the reforms of women’s houses in Germany in the fifteenth century, this writing emphasises issues of exclusion and enclosure. While the antisemitic writings in our manuscripts here act to exclude and maintain difference, the manuscripts themselves are written in the context of a spirituality that itself is the subject of exclusion and control. I argue that the body-soul debates encapsulate this paradox. Although they are ‘within’ contemplative, mystical, Christian manuscripts they also, by virtue of their origins in Jewish, Eastern and apocryphal legend, provide voices that may be seen as coming from a place that is ‘outside’ these contexts (just as in Darmstadt 2667, the debate itself comes from ‘outside’ the context of the *Tafel der kerstense ghelove* that ostensibly structures the manuscript). Body-soul debates, in giving soul and (earthly) body equally valid voices, may be seen to provide a moment of inclusion, and, whether the writers know it or not, to incorporate non-Christian traditions into ostensibly very Christian manuscripts. Yet at the same time, they reveal the fragility of these dialogic constructions, and their vulnerability to historical and cultural change.

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<sup>164</sup> Bynum, *Wonderful Blood*, pp. 68-75 *et passim*.

<sup>165</sup> Kathleen Kamerick, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: image worship and idolatry in England 1350-1500* (New York, 2002), pp.44-68.

<sup>166</sup> F.E. Peters (ed), *Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The Classical Texts and their Interpretation. Volume 3: The Works of the Spirit* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 330-34; Ehrmann, *Sagen und Legenden*, p. 135.

## CHAPTER 4

### MIDDLE ENGLISH BODY-SOUL DEBATES

#### 4.1 Introduction

Traditionally, body-soul debate scholarship has tended to be disproportionately weighted towards English and Anglo-Norman body-soul debates. As we saw in the Introduction, these are among the earliest known vernacular debates in Europe, and nineteenth-century scholars were, above all, interested in origins and sources; their work on these debates traced a ‘family tree’, which started with early Christian, Jewish and Egyptian legends and finished, via the *Apocalypse of St Paul* and Anglo-Saxon and Old Irish poems, with ‘Un samedi par nuit’ and the ‘Visio Philiberti’.<sup>1</sup> The earliest addresses of the soul to the body, which are often seen as a precursor to the debates, also come from the British Isles.<sup>2</sup>

But independently of the question of their origins, the Middle English debates and their manuscripts present an unusual set of historical and textual phenomena, demanding a somewhat different approach to their analysis than the debates in France or Germany. The Middle English debates and their precursors have enjoyed an unusual amount of critical attention in our own time; the two better-known debates have been the subject of excellent critical editions very recently,<sup>3</sup> while good transcriptions of the others also exist.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the Middle English debates have also been preserved in manuscripts which, on the whole, are not only known, but are among the best-known of English medieval compilations. These include the Vernon, Simeon and Auchinleck manuscripts, the trilingual compilations Oxford, Bodl. MS Digby 86 and London, BL MS Harley 2253, the ‘Porkington manuscript’ (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales (NLW) MS Brogyntyn ii.1, *olim* Porkington 10), and the ‘Carthusian miscellany’, British Library MS Additional 37049.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For a summary see my Introduction, and Heningham, ‘Introduction’, *An Early Latin Debate of the Body and Soul*.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary and bibliography for the addresses, see the MED under ‘Body and Soul’ (nos. 1-3).

<sup>3</sup> Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, pp. 3-49.

<sup>4</sup> See section 4.2.

<sup>5</sup> For detailed manuscript and bibliographic references to these manuscripts see sections 4.2 and 4.3.



Clearly, a detailed analysis of all the Middle English body-soul debates would not only require a thesis of its own, but also risk replicating work that has already been excellently done by others. Nonetheless, there are still aspects of both the debates themselves, and their manuscripts, which remain unstudied. More importantly, no earlier scholarship of either the debates or the manuscripts discusses the relationship between the two in any detail;<sup>6</sup> nor are comparisons often made between the English debates and those circulating in France and Germany at the same time. I want, therefore, to focus here on the broader cultural significance of the Middle English body-soul debates both in their insular context, and in the context of their meaning overall for the Western European debates. I argue that the Middle English debates do have an especial significance within that greater context, and that this is related to the cross-cultural transmission that preceded them and their authors' and scribes' awareness of the body-soul debate as a genre *per se*. And, although each compilation in which they appear can be read individually as having its own 'meaning' for a reader, at the same time the fact that so many of the Middle English debates are only extant within such large compilations points, I think, to their being ascribed a special status as texts which I will discuss in the conclusion to this thesis.

After a brief discussion of the four debates, and the possible conclusions that we can draw from their manuscripts, I will focus here on one, the 'Dysputacion betwyx þe saule & þe body' (fols. 82r-84r) in BL MS Additional 37049, itself an excerpt from a larger work, the Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, but with a unique ending, an *exemplum* derived, probably via Vincent de Beauvais, from the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Mary Patricia Tuck, 'A study of body-and-soul poetry in Old and Middle English' and Takami Matsuda, 'The body-soul dialogues in early English literature' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of York, 1984) both examine all ten body-soul debates in Old and Middle English, but they do not examine the manuscript contents of the debates in detail, nor their European counterparts.

<sup>7</sup> The excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in Additional 37049, including the body-soul debate, were first identified by Rosemarie Potz McGerr (ed), *The Pilgrimage of the Soul: a critical edition of the Middle English dream vision. Volume I* (New York and London, 1990). The only complete edition of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* is by M.D.Clubb, 'The Middle English *Pilgrimage of the Soul*: an edition of MS Egerton 615' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954; not seen by this writer). The Victorian edition of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* omits numerous parts of its source, but does include the body-soul debate. K.I. Cust (ed), *The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle, translated from the French of Guillaume De Guileville and printed by William Caxton an. 1483 with illuminations taken from the MS copy in the British Museum*. (London, 1859). See also Stürzinger's edition of *Le pèlerinage de l'âme*; and more recently an unpublished study by the late Michael Camille, 'The illustrated manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinages*, 1330-1426' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1984 (not seen)).

Additional 37049 is a well-known manuscript,<sup>8</sup> although few of its scholars have examined the body-soul debate. But while the other three Middle English debates, like those in Anglo-Norman and French, largely follow the ‘Visio Philiberti’ structure and scenario, the debate in Additional 37049 is unique for a number of reasons. Unlike the other debates, it is between a saved body and saved soul – they are ‘predestinate to salvacion’, as the angel tells them at the end and as the reader also learns near the beginning.<sup>9</sup> But of equal if not greater importance is the fact that the ‘dysputacion’ in Additional 37049 implicitly deconstructs earlier debates. It makes explicit what they have left unsaid, identifying the common questions of responsibility, guilt and governance as subjects of scholastic, not to mention scientific debate. Rather than an exploration of the question of penance, as in ‘Si cum jeo ju’, or an exposition of the dangers of fleshly and worldly vice, as in ‘Une grante vision’, the body-soul debate in Additional 37049 turns to the questions of what body and soul actually are, that is, of how matter, substance and form relate to each other and what this means for their respective responsibilities. Further, the use of an *exemplum* derived directly or indirectly from Talmudic legend locates the debate, whether consciously or not, within the much wider context of the body-soul debate’s generic roots in pre-Christian sources, and its frequent inclusion in other manuscripts alongside anti-Jewish texts, and shows how non-Christian ideas and beliefs were adapted for a particularly Christian and orthodox interpretation.

In a sense, then, this debate brings us full circle from the origins of the debates to their late fifteenth-century reception, and it is, perhaps, significant that this is probably the latest of all our debates and manuscripts; one of the last, if not the last documented body-soul debate of the Middle Ages,<sup>10</sup> is also the one that appears to answer many of

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<sup>8</sup> Jessica Brantley’s *Reading in the Wilderness* (see my Introduction, n. 39 for full reference) includes an excellent bibliography and list of manuscript contents, as well as numerous reproductions of the images, and briefly discusses the body-soul debate in the context of performance and dialogue at pp. 250-59. For further bibliography, see section 4.3.1.

<sup>9</sup> On fol. 83v.

<sup>10</sup> The manuscript is generally dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, based on its textual composition and also on its illustrations; Scott’s analysis of the manuscript’s illustrations deduces that they show clothing not prevalent in England until 1460-70. Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 6 (2 vols) (London, 1996), II, 193; cit. Brantley, *Reading*, p. 329, n.17. ‘The Fadyr of pytté and most of mysericorde’, in Brogyntyn MS ii.1 (‘Porkington’) has been dated to c. 1453-63 in the introduction to the digitised facsimile (<http://digidol.llgc.org.uk/METS/BRO00001/frames?div=0&subdiv=0&locale=en&mode=thumbnail>). The *Pilgrimage of the Soul* is thought to date from 1413; cf. Rosamond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: some*

the questions that earlier debates left unresolved. After this, there does not appear to be any evidence of body-soul debates in medieval manuscripts: later debates, where they exist at all, are found in the form of poems or drama, which would take us beyond the bounds of this thesis.<sup>11</sup>

#### 4.2 Body-soul debates in Middle English and their manuscripts

The four body-soul debates in Middle English date from the early thirteenth to the late fifteenth century, and despite their common references to the 'Visio Philiberti', each is found in different kinds of manuscripts. Their history, however, reveals some interesting shared features. Apart from the 'Dysputacion' in Additional 37049, all the debates and the majority of the manuscripts have a connection to the Worcestershire and Welsh Border region; the significance of this within the vernacular literary tradition is discussed below.

The earliest medieval debate, 'In a þestri stode I stod',<sup>12</sup> is found in three compilations all probably from the Worcester/Hereford region, Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.14.39 (323) (c. 1250?),<sup>13</sup> Oxford, Bodl. MS Digby 86 (1275-1300),<sup>14</sup> and London, BL MS Harley 2253 (1325?).<sup>15</sup> Besides all containing Anglo-Norman and English verse associated with body-soul debates (among which the *Vitas Patrum*, the

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*medieval books and their posterity* (Princeton, NJ, 1966), pp. 146-50, and McGerr, *Pilgrimage*, 'Introduction'.

<sup>11</sup> On these, see Houle, 'An unknown version'; Conlee, 'Introduction', *Middle English Debate Poetry*.

<sup>12</sup> NIMEV 1461. Ed. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, pp. 10-17. The MED dates 'In a þestri' to 1225 at the earliest. Dating for all manuscripts is from the MED; for up-to-date manuscript descriptions and bibliography, see also especially *Manuscripts of the West Midlands: a catalogue of vernacular manuscript books of the English West Midlands, c. 1300-c. 1475*. URL: <http://sd-editions.com/AnaServer?MWMnew+0+start.any>. On the debates, see Francis L. Utley, 'Dialogues, debates and catechisms', in A.E. Hartung (ed), *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, 7 (Hamden, CT, 1972), pp. 669-745.

<sup>13</sup> Fol. 29v. On the relationship of these three manuscripts see Karl Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im Mittelalter: Untersuchung und Edition der Handschrift B.14.39 des Trinity College in Cambridge* (Munich, 1973), and Karl Brunner, 'Mittelenglische Todesgedichte', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 167 (1935), 20-35. Reichl dates Trinity B.14.39 to c. 1255-60.

<sup>14</sup> Fols. 195v-200r; see Judith Tschann and M.B. Parkes (eds), *Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Digby 86* (Oxford, 1996); R.W. Hunt and A.G. Watson, *Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues IX. Digby Manuscripts. (I) A reproduction of the 1883 catalogue by W.D. Macray and (II) Notes on Macray's descriptions of the manuscripts*. 2 vols (Oxford, 1999), I, 91-98 and II, 45-49. The longer folio numbers for Digby are due to the 'merging' of 'In a þestri' in this manuscript with the two works 'Doomsday' and 'Latetest Dai'.

<sup>15</sup> Fol. 57v. On Harley 2253 see especially Greer Fein (ed), *Studies in the Harley Manuscript*, and by the same author, 'Compilation and purpose in MS Harley 2253', in Scase (ed), *Essays in Manuscript Geography*, pp. 67-94.

*Evangelium Nicodemi*, the *Fifteen Signs of Doomsday* and the *Vision of St Paul*), Trinity B.14.39 and Digby 86 are two sources for our knowledge of Old English addresses of the soul to the body; Trinity contains an address of the soul, ‘Nou is mon hol and soint’<sup>16</sup> and Digby 86 combines ‘In a þestri’ with two poems on the Last Judgment, ‘Latemest Day’ and ‘Doomsday’.<sup>17</sup> The short address ‘Nou is mon hol and soint’ shares a number of elements with body-soul debates such as ‘Un samedi’ and the German address of the soul to the body in Vienna ONB MS Cod. 3009; following a description of the coming of sudden death and the burial of the body, the soul is described as telling the body how much it regrets ever having lived in the body at all, as it never did any good deed; however proud and handsome the body was in life, it is now only food for worms. ‘In a þestri’ similarly cites the ‘ubi sunt’ and corruption motifs, but ‘subsumes a homily on the signs of Doomsday and the Last Judgment’.<sup>18</sup> Little is known about the provenance or readership of these ‘great manuscript anthologies compiled before the 1350-1400 era’;<sup>19</sup> one might note, however, that despite the fact that they were written in the period where Anglo-Norman was still, on the whole, used more than English, their compilers have chosen to include the English, rather than the Anglo-Norman body-soul debates, although it is not impossible that the Anglo-Norman debates may have been circulating in the Worcester region.<sup>20</sup> We should also note that in these manuscripts, the body-soul debate appears to be sited clearly within eschatological texts that remind the reader of the terrors of ‘last things’.

The reasons for this may have to do with vernacular traditions in Worcestershire itself. Several Old English addresses of the soul to the body, as well as early eschatological texts that share a number of themes with ‘hostile’ body-soul debates, are thought to have originated in Worcester;<sup>21</sup> it may be that ‘Wulfstan’, an Old English version of the *Vision of St Paul*, also originated there,<sup>22</sup> and the text may later have been associated with Wulfstan II (c. 1062-1095), prior of the Benedictine abbey at Worcester and later

<sup>16</sup> NIMEV2336. Ed. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, pp. 7-9 and 10-17.

<sup>17</sup> These two poems are also found in Oxford, Jesus College MS 29, Part II (fols. 182r-v), and London, British Library MS Cotton Caligula A.LX (fols. 246r-247r).

<sup>18</sup> Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, p. 10.

<sup>19</sup> Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> The scribe of ‘Un samedi’ in Cotton Julius A.VII appears to make reference to his own earlier residence at Worcester; see note 20, Chapter 1, above.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, p. xxv. Douglas Moffatt (ed), *The Soul's Address to the Body. The Worcester Fragments*. Medieval Texts and Studies, 1 (East Lansing, 1987).

<sup>22</sup> On ‘Wulfstan’ see Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli*, pp. 6-12, and note 20, Introduction.

Bishop, or his Saxon predecessor, Wulfstan I (Bishop of Worcester before becoming Archbishop of York; d. 1023<sup>23</sup>). The earlier Wulfstan was the author of numerous sermons that in their language and themes are reminiscent of some aspects of body-soul debates;<sup>24</sup> Wulfstan II was known to and tolerated by William the Conqueror, which would perhaps have permitted his Abbey and its scriptorium some leeway in their transmission and use of the vernacular.<sup>25</sup> If, as appears to be the case, the majority of the Middle English body-soul debates circulated primarily in this region, then it would point to an extraordinary continuation of the body-soul debate genre between Old and Middle English across the post-Conquest era.

Our second poem, 'Als I lay in a winteris nyt', a long poem of 624 verses, is probably the best-known of all medieval body-soul debates.<sup>26</sup> It is also the most widely available debate poem in Middle English overall, extant in seven manuscripts; the majority of these, like the manuscripts of 'In a þestri', are from the Worcestershire/Gloucestershire region.<sup>27</sup> Its presence in part 1 of Oxford, Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 108 (c.1300?) indicates that it was composed almost certainly earlier than 'Une grante vision' and possibly at the same time as 'Si cum jeo ju'; that is to say, it was circulating at a similar time as the Anglo-Norman poems we have examined but unlike those, it continued to be copied well into the fifteenth century, probably as a result of the privileging of English over Anglo-Norman at this later period. It is generally found in compilations together with other devotional literature, as opposed to the compilations of ballads, romances and other poetry that characterise the manuscripts of 'In a þestri'; even in the Auchinleck manuscript, better known for its romances, 'Als I lay' is placed in the immediate context of saints' lives and visionary

<sup>23</sup> Dorothy Bethurum (ed), *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 60-61; M. Townend, *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York* (Brepols, 2004).

<sup>24</sup> Bethurum (ed), *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, esp. pp. 60-61.

<sup>25</sup> Guy Points, 'Wulfstan of Worcester. Saint and Survivor'. Based on a paper published in *Wipowinde* (the magazine of 'Ða Engliscan Gesiðas') in autumn 1999, <http://geoffboxell.tripod.com/wulfstan.htm>.

<sup>26</sup> NIMEV 351. Ed. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry*, pp. 18-49.

<sup>27</sup> Oxford, Bodleian MSS Laud Misc. 108 (fols. 200r-203r), Digby 102 (fol. 136r) and eng. poet. a. 1 ('Vernon', fol. 286r); London, BL MSS Royal 18.A.X (fol. 61v-67v), Additional 22283 ('Simeon', fol. 80v, verses 1-198 only) and Additional 37787 (fols. 34r-45v); and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.2.1 ('Auchinleck', fols. 31v-34v). For bibliography and dating see the MED, under 'Body and Soul, 5', and *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*.

legends, some of which appear (albeit in other versions) in manuscripts of other body-soul debates.<sup>28</sup>

While Laud Misc.108 and Auchinleck, the earliest manuscripts, contain a high proportion of Anglo-Norman literature, the remaining five manuscripts of ‘Als I lay’ are predominantly in Middle English, with some Latin. The majority of them can be sited – like the German manuscripts discussed in Chapter 3, above – within the culture of books produced by religious houses that were intended for, or used by, devout women or men (here predominantly women) in either secular or semi-religious settings. Three of the five manuscripts – Vernon (c. 1390), Simeon (1400?) and Additional 37787(c. 1400-1425) – are linked by scribal and codicological evidence and their shared focus on Northern English devotional literature. There is also a strong likelihood that they were all also composed by Cistercian religious houses, probably (like the manuscripts of ‘In a þestri) in the Worcestershire region.<sup>29</sup> Additional 37787 was certainly written by the Cistercians at Bordesley Abbey, Worcester, but inscriptions from the end of the fifteenth century show that it was subsequently owned by women, one of whom appears to have gifted it to another.<sup>30</sup> It contains a number of works in both English and Latin that we have seen associated with body-soul debate manuscripts earlier.<sup>31</sup> The fourth manuscript, Royal 18.A.X (c.1450) is a manuscript of English devotional literature of which a number of items are explicitly addressed to a

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<sup>28</sup> ‘Als I lay’ is the seventh item in the manuscript (at fols. 31v-35r), preceded immediately by the *Life of Adam and Eve* (also in Selden supra 74), the legends of St. Margaret and St. Catherine (French versions in BN MSS f.fr. 19525 and 24865), and *St Patrick’s Purgatory* (French versions in BN MSS f.fr.2198 and 957); it is followed immediately by ‘The Harrowing of Hell’ and ‘The Clerk who would see the Virgin’. Similar stories of clerical visions of Mary are found in Cotton Julius A.VII (fol. 93r-v) and Additional 37049 (fol. 27r). David Burnley and Alison Wiggins (eds), *Auchinleck Manuscript* (National Library of Scotland Digital Library, July 2003). URL: <http://www.nls.uk/auchinleck/>.

<sup>29</sup> On the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts see especially A.I. Doyle, *The Vernon Manuscript: a facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS eng. poet. a. 1* (Cambridge, 1987) (‘Facsimile’); Derek Pearsall (ed), *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript* (Cambridge, 1990). On Additional 37787, see N.S. Baugh (ed), *A Worcestershire Miscellany compiled by John Northwood, c. 1400* (Philadelphia, 1956).

<sup>30</sup> Fol. 2r, ‘iste lyber pertinet ad me mi lady Peyto. Amen yt est yta fyat amen so be heyte...by the gefte of d [ame] Goodyth Peyto thy booke Goody Thokmarton’. The catalogue notes that Goditha Throckmorton married Edward Peto (d. 1487). One ‘wife of John Rudall’ is noted to possess the book on fol. 61v, (‘uxor Ihohani Rudalli hunc possidet codicem’), and a sixteenth-century hand notes that ‘Susanna Willescotta vendicat’ (Susanna Willescott sells (sold) the book), on fol. 2r.

<sup>31</sup> It includes directions on how to say masses to release souls from purgatory, a copy of the popular Fourth Redaction of the *Vision of St Paul* in Latin prose (‘Visio sancti Pauli dies dominicus dies est electus’), and a Latin treatise on the goodness of the contemplative life; its English works include poems attributed to Rolle and his followers.

woman or women,<sup>32</sup> and it has been argued that the Vernon manuscript, which shares a number of Northern English devotional texts with both Additional 37787 and our case study, Additional 37049, was written for women.<sup>33</sup>

Turville-Petre suggests, tentatively, that the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts – and therefore by implication also Additional 37787, owned by the Throckmorton family in the fifteenth century – may have been conceived as an aid in the struggle against Lollardy in the Worcester diocese, where the Throckmortons were among those engaged to ‘hunt out Lollards’;<sup>34</sup> while Blake, equally tentatively, argues that Vernon and Simeon may both have been designed for women in order to explain to them theological matters, as they were ‘not easily able to judge such things for themselves’.<sup>35</sup> Leaving aside for now the question of why women were (or are) supposedly less able to judge ‘such things’ themselves, Blake’s and Turville-Petre’s suggestions are both of interest as they implicitly locate ‘Als I lay’ in manuscripts used in the context of anti-heretical campaigns, and with the design of women’s reading by men in religious orders. The implication is, as we have seen for German manuscripts, that a rise in the demand for vernacular reading material – a demand often instigated by the requirements of devout women<sup>36</sup> – was accompanied by increased anxiety about how to

<sup>32</sup> A letter to a woman entitled ‘A good remedie a3ens spirituel temptacions’, beginning ‘Dere sister’ (fol. 10v); a confessional formula for a woman (fol. 55v); an epistle of St Jerome to ‘a mayden cleped Demetriad’ (fol. 67r). ‘Als I lay’ in this manuscript is printed in Varnhagen, ‘Zu den streitgedichten zwischen körper und seele [sic]’.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Doyle, ‘Introduction’, *Facsimile*. Both Additional 37787 and Additional 37049 contain poems attributed to Rolle and his followers; Additional 37787’s Latin memorial to Christ’s wounds (fol. 71r) is found in an English translation in Additional 37049 (fol. 24r); the songs of ‘love-longing’ attributed to Rolle in Additional 37787 (fol. 146v), are similar to lyrics in Additional 37049 (fol. 52v) and Harley 2253. Northern English texts shared by Vernon and Additional 37049 include the *Pricke of Conscience*, excerpts from Rolle’s *Ego Dormio* and *Form of Living*, and the ‘Charter of Christ’ (in the shorter form in Additional 37049, fol. 23r). All listed in Robert R. Raymo, ‘Works of religious and philosophical instruction’ in Hartung, *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, 20, pp. 2255-2582.

<sup>34</sup> Thorlac Turville-Petre, ‘The relationship of the Vernon and Clopton manuscripts’, in Pearsall (ed), *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, pp. 29-44, p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> N.F. Blake, ‘Vernon manuscript: contents and organisation’, in Pearsall (ed), *Studies in the Vernon Manuscript*, pp. 45-60, pp. 58-9.

<sup>36</sup> The importance of book owning, gifting and lending between women’s secular and religious houses in England has been well documented in recent years, for instance by Riddey, ‘“Women talking about the things of God”’; David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: books and libraries in medieval English nunneries* (Kalamazoo and Spencer, Mass., 1995); Julia Boffey, ‘Women authors and women’s literacy in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England’, in Meale (ed), *Women and Literature*, pp. 159-82; Mary C. Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England 1349-1501* (Cambridge, 2002); Carol M. Meale, ‘“all the bokes I haue of englissh, latyn and frenche”’, in Meale (ed), *Women and Literature*, pp. 128-58; Marjorie Curry Woods, ‘Shared books: primers, psalters and the adult acquisition of literacy among devout laywomen and women in orders in late medieval England’, in Dor, Johnson and Wogan-Browne (eds), *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality*, pp. 177-93.

ensure that such reading remained orthodox; as in the German manuscripts, the Vernon manuscript implicitly reiterates the importance of orthodoxy and of excluding the unorthodox through its notorious inclusion of antisemitic stories and legends.<sup>37</sup>

This is not the only possible context for body-soul debates – the fifth manuscript of ‘Als I lay’, Digby 102, contains explicitly political as well as penitential literature<sup>38</sup> – but, as I will argue for Additional 37049, increasingly interpretative behaviour on the part of scribes and compilers of these manuscripts does seem to show an increased consciousness of the debates as texts whose moral significance requires some kind of definition. Certainly this is the case for ‘The Fadyr of pytté and most of mysericorde’ (NIMEV 3330), the body-soul debate in NLW MS Brogynton ii.1 (1453-63, West Midlands/Herefordshire),<sup>39</sup> which may be ‘the English version closest to the *Visio Philiberti*’,<sup>40</sup> but is chiefly remarkable for its extensive and unique prologue to the debate. In this, the author describes in detail his (or her) hopes that ‘hard harttus’ will be moved ‘to perfeccyon’ by reading it, but also declares that the readers should exercise discretion in interpreting the English poem, asking them to be his ‘supporter[s]’ in accepting this translation from the Latin. This may be a modesty topos, referring to the author’s supposed ‘sympul connyng’ in translation; but it may also be a disclaimer in the case of these potentially ‘suspecte’ vernacular words being used against him or her in the future: ‘And in this matter weras I fynde/Anné thinge that may behold suspecte/As towchyng enny word befor or behynde/To throwe dysscression I offyr and drecte/Lest one me be fond any offense/In anny place of worthie audiense’.<sup>41</sup> Its epilogue, equally, displays an unusual deliberation on the meaning and effect of the debate that the narrator has just witnessed, but the author

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English antisemitisms, 1350-1500* (Cambridge, 2006); Despres, ‘The Protean Jew’.

<sup>38</sup> Hunt and Watson, *Bodleian Quarto Catalogues IX. Digby Manuscripts*, I, 116-17; II, 56-57, list the C-Text of *Piers Plowman*, followed by both religious and political poems including ‘To lyf bodily is perilous’ (fol. 104r) and ‘Man knowe thyself and lerne to dye’ (fol. 104v); and a metrical paraphrase of ‘Seven penitential psalms’, attributed to Rolle or Richard Maydestone. On the Digby 102 poems see especially Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, pp. 206-12.

<sup>39</sup> Fols. 63v-79r; ed. J.O. Halliwell, *Early English Miscellanies in Prose and Verse* (London, 1855), pp. 12-39. On the complicated history of this manuscript see D. Huws, ‘Ms Porkington 10 and its Scribes’, in Carol M. Meale (ed), *Romance Reading on the Book. Essays on Medieval Narrative presented to Maldwyn Mills* (Cardiff, 1996), pp. 188-207.

<sup>40</sup> Utley, ‘Dialogues, debates and catechisms’, p. 695.

<sup>41</sup> Halliwell, *ibid.*, p. 13 (the verses are not numbered).



chooses to dwell on the transitoriness of human life and endeavour, rather than to deconstruct further the nature of the body-soul debate itself.

This brings us finally to Additional 37049, and the ‘Dysputacion betwyx þe saule & þe body’ (fols. 82r-84r),<sup>42</sup> the only debate to give an explicit explanation of why and how body and soul should relate to each other, and which, I argue, effectively examines and deconstructs a number of themes that have accompanied us in the course of this thesis, only to remind the reader finally of the dangers of such deconstruction, and the necessity of authority. The manuscript itself draws together a number of themes that have arisen in the course of this thesis: the question of readership, the significance of the compilation or miscellany form, the structural relevance of where and how a body-soul debate is included in any particular manuscript, the role of the religious orders in transmitting and reading the debates, and the issues of heresy and Judaism, sometimes only obliquely referred to in the manuscripts but present nonetheless.

#### 4.3 A case study of London, BL MS Additional 37049

Additional 37049 is an extremely well-known manuscript; its probable, but not quite certain Carthusian provenance, its unequalled collection of Middle English lyrics and dialogues, its importance for *ars moriendi* literature, and its naïve yet compelling illustrations, all give it a particular allure.<sup>43</sup> Yet, as I have already noted, some aspects of the manuscript have remained unstudied, and my case study here focuses mainly on those aspects, rather than on a detailed codicological or historical examination.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Published without a critical commentary by James Hogg, ‘Selected texts on heaven and hell from the Carthusian miscellany, British Library Additional MS. 37049’, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 117:1 (1987), 63-89 (85-89).

<sup>43</sup> Besides Brantley’s *Reading*, studies of the manuscript can be found in Brant Lee Doty, ‘An edition of British Museum Manuscript Add. 37049: a religious miscellany’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1969); J. Hogg, *An Illustrated Carthusian Miscellany. British Library MS Additional 37049. Volume 3: The Illustrations* (Salzburg, 1981); ‘Unpublished texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English religious miscellany British Library MS. Add. 37049’, in J. Hogg (ed), *Essays in Honour of Erwin Sturzl on his Sixtieth Birthday, Salzburger Studien in Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 10:1 (1980), 241-284. On the manuscript as evidence of Carthusian reading and its function as *ars moriendi* literature, see Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, ‘Morbid devotions: reading the Passion of Christ in a late medieval miscellany, London, British Library, Additional MS 37049’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 2001). The Northern texts are discussed by Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography* (1927, repr. New York, 1966), pp. 306-11.

<sup>44</sup> See Brantley, *Reading*, and Doty, ‘An edition’.

Following a brief outline of what is already known (and hypothesised) about Additional 37049, I will discuss the structure of the manuscript and the place of the body-soul debate within it. Additional 37049 is the only (known, extant) manuscript to include the body-soul debate from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* as a text in its own right, that is, to deliberately excerpt it and combine it with a completely different text which interprets it, and I also examine the significance of its inclusion and what this may tell us about the manuscript's origins and meaning. The *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, the Middle English version of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (1355-58) by the Cistercian monk Guillaume de Degaulleville, tells the story of a soul who after death is led through purgatory and shown heaven and hell. It is one of the most important sources for Additional 37049 generally; the manuscript includes at least eleven excerpts from it.<sup>45</sup> Both the French texts and their English translations were extremely popular; they make up a high proportion of the books known to be owned by French women in the fifteenth century and are among those works recommended by Jean Gerson (1361-1429) for both lay and religious readers.<sup>46</sup> The textual and ideological importance of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* for Additional 37049 may indicate that the manuscript should be seen within a wider European context, not only in terms of Northern English devotion, and the manuscript's illustrations may also indicate that its artist was working, directly or indirectly, from a Continental example of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme*. I will argue that the style of illustration in Additional 37049 is reminiscent of that of privately written and used devotional manuscripts and woodcuts in Germany and possibly other Northern European countries in the fifteenth century.

I will also focus on the use of the Talmudic legend at the end of the body-soul debate in Additional 37049, which compares body and soul to a blind and lame man who are

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<sup>45</sup> The extracts from *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (after McGerr, *Pilgrimage*, p. xxii, and Brantley, *Reading*, pp. 319-25) are the story of the Apple of Solace (fols. 69v-70r); Hoccleve's song of the pilgrims on the fate of souls (NIMEV 1247, fol. 70v); two songs by Hoccleve (NIMEV 253 and 233, fols 70v-71v); dialogue between the soul and an angel (fol. 73v); a vision of damned souls ( fol. 74r; the following vision of saved souls may also derive from *Pilgrimage of the Soul*); the angels' second song within heaven, by Hoccleve (NIMEV 1246, fols. 74v-75r); the angels' song about ephiphany, by Hoccleve (NIMEV 1242, fol. 76r); the angels' song on Easter Day, by Hoccleve (NIMEV 1249, fols. 76r-v); 'the songs of graces of all saints' by Hoccleve (NIMEV 1244, fols. 76v-77r); a song of angels at Pentecost, by Hoccleve (NIMEV 1248, fol. 77r); and the disputation of soul and body (fols. 82r-84r). Takami Matsuda is among the exceptions who has focused on the excerpts from *Pilgrimage of the Soul* in Additional 37049, in his *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>46</sup> Hasenohr, 'Religious reading', pp. 214-15.

punished for stealing fruit from a royal orchard.<sup>47</sup> This legend has rarely been recognised or analysed; Rosemary Woolf was the first, and as far as I know the only scholar to pay attention to it.<sup>48</sup> It is said by her to have acquired authority in Europe through its inclusion by Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum morale*, and she notes that it is found in two fourteenth-century English manuscripts, both of which are probably Franciscan.<sup>49</sup> One is a copy of Nicholas of Lyra's *Postillae*, a textbook on the conversion of the Jews to Christianity,<sup>50</sup> which also contains a drawing of the vision of Ezekiel, a vision cited in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul's* body-soul debate. Additional 37049 also contains an excerpt from Vincent de Beauvais,<sup>51</sup> and the history of the Talmudic *exemplum* in England may require a re-evaluation of Additional 37049's sources. More importantly, however, I want to consider this use of a Talmudic story to prove a Christian point, which refers obliquely to the wider context of *Adversus Judaeos* literature, and I argue that – as in the rewriting of the 'soul's exit from the body' in our German manuscript Vienna Cod. 3009 – the Christian re-interpretation both makes use of and redefines the original meanings of its source.

By drawing together evidence derived from one close reading of the debate in Additional 37049 and from a general analysis of the manuscripts of English body-soul debates, I also hope to compare my conclusions with the hypotheses that have arisen in the course of my studies of Anglo-Norman, French and German body-soul debates, and answer some of the questions posed by my thesis.

#### 4.3.1 Background, content and structure of Additional 37049<sup>52</sup>

Additional 37049 is usually held to be a fifteenth-century miscellany of religious writings produced most probably in a Northern English Charterhouse, although if it is Carthusian, the Carthusian practice of exchanging books means it is impossible to

<sup>47</sup> Linow, *pe desputisoun*, p. 2, discusses the legend's origins.

<sup>48</sup> Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 405-6. Neither Brantley, *Reading*, nor Hogg, 'Selected texts', identifies it.

<sup>49</sup> BL MSS Additional 28682 (fol. 223v) and 24641 (fol. 211r).

<sup>50</sup> Nicholas is said to have 'utilized all available sources, fully mastered the Hebrew and drew copiously from the valuable commentaries of the Jewish exegetes, especially of the celebrated Talmudist Rashi' in his writings. See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11063a.htm>. Accessed 10.10.08.

<sup>51</sup> From the *Speculum historiale*, the story of the Emperor Antiochus who appeared to his son after his death as a warning, fols. 86v-87r.

<sup>52</sup> For a complete list of the contents of Additional 37049 plus bibliography, see Brantley, *Reading*, 'Appendix', pp. 307-25.

ascertain any place of origin except circumstantially.<sup>53</sup> Its contents may imply that it was produced for the use of novices in a Carthusian religious house, or for lay people, both male and female, as a means of spiritual instruction, but its many mistakes and unsophisticated presentation may imply that it was created for the private use of the main scribe. It is written almost entirely in Northern English dialects with some Latin (nearly always translated into English). Its structure and the use of the main hand indicate that it was almost certainly compiled by one person or a group of persons at one time.<sup>54</sup> The manuscript was obtained by the British Library from the Rosenthal family in Munich in 1905; its history is otherwise completely unknown, although various writers have speculated that it may have been produced at Axholme, Mount Grace or Hull,<sup>55</sup> and that it may even have been owned by a German charterhouse at one point.<sup>56</sup>

There is, however, much circumstantial evidence of the book's northern English, Carthusian provenance; this includes the dialects of the scribes,<sup>57</sup> the high proportion of texts by Rolle, and the inclusion of Northern works such as the *Pricke of Conscience* and the 'Charter of Christ'. The book's specific Carthusian provenance seems highly likely given its frontispiece of a 'Man of Sorrows' image which strongly resembles an icon held at the Carthusian house at Santa Croce in Rome, copies of which were circulated widely among Carthusian houses at this period as part of a Carthusian campaign (figs. 32-33).<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> For evidence of the transmission of books between houses, see E.M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930), pp. 313-34; A.I. Doyle, 'The Carthusians', in Vincent Gillespie with A.I. Doyle, *Syon Abbey with the Libraries of the Carthusians* (London, 2001), pp. 609-52. The complexities of Carthusian life and reading are best evaluated in the collection of essays edited by Michael G. Sargent, *De Cella in Saeculum : religious and secular life and devotion in late medieval England. An interdisciplinary conference in celebration of the eight centenary of the consecration of St Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln, 20-22 July 1986* (Cambridge, 1989).

<sup>54</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Glyn Coppack and Mick Aston, *Christ's Poor Men: the Carthusians in England* (Stroud (Glos.), 2002), caption to fig. 1 of the coloured plates; R.H. Bowers, 'Middle English verses on the founding of the Carthusian order', *Speculum* 42 (4) (1967), 710-713; T.W. Ross, 'Five emblem verses in BL Additional 37049', *Speculum* 32 (1957), 276-279; Hogg, 'Unpublished texts'; Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle*, p. 307.

<sup>56</sup> Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p. 241, n. 1.

<sup>57</sup> A. McIntosh, M.L. Samuels and M. Benskin, with M. Laing and K. Williamson, *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval England* (Aberdeen, 1986). Quoted in McGerr, *Pilgrimage*, pp. xcii-xciii.

<sup>58</sup> I am grateful to Professor Christopher Norton, University of York, for this information.

Additional 37049 also shares a number of texts only with two known Yorkshire manuscripts, BL MSS Stowe 39 and Cotton Faustina B.VI (part 2), including the longest work in the manuscript, 'The Desert of Religion'; the illustrations of this indicate that the artist had probably seen one of these two manuscripts or shared a source.<sup>59</sup> Additional 37049's inclusion of numerous excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* may also be indirect evidence of the manuscript's provenance, as the majority of extant copies of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* originated in the north and east of England;<sup>60</sup> a probably early sixteenth-century list of books sent from the London Charterhouse to Hull includes the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, showing that at least one copy of this work was in Carthusian ownership.<sup>61</sup> There are illustrations of Carthusian monks on several pages in the manuscript, and a poem on the founding of the Carthusian order on fols. 22r-22v, which states 'Solytary lyfe is þe scole of doctryne þat ledys vnto heuen'.<sup>62</sup> The emphasis on the necessity of solitude and retiring into a spiritual 'desert' is found elsewhere in the manuscript, especially in the 'Desert of Religion'. Both Hogg and Wormald believe that most of the pictures of monks show Carthusians,<sup>63</sup> although Hogg notes that some may also be Benedictine;<sup>64</sup> Doyle identifies the probable origins of Stowe 39 as the Benedictine nuns' house at Whitby, North Yorkshire.<sup>65</sup> Further, Hogg's speculation that Additional 37049 may have been owned after the fifteenth century by a German charterhouse is not far-fetched; a number of English Carthusian monks are known to have resided at houses in Germany, the Low Countries and France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, especially

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<sup>59</sup> NIMEV 672, 'Dauyd þat prophet was ay'; also in BL MSS Cotton Faustina B.VI (part 2), fols. 3r-23v and Stowe 39, fols. 10v-31v. On the relationship between these three manuscripts, see John Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (New York, 1995), pp. 195-200. On the 'Desert of Religion' and its imagery see especially Brantley, *Reading*, pp. 81-119. Edited from Additional 37049 by W. Hübner, 'The Desert of Religion', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 126 (1911), 59-73; see also Anne McGovern-Mouron, 'An edition of *The Desert of Religion* and its theological background' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 1996; not seen).

<sup>60</sup> McGerr, pp. lv-c.

<sup>61</sup> Doyle, 'The Carthusians', pp. 619-20.

<sup>62</sup> NIMEV 435.

<sup>63</sup> Francis Wormald, 'Some popular miniatures and their rich relations' in *Miscellanea pro Arte. Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahrs am 13. Januar 1965* (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 279-85, p. 279, lists Carthusians as appearing on fols. 22r, 22v, 24r, 25v, 29v, 36v, 62v, 67v, 67v and 91r.

<sup>64</sup> Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p. 243.

<sup>65</sup> Doyle cited by Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p. 243.

following the Dissolution, and the book may have been transferred there at any time after its completion.<sup>66</sup>

Scribal evidence shows that Additional 37049 was almost certainly compiled intentionally as a single manuscript by two scribes or, following the completion of a number of texts at around the same time, to have been bound together as such.<sup>67</sup> This has important implications for how the book was designed, and supports an argument for the intention of the scribe(s) to create a book rather than a ‘miscellaneous’ collection of excerpts. Like Brantley, I argue that the compiler(s) did indeed have a certain structure in mind, creating a ‘deeply heterogenous book that seems to have been produced at once and to one devotional end’.<sup>68</sup> The use of a double ‘frontispiece’ picture, the physical centrality of the ‘Desert of Religion’ in the manuscript, and the sequence of texts and poems from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* may all be evidence of this. More importantly, as Brantley argues: ‘Even if the miscellany was not created coherently, it was encountered [...] as a singular object, and the reading experience establishes crucial relationships between its disparate parts [...] A miscellany is most meaningful, not because it was designed to work in a particular way, but simply because it does’.<sup>69</sup> I want to examine the choices made by the compilers of Additional 37049 by looking at how its texts were chosen and put together.

Firstly, the manuscript’s authors must have had access to an extraordinary number of source texts, and possibly also have created their own. Very many of the devotional texts it contains are unique to it, either entirely unique or made so through amendments or additions to known texts,<sup>70</sup> including a version of the ‘Dawnce of Makabre’ (fols. 31v-32r).<sup>71</sup> It contains more dialogues (eight) than any other single English medieval manuscript; of the eight, three are not known elsewhere.<sup>72</sup> Among devotional texts, it

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<sup>66</sup> C.B. Rowntree, ‘Studies in Carthusian history in later medieval England with special reference to the order’s relations with secular society’ (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 1981), pp.162-5; among others, one Oswald de Corda (d.1434), a friend of Jean Gerson, was professed at Nordlingen before living at the Grande Chartreuse and Perth; Alan Forman, at an unspecified date in the sixteenth century, resided at Breune (France), Perth and Pommiers before finally moving to Buxheim, Germany.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix 4 and Brantley, *Reading*, pp. 10-11, 332-33.

<sup>68</sup> Brantley, *Reading*, p. 10.

<sup>69</sup> Brantley, *Reading*, pp. 10-11; author’s emphasis.

<sup>70</sup> The NIMEV identifies 34 items in the manuscript as unique.

<sup>71</sup> NIMEV 2589/1. Brunner, ‘Mittelenglische Todesgedichte’, pp. 27-8, 30.

<sup>72</sup> NIMEV 2282/1, ‘Nakyd into þis world born am I’ (fols. 28v-29r); NIMEV 1563/1, ‘In þe ceson of huge mortalite’ (‘Dialogue between the Body and Worms’, fols. 33r-35r), ed. Conlee, pp. 51-62, and

includes a conspicuously high proportion of texts by or attributed to Richard Rolle,<sup>73</sup> the numerous excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, excerpts from the *Pricke of Conscience* on the ‘wilderness of this world’<sup>74</sup> and dying well,<sup>75</sup> and the Middle English version of Heinrich Seuse’s *Horologium Sapientiae*, the *Treatise of Seven Points of Everlasting Wisdom*.<sup>76</sup> It is also one of three manuscripts, all from Northern England, to contain the long poem ‘The Desert of Religion’ that deals with the experience of one who has entered the dedicated devout life and its trials and rewards. This is the longest of a number of texts in the manuscript that emphasise the importance of the spiritual life and of ‘eremital religion’.<sup>77</sup> Several lyrics are also found otherwise only in one or both of the ‘Desert of Religion’ manuscripts, Stowe 39 and Cotton Faustina B.VI (part 2), showing the important links between these three books.<sup>78</sup> Another work attesting to the manuscript’s Northern provenance may be the lyric, ‘O mankynde/hafe in þi mind’,<sup>79</sup> which occurs in a very similar form in a Yorkshire compilation of devotional literature.<sup>80</sup>

Towards the end, Additional 37049 includes a number of texts by unnamed authors, that appear to deal with points of doctrine that would be relevant to the previous texts of spiritual guidance; there is a treatise on the active and contemplative life (fols. 87v-89v), of unknown authorship; a tract against despair (fols. 91v-94r), and at the very end (fol. 96r, damaged), a treatise after Augustine on God’s mercy, or rather on His lack of it towards those who have not repented and thus certainly do not deserve salvation. The two folios between the tract against despair and the tract on mercy are filled with a

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Hogg, ‘Selected Texts’, pp. 63-69; NIMEV 1673/1, ‘Ihesu criste gods sone/þat on þe rode wald be done’, a dialogue between St Peter the Dominican and the Cross (fol. 45v).

<sup>73</sup> Allen lists as certainly by Rolle two extracts from the ‘Ego dormio’ (fols. 30v and 31r); a ‘fragment from the *Commandment* [...] followed by a fragment from the *Form of Living* on the “two parts of contemplative life”’ on fol. 35v; the ‘song of love longing’ on fol. 37r and repeated in the context of the ‘Desert of Religion’ on fol. 52v; and a Latin citation from the *Incendium Amoris* (fol. 67); also the lyrics ‘Ihu my luf my ioy my reste’ (fol. 24r and a poem mainly deriving from the ‘Ego Dormio’ (fol. 36v).

<sup>74</sup> Fol. 36r, NIMEV 3428/100.

<sup>75</sup> Also a poem on fol. 72r, NIMEV 3428/100.

<sup>76</sup> Fols. 39r-43v.

<sup>77</sup> Brantley, *Reading*, Chapter 3 discusses the ‘Desert of Religion’ as ‘eremital religion’.

<sup>78</sup> NIMEV 1387, ‘I Wende to dede a kyng ywys’ (fol. 36r), is found in Cotton Faustina B.VI (2) on fol. 1v and in Stowe 39 on fol. 32v; NIMEV 2463, ‘O hope in dede þou helpe me’, a deathbed scene involving an complicated dialogue between the dead man’s soul, an angel, Mary, Christ and the Devil (fol. 19r), is found otherwise only in Cotton Faustina B.VI (2), fol. 2r.

<sup>79</sup> Fol. 24r, NIMEV 2507/3.

<sup>80</sup> O. S. Pickering, ‘Brotherton Collection MS 501: A Middle English Anthology Reconsidered’, *Leeds Studies in English*, N.S. 21 (1990), pp. 141-165. The version in Additional 37049 is also found in Oxford, Bodl. MS Tanner MS 407 and Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.2.53.

number of short *exempla*, which may indicate that the manuscript is concerned with simple forms of vernacular instruction. However, besides its numerous short lyrics, the dialogues and its devotional texts, Additional 37049 also contains many excerpts from longer historical texts, which I argue are used to reflect an eschatological understanding of history, and to establish the manuscript's devotional, theological and cosmological parameters from the outset.

Additional 37049 begins with a 'frontispiece' of two full-page pictures in Byzantine style of the Virgin and Christ (fols. 1v and 2r), and a *mappa mundi* on the division of the world by Noah's sons (fol. 2v).<sup>81</sup> There follow long extracts from Mandeville's description of how to get to Jerusalem from the *Travels* (fols. 3r-9v),<sup>82</sup> the *Chronicon pontificum* or *Polychronicon* of Martinus Polonus (fols. 9v-10v) about the city of Babylon, and the 'Revelations' of Pseudo-Methodius on the beginning and end of the world (fols. 11r-16v), followed by prayers and descriptions of Doomsday. These all 'set the scene' as it were for the manuscript; descriptions of the earthly pilgrimage to Jerusalem are followed by descriptions of its antithesis, Babylon, and the world in terms of Christian eschatology. On fol. 18r, the writer sets out what will happen on the Day of Judgment (Doom or 'dome'):

The order of the dome sal be swylyk . In þe day of dome oure lorde cumyng to þe dome fyre sal go before hym wyth þe whilk face of þis warld sal be byrntte. heuene & erthe sal peresche nocht aftyr þe substance bot after þe kynde heuen, þat is to say þe ayre & not þe ethere where þe stornis ar. For hyghe sal þe fyre in þe dome ascende vp as watyr dyd at noye flode.

This passage, besides indicating the manuscript's orientation towards eschatological themes, also depicts an awareness of Aristotelian cosmology later echoed in the body-soul debate. Here, there is both a 'substantial' sky and a 'natural' sky, the latter being our air, which in Aristotelian and medieval thought extended upwards as far as the Moon. Above the air is the ether, where the stars live, and this is imperishable because it is immune from change, which in the medieval view was a form of impurity or

<sup>81</sup> There is also a short, virtually illegible paragraph of writing on fol. 1r of the manuscript which appears to be in a different, earlier hand than any of the others.

<sup>82</sup> Ed. M. C. Seymour, 'The English epitome of Mandeville's *Travels*', *Anglia*, 84 (1966), 27-5.



corruption.<sup>83</sup> The human form was thought to reflect this natural order, as a microcosm of the bigger universe, and the ‘microcosmic’ version is later referred to in the body-soul debate when the body explains how the soul is made from this ‘pure’ substance and the body, by contrast, of earthly, corruptible matter.

The text on Doomsday also reminds the reader of the necessity to cleanse, or purge oneself from sin: ‘And þe fyre sal be þe wastyng of ylk men & women þat ar þan far whykke [*wicked*]. And in gode men & women þat thyng þat is to be purged or clensyd in þaim sal be clensyd by þat fyre.’ The writer refers to St Augustine as his authority for ‘þe byrnyng of þe warlde’, and the cleansing fires of purgatory are emphasised in the manuscript at several points.<sup>84</sup> On fol. 24v, for instance, a poem and picture depict souls being released from the burnings of purgatory by the efforts of their friends, through prayers, almsgiving and masses (fig. 5), while the ambiguous nature of fire – both burning and purging – is referred to in the body-soul debate itself.

Like Noah’s flood, Mandeville’s Jerusalem has exegetical significance. It is the centre of Christian pilgrimage, and it is also a metaphor for the earthly Christian pilgrimage to God, the pilgrimage of the soul, in fact. Such pilgrimage requires penitence, faith and prayer, as the later texts in the manuscript describe, and implies the importance of spiritual purgation both on an individual and universal scale, as pictures in the manuscript attest (on fols. 72v and 73r of Additional 37049, pilgrim souls are pictured at various stages of their journey, together with souls destined for damnation and those destined for purgatory and heaven).<sup>85</sup> All these first passages, then, set out the philosophical and theological parameters of the manuscript as orthodox, Aristotelian and also Augustinian; they emphasise Christian eschatology, the metaphor and reality of pilgrimage.

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<sup>83</sup> See C.S. Lewis, ‘Imagination and thought’ in C.S. Lewis, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*. Ed. W. Hooper (Cambridge, 1966 and 1998), pp. 41-63, p. 42. This belief is reiterated in Deguileville’s *Pèlerinage de l’Homme* and Lydgate’s translation, the *Pilgrimage of the Life of the Manhode*. Quoted in Lewis, *ibid*.

<sup>84</sup> For a discussion of Augustine’s use of fire as a metaphor for the purgation of the soul after death, see Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory*, p. 8ff. On the origins of the idea of the *ignis purgatorius* see Le Goff, ‘The fathers of purgatory’, *Birth of Purgatory*, pp. 52-95; Augustine is discussed at pp. 71-84.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Matsuda, ‘The presence of purgatory in two debates in BL MS Addit. 37049’ in Toshiyuki Takamiya and Richard Beadle (eds), *Chaucer to Shakespeare: essays in honour of Shinsuke Ando* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 99-110.

In addition, the dominance of the illustrations in the manuscript also suggests not only a spirituality of contemplation, but also fifteenth-century debates over the orthodoxy or otherwise of images. Images, although essentially ambivalent (that is, they may be open to multiple interpretations), can both attract, yet also exclude a reader, and I examine this ambiguity in my conclusions. The images in this particular manuscript, however, may also tell us something about the manuscript's provenance and sources, and as such, may also point to more profound influences related to spiritual developments in other countries.

#### 4.3.2 The body-soul debate in Additional 37049

A damaged Latin heading is transcribed by Hogg as 'Spiritus adversus carnem, caro adversus spiritum',<sup>86</sup> a citation from Galatians 5:17. This places the debate in a Biblical context instead of identifying its actual sources, but thereafter it closely follows the body-soul debate in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. Soul and body each argue that the other was responsible for their sin, until an angel intervenes to stop them and tell them that only damned souls argue, and that they can look forward to eventual salvation and reunion; the angel follows this with the Talmudic legend – which in the Talmud also accompanies the story of a body and soul's dispute before God – of the blind man who helps the crooked man into a tree in the king's orchard to steal his apples.<sup>87</sup> Using this story as an analogy of body and soul's relationship, and interpreting it through St Paul's words in Galatians 5, the angel describes how obedience is the key: the body must obey the soul, and the soul God, to achieve salvation.

The debate begins with the disgust of the soul at the body, described as 'wretchyd', 'so horribill and fowle stynkyng, wormes mete & noreschyng of corrupcion'. But the first part also quickly deals with themes that in other debates, such as 'Als I lay', take up a much greater proportion of the body-soul debate. Here, the soul thematises the horrors of the body with just a few sentences, before asking the body (briefly

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<sup>86</sup> 'The spirit against the flesh, the flesh against the spirit'. Hogg, 'Selected texts', p.85. Citations in this section are taken from Hogg and checked against my own transcription.

<sup>87</sup> The legend can be found at Book 8 (Tract Sanhedrin), Part II (Haggadah), chapter 11 of the *Babylonian Talmud*. See also Linow, *Desputisoun*, p. 2; Walther, *Das Streitgedicht*, p. 265. It is discussed in full at pp. 198-9 below.

compared to other body-soul debates) what all its former glories are come to: ‘Wher is now þi pryde & þi fers hert? What is þi lewd play cummen to? Wher is it now cummen and how has þu with alle þi qvayntnes [*guile, tricks*] done?’ These questions, unlike those in other body-soul debates, give no idea of what or who the dead man was; they are generic, and he could as well have been poor as rich. They deal with the ephemeral nature of life and matter as such, not with human relations or wealth.

The soul now returns to the horrid appearance of the body, but appears to find some consolation in it: ‘Sothely, as me semes, I saw neuer a more deformyd fygure. And certes wele is worthy, for I myght neuer haue bene fully avenged on þe.’ The soul, then, seeks revenge, not only dispute, making body and soul absolute enemies; but why? The soul explains:

For whils þat þu & I was copyld togedyr, þou made me lede a ful vnthryfty lyfe, and made me lose many a days labyr in folowyng þe, & my tyme wastying be crokyd ways. For þu soght always þine awne ese & þine awne plesaunce, & made me sorow with þi mysgouernaunce.

Rather than the enumeration of earthly losses that is dwelt on so extensively in ‘Als I lay’ or ‘Une grante vision’, it is here immediately the topic of (mis)governance – a concept repeated seven more times in the debate – that dominates. Normally, this would accompany the reader’s awareness that body and soul are to be damned. Here, the soul makes it clear that body and soul are saved, stating that were it not for God’s grace, he would be lost and damned ‘be þi purveaunce’; their salvation is in spite of, not because of the body, emphasising the necessity of grace rather than good works. Issues of grace and salvation are echoed earlier in Additional 37049, for instance at the ‘intercession’ deathbed dialogue on fol. 19r (fig. 4), and the fate of the damned and saved at fols. 72v-73r (fig. 5), but the necessity of grace is also echoed more bleakly in the treatise on fol. 96r stating that only those whom God has chosen will be saved, implying that human endeavour is worth little.

But, although we now know body and soul are to be saved, a debate still follows – not, in this case, as a warning like the debates in the ‘Visio’ tradition, but to clarify the relationship of body to soul *per se*. The body’s arguments– which are given much more space than the soul’s – now set the scene for a dispute not only about the body and soul’s respective guilt, but also about the nature of cause and effect and the way in which matter behaves generally. Can matter be blamed for its nature?

First, the body immediately reproaches the soul with not showing it enough comfort: ‘Yll be þou commen þat begyns þus to dyspyse me, þat awe to comforth me and solace me as mykill as wer in þe’ (‘It ill becomes you to despise me, that ought to comfort me and solace me as much as you could’). Does the soul not know that it was ‘gouerner & mayster’ of the body previously? So far, so conventional; but the body then goes on to discuss the future resurrection of them both. Doesn’t the soul realise that

þu sal in bones cum to þi iugement at þe general resurrection of me & of al oþer þat ar ded? Has þu not vndirstandyng here before of þe sayng of Ezechiel, þat sum tyme in a vysion was in þis felde & in þis same place sayng in þis wyse: *Arida ossa, audite verbum domini*. 3e drye bones, here þe word of God. At þe whilk word euere bone went to þoer ioyning þaimself in þair propyr places & suyngly þe spyrytes restored to þair bones, so þai stode vp as men in same persons so þai had bene before (fol. 82r)

Therefore, says the body, the soul has no right to complain about the body’s appearance. They will both have eternal life. And it is the soul’s fault anyway: just as it is fire that turns the wood to ashes, so the soul is the cause of the body’s corruption, not the body. Why should the ashes be blamed for the soul’s ‘vnthryftynes’? (fol. 82v).

The soul rejects the metaphor of the fire and the wood, for ‘betwyx þe & me þis maner of lyknes is not comparybyll’. But the body disagrees: ‘Vndyrstandes þu not wele þat when I was broght fro my moder wome, þu was with me, & after þat tyme þu occupyed me always, to þat I was þus wasted vttyrly? And when þu fand in me no

more for to waste, þu forsok me & left me lyke vnto askes'. In 'Als I lay' it is the soul that reminds the body of their common parentage, in order to excuse its own lenience towards the body.<sup>88</sup> In this case, it is the body that reminds the soul, in a 'scientific' manner, that they could not exist one without the other, and that the soul has 'used up' the body's resources.

The soul, however, has its own arguments, which it now employs. It is the soul that should complain, for:

I was in my nature as clere as is þe pure elyment of fyre withouten any corrupcion [*sic*]. And right as þe fyr takes smoke & darkness of þe matyr þe whilk he is conioyned vnto, right so what tyme I reccyfed þe & mellyd [*mixed*] with þi compeny, swylk fowle derknes & smoke whilk kest oute fro þi fowle, vnclene, & stynkyng vapours (fol. 82v)

The soul argues that fire, as such, is pure and clear, and it is only when it is conjoined with matter that it becomes dark and stinking. The reference to the soul's 'nature' implies the Aristotelian view of cosmology and the soul already seen in the tract on Doomsday at the beginning of Additional 37049, and which has only been implicit in most of the body-soul debates in this study. In this world-view, the soul partakes of the immortal element from which it is formed (often compared to fire) while the body partakes of earthly, that is, corruptible and changeable matter: 'All pat I haf desyred was bot onely of naturall inclynacion to þe cuntre þe whilk I come fro, þat was þis wretchyd erthe' as the body will soon say (fols. 82v-83r). Fire, however, also has a further significance; this may be an indirect reference to the purgatorial fires that presumably await the soul in the near future.

The body now replies that it could not help anything it did, as it is made of corruptible matter and therefore also necessarily passive: 'þine was þe action, & I not bot þe matyr abyll for to suffer wheder I wald or noght'. Although both in 'Als I lay' and in 'Une grante vision' the body also lays claim to 'natural' behaviour in sinning, there it is making a moral statement. Here, however, there is no talk of moral

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<sup>88</sup>Conlee's edition, ll.297-304.

significance; the body is making a quasi-scientific argument about what body and soul are made of. But the body also argues strongly that it was, in any case, subject to the soul's will:

I was taken vnto þe þat suld gouerne me & teche me in þe best wyse. þou was ordande to be my mayster. And if I hafe disobeyed þe I trow þu put on me bot lytel disciplyne, wherby I myght hafe bene holden vnder subiection. What þat I desyred þu grauntyd me, & so mykil þu attendyd to my plesaunce þat I was ful often acombyrd of our both mysrewle. So þou þat suld hafe bene souerayne made me þi mayster whilk suld hafe bene bot soiett [...] [þ]iselfe art to blame as cause of my foly. For withouten þe myght I not performe no maner of desyre nowdyr gode nor ylle .

This passage most clearly shows the importance of 'governance' and 'mysrewle' in this debate. The soul should have been 'souerayne' but made the body into its master by giving it all its desires. The moral argument is based on the cosmological: the body is of earth and now lies in the earth, which is its 'purgatory' (fol. 83r); but the soul was of 'þe souerayne cuntre' and should have taken the body, by good governance, to that country also: 'Bot sothly al oþerwyse has þu done', the body reproaches. Curiously, in an interesting expansion on this theme, the body appears to imply that the soul taught it to do wrongs that lie outside its own nature: 'techeyng me for to kast sleghtes & cautels [*ruses, cunning tricks*]<sup>89</sup> whilk come neuer to me of nature, bot only be þi techyng' (fol. 83r). This unusual accusation may be echoed in 'Als I lay in a winteris nyt' where the body appears also to say to the soul that at least it 'never touched witchcraft'.<sup>90</sup> If sins can be caused entirely by the soul's will, not the body's lusts, does this imply that the soul is susceptible to evils entirely unconnected with the body? This is a unique slant on the question of evil in body-soul debates, where, as we have seen, the soul's responsibility tends to be perceived

<sup>89</sup> 'Sleght(es)' has no meaning in the MED that would make sense here, but Chaucer uses it in *Troilus & Criseyde* to mean something like cunning, wit or intention, as for example at 4: 1459, 'Youre fader is in sleght as Argus eyed'; and 5: 771-5, 'Diomedes, of whom yow telle I gan/Goth now withinne hymself ay arguynge/With al the sleghte and al that euer he kan/How he may best, with shortest tarynge/Into his net Criseydes herte brynge.' Taken from Gerard NeCastro's concordance to Chaucer at <http://www.umm.maine.edu/faculty/necastro/chaucer/concordance/tr/tr.txt.WebConcordance/tr.txt1.htm>

<sup>90</sup> The phrase is somewhat ambiguous in 'Als I lay', where the body says to the soul, 'Ne toc I neuere wyche craft/Ne wise I 3wat was guod nor il' (ll. 188-9, Conlee's edition). Conlee translates 'wyche' as 'wicked', but the meanings given by the MED all relate to witchcraft, from Old English 'wicce-craeft'.

solely in its failure to control the body, except for in ‘Si cum jeo ju’, where the writer notes the importance of the will. To attribute a definite evil to the soul alone is something very unusual, raising the question of how the soul can be tempted without the body.

The soul, then, according to the body, is responsible for all the body’s deeds not only because of its will (which the body does not have) but also through its ability to be tempted spiritually as well as materially. Furthermore, says the body, its own stink – a topos made much of in all the hostile body-soul debates – is also be caused by the soul, just as the wax and the wick of a candle only smell when they have been in contact with the fire: ‘I asse þe þan þat has lernyd of Aristotel þe cause of corrupcion, wherof cummes þis wykkyd savour & smoke of þe torche when pe fyre is oute’. The soul agrees, saying that the more noble the matter is, the more foul is its stink when it is ‘corrupt’, i.e., altered. Comparing the body to a torch, the soul reflects that the torch ‘as it were’ weeps when the fire leaves it, as the fire has destroyed its substance; this may also hint at potential love between body and soul and grief at separation.

The body is pleased with the soul’s reply: ‘This awnswer suffyces for myne intent’. For, it goes on, fire changes matter, and then disappears once it has changed it. Thus the soul, too, has changed the body, only to abandon it once it is used up. Wisely combining the authority of Aristotle with that of the Church, and reiterating its combination of a moral with a ‘scientific’ argument, the body points out: ‘þe stynke þat þu feles in me is noght els bot þure awne syn [...] And if þu had haldyn me so schort, I had not nowe bene so fowle corrupt; for onely be þi synnes it is þat I am so lothely and of fowle sauour’ (fol. 83v). Similarly, says the body,

þer ar many one lyggyng in þe erthe all hole withouten corrupcioun in þair graue or sepulkur, wherof þe cause is noght els bot þai wer wel aught & disciplyne and keyyd oute of syn & gouerned in a ful gracious scole vndyr a ful goode & gracious rewler þat had þaim in gouernaunce.

The connection between misgovernance (of the body) and its eventual corruption is a theme found in influential writers from Plato and Aristotle through Augustine to, for example, the medieval moralist Peter Lombard, who links damnation with the failure of the soul to govern the body correctly, hence the corruption of the flesh with the failure of the soul to deal properly with the body's desires.<sup>91</sup>

Taking another analogy derived from long tradition (Plato's view of the body as a prison), the soul now argues that it is imprisoned in the body like a man in a sack and can do nothing because it is bound up. But the body swiftly points out that, on the contrary, the sack is the part with no will or judgment; a sack cannot move 'to ne fro' without the will of the person within.

Body and soul are here reflecting a number of very ancient arguments on what life and matter are. Ultimately, all of their theories, including that of sin causing bodily corruption, the master-servant metaphor, the metaphors of fire, and the consideration of how things apparently made only of inert matter are caused to move,<sup>92</sup> all derive from Aristotelian philosophy and Augustinian theology. A later exposition in the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* has the character of Doctrine explaining these points to the soul,<sup>93</sup> but in the body-soul debate the task is given to the body. But not for long. The angel intervenes:

Pes & stynt of 3our playng for it is not 3our avaylyng betwyx to stryfe on swylyk maner of wyse . be swylyk wordes & to be mefeld. For 3e ar predestinate to saluacion & here after sal be ioyned again to geder. Betwine þai swylyk stryfe of wordes suld be mefeld whylyk þat ar perpetually dampned & ordand to þe payne of helle (fol. 83v).

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<sup>91</sup> Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp. 132-3, describes how Plato's beliefs were adapted by St Augustine, and used in term by medieval writers to support theories of physical resurrection, for example by Peter Lombard, who argues after Augustine that the soul experiences difficulty in 'governing' the body and that after death, 'what was to [the soul] a prison will be to it a glory'.

<sup>92</sup> On movement and the soul cf. Aristotle's *De anima* (trans. Lawson-Tancred), pp. 27-8, 138-43. For a discussion of the other aspects of Augustinian and Aristotelian thought in these passages see section 4.3.3.

<sup>93</sup> Stürzinger's edition, ll. 6913-7204.



This passage is derived almost word-for-word from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* and confirms what the body has said about their joint resurrection. More importantly, the angel is also telling the reader that disputes are only appropriate between bodies and souls that are to be damned, implying that 'saved' bodies and souls have reached a point beyond conflict as they are in harmony with each other, but also that harmony is itself one precondition of salvation.

The angel now tells a parable, as an 'insawmpell' (example/exemplum), the story of the blind man and the crooked (lame) man. A king who loved his orchard entrusted it to a blind man and to a lame man, telling them that they were not to eat of the tree on pain of death, but the lame man first saw, then desired the fruit because of its beauty, and so asked the blind man to help him into the tree. The blind man did help him, and they both ate of the tree's fruit. But the king, hearing of their disobedience, sentenced them both to death.

In the Talmud, the legend of the blind and the lame man occurs in the Sanhedrin, the book that discusses the question of the soul's resurrection; the Pharisees and Sadducees did not agree on this point until about 70 AD, when they agreed that the soul did live after death.<sup>94</sup> It is told there as follows:

[The Emperor] Antoninus said to Rabbi: The body and the soul of a human may free themselves on the day of judgment by Heaven. How so? The body may say: The soul has sinned; for since she has departed I lie in the grave like a stone. And the soul may say: The body has sinned; for since I am separated from it, I fly in the air like a bird. And [Rabbi] answered: I will give you a parable to which this is similar: A human king, who had an excellent garden which contained very fine figs, appointed two watchmen for it--one of whom was blind, and the other had no feet. He who was without feet said to the one who was blind: I see in the garden fine figs. Take me on your shoulders, and I shall get them, and we shall consume them. He did so, and while on his shoulders he took them off, and both consumed them. And when the owner of the garden came and did not find the figs, and questioned them what became of

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<sup>94</sup> Peters (ed), *The Works of the Spirit*, p. 332.

them, the blind one answered: Have I, then, eyes to see them, that you should suspect my taking them? And the lame one answered: Have I, then, feet to go there? The owner then put the lame one on the shoulders of the one who was blind, and punished them together. So also the Holy One, blessed be He--He puts the soul in the body and punishes them together. As it reads [Ps. 1. 4]: "He will call to the heavens above, and to the earth beneath, to judge his people." "To the heavens above" means the soul, and, "to the earth beneath" means the body.<sup>95</sup>

Here both body and soul are, as in the exemplum in Additional 37049, unambiguously to blame. But the context of each implicitly changes the legend's meaning. In the Talmud, the context of the legend is the Pharisees' insistence that body and soul will both live after death, in the face of much opposition from the Sadducees, who argued that they would not. It is not an argument about the superiority of either soul or body, but about their equal significance and necessity both in this life and after death. In Additional 37049, the legend is interpreted very differently. The angel continues:

þus sal our lord do to þe blynde saule & to þe crokyd body þat etes of þe forbedyn froyte, wherby þe Apostyl spekes þus: *Manifesta sunt opera carnis & cetera*, þat is, vnclennes, lychery, enmyte, ire & stryfyngs, manslaghter, dronkynes, theft, osee [*sloth*], leyng, bannyng [*cursing*], avowtre [*adultery*] þies synnes God forbyds to be done as þai were forbydden apyls, as he dyd to Adam, our formest fadyr [...] And so þe apostyl Paul says þos þat þies dos, þai ar forbarred fro þe blysse of heuen: þe saule for it assents, þe body for it is occupied in lust agayns Gods defence, & þe saule for it assentes with þe body. þerfore both are worthy to dye [...] Wherfore it is nedful to euer creature to consyder þis & discretly hald vnder his flesches with helpful discyplyne, þat it may be obeyent to þe wil & þe reson of þe saule, & þe saule obeyent vnto God in kepyng his commandme[n]tes right, & þan sal þai bothe be gloryfyed togeder in euerlastyng ioy (fol. 84r; my emphasis)

<sup>95</sup> *Babylonian Talmud*, Book 8 (Tract Sanhedrin), Part II (Haggadah), chapter 11. A version is included in Ehrmann, *Sagen und Legenden*, pp. 134-5, and interpreted as a commentary on a psalm in which God calls on heaven and earth to witness the sins of the soul (heavenly part of man) and the body (earthly part of man) (Ehrmann, p. 267).

This is changing the Talmudic into a specifically Christian *exemplum* and using it to argue for an essential conflict between – rather than unity of – body and soul. Like the heading to the debate on fol. 82r, the angel’s comments on the sins of the body (‘opera carnis’) are taken from Paul’s letter to the Galatians (5:17), where Paul writes: ‘caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem. haec enim invicem adversantur ut non quaecumque vultis illa faciatis’<sup>96</sup> (‘For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; for these are contrary the one to the other; that ye may not do the things that ye would’). Galatians (5:3) is also where Paul tells us that every ‘circumcised man’ (i.e. Jew) becomes a debtor to the ‘whole law’; Paul implies that Jewish law should recognise the greater law of Christianity, and this Christian use of the Talmud may also imply that Jewish scripture should recognise the greater truth of the New Testament.

But the angel’s interpretation of Pauline authority and emphasis on obedience can also be read within the context of medieval theologies of body and soul’s relationship, such as that described by Bonaventure:

God created body and soul in a “natural and mutual relationship” but “assigned the government of the body to the soul, willing that in the state of wayfaring the soul should incline to the body”. This demands a submission of body as far as it can, to make sure body and soul do not part unnecessarily<sup>97</sup>

This implies not only the need for obedience on both sides, but also a desire between body and soul for each other that is entirely natural, or will be once both have been purified by God. Separation is the unnatural thing; body and soul’s natural (and by God’s grace also supernatural) destiny is to be reunited.<sup>98</sup> The long exposition by the angel is not intended to ‘illustrate the plight of the damned’,<sup>99</sup> but, on the contrary, to explain why body-soul debates are unnecessary for the saved. And in so doing, the

<sup>96</sup> *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*. 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1969).

<sup>97</sup> Cit. Bynum, *Resurrection*, p. 249.

<sup>98</sup> ‘[R]euniting the body with the soul is *secundum naturam* (because man is body and soul); uniting soul and body inseparably so that the incorruptible comes from the corruptible is *supra naturam*’. Bynum, citing Bonaventure, *Resurrection*, p. 237. Bonaventure’s beliefs about the desire between body and soul are echoed in a number of other writers from the twelfth century on, including Henry of Ghent, Hugh of St Victor, Richard Fishacre and Aquinas. For examples of this see Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp. 235-151 *et passim*.

<sup>99</sup> Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, p. 406, argues that this is the intention.

angel effectively answers the central questions posed by the medieval body-soul debates. What is the responsibility of each part? ‘If 3e lyf after 3our flesche 3e sal dye’ as the angel says, quoting St Paul again, and this story illustrates this doctrine. The crooked soul desires the sinful fruit, and the blind body, also desiring it, helps the soul to get it. So both deserve death: the soul for assenting to the body’s lusts, and the body for being ‘occupied’ with its lusts and hence blind to God. Hence, the soul must discipline its body to make it obedient; the body must obey the soul’s will and reason, and the soul must obey God, and then all shall be well.

This exposition startlingly omits one important aspect of the majority of devotional literature on death and salvation at this period. The subjects of penance and the will play a surprisingly small part in this debate and in the manuscript generally, despite its implicit exhortation to the reader to remember death. In the excerpt from chapter 5 of the *Treatise of Seven Points of Everlasting Wisdom* (fols. 39r-43v), usually seen as typical *ars moriendi* literature, there is a short section where the disciple urges the character of the ‘Image of Death’ to do penance for misdeeds in life, and considers the value of penance in good time (fols. 40r-40v), but the emphasis is more on looking and contemplating than on penance. The disciple (and reader) is admonished to think of death, to ‘Lyft vp þine eene & loke abowte’ at the world and the fate of its sinners (fol. 43r); ‘And þe astate of anoper warld before þe eene of my saule in my mynde I begyn to behald’, the disciple tells us. He also tells how he ‘caste þe eye of my mynde into purgatory’ and ‘behalde with þe eye of my hert wretchidnes & sorow’ (fol. 42r). Similarly, the entire emphasis of the ‘Dialogue between Body and Worms’ (fols. 33r-35r) is on the horrible appearance of the body and the passing of all earthly things, and even Ash Wednesday is invoked to remind the body of the ashes it would become, rather than of the penance it should make (fol. 34v).

This focus on seeing and contemplating as a way to salvation is particularly appropriate for a contemplative order, or a spiritual milieu structured around contemplative practice. But the lack of interest in penance or grace may also be indicating a belief – expressed in the debate – that people are ‘predestynate’, pre-ordained, to salvation or damnation. The role of the will as we have seen, a subject that is important in some,

though not all medieval body-soul debates,<sup>100</sup> and is emphasised implicitly in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, where the body-soul debate occurs just after an explanation that all souls know that they are free to choose between good and evil and that their eternal fate depends on their own choice. But the debate in Additional 37049 underlines not so much the will as the necessity of grace and obedience and the rewards of both, as its location within the manuscript tells us.

The ‘Dysputacion’ appears after a sequence of other excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* and other unidentified poems on the joys of heaven.<sup>101</sup> The poems represent a ‘salvation’ than a ‘damnation’ sequence, which is appropriate given that body and soul in the debate are to be saved; the joyful texts and images lead the eye and mind upward, to the angelic hosts and hierarchies of heaven, to which soul and body eventually will belong. The excerpts from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, however, actually begin with another dialogue, ‘Now gode angel telle me whedyr þe fende þat has to gret delyte to dysceyfe’, on fol. 73v,<sup>102</sup> and a vision describing the ‘myschapyng’ nature of the damned, placing the body-soul debate in a sequence that is dialogic and visionary, but which also invokes hierarchy in its emphasis that the soul’s questions can only be answered properly by an angel. While both body and soul are destined for joy, this joy is dependent on an acceptance of both a natural and supra-natural order. This is also emphasised in the themes of the Angels’ Songs, which besides expressing joy discuss authority, governance, the corruption of the flesh and its eventual purgation and salvation. On fol. 71r, the angels sing of the souls that they were sent to guard:

What labour & what angwysche hafe we had  
 Sen þat we toke þaim in our gouernaunce [...]  
 Wherefore þu wil reward vs & avaunce  
 Swilk as þe lyst aboue in pi blis  
 Eternal ioy<sup>103</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Cf. the emphasis on ‘volunte’ in ‘Si cum jeo ju’.

<sup>101</sup> These are five ‘Angels’ Songs’ (interspersed with the ‘Vision of St Antony’), a ‘Celestial Hierarchy’, a ‘Te Deum’, a tract ascribed to St Denis on the orders of angels, a vision of the Heavenly City, a lyric on the Beatific Vision, a vision of the Heavenly Procession with the wise and foolish virgins, and a note on the Ascension, the last work before the ‘Dysputacion’ on fol. 82r

<sup>102</sup> Ed. Hogg, ‘Unpublished texts’; Clubb, pp. 131-34.

<sup>103</sup> Hogg, ‘Selected texts’, p. 79.

Joy is the reward for correct governance, and the hierarchy of body and soul is placed within the greater hierarchy of the celestial beings: all will be rewarded if they fulfil their obligations of discipline towards those below them, the angels towards the souls, the souls towards their bodies.

Similarly, the angels tell the souls how they can only be saved if the body experiences full purgation through death:

In heuen blis 3e sal be with vs  
 Into þe day of fynal iugement [...]  
 Whilk þat 3our body be assignment  
 Of God is turned to corrupcion,  
 And fully sal hafe his purgacion [...]

So at þe last day þai sal vpryse<sup>104</sup>

As the angels further sing of the eternal laws that they are helping to maintain, we can see that the body-soul debate ‘explains’ how both science, theology and natural morality all act together to uphold these laws, and how the laws themselves are governed by an essential hierarchy. Even the body’s exposition in the debate gives way to the greater authority of the angel’s decisive intervention, which does something that none of the other body-soul debates that we have studied do. It answers the questions of body and soul, but also effectively tells them both to shut up: it invokes a higher authority which no longer allows them to speak to one another, explaining that their salvation makes their dialogue unnecessary. .

While the angel’s explanation, then, on the one hand links the debate with themes of reconciliation in Additional 37049, its emphasis that salvation is ‘predestinate’ also links it to a harsher aspect of the manuscript, Augustine’s theory that ultimately, without God’s grace we are destined for damnation (the final item on fol. 96r), a theory that, as expounded in vernacular instructional books, was controversial and

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<sup>104</sup> Hogg, *ibid.*, p. 80.

frightening to some medieval readers.<sup>105</sup> Given the manuscript's probable date (last third of the fifteenth century) it is unlikely, although a possibility, that 'predestynate' is here used in a Calvinistic sense; but elements in the manuscript do arguably come close to privileging a concept of predestination as opposed to an emphasis on free will. And the angel's final explanation that obedience is the key to salvation reminds us that although issues of governance, 'mysrewle' and the sovereignty of soul over body, are central in all body-soul debates, they are never so explicitly and clearly prioritised as here. The body-soul debate in Additional 37049 requires that we look more closely at this concept of obedience, where it comes from, and what implications it has both for body-soul texts, and for bodies and souls outside the texts.

#### 4.3.3 The question of governance – body and soul together

As we have seen above, the interruption of the angel does not only answer questions about body and soul's salvation, but also provides a biblical (Pauline) underpinning for the differentiation between soul and body. But how does this relate to the wider questions implied in the debate about the 'objective' relationship of body and soul? Why is the scientific analysis important in a devotional manuscript? The answer lies in Aristotelian and Augustinian definitions of what body and soul were, and how these definitions were used to underpin a specifically Pauline theology of body and soul.

Both Aristotle and Augustine were of the opinion that a thing can be defined as alive when it can move of its own accord (cf. the body's comparison of itself to the sack). 'Aristotle also speaks of [...] the naturally animate body, "that contains the principle of motion [...] within itself"'.<sup>106</sup> 'Naturally animate' in this context means not that the body can move itself, but that it naturally contains a soul which allows it to do so. Augustine believed with Aristotle that all natural substances are made up of different elements, and argued that the substance 'man' was defined as being made up of a

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<sup>105</sup> Margery Kempe's devotional reading led her to become extremely anxious on this point; see Staley (ed), *Book of Margery Kempe*, chapters 57 and 58 (Book 1, part 2).

<sup>106</sup> Rudolf Schneider, *Seele und Sein. Ontologie bei Augustin und Aristoteles* (Stuttgart, 1957, p. 56, citing Aristotle, *De anima* (my translation from the German throughout); see also Aristotle, *De Anima* (trans. Tancred-Lawson), and Aristotle, *De l'âme*. Translated and introduced by Richard Bodéüs (Paris, 1993), pp. 14-15 (my translations from the French throughout).

body and a soul.<sup>107</sup> However, Augustine also asked whether the name of a thing describes substance and form together, or merely one of these, for example whether the description of a living being refers to 'soul in body' or merely 'soul', and concluded that although soul and body were separate substances, they were mutually dependent:

[T]he 'composite' is not something formed of two separate independent entities joined together. The body is body through the soul and through the soul only [but] the formation and growth of a body is only possible for a soul when the soul is nourished, i.e. when it has access to matter. That is, the soul is dependent on matter<sup>108</sup>

The conclusion, then, is that while bodies cannot exist without souls, neither can souls create bodies without the existence of matter. In this sense, 'obedience' is indeed necessary, as without the soul's obedience to reason, and the body's obedience to soul, we could neither carry out logical deductions, nor exercise the will, nor move our limbs; these were basic philosophical premises accepted by Platonic and Aristotelian thinkers alike. However, both Aristotle and Augustine consider the 'obedience' between body and soul in social as well as 'scientific' terms. Most interestingly, for Aristotle the relation of the two elements can only be described in terms of the master-slave relationship. The body is a slave of the soul, and the essence of the slave is to be there for its master. Body and soul only come together for the common purpose of life, just as human beings only come together for the greater good of the state.<sup>109</sup> Any substance which consists of several parts is defined by the necessity that one part should rule and one part should be ruled.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Schneider, *Seele*, p. 58. Aristotle argued that the human psyche is the 'form' of the body (as Aquinas believed the soul to be) but he also argued that because 'form' needs 'matter', the psyche cannot exist separately from the body. Hence, it cannot be immortal and perishes with the body. However, he also displayed some ambivalence on this point; Bodéüs, p. 51, writes: 'Aristotle hesitates. The soul, he says, "is not separable from the body" (413 a 4) and this is the logical conclusion to his identification of the soul with the realised form; but he adds that nothing hinders us in imagining the separation of certain aspects which are "not realisations of any body" (413 a 7) [...] "It appears," he says, "that this would be a different kind of soul and possibly only this type is capable of being separated, like the eternal, from that which is perishable, while as to the other parts of the soul, it is clear that none of them can be categorised as separable things (413 b 25-28).'

<sup>108</sup> Schneider, *ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>109</sup> Schneider, pp. 115-116.

<sup>110</sup> Schneider, p. 116.



We could view this as simply a useful metaphor for explaining the difference between animate and inanimate matter. But metaphors are significant, and importantly, Aristotle does not only describe the body as a slave to the soul. He also turns the metaphor around: the real slave is merely a kind of ‘possession with a soul’, a ‘tool’ for his master.<sup>111</sup> This makes the Aristotelian view of body and soul a deeply political statement about the nature of control, in effect creating an indestructible hierarchy both in society and in the human individual between the ‘higher’ soul (or master) and the ‘lower’ body (or slave). This implicit dualism, like the dualism of Plato, came to be echoed in Augustine’s view that, while both soul and body are good, as both are created by God, ultimately the worst soul (*anima*) is always by its nature better than the healthiest body (*caro*), ‘non [de] meritis, sed natura’ (‘not by virtue of what it deserves, but inherently in its nature’).<sup>112</sup> Augustine is also the source for the argument that physical corruption is caused by, or is a kind of sin.<sup>113</sup>

Thus, the apparently ‘natural’ hierarchy of body and soul conveniently reflects the social hierarchy. The body *per se* (although not in its eternal, resurrected form) is ultimately of less value than the soul and hence, ‘governance’, the control of the body by the soul, is a necessity. This has far-reaching implications for the social world, which cannot be expanded upon here, but it is worth considering the connection of such a belief with the belief that the contemplative life, as practised by the Carthusians, is of more worth than the active life; politically speaking, those whose lives are led in bodily service (as slaves, servants, peasants and so on) may be less valuable than those whose lives are perceived to be ‘spiritual’.<sup>114</sup> The Aristotelian argument is, therefore, of importance not only for its significance in terms of the understanding of animate/inanimate matter, but also for its wider significance in terms of social (and spiritual) constructions of human responsibility and governance.

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<sup>111</sup> Schneider, p. 117.

<sup>112</sup> Schneider, p. 125.

<sup>113</sup> Schneider, p. 119: ‘Augustine speaks of a perfect health and equates this with immortality (Ps.LV, n.6.- Ep. CXVIII. C.III. n. 14). Endowing immortality is identical to *corruptionem auferre* [‘removing corruption’] (De civ. XIII, c. XVIII)’. .

<sup>114</sup> This was not necessarily a belief the Carthusians themselves shared, but their high status in fifteenth-century English society, based on the supposed purity and spiritual value of their lives and prayers, is well-documented; a similar status was given to the Celestines in France. Cf. Hennessy, ‘Morbid Devotions’; Michael G. Sargent, ‘Introduction’, in his edition of Nicholas Love’s *Mirror of the blessed life of Jesus Christ: a reading text : a revised critical edition based on Cambridge University Library Additional mss 6578 and 6686* (Exeter, 2004). Borchardt, *Die Coelestiner*.

Within the 'Dysputacion', this can be seen in the resolution of the debate which further places the doctrine of hierarchy and obedience in a context of Christian redemption. The angel tells the body and the soul that they are predestined to be saved and thus reunited at the Last Judgment, but that the only way of gaining eternal life is for the soul to 'discyplne' the body, 'þat it may be obedyent to þe wil & þe reson of þe saule, & þe saule obedyent vnto God in kepyng his commandmentes right, & þan sal þai bothe be gloryfyed togeder in euerlastyng ioy'.

Yet at the same time, the rest of the manuscript emphasises a different approach to the body and its significance which reveals the influence of the *devotio moderna* and what has been termed 'affective piety'. Through the frequent – sometimes overwhelming – use of visual and verbal imagery in this manuscript, the reader is invited to identify with Christ, in particular with Christ's body as represented by His wounds, His tears and His death. The human body is shown as food for worms, but also as a potential reflection of Christ's. In this way, while the body is the vehicle and primary metaphor by which love of Christ can find expression, the symbolic body is also validated and privileged over the real body, as the ideals of contemplation mean ultimately leaving the body behind.<sup>115</sup> At the same time, the 'real' body in the body-soul debate is constructed as having more to say, and to be more rational than the soul. The manuscript expresses this ambivalent and paradoxical nature attitude towards bodies and souls, and I argue that its illustrations permit us to read its particular devotional tropes – both verbal and visual – within a context of Continental art and the *devotio moderna*, especially in the context of books and images made for private use by religious women in the Low Countries and Germany.

#### 4.3.4 Imagery in the body-soul debate

Many of the English and French manuscripts that contain body-soul debates are illustrated, while the actual body-soul debates themselves are not. This also true of the

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<sup>115</sup> On these paradoxes in medieval constructions of the 'body', see Irina Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: thinking about physical impairment during the high Middle Ages 1100-1400* (Abingdon, 2006); Sarah Kay and Mia Rubin (eds), *Framing Medieval Bodies* (Manchester and New York, 1994); Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: identity, culture and society in late medieval writings* (London, 1993); Karma Lochrie, *Margery Kempe and Translations of the Flesh* (Pennsylvania, 1991).

*Pilgrimage of the Soul* or *Pèlerinage de l'âme*. Its manuscripts are consistently illustrated, appropriately so according to Camille, who argues that 'the pilgrim has been taught throughout the course of his difficult journey' by images.<sup>116</sup> Although the pilgrim defends 'good' images with the usual reference to their didactic purpose for those who cannot read ('ce est leur livre/Tel comme il leur fault pour lire'<sup>117</sup>), this is, in a sense, disingenuous, for the manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage* and *Pilgrimage* are generally created for those who can read; indeed, without the literacy of the reader, this passage itself would have no meaning. This suggests that the reader, like the pilgrim, is being asked to distinguish between 'good' and 'bad' images, and to read the signs, not simply to look at them. While the importance of images in these texts is reflected in the extensive programmes of illustration planned or implemented in the majority of the ten English manuscripts containing the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, the body-soul debate scene is not illustrated in any except two. One of these is Additional 37049, where it is accompanied by no fewer than five pictures, one per page (figs.6-10), and the other is another Yorkshire/Lincolnshire manuscript (now in Australia), in which the scene, of several dead bodies and the soul, is shown only once (fig. 11).<sup>118</sup>

In Additional 37049, the images to some extent reflect the quasi-equal relationship between the body and the soul. In the first, the body is presented as a skeletal figure somewhat bigger than the soul, which is represented as a naked, sexless being. The body is not quite lying down, but extends its hand towards the soul, which stands at the body's feet and almost directly eye-to-eye with it, rather than fully above it, as in for example the illustration in Darmstadt 2667 (fig. 3). An angel observes, somewhat to the side and above, their conversation, but makes no visual intercession or gesture of authority. In the second and third images on fols. 82v and 83r the soul stands directly opposite the body, at an equal level to it on the page, but separated from it by the text. The fourth image is very similar to the first, but now the soul stands very close to and slightly above the body and the angel is holding out a hand in admonition or charity. The final picture accompanies the parable told by the angel and shows the blind man

<sup>116</sup> Michael Camille, 'The iconoclast's desire: Deguileville's idolatry in France and England', in Jeremy Dimmick, James Simpson and Nicolette Zeeman (eds), *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England: textuality and the visual image* (Oxford, 2002), pp.151-71, p. 160.

<sup>117</sup> 'This is their book/Made as they require if they are to read it'. Cited in Camille, *ibid.*, p. 160.

<sup>118</sup> Melbourne, Victoria State Library \*096/G94, fol. 140v. 33 scenes illustrate the *Soul*, many more than in its other English manuscripts.

helping the crooked man, who sits in the apple tree while the king, who owns the orchard, observes them from his tower; the positions of the blind and lame man and the king reflect those of soul and body and the angel respectively. Throughout, the emphasis is on observation, not interference or punishment. This may be another example of the importance of the concept of seeing (or contemplating), rather than doing, that underlies this manuscript, and contrasts, to some extent, with the authoritarian ruling made by the angel in the text.

These pictures (apart from the picture of the king and the blind man and crooked man) echo the iconography of body-soul debate illustrations in French and German manuscripts. In particular, the body-soul debate scene is illustrated, and in a similar style, in a fifteenth-century Northern French manuscript of the prose version of *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 305), whose scribe, 'G. de Pacy', tells us he is writing at the church of St Peter at Lille in 1435;<sup>119</sup> this is the only extant manuscript of the French prose version now in England and one of only two overall.<sup>120</sup> On fol. 33v of Douce 305, the manuscript shows the angel standing with the pilgrim Soul to the far right of the picture, looking down at his own skeleton in the grave (fig. 12). As in Additional 37049, the soul has blonde hair and is naked (save for his staff and bag); the skeleton looks up at him, appearing to be about to rise part-way out of the grave, and is surrounded by skulls and bones. In both pictures the skeleton appears to dominate the picture, while the soul is a naked, childlike figure, the common representation of the soul in medieval and Renaissance pictures.

The use of colour and the style in the only other English illustration of this scene (in Melbourne \*096/G94) is clearly very different. Nonetheless, Manion and Vines suggest that the unique style of the Melbourne manuscript may mean that 'the artist may have had access to an illustrated continental example': 'There is virtually no sense of illusionistic depth, and apart from a few schematic trees, backgrounds are neither articulated nor implied [...] Often, the pictures are naïve conceptions characterized by the robust qualities of folk art.'<sup>121</sup> These are also qualities of the illustrations in

<sup>119</sup> "Le Venrredi xxiiije iour de Mars fut ce liure cy escript fine et acompli lan mil iiiie et xxx . v auant Pasques . par moy G. de Pacy, escolastre et chanoine de leglise Saint Piere de Lille' (colophon, fol. 78v).

<sup>120</sup> The other is Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 507. See Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery*, p. 147.

<sup>121</sup> Margaret M. Manion and Vera F. Vines, *Medieval and Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian Collections* (Melbourne, London and New York, 1984), p. 111.

Additional 37049 – although clearly the work is not by the same artist – and it is perhaps of interest that the Melbourne manuscript contains inscriptions of ‘Cawood’ or ‘Cawsod’ and that there were Carthusian monks of this name at Hull and Axholme respectively in the fifteenth century.<sup>122</sup> As already noted above, the majority of English manuscripts of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* are from northern and eastern England; like the Carthusian houses in Hull, Axholme or Mount Grace, the places where these were created and owned could easily have been on the routes used by travellers from the Low Countries and Northern France.

The *Pilgrimage of the Soul*'s use of Continental influences is noted by Scott, who writes that the use of third-of-page illustrations, otherwise typically Continental, is found in England especially in the Middle English versions of Deguileville's *Pèlerinages*, where they ‘account for the majority of fifteenth-century miniatures in this format’.<sup>123</sup> Scott also notes that while German influence on English book illustration at this time is very rare, one example can be found in the illustrations to another Yorkshire manuscript of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (New York, Public Library MS Spencer 19 (fig.13)).<sup>124</sup> Although clearly the illustrations in Additional 37049 are very unlike the illuminations in this elaborate manuscript, there are other aspects of the artwork in Additional 37049 which more obviously suggest a German influence; not, however, that of ‘high art’ in Germany at this period, but that of the naïve art of private book production in the fifteenth century.

The great number of powerful and iconic pictures in Additional 37049,<sup>125</sup> which are frequently bloody and grisly in theme, have been subject to misunderstanding when viewed in the context of ‘high art’ in the late Middle Ages.<sup>126</sup> But both their themes and their style make sense when seen in the context of art in vernacular manuscripts influenced by the *devotio moderna*.

<sup>122</sup> Rowntree, ‘Studies’, p. 157, lists a William Cawood at Hull and a Robert Cawode at Axholme.

<sup>123</sup> Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 39, counts four manuscripts of the *Soul*, one of the *Life of the Manhood*, and one of the *Life of Jesus Christ*.

<sup>124</sup> Scott, *ibid.*, II, 63.

<sup>125</sup> It is not clear what counts as a single miniature. Counting each figure separately gives a total of over 160 images, plus two full-page drawings which show a number of different scenes taking place simultaneously (fols. 72v-73r), and not counting the two full-page pictures on fols. 1v and 2r. This means that there are on average at least two pictures to a page, often more.

<sup>126</sup> Described as ‘crude’, *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts of the British Museum, 1900-1905* (London, 1907), pp. 324-32, and ‘lurid’ (Allen, *Writings*, p. 307).

Despite or because of their simplicity, the pictures dominate the pages of the manuscript throughout, often (although not always) with no clear division between image and text; the page tends to be crowded with text and image together. The pictures are in pen and ink with some colour wash, using a small number of colours (red, blue, green and some yellow) to augment the often unsteady black outlines. Characters are frequently shown with speech scrolls with direct speech commenting on the action or in lyrical expressions of the indirect narrative used in the longer texts, both in longer sequences (such as the ‘Desert of Religion’, fig. 14) and in short scenes (figs. 15-16). Although scrolls are also used in ‘high art’, they tend to be used sparingly with perhaps one or two used to explain the picture by use of a Biblical quotation, whereas here they often use direct narrative and there are often a number of them crowded around the pictures. Further typical examples of the ‘double image’<sup>127</sup> of text and picture common to this manuscript can be seen clearly in the depictions of ‘bloody’ material such as the Charter of Human Redemption (fol. 23r (fig. 17) echoed again on fol. 60v which displays a shield with the instruments of the crucifixion (fig. 18), and fol. 67v, where Christ is now seen hanging on a tree with these instruments surrounding him (fig. 19), and pictures of the Bleeding Heart and Wounds of Christ (fols. 24r and 30r, figs. 20-21). Depictions of deathbeds, tombs and other *ars moriendi* scenes are also frequent.<sup>128</sup>

Additional 37049’s naïve style, and its focus on Christocentric piety and the soul, are highly reminiscent of German devotional books made by individuals for their own private use in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>129</sup> The overall style of Additional 37049 can be directly compared with women’s devotional books of the late medieval period in particularly Southern Germany and the Rhineland, especially its use of unsophisticated pen and ink wash drawings, the focus on blood imagery, and the ‘double image’ of text and picture together (figs. 22-28). This includes a picture from a devotional book from the Munich Püttrichkloster discussed in Chapter 3, in illustration of the semi-mystical text *Büchlein der Geistlichen Gemahelschaft* (‘Little Book of Spiritual Marriage’) (fig. 28). The use of often multiple speech scrolls on single

<sup>127</sup> Wormald, ‘Some popular miniatures and their rich relations’, pp. 280-81.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Hennessy, ‘Morbid devotions’, for an account of the *ars moriendi* aspects of this manuscript.

<sup>129</sup> I am particularly indebted here – as any student of German medieval women’s art must be – to the work of Jeffrey F. Hamburger, especially to his *Nuns as Artists*, and to recent exhibitions in Germany organised by Hamburger and his German colleagues; see *Krone und Schleier*.

devotional drawings and woodcuts in fifteenth-century Germany and the Low Countries is also reminiscent of Additional 37049 (figs. 29-31).

Marks has argued that our understanding of devotional art, especially where used privately as is probably the case with Additional 37049 and with German women's prayerbooks, is limited if we do not take into account this blurring of the boundaries between text and image. Images are not 'representations' of words or vice versa, instead, 'the image is contemplated and not used as a teaching aid and thus is experienced sensually rather than intellectually.'<sup>130</sup> This is perhaps particularly the case where the language of the texts is itself sensual, such as in the works of the German mystics. Rowntree has suggested that it was not unlikely that Carthusians in England, because of their work translating Continental vernacular texts, would have been among the first to see German manuscript illustrations of semi-mystical works such as those by Mechtild of Magdeburg, Elizabeth of Schönau, Johannes Tauler, Heinrich Seuse and Johannes Ruysbroeck, all of whom were, as we have seen, associated with the development of vernacular devotional literature in Germany and the Low Countries.<sup>131</sup> Friedman argues that the use of imagery typical for Additional 37049 (such as the Five Wounds and the Holy Name) was particularly widespread and important in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, which may be due to the particularly close associations of this region with the Low Countries, where the *devotio moderna* originated.<sup>132</sup> Friedman also argues that a Bohemian influence on art and illustration, probably via Germany, is especially visible in English books from the time of Anne of Bohemia's marriage to Richard II in 1377;<sup>133</sup> including BL MS Stowe 39, one of the other two manuscripts besides Additional 37049 to contain the 'Desert of Religion',<sup>134</sup> although this assessment of Bohemian influence at this period is controversial.<sup>135</sup> Interestingly, however, there is a unique illustration of the 'unicorn' apologue from *Barlaam and*

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<sup>130</sup> Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud, Glos., 2004), pp. 17-18.

<sup>131</sup> Rowntree, 'Studies', pp. 195-99.

<sup>132</sup> Friedman, *Northern English Books*, pp. 150-1.

<sup>133</sup> Friedman, *ibid.*, pp. 75, 187.

<sup>134</sup> Friedman, *ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>135</sup> With thanks to Professor Christopher Norton, University of York, for a discussion of this issue.

*Josaphat* on fol. 19v of Additional 37049,<sup>136</sup> of which a similar picture is known only in Germany (figs.34-36).<sup>137</sup>

#### 4.4 Conclusion

Both the strong German presence and influence in Northern and Eastern England (especially among the religious orders) during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>138</sup> and the history of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* manuscripts, indicate the possibility of a Continental European influence on Additional 37049. The manuscript's texts and imagery also unite aspects of vernacular spirituality associated with the *devotio moderna* – especially among women – with a strong impulse towards orthodoxy and its enforcement.

McGerr notes that the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, although not necessarily its French source, was probably composed in the context of the debate on the use of the vernacular and its potential for encouraging heresy or orthodoxy;<sup>139</sup> she argues that its use of prose and the increased emphasis on Marian devotion place it in the context of other anti-Wycliffite and anti-Lollard works of the period,<sup>140</sup> while Nicholas Watson has also described both the French *Pèlerinages* and the English *Pilgrimages* as falling into a category of non-confrontational, orthodox 'vernacular theology'.<sup>141</sup> It has been argued that the Carthusians, with whom Additional 37049 is also strongly associated, were instrumental (and instrumentalised) in the use of vernacular literature to attempt to fight Lollard influences.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> NIMEV 491; Brantley, *Reading*, pp. 127-31.

<sup>137</sup> On the recently discovered frescoes of the St Laurentius church, Bischoffingen. I am most grateful to Pastor Werner Haefele for providing me with pictures of these frescoes; the unicorn picture is described in Karl Künstle, *Ikongraphie der christlichen Kunst*, I (Freiburg, 1928), pp. 201-202.

<sup>138</sup> Recent historians have charted a wide network of influences between especially German Dominicans and East Anglia, which show the importance of 'German Dominican spirituality' for this region at the time. Cf. Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: religion and secular life in late medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 348-55; Lee, *Nunneries*; Doyle, 'Carthusian participation'; Michael G. Sargent, 'The transmission by the English Carthusians of some late medieval spiritual writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), 225-40.

<sup>139</sup> McGerr, *Pilgrimage*, pp. xliii-xlv.

<sup>140</sup> McGerr, *ibid.*, p. xlii.

<sup>141</sup> Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change'.

<sup>142</sup> Hughes, pp. 361-3, links Henry V's founding of the Charterhouse at Sheen to the State's perception that Carthusianism could contribute to a fight against Lollardy.



However, even if the scribes of Additional 37049 compiled the manuscript with deliberate intention – as I have argued above – how it was ‘read’ is far more difficult to ascertain. Stylistically, the manuscript suggests a work carried out for private use, while some of the texts, such as the poem about the founding of the Carthusian order on fols. 22r-v, verses on the monastic life on fols. 37v-38r<sup>143</sup> and the ‘Debate for the Soul with Monk’ (fol. 38v)<sup>144</sup> deal with the experience specifically of religious. Others discuss the differences between the active and contemplative life, while others, again, might point to a worldly audience (the ‘Dialogue between the Body and Worms’ concerns the body of a woman who in life was wealthy and had lovers). The simpler *exempla* and naïve drawings may tempt us to think that the manuscript was written for ‘simple people’. But the doctrines are not necessarily simple (although they are orthodox) and the importance of dialogues, and the dialogic form (as where the reader is invited to ‘respond’ to God in the ‘Querela divina’, fol. 24r), in the manuscript, also suggest that the reader is being challenged to partake in a complex reading act. We must not suppose, for example, that because a ‘worldly woman’ is pictured in the ‘Dialogue between the Body and Worms’, this could not have had relevance for male religious, many of whom might have come from a worldly background and for whom the symbolic function of this debate – including the gender symbolism – might have been complex.<sup>145</sup> If we assume that the manuscript is indeed Carthusian – which is not necessarily, although it is probably, the case – then we must also bear in mind that recent scholarship has dismantled the idea that the Carthusians lived entirely immured from their secular neighbours, and we must think about how these texts might have been used with a number of different reading backgrounds and strategies.<sup>146</sup> We should also not forget the importance of book transmission between religious houses and secular households; the manuscripts of ‘Als I lay’ testify to the importance of such transmission.

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<sup>143</sup> NIMEV 3478.

<sup>144</sup> NIMEV 3703.8.

<sup>145</sup> On the common attribution of ‘femininity’ to contemplative orders whether male or female see Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, especially pp. 13-17.

<sup>146</sup> Brantley, pp. 41-46 with notes; Hennessy, ‘Morbid devotions’; C.B. Rowntree, ‘Studies’; the Reverend Robert A. Horsfield, ‘The Pomander of Prayer. Aspects of late medieval Carthusian spirituality’, in Sargent (ed), *De Cella in Saeculum*, pp. 205-14; in the same volume Vincent Gillespie, ‘Cura pastoralis in deserto’, pp. 163-89; Emily Richards, ‘Writing and silence: transitions between the active and the contemplative life’ in Robert Lutton and Elizabeth Salter (eds), *Pieties in Transition: religious practices and experiences, c. 1400-c.1640* (Ashgate, 2007), pp. 163-79.

It is not my intention here to force the body-soul debate, Additional 37049 or the Carthusians into the ranks of vernacular orthodoxy or the territory of radical anti-authoritarianism. But what I do want to emphasise, in the context of the question of Carthusian influences on vernacular devotional literature, is the significance of the angel's intervention in the body-soul debate in Additional 37049. While the angel in the latter explains only that body and soul who are destined to be saved have no need to argue, the angel in Additional 37049 goes much further. His use of the Talmud-derived *exemplum* paves the way for an authoritative statement about the way body and soul should relate to one another and to God, and about the consequences when they fail to achieve this relationship, which is characterised first and foremost by obedience. The body in the debate first appears to take on the major role in the argument and is certainly the most impressive figure, and its arguments show that unlike the soul, it is capable of deconstructing the body-soul relationship. But the body is then silenced by the angel and told that it is the body's incontinence that gives rise to the soul's desire to sin.

The illustrations in Additional 37049 point to a similar ambiguity. The sheer number of texts and the lively, emotive nature of the illustrations in Additional 37049 may be an exciting experience for the reader who can become, indeed can hardly help becoming, deeply involved with the book and its extraordinary combination of text and image. But despite its many dialogic aspects, Additional 37049 can also arguably be seen as a highly prescriptive collection of texts: while it emphasises seeing and contemplation, the crowded nature of its pages may also crowd the reader out. (For example, it contains no marginalia and even if the margins of the pages were not damaged, it is probable that text and image would extend to the very edge of the page.) This may allow us to 'read' this manuscript as the opposite of dialogic; just as the angel forbids body and soul to speak further, so is the reader, in one sense, unable to make any further comment about the texts in the manuscript.

This text is possibly the latest and final manuscript of the body-soul debate, at least in England and France, that we possess at all, and if it is, then we must consider why dialogues between body and soul, and the questions that these dialogues raise, appear to vanish from vernacular books of devotion. The unique silencing of body and soul by a

higher authority in the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, and even more strongly in Additional 37049, appears to leave the reader with only obedience and silence as models for the relationship of body to soul and soul to God. Does this imply that the questions now been finally answered, or is there a more complex reason for this termination of the dialogue? In my conclusion, I hope to find at least a speculative answer.

## CONCLUSION

### MEDIEVAL BODY-SOUL DEBATES AND VERNACULAR THEOLOGY

Vernacular body-soul debates flourished most successfully in a period of European history (c. 1200-1500) which saw far-reaching changes in devotional ideals, practices and literature. In this thesis, I have attempted to show how medieval body-soul debates were created and adapted from earlier sources to reflect preoccupations about these changes in Christian doctrines and their implementation in everyday life – for example, ideas about purgatory and the role of penance ('Si cum jeo ju'), and about the resurrection of both body and soul ('Ein sele zu dem libe sprach', 'Ver sele vnd her lip'). I have also tried to show how these adaptations could be linked to a more specific devotional environment or even a specific religious order, such as the changes to 'Si cum jeo ju' in the Franciscan manuscript BL MS Additional 46919, where the poem uniquely cites the Beatific Vision as the highest reward for body and soul if they repent of their sin.

The majority of the debates, judging from manuscript evidence, were circulated by and within the religious orders, with at least 20 of the 32 manuscripts here discussed originating from Benedictine, Cistercian, Dominican or Franciscan houses or affiliated communities, and even within this pattern, there are further restrictions. English body-soul debates are predominantly from the West Midlands and Worcestershire, with only one, the 'Dysputacion' in Additional 37049, in a Northern English manuscript; 'Si cum jeo ju' appears to have had a highly limited circulation mainly among the Franciscans of Oxfordshire, although its earliest extant appearance is in a manuscript of unknown origin; while the extant manuscripts of 'Un samedi' are probably all from Benedictine scriptoria except for the earliest, Cotton Julius A.VII, which again is probably Cistercian and whose scribe may also originally have lived at Worcester. Turning to the European Continent, three of the four disparate debates I have examined in Germany are from either Dominican or Franciscan-affiliated backgrounds; in France, the situation is more difficult to ascertain, but the internal evidence of the manuscripts also suggests that the religious houses played an important role in the dissemination of 'Une grante vision'. The origins of the German 'Visio Philiberti' translations are largely unknown, but their manuscript contexts suggest

that they were circulated largely with *ars moriendi* and *contemptus mundi* literature, often vernacular sermons.<sup>1</sup>

As I imply throughout this thesis, however, it is not so much the origins of the debates as their readership and manuscripts that can tell us most about the reasons for their existence and how they were disseminated. Especially in Germany, the interplay of production and reception for the debates I have examined suggests the importance of the *cura monialium* and that body-soul debates, both friendly and hostile, were part of a repertoire of devotional literature ‘for women’. The high number of manuscripts of ‘Als I lay’ owned and read by women in England suggests a similar possibility, while the more misogynistic contexts of some of the manuscripts of ‘Une grante vision’, in combination with that poem’s disdain of the body *per se*, suggests a repressive attitude underlying its dissemination among both women and men. However, as even this short summary makes clear, the phrase ‘for women’ is not only objectively problematic (how do we define what was ‘for’ women? Is it identical with what women wanted to read, or does it imply the intention to regulate that reading?) but also fails to address variations in the debates themselves; my close readings of the debates show how creative and complex these adaptations could be.

It is also true, however, that despite the creativity of the genre, certain aspects of body-soul debates remain constant, or at least predominate, throughout its medieval lifespan. The majority of these are similar to the concerns of the influential twelfth-century Latin poem, the ‘Visio Philiberti’, and deal with the questions: How do body and soul differ? Which carries the most responsibility for sin and moral choice? Is matter essentially bad, or only accidentally? How can body and soul be reconciled – if at all – given their differences? Can the ultimate fate of a human being be altered (for instance through penance, through payment for religious advantage after death, through God’s mercy)? Despite the apparent universal significance of these questions, they actually presuppose a historically and culturally specific set of values and beliefs. Firstly, they assume that human beings are composed of two parts, body and soul, and that these are not only different, but may even

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<sup>1</sup> Palmer, ‘Visio Philiberti’.

be essentially hostile and in opposition to each other. Secondly, they derive from an Aristotelian biology that says that matter is essentially inert and passive, and from a Platonic and Aristotelian cosmology that divides the universe into mutable, corruptible matter (the earth, human, animal and vegetable bodies) and the immutable, incorruptible regions of the planets, the stars and the 'aether'; the soul's essence partakes of this divine incorruptibility, making it akin to God, in Plato's terms even making it capable of achieving divinity, while the body is a corruptible substance. Thirdly, however, the assumptions underlying body-soul debates are also – at least ostensibly – Christian.

And it is at this point that the complications set in. Christianity, of course, had engaged with Platonic – and to a lesser extent Aristotelian – philosophy since its beginnings, most influentially via Augustine's neo-Platonism and his arguments about body and soul. However, the Church of the late medieval period – mainly, perhaps, due to the new availability of Aristotle's books from the twelfth century – found itself engaged in a particularly important and ever-changing dialogue not only with Plato and Aristotle themselves, but also with a number of other conflicting ideas about what body and soul were and how they made sense in God's plan. This dialogue was also influenced by what was perceived to be a growing threat of heresy. The work of Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century was a response to both of these challenges, heresy and Aristotelianism, as was also the creation of the Dominican and Franciscan orders. While Aquinas set out to show how body and soul were both necessary for salvation, the Dominicans and Franciscans were perceived – and in part defined themselves – as anti-heretical movements; and the heresies perceived as most threatening at this period were often dualistic, stressing the wickedness and ultimate superfluity of the flesh, in contrast to orthodox doctrines which defined the body as necessary to the soul both in this world and the next. Further, as we have seen, Jews were also often defined as heretics not only because of their rejection of Christianity, but also because of a perceived materialism in their faith, an alleged reliance on physical (i.e. animal) sacrifice and on material idols, and their supposedly anthropomorphic ideas about God.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, then, body-soul debates were engaging with these questions, the dialogue offering an ideal form with which to articulate complex and changing thoughts about body and soul's relationship and its metaphysical significance. The immense difference between the hostile debates of this period, where body and soul are damned (such as 'Un samedi' in Anglo-Norman and the Middle English 'Als I lay in a winteris nyt'), and the loving poem 'Ein sele zu dem libe sprach' or Mechtild of Magdeburg's friendly conversations between body and soul, show how the acknowledgement that body and soul need each other for salvation could lead either to a celebration of their relationship or, on the other hand, a terrifying exposé of what happens when this relationship goes wrong. Both the friendly and hostile debates can be seen as part of a broader cultural dialogue about what could be believed about bodies and souls within an orthodox, Christian theology; as we have seen, however, constructions of 'orthodoxy' and 'heresy' were changeable and fragile. I argue that changing perceptions of vernacular literature can be seen in these developments, especially if we compare the earliest (Anglo-Norman) debates with those in Middle English and French which were written towards the end of the genre.

We have seen that the scribes of the Anglo-Norman debates, especially the (usually Franciscan) scribes of 'Si cum jeo ju', often made liberal changes to the poems, to the point where it is impossible to ascertain what the 'original' text actually was; the oldest version of 'Si cum jeo ju', in Selden supra 74, is also that which the scribe has adapted most freely, and where he or she appears to have sourced tropes and ideas from a wide variety of vernacular literature in a sophisticated prologue. 'Un samedi' breaks away from the 'Visio Philiberti' to create a reflection of feudal order and disorder (including gender disorder) in body and soul's relationship, while 'Si cum jeo ju' stresses the importance of the human will and the transformative power of penance. I have suggested in Chapter 1 that this transformative power is something that the scribes of both Anglo-Norman poems have applied to the vernacular itself, in an implicit dialogue not so much with their Latin sources as with a corpus of vernacular devotional literature.

This, in the truest sense 'creative', approach to language and sources changes over the period in question, however, and the developments in body-soul debates in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries appear to be related to changes in perceptions of vernacular literature itself. As we saw in Chapter 3, the only true conversations between body and soul that depict love between them are from German-speaking Europe; 'Ein sele zu dem libe sprach', like the dialogues of Mechtild of Magdeburg, derives from the late thirteenth century, the early period of the *cura monialium* in Germany and the period of what Newman has termed 'mystique courtoise'.<sup>2</sup> At this period, the increasing recognition and fame of such visionaries as Mechtild and her colleagues Gertrud the Great and Mechtild of Hackeborn, and the influence of German *Frauenmystik*, were largely transmitted in the context of a spiritual and literary dialogue between religious women and their male friends and scribes, especially among the Dominicans. These 'spiritual friendships' were not limited to famous individuals like Mechtild of Magdeburg, but continued, in fourteenth-century Germany, to play a vital role in the development of what we might call a feminine vernacular theology. By 'feminine' I do not mean here only 'female' but a theology that favoured new constructions of devotion making numerous references to the feminine and to desire, such as Meister Eckhart's re-writing of constructions of motherhood and virginity. At the same time, I do want to argue, with Grundmann, that this vernacular theology was developed mainly in response to the needs and desires of literate, devout women. Historically speaking, it is within this context that 'Ein sele zu dem libe sprach', Mechtild of Magdeburg's dialogues, and possibly also 'Ver sele vnd her lip' were written and read: a milieu in which possible constructions of the soul and the body were at the centre of a new vernacular theology, and which seems to have been paralleled by a concomitant positive construction of male and female spiritual relationships.

As I have argued in Chapter 3, this vernacular theology of body and soul was not identical with the language of *mystique courtoise* or courtly love, which played with concepts of inequality and difference to create pictures of the self in relation to God. Rather, its language was about the equal, yet problematic relation of the self-as-soul to the self-as-body, depicting this relationship with both its joys and problems within the larger spiritual

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<sup>2</sup> Newman, *Virile Woman*, chapter 5.



context that Newman and Hollywood have described. In this way, both 'Ein sele zu dem libe sprach' and 'Ver sele vnd her lip' are able to reflect the real problems of earthly existence within the contemplative ideal, deconstructing their authors' and readers' relationship to *Minne* by reminding the readers of the body that enabled them to participate in devotional reading and practices

Clearly (given the number of German translations of the 'Visio Philiberti') it is not the case that Germany had a 'friendlier' concept of body and soul's relationship than elsewhere. But I think it is significant that the hostile debates in Germany mainly date from this later period, in which, as I have shown in Chapter 3, women's spiritual relationships were seen as requiring increasing control, and their spiritual writings and endeavours were increasingly seen as suspect and burdensome. That is to say, in this period the use of the vernacular, especially its theological use, was coming under increasing regulation in Germany, culminating in the reform movement, the enforcement of enclosure, and the literal censorship of visionary writings by women. This environment, I have suggested, was no longer one in which paradigms of equality could be thought or written so clearly; instead the more authoritarian depiction of the body-soul relationship in the 'Visio' tradition became the more popular and more frequently transmitted (or acceptable, therefore retained) version.

A similar increase in regulation of the vernacular can be traced in France, especially in Jean Gerson's writings and his complex attitude towards reading for laypeople, especially women. Gerson's influence as a 'powerful conciliarist' in the early fifteenth century,<sup>3</sup> and his prolific output of sermons and vernacular literature even before this, had a similar effect to the reform movement in Germany at the same period. That is, his work, supported by transmission via the *scriptoria* of the Carthusian and Celestine orders, led to a far greater availability of vernacular literature for the laity than had previously been the case, while at the same time, the ideology underlying this profusion was based on Gerson's perception of just what devotional, vernacular literature should be doing. The evidence of manuscript ownership and transmission in France for the fifteenth century suggests that he

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<sup>3</sup> Voaden, *God's Words*, p. 55.

was largely successful; much of what was owned and (we assume) read, by all classes of the laity, corresponds to the works that Gerson had recommended.<sup>4</sup> This includes several important texts that we have seen in manuscripts of body-soul debates, often combining the ideals of eremitical monasticism with more obviously exemplary, liturgical and *ars moriendi* texts, such as the *Vitae Patrum*, saints' lives, the *Horologium sapientiae*, the *Somme le roi*, and the *Stimulus amoris*.<sup>5</sup> Deguileville's *Pèlerinages* were especially popular, and especially the *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, which itself, of course, contains a body-soul debate.<sup>6</sup>

Gerson's perceptions of the vernacular as a medium by which to regulate lay reading, and his distrust of unregulated and visionary writings in the vernacular (especially by women), reflect a parallel increase in the amount of 'vernacular theology' available but also in attempts to regulate it. Gerson was by no means a dualist – at least theoretically – and his own vernacular writings and those he recommended clearly attempted to show the necessity of both body and soul and the goodness of God's creation *per se*; the body-soul debate in the *Pèlerinage de l'âme*, a text that was highly orthodox, and the Soul's discussion with 'Doctrine' later on in the same work, both make the points that matter is created by God within a plan of salvation. But, like the texts by Gerson that we saw in Chapter 2, they also make the point that body must always be subservient to soul in order for this plan to succeed.

This clearly shows the difficult path trodden by those who wished to increase devotional reading in the vernacular, as long as it was really orthodox. Under such circumstances, the apparent freedom that vernacular reading permitted was the very quality that meant it must be censored and strictly regulated. The inherent authoritarianism of these views of the vernacular – and of reading itself – is perhaps the feeling that most clearly underlies 'Une grante vision', the only body-soul debate to circulate in France as a text in its own right in

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<sup>4</sup> Hasenohr, 'Religious reading', pp. 207-11, lists Gerson's recommendations in his *Canticordium du pèlerin* (1424) and examines their correspondence with actual ownership. On the transmission of Gerson's own texts (among which the 'Aiguillon' is often included), see Glorieux, 7.1, p. xxi.

<sup>5</sup> Hasenohr, *ibid.*, pp. 206-08.

<sup>6</sup> Stürzinger notes 44 extant manuscripts of the *Pèlerinage de l'âme*.

the fifteenth century. This text, which stresses the need for control, the dangers of the flesh and the inherent sinfulness of the body, circulated with texts that also emphasise the need for control, such as secular books on courtesy and wifely virtue,<sup>7</sup> but also with texts attributed to Gerson in Paris, BN MS f.fr.24865, the *Mirour des pecheurs* and the 'Jardin amoureux de l'âme', which both use the body as a trope with which to illustrate the horrors of the flesh and the metaphorical joys and sorrows of the soul, but do not give it a voice in its own right. Paris, BN f.fr.24865, however, also shows the impossibility of truly regulating how, as opposed to what, literature was read.<sup>8</sup> The saints' lives in that manuscript put the body at the centre of (female and divine) power, and show that readers may have experienced a manuscript's constructions of body and soul as heterogenous and complicated. The writing of 'vernacular theology' can be a vehicle of regulation and oppression, but the reading of it is a more complex experience.

To use this term is, of course, to refer to Nicholas Watson's influential arguments about the production of vernacular devotional literature in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Watson argued that the fourteenth century in England, like the thirteenth in Germany, saw a blossoming of new devotional writing in the vernacular that literally rewrote narratives of how the individual could relate to God. More controversially, he also sought to show that the creation of such new tropes became less possible from the early fifteenth century as anxieties about heresy increased and the use of the vernacular itself became potentially dangerous; instead, English writers moved to translating 'safe' works from abroad and to copying texts known to be orthodox. His description of this sea change in English devotional literature has since been admired and contested by a number of scholars;<sup>10</sup> Kerby-Fulton has also made the point that to translate a work is not necessarily to be 'safe'; the work of translation can itself be radical and can extend the boundaries of what can be done with language.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Paris, BN MSS f.fr.1181 and 1505; see Appendix 2.1.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hasenohr, 'Religious reading', p. 217.

<sup>9</sup> Watson, 'Censorship and cultural change'.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Kerby-Fulton, *Books under suspicion*, pp. 397-401.

<sup>11</sup> Kerby-Fulton, *ibid.*, p. 400.

The Middle English body-soul debates provide a particularly interesting means of examining Watson's and Kerby-Fulton's arguments. As we have seen, the majority of them are in large and well-known compilations. In the thirteenth century these, unlike the compilations containing Anglo-Norman body-soul debates, are generally trilingual collections from secular households containing a mixture of ballads, romances, 'religious entertainment'<sup>12</sup> and more serious religious lyrics and texts; in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, however, the compilations are almost always entirely in Middle English – as might be expected from the decline of Anglo-Norman at this period – but also tend to be mainly collections of devotional literature copied and circulated by religious houses.

The inclusion of romances in these later manuscripts, however, also indicates that we should be careful about our definition of 'devotional literature'. A recent critical study by Alison Wiggins,<sup>13</sup> linking Aberystwyth, NLW MS Brogyntyn ii.1 (*olim* Porkington 10, 'The Fadyr most of pytté') with BL MS Harley 2253 and the Vernon, Simeon and Auchinleck manuscripts ('Als I lay'), suggests that the use of 'miscellanies' to include both devotional and romance literature implies that compilations were based on readers' needs, rather than authorial intention, and that the status and meaning of individual texts could vary according to these needs.<sup>14</sup> Body-soul debates, like romances, might have been subject to such a wide variety of usage, and, as I have suggested, their context within highly variant manuscripts does suggest that their status and significance could depend on context. However, it can be argued that later copies of body-soul debates are increasingly pressed into service within manuscripts whose compilers/authors do show an increasing interest in regulating how these texts were read.

The earliest appearance of 'Als I lay' in the thirteenth-century manuscript Laud Misc.108 (1275?) is in an English collection of saints' lives together with the *Vision of St Paul* and the romance of *King Horn* (both also in English). Similarly, its next-oldest manuscript, Auchinleck (1330s), despite its very large number of romances, clearly shows 'Als I lay'

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<sup>12</sup> Jeffrey and Levy, 'Introduction', *Anthology*, p. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Alison Wiggins, 'Middle English Romance and the West Midlands', in Scase (ed), *Essays in Manuscript Geography*, pp. 239-56.

<sup>14</sup> Wiggins, *ibid.*, p. 252.

associated with religious literature. Contemporary ownership of these manuscripts is not documented and may have been secular, but by the late fourteenth century, when ‘Als I lay’ next appears, it is generally in manuscripts almost certainly produced by the religious orders – often the Cistercians – of Middle English and Latin devotional literature, which appear either to have been produced for, or to have soon come into the possession of, secular or semi-religious women.<sup>15</sup> At this point, the body-soul debate’s status within this particular type of compilation does appear to be related to programmes of vernacular religious instruction either desired by, or considered appropriate for, women or laypeople in general.

While this need not, in and of itself, imply the intention on the part of the manuscripts’ compilers to regulate orthodoxy more strictly, the inclusion in at least the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts of anti-Jewish literature does suggest that such regulation – as in the context of the German *cura monialium* – went hand-in-hand with examples of punishment and exclusion for the unorthodox, within which hostile body-soul debates might also be located. More interesting, however, is the question of how body-soul debates themselves construct such oppositions of orthodox/unorthodox, authority/subversion, and obedience/disobedience, and how the use of the vernacular becomes the interface where these oppositions meet. The last body-soul debates that we know of, in the fifteenth-century manuscripts Brogyntyn ii.1 and Additional 37049, deal directly with these oppositions; in NLW Brogyntyn ii.1 these are sited especially within the use of the vernacular *per se*, while Additional 37049 reveals how meaning could be rewritten by an authoritarian redefinition of texts from ‘outside’ orthodoxy.

The body-soul debate in Brogyntyn ii.1, a probably secular miscellany of unknown origin, is introduced by a long introduction on the part of the scribe. In this, as we have seen, he urges readers to be lenient in judging his use of the vernacular:

I toke one me to translate the same [*i.e.* *the* ‘Visio Philiberti’]

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<sup>15</sup> Digby 102 is the exception; there is no evidence about its provenance although its dialects have been generally defined as from the West Midlands/Welsh border, possibly also Worcestershire like the majority of ‘Als I lay’ manuscripts. See *Manuscripts of the West Midlands*.

Into owre tonge after the prossese  
 In Lattayn; werfore with alle humblenesse,  
 Every gennytl reader I reyquere  
 To be my supporter, I aske non other hyere.<sup>16</sup>

But this is associated, in the next stanza, with his anxiety that he might give ‘offense’ to any place ‘of worthie audiense’. His next three stanzas are a prayer to Christ and the Virgin respectively to give him ‘grace’ in his translation, and he writes, ‘Soffyre me not, Lord, a3eynst thi wyle,/But so my pene dyrecte at my nede/That to thi lawde this processe may procede’.<sup>17</sup> Such a prayer does not precede any other body-soul debate, and the writer’s self-consciousness – and anxiety – about the use of English may be anxiety, too, about his ‘correct’ – i.e. orthodox – use of the vernacular. In the debate proper, the soul appears to take on the role of judge in how language itself is used: it speaks to the body ‘in his [*i.e. the soul’s*] langaug [*sic*]’ (p. 15), and demands ‘Answere to me, for I wylle apposse/Thin wlogé [*speech*] [...]/Say one thy tyxte, for now may be no glous [*gloss*]’ (p. 18). The body replies that being ‘symppul fleche’ it can do nothing of its own will, but further ‘Thothe the body and the spryt most nede asente,/Whatever he sayth he most say the same’ (p. 23). The body must assent not only to the soul’s will but also say whatever it says.

The epilogue emphasises how one day all must give ‘accontus’ (account) of themselves at the Last Judgment (p. 37); those that live by ‘extorsyon’ (p. 38) shall be cast down into the burning fires. But further,

thou that hast Crystus spos dyspyste  
 Here on erthe, terme of all thi lyve,  
 With hote fyre thou schalt be brent and bylyde;  
 The hosbond nedus most defend the wyfe (p. 38; my emphasis)

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<sup>16</sup> Halliwell, p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Halliwell, p. 14.

The person that has despised, not Christ himself or His law, but his spouse ('spos') – that is, the Church – will be burnt, because Christ as the 'husband' of the Church will defend her. Here, the warning of the story – which is mainly directed otherwise towards the wealthy – is about obedience to the Church; it is almost impossible not to see a connection here between the writer's anxieties about his use of the vernacular, and the burnings in store for those who disobey Church law. Whether or not this is consciously intended, the reminder that he who despises the Church will be 'brent' (burnt) resonates strongly in the context of actual burnings for heresy in the fifteenth century.

In Additional 37049, the question of obedience is at once more subtle and more explicit. As we have seen, the relationship of body to soul, and soul to God, is defined by the angel in the body-soul debate as a relationship of obedience first and foremost. Further, the excerpting of the debate from the *Pilgrimage of the Soul* – without citing that text directly – and the use of the Talmudic *exemplum* probably taken from Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, shows how parts of texts from 'outside' the manuscript could be taken and used directly to create a message which, in the original, might not be present at all. In Additional 37049, these excerpts are used to make a point about authority and obedience; making this point, however, has the greater effect of ending the dialogue altogether. The angel appears to subsume all dialogue to an ultimate hierarchy of obedience: the body obeys the soul, and the soul obeys God.

The meaning of obedience within the contemplative orders, and as a virtue in itself in Christian thought, is profound; through obedience, one can lose the self – the 'jury-rigged ego' – and attain a new selfhood in God.<sup>18</sup> But in the context of fifteenth-century anxieties over the use of the vernacular, and sharper distinctions – not only in England, but also in France and Germany – between orthodoxy and heresy, the question of obedience must often have been perceived as a question of obedience to earthly, not divine authority. The contexts of body-soul debates in devotional compilations in the fifteenth century, and their adaptations in ways that increased their authoritarian message, reflects, consciously or unconsciously, a message about the nature of bodily existence found in even the earliest

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<sup>18</sup>Martin, *Fifteenth Century Carthusian Reform*, p. 15.

debates. From start to finish, all the debates we have seen in this study tell us one important thing: that ‘good’ governance equals control of the body, and ‘bad’ governance (‘mysrewle’) equals a lack of control that will be punished by damnation.

As we saw in Chapter 4, both Aristotle and Augustine saw good governance in the social order reflected – or allegorised – in human nature.<sup>19</sup> A divided society cannot be successfully ruled; it requires a leader and if necessary, harsh rule to ensure that all its members remain obedient. Similarly, as Plato had also influentially argued, the body, with its warring desires and dangerous, irrepressible needs, must be ruled by the soul if purity and absolution is to be attained.<sup>20</sup> But for Plato, such purity could be reached through death, as the soul would then be liberated from its prison, the body;<sup>21</sup> for medieval Christians there was no such possibility. Salvation had somehow to be attained with the body, not in spite of it, and death meant not liberation, but eternal judgment.

On this premise, medieval Christianity could have created a new paradigm of the body and soul’s relationship, one based on equality. In the very same letter to the Galatians in which he sets out body and soul’s eternal conflict, St Paul also states that baptism will ‘abrogate all barriers’ between male and female, Christian and Jew, slave and free, and as Barbara Newman points out, this could have been – and for a short period probably was – a blueprint for a new kind of society.<sup>22</sup> But as we know, the ‘chasm between theory and practice’ remained.<sup>23</sup> The same is true of the Middle Ages. Despite theological ideas that ostensibly did give body and soul equal status (while clearly differentiating their roles), this equality was only imagined as possible after death, not before it. It was only for a brief period of time that another paradigm of body-soul’s relationship appears to have been both possible and articulated; its historical context suggests that a revolutionary paradigm

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<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 4. Plato, *Timaeus*, pp. 42-45, also constructs the world as body and soul as a macrocosm of the human entity.

<sup>20</sup> The relation of body to the fate of the soul is described clearly by Socrates in the *Phaedrus*, trans. R. Hackforth, in Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, *The Collected Dialogues of Plato* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 475-525, 246a-256e; Socrates makes it clear that it is physical desire and the violence attached to this that makes the soul most likely to suffer the loss of its equilibrium and eventually, its ‘wings’ (i.e. divinity).

<sup>21</sup> *Phaedo*, 80a-84b; this is also one place where Plato reiterates how the soul should rule the body.

<sup>22</sup> Newman, *Virile Woman*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Newman, *ibid.*



of body and soul would also have meant a revolutionary paradigm of the social order. The majority of debates, however, suggest that equality between body and soul can only lead to the disintegration of social, sexual and moral relations. From the earliest debate ('Un samedi') to the latest ('Dysputacion'), salvation equals obedience, and security equals subservience.

This perception of body and soul's relationship, I argue, had by the fifteenth century become the only possible perception. By this period, it seems that the teachings of Aristotle and Aquinas had been so far accepted as 'true', both scientifically and theologically, that it was no longer really possible to ask whether a different kind of relationship between body and soul might exist. It is for this reason, I think, that body-soul debates are hardly ever found after the Reformation, which had different distinctions and new constructions of authority to consider. By the late Middle Ages this embodiment – as it were – of oppression had been so deeply internalised that to question it even now is to realise that we are hardly capable of imagining human nature other than within the binary constructions of body and soul, authority and subversion, repression and hedonism, control and liberalism. It is for this reason that body-soul debates are not only devotional or macabre curiosities, but highly political texts. They cite control as the means to redemption, yet also, in their form, offer the possibility of open-ended dialogue. By giving a voice to the body, they imply the possibility of a body that is equal to the soul, and by implication a society that relies on mutuality rather than repression. At the same time, they help us to bear in mind that failure to observe gendered and social hierarchies can really result in punishment, even death, for the body, and that we are far – perhaps even further than medieval readers – from being able to imagine a society that is not based on such measures.

ILLUSTRATIONS

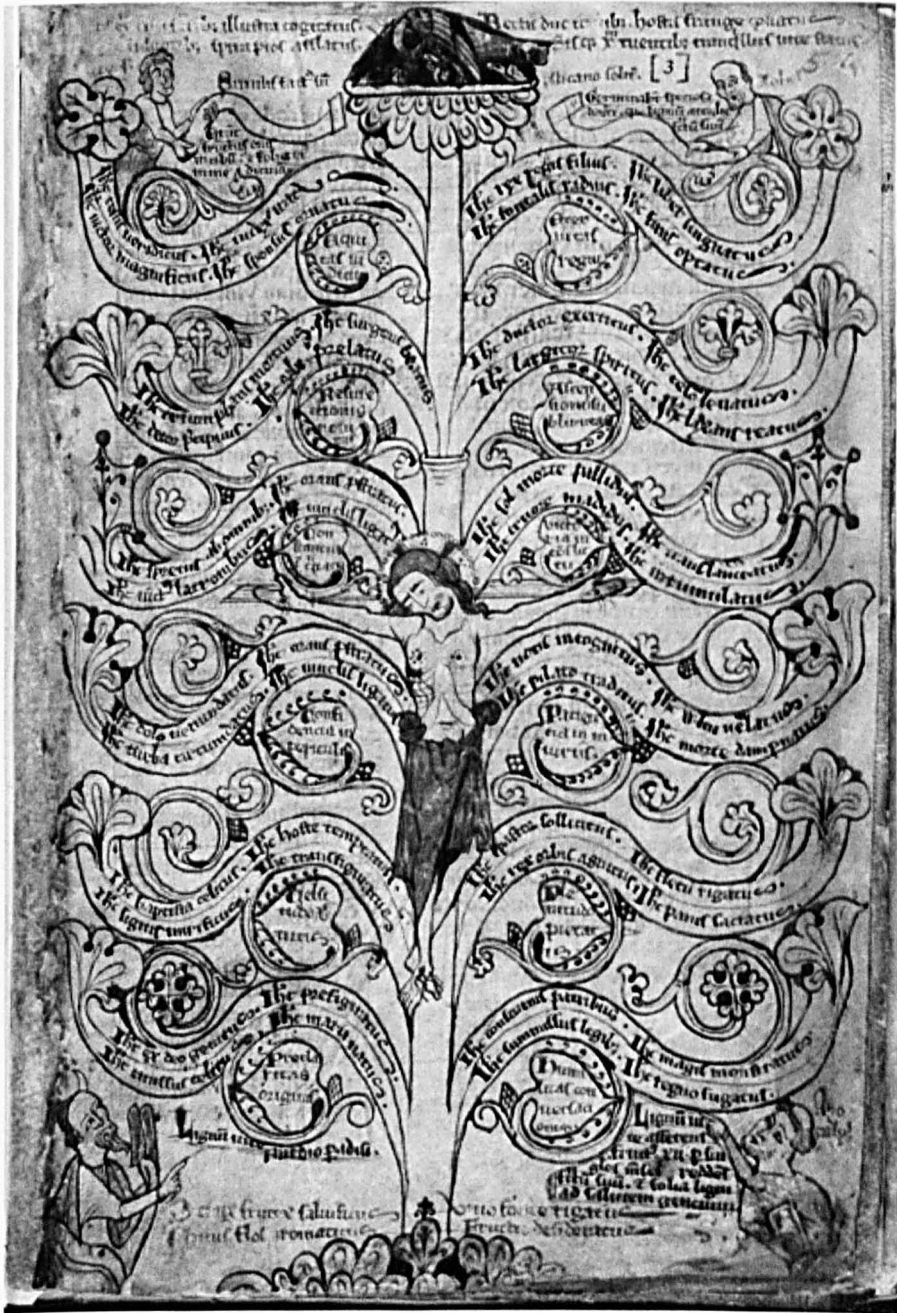


Fig. 1 *Arbor Crucifixi*. BL MS Harley 5234, fol. 5r

er man sol got minnen von  
 allen sinem h̄zen. v̄o aller s̄in  
 sele. v̄o allen sinen k̄reften.  
 sw̄ in minnet v̄o allen sinen  
 w̄ben. d̄ minnet in v̄o alle s̄inē  
**V**er sele dient mit **Q** k̄reften.  
 Vlize ē daz d̄ sac v̄flize d̄ w̄ ist ge  
 lichen v̄n ze k̄rechten geben. Her  
 lip h̄ort w̄ d̄w̄ mere. lac w̄ n̄ht  
 wesen siwere. ich wil disen sac  
 bezern ob ich mac. Ir dienet  
 mir v̄mb den tac. da n̄uwe freu  
 de springet. v̄n ḡit in minne  
 ringet. Daz ist d̄w̄re tran̄ den  
 ich getrincken mac. Ver sele w̄  
 solt glauben. daz ich bin siēch  
 vil taugen. daz ich allen tac. ge  
 minnen n̄ht en mac. Her lip w̄  
 sit zewere. v̄n sit v̄o minnen

Fig. 2 'Ver sele vnd her lip'. Munich, BSB MS Cgm. 100, fol. 133r





Fig. 4. Intercession scene. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 19r



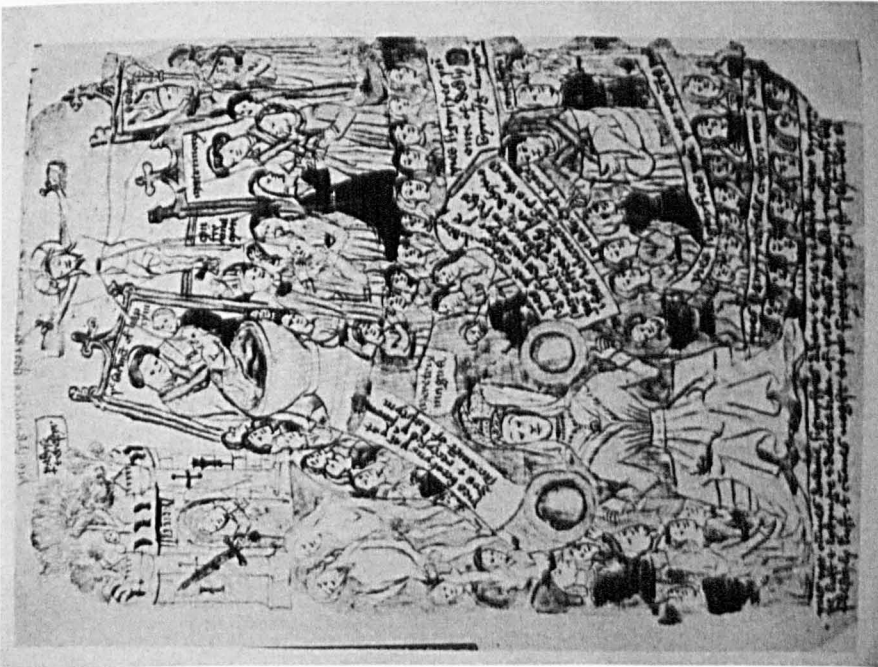
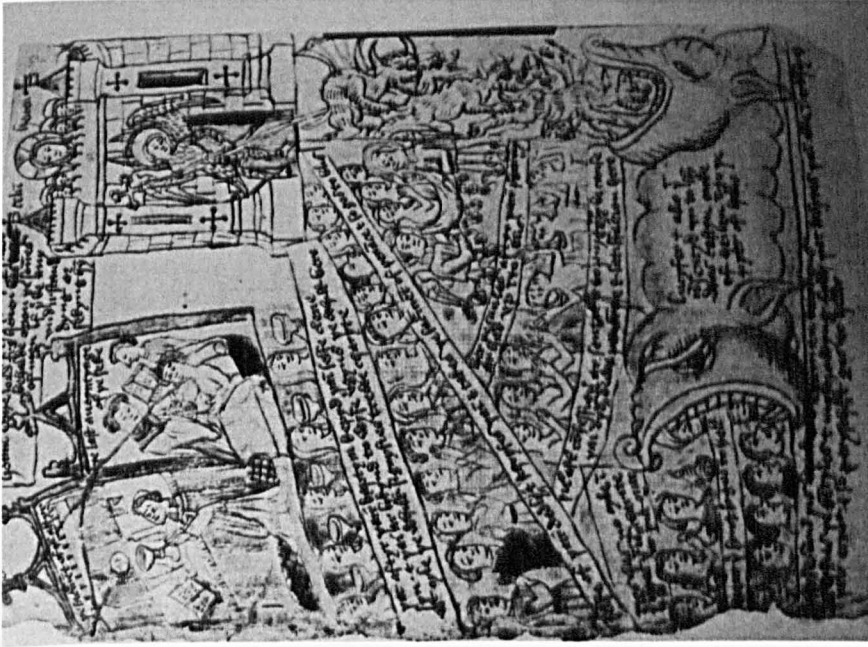


Fig. 5 The soul's pilgrimage. BL MS Add. 37049, fols. 72v-73r

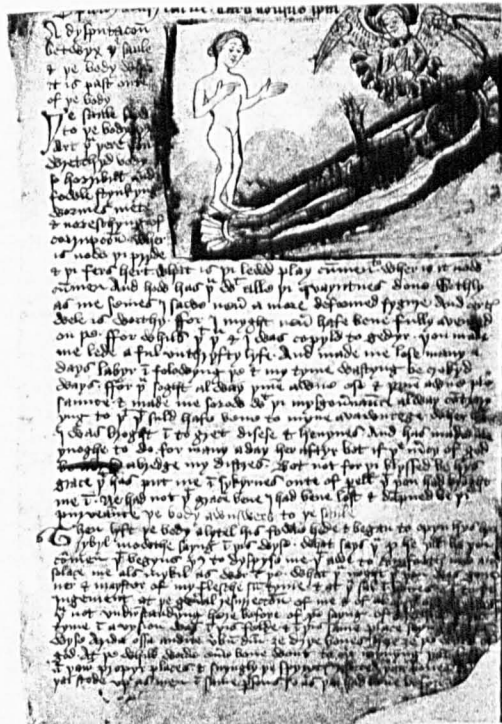


Fig. 6 'Dysputacion betwyx þe saule & þe body'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol.82r



Fig. 7 'Dysputacion'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 82v



Fig. 8 'Dysputacion'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 83r



Fig. 9 'Dysputacion'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 83v

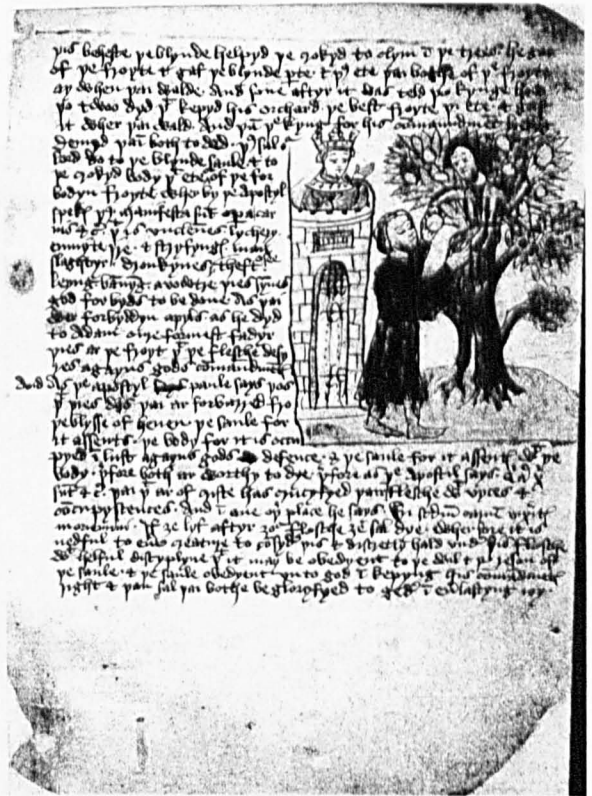


Fig. 10 'Dysputacion'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 84r





Fig. 11 *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. Melbourne, Victoria State Library MS \*096/G94, fol. 140v

Dampnes ont fait / sil descend en enfer en lui attendant / et  
 quand au lieu d'icuy p'heur / il est la assilly / de son parue mo' ne  
 et le endust fort p'long la q'line quel l'auer le q' l'at'ham f'ad  
 sont let ne se f'aignoe pour euy d'uy de t'mentes le pou'ic  
 p'cheur / Mais le by se aff'et de f'oyer quand du purgatoire ou  
 se ofore / mon bon ange me mena / mais / ainsi de en entrant  
 dedens / et / dont il pou'dy / que g'nt p'neur / q'm me fist asse'ez  
 p'd' regarder en to' moy / q'm ainsi pu'it / et / coze / je v'is / dug / bon  
 p'lam / de off'met / de ph'is'it / coze / q'm la / q'p'ord / moy / f'ud  
 des / q'ly / se cong'nt / bi' / de / o'is / du / m'ien / de / q'uels / la / p'neur  
 me / ten'it / q' / sent'it / / main / ne / ob'f'ud / la / p'nd'ise / q'm / off'  
 g'ant / q' / ne / v'ulu / par / a'ub / o'ud / pass'ez / par / me / app'oy' / ve'ez  
 et / p'chez / a'ub / et / f'oy / p' / le / l'ame / du / pe't'ez / a / son / co'p' / ne



Et tu die' ne mon co'p' / me f'ha'nt / q'm / et / p' / q' / p' / p' / p' / p' / p' / p'  
 ost' / v'and' / a'ub' / p'p' / v'oz' / hor' / ble / f'at' / v'and' / C'ad' / / son / of'  
 p' / n' / t' / ton / co' / qu' / el' / / ton / bo' / ban' / / et / ton / g' / ro' / z' / / quand / me / a'  
 q' / p' / f'ad' / tu / p' / du / tes / f'oz' / v' / co' / r' / a' / v' / e' / / / t' / m' / p' / e' / / quel'  
 tu / ad' / p' / ne / t' / o' / u' / g' / t' / / l' / e' / r' / ad' / t' / o' / / et / v' / e' / t' / e' / / il' / of' / b' / / co' / m' / p' / d' / e'  
 p' / ne / p' / co' / m' / d' / i' / g' / n' / o' / m' / b' / o' / u' / g' / e' / de / t' / o' / y' / / l' / e' / s' / t' / a' / u' / r' / r' / ad' / tu / f' / i' / t' / m' / o' / r'  
 m' / e' / t' / tu / m' / e' / n' / e' / i' / t' / f' / i' / n' / a' / l' / e' / v' / i' / e' / / l' / e' / t' / m' / f' / i' / t' / p' / d' / e' / m' / o' / n' / t' / a' / m' / p'  
 et / m' / a' / n' / t' / p' / a' / d' / / et / f' / o' / n' / e' / z' / p' / a' / t' / t' / o' / u' / r' / e' / t' / o' / m' / e' / / t' / u' / q' / r' / o' / u' / e' / t' / o' / u' / z'

Et me fuyez et l'ame

Fig. 12 Pèlerinage de l'âme. Oxford, Bodl. MS Douce 305, fol. 33v



Fig. 13 *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. New York, Public Library MS Spencer 19, fol. 7r



Fig. 14 'Querela divina'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 20r



Fig. 15 'Ego dormio'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 30v



Fig. 16 'I wende to dede a kynge iwys'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 36r





Fig. 17 'Charter of Human Redemption'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 23r



Fig. 18 'Arma Christi'. BL MS Add. 37049 fol. 60v



Fig. 19 'Arma Christi'. BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 67v





Fig. 22 'Exegesis of the Five Hearts'. South Germany, fifteenth century. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett Inv. 124-1



Fig. 23 'Crucifixion'. St. Walburga Benedictine Convent, Eichstätt



Fig. 24 'Crucifixion'. Strasbourg Dominican prayerbook (c. 1500.)



Fig. 25 'Crucifixion'. Rhineland praybook. Cologne, Schnuetgen-Museum Invr. M340



Fig. 26 Dominican nun receives Christ. 1450-1500. Miniature, Book of Hours, St Margaretha and Agnes Convent, Strasbourg. Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire, Strasbourg MS 755 fol. 1r





Fig. 27 Heinrich Seuse gives the Name of Jesus to his daughter in Christ Elsbeth Stagl. From the *Exemplar*. Strasbourg, c. 1370. Strasbourg, BN MS 2929, fol. 68v



Fig. 28 Illustration to *Büchlein der Geistlichen Gemahelschaft* ('Little Book of Spiritual Marriage'). Püttrichkloster, Munich, c. 1454. Munich, BSB MS Cgm. 775, fol.185r



Fig. 29 The Soul's Path to God. Heinrich Seuse, *Exemplar*. Augsburg woodcut, 1482. Staatsbibliothek Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inc. 127



Fig. 30 'Mary'. Convent, Ebstorf, c. 1500. Evangelical Convent, Ebstorf, Fragment II

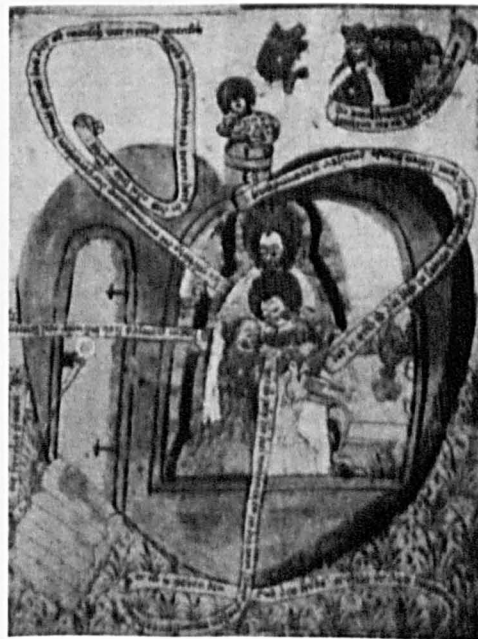


Fig. 31  
The Heart as a House.  
St Walburga  
Benedictine Convent,  
Eichstätt





Fig. 34 'Tree of Life', BL MS Add. 37049, fol. 19v



Fig. 35 'Lebensbaum'. St-Laurentius-Kirche, Bischoffingen



Fig. 36 'Lebensbaum', lower part. St-Laurentius-Kirche, Bischoffingen

**APPENDIX 1**  
**ANGLO-NORMAN AND EARLY FRENCH DEBATES**

1.1 Three manuscripts of 'Si cum jeo ju' (not including Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74)

I have given a Dean reference and her dating where possible. However, I have not adopted her folio referencing but instead use here only 'recto' and 'verso' distinctions. Where the use of columns is relevant, this is indicated in the thesis.

Dating after Dean:

Roman numerals indicate century (XIII = 13)

Arabic numeral ('1' or '2') indicates first or second half of century respectively  
in = incipit (early/beginning)

m = medio (middle)

ex = explicit (end)

1/3, 1/4, etc: third/quarter of century

Dean, p. xii, writes that 'For palaeographical judgments an allowance of ten-twenty years at either end should generally be made'.

**London, British Library MS Additional 46919 – Manuscript contents**

**Works referred to in thesis only**

British Library Catalogue description:

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/1754.htm&Search=Add.+46919&Highlight=F>.

See also Paul Meyer, 'Notice et extraits du MS. 8336 de la Bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillips à Cheltenham', *Romania*, 13 (1884), 497-541.

- (a) Fols. 2r-14v, 'Ceo est le tretyz ke moun syre Gautier de bibbesworth fist a ma dame Deonyse de mountchensy', preface: 'Chere soer pur ceo ke uous me priastes', poem: 'Femme ke approche son tens'. *Tretiz de langage* by Walter of Bibbesworth. Dean **285** (XIVin).
- (b) Fols. 15r-v, 'Du chastel damours vous demeaus'. *Chastel d'amurs*. Dean **227**.
- (c) Fols. 38r-40v, 'Cest tretys de la Passion fist frere Nicole boioun', *incipit* 'Un rey esteit jadis ke aveit une ornye'. Attr. Nicole Bozon. Dean **688** (XIV 1/3).
- (d) Fols. 40v-49v, 'Amur amur ou estes vous?'. Dean **690** (XIV 1/3).
- (e) Fol. 49v-50, 'Ceo tretis de denaturesse, fit frere Nich. boioun frere minour', *incipit* 'Va escrit en moun message'. *Tretis de Denaturesse*. Poem against lack of natural affection, attr. Bozon. Dean **145** (XIV 1/3).
- (f) Fol. 50r-v, 'Cest tretys fist frere Nichol bosoun del ordre freres minours', *incipit* 'Reigne des aungles receuez cest ave'. Dean **822** (XIV 1/3).
- (g) Fols. 50v-52v, 'Ave virge Marie/estelle ke dreit gwie', *incipit* 'Le tretys frere Nich. boioun del ordre de freres minours'. Poem attr. Bozon. Unique to this MS. Dean **800** (XIV 1/3).
- (h) Fols. 57v-59r, 'Les neuf joies nostre dame'. Poems variously attr. to Bozon, Rutebeuf and Guillaume de Saint-Amour. The poem 'Reigne de pite Marie' is attributed to Bozon in the MS. Dean **761**.



- (i) Fol. 59r-v, 'Bele mere ke frai'. Poem of girl asking mother for advice on two suitors. Sometimes attr. Bozon. Dean **142** (XIV 1/3).
- (j) Fols. 62r-65v, 'A chescun homme ou femme ke est en religiun, saluz en Jhesu Crist'. Poem addressed to religious orders. Unique to this MS. Dean **683** (XIV 1/3).
- (k) Fols. 66r-74r, 'Cest tretys fist frere Nich. boioun del ordre de freres menours', *incipit* 'La reigne de pecche est estreite'. *Char d'Orgueil*. Dean **687** (XIV 1/3).
- (l) Fol. 75r-v, 'Cest tretys fist frere Nich. boioun del ordre de freres menours', *incipit* 'Les femmes a la pie'. Poem attr. Bozon comparing women to magpies. Dean **205** (1330-40).
- (m) Fols. 75v-76r, 'Cest tretys fist frere Nich. boioun del ordre de freres menours', *incipit* 'Le mel de ceel'. Poem on the Annunciation attr. Bozon and datable to 1300-20. Dean **739** (XIV 1/3).
- (n) Fols. 76r-77v, 'La deputeyson entir le cors e l'alme', *incipit* 'Si cum jeo ju'. *Desputeison entre le cors et l'ame*. Dean **691** (XIV 1/3).
- (o) Fols. 77v-79r, 'Reine couronee flur de paradis'. Attr. Bozon in BL Catalogue but not in manuscript. Dean **956**.
- (p) Fols. 79r-80r, 'Coment nostre dame e la croiz desputerent sanz nule voiz', *incipit* 'La virge put hore asener'. *Dispute between the Virgin and the Cross*. Unique to this manuscript. Dean **968** (XIV 1/3).
- (q) Fols. 80r-84r, nine sermons in verse by Bozon (?). (heading of first sermon: 'La parole deu ke est preche', text of first sermon: 'Ben deit homme ke alme porte/ke sanz aprise le portereit morte'). Nine short sermons attr. to Bozon in nos. 2 and 7. Except for sermon 8, unique to this MS. Dean **592** (XIV in).
- (r) Fols. 90v-91v, 'Seignours ore escotez haute chivalrye'. Allegory of the passion sometimes attr. Bozon. Dean **689** (XIV).
- (s) Fols. 92r-93r, 'Cy comencent les dytees moun syre Gauter de bybeswurthe', *incipit* 'Amours me unt si enchaunte'. Prayer to the Virgin by Walter de Bibbesworth (attr. to him in this MS). Dean **799**.
- (t) Fols. 93r-95v, 'De bone femme la bounte'. Poem in praise of women, attr. Bozon but anonymous in this MS. Dean **199**.

#### London, British Library MS Arundel 288

BL Catalogue description (not always accurate as to dating)

<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/37245.htm&Search=Arundel.+288&Highlight=F>

- (a) Fols. 1r-3v, 'Ave duz Jesu mon tres duz seignur'. In one other manuscript. Dean **892** (XIVm-2).
- (b) Fols. 3v-4r, 'Ces oreysions et ces meditacions'. Prayers with prologue telling reader in what state of mind they should be read. Dean **942** (XIV 2).
- (c) Fols. 5r-83v, 'Le manuel de peche', *incipit* 'La vertue de Seint Esperit'. *Manuel de Pechiez*, attr. William of Waddington, cleric of York, c. 1260. Lacking 'about 700 lines at the end, which are to be found in the Harl. Ms. 4657' (British Library Catalogue). Dean **635** (XIII 2).
- (d) Fols. 84r-91v, 'Ici comence Romaunz estret hors de diuinite solon lordeynment des philosophes', *incipit* 'A ses treschiers freres et soers en Deu, as tous iccas ke ceste compleisoun lirrount ou de autre lire orrunt, saluz'. *Les peines de purgatoire*. Dean **645**

(XIII 2).

(e) Fols. 97r-103r, 'Le petit sermon', *incipit* 'Seynt Pol lui apostle dit/Si come nous trouoms en son escrit'. Often attr. to William Waddington and integrated into Book VI of his *Manuel de pechiez*, but separate in this MS. Dean **636**.

(f) Fols. 103r-122r, *Mirour de seint eglyse*. Dean **629**.

(g) Fols. 122r-123r, 'Cy comensomment les ix parolis' que mestre Auvers arcev' de Cologne dyst en un sermoun qui fist a gens de religion les queles ix paroles soint notables ou profit del ame'. *Les IX Paroles*. Dean **617** (XIVm)

(h) Fols. 123r, 'Ky out ceste trinite'. Poem on monastic obedience unique to this MS. Dean **715** (XIVm).

(i) Fols. 123v-126v, 'Si come ieu ieu en mon lit'. Version of *Desputeison entre le cors et l'ame*. Dean **691** (XIVm).

(j) Fol. 126v, 'Niule pecchere ne puet faire peche si ordz'. Poem unique to this MS. Dean **616** (XIVm).

### **3. London, British Library MS Cotton Vitellius C.VIII**

For a description of this composite of variously dated texts and fragments, see Dr. N. Ramsay, 'Notes from the Cotton Manuscripts Project 1991-6' held at the British Library Manuscripts Reading Room. The British Library catalogue (Harleian MSS, 1808) is outdated and generally no longer accurate.

(<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/65760.htm&Search=Cott.+Vitel.+C.+viii.&Highlight=F>).

1.2 Codicological description of Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74**Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Selden supra 74 – Manuscript contents**

Catalogue description:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/selden/selden-supra.html>

- (a) Fols. 1r-2r, 'Plus est delit en li oriole'. Extract from Walter of Bibbesworth's *Tretiz de langage*. This is from 'the shorter recension, imperfect, having only 154 ll. beginning at l. 795 and ending at l.1128' (Dean). Dean **285** (XIV 1).
- (b) Fols. 2r-6v, 'Ici comence Husebondrie' ('Li piere siet en sa veillesse & dit a soun filtz'). Extract from Walter of Henley's *Housbondrie*. Dean **394** (XIII-XIV).
- (c) Fols. 7r-8v, 'Le mois de mai en vn beau pre'/'Si cum jeo ju'. *Desputeison entre le cors et l'ame*. Poem attr. Bozon by Dean. Dean **691** (XIII/XIV).
- (d) Fols. 9r-v, 11r-v, 'Verei Deu omnipotent/kestes fin e commencement'. *Lumere as lais*, by Pierre d'Abernun of Fetcham/Peckham (1267). Fragment of chapter headings, distinctions, etc. Dean **630**
- (e) Fols. 10r-v, 13r, 'Multifarie multisque modis karissimi'. Stories of 'St Nemo' (i.e. St Nobody).
- (f) Fols. 12r-v, 13v, 'De cuiusdam claustralis vita'.
- (g) Fol. 14r: 'a few concluding sentences of a Latin treatise on omens from Dreams' (Bodl. Summary Catalogue).
- (h) Fols. 14r-18r: 'Vita [Adam] prothoplaustri & Eue vxoris eius', *incipit* 'Factum est cum expulsi essent'. *Life of Adam and Eve*.
- (i) Fols. 18r-28r, 'Factum est in anno xix Tiberij'. *Evangelium Nicodemi*.
- (j) Fols. 28v-31r, 'In diebus imperii Cesaris Tyberij'. *Vindicta Salvatoris*.
- (k) Fol. 31r, 'Erunt signa in sole'. *Fifteen Signs of Judgement*.
- (l) Fols. 31v-33r, 'Le Seint Espirit/a gent de queor parfait'. Three poems by 'Simon of Carmarthen'. Dean **593** (XIII 2).
- (n) Fols. 33v-35v, 'Un sage home de grant valour'. *Urbain le Courtois*. Incomplete; includes some verses from 'Le dit des femmes' otherwise found only in Harley 2253. Dean **231** (XIVin).
- (o) Fols. 35v-37v, 'Li respit del vilain e del curteis' ('Cil qe commence bien'). Includes proverbs by Serlo of Wilton ('Pur suffreite de prud hume met lum fol en banc'; see Dean **260**). Dean **258** (XIV 1-m).
- (p) Fols. 38r-43v, 'Chiers amis, receuetz de moi'. *Proverbes de bon enseignement* by Nicole Bozon. Dean **252** (XIII/XIV).
- (q) Fols. 44r-59r, 'Cest tretiz est apelee speculum ecclesie, ceo est a dire Mirour de seint eglise e si lapela seint eadmund de punteny ke la fit', *incipit* (following list of chapters): 'Videte vocac[i]o[n]em u[ost]ram. Ces motz p[er]tinent a nous gentz dereligion'. *Mirour de Seint Eglise* Dean **629** (XIII 3/4).
- (r) Fol. 59v, 'Me tibi teque mihi', a metrical dialogue between a nun and a layman.
- (s) Fol. 59v, 'Ke nad qe ly serve e il memes ne veet fol est'. *Proverbial Follies*. Dean **266** (XIV 1-m).
- (t) Fol. 60r-102r, 'Qui bien ueut entendre cest liure'. French version of *Le romaunce del*



*Ymage du mounde* by Gautier (Gossuin) de Metz. Gives date of composition as 1245.  
 (u) Fols. 102v-118r, 'De statu hominis'. *De miseria condicionis humane* by Lotario dei Segni, later Pope Innocent III.  
 (v) Fol. 119v, 'Quis dabit capiti meo aquam'. Latin sermon on the Passion.  
 (w) Fols. 122v – 125v, 'Le livre de reis de Brittanie', ('Devant la Nativite nostre seynour Jesu Crist'). Chronicle of England, to 1306. Dean 13 (XIV ¼).

Oxford, Bodl. MS Selden supra 74 is a fairly small (225 x 110 mm) parchment manuscript with mainly French and Latin contents, almost certainly written in England.

The pages are ruled in 36 lines and written in double columns throughout. The flyleaf contains the names of a probable owner, Roger Young, from the sixteenth century, besides some Latin phrases on the brevity of life probably by one of the owners of that time; other probable owners from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are named on fols. 14r (Richard Hadele) and 125v (John Somervyle). There are also interspersed farming accounts written in a later, probably fifteenth-century hand in English on fols. 11r-v (which do not keep to the double columns!), as well as a short Latin passage on the stars in a further almost illegible hand on fol. 18v.

There are difficulties in ascertaining the original composition of Selden supra 74. The first item ('Plus est delit en li oriole') is an incomplete version of Walter de Bibbesworth's *Le Tretiz*, and may indicate that leaves at the beginning of the manuscript are missing. In addition, the fragmentary nature of the leaves from fols. 9r to 13v may indicate that these leaves were used as a form of binding at some point or inserted as a separate 'booklet', although these fragments appear to be in the same hand (A) as several other texts in the first part of the manuscript.

As many as six scribes in total appear to have worked on different parts of the manuscript, with the first (Scribe A, an early *anglicana formata* hand) probably responsible for all the texts up to fol. 43v, the section described by Oschinsky as 'part 1' of the manuscript.<sup>1</sup> (Dean's dating neither proves nor disproves Oschinsky's theory that the manuscript falls into two definite parts.) Scribe A, besides the Anglo-Norman texts discussed in detail in Chapter 1, and the fragmentary list of chapters to *Lumere as lais* on fols. 9r-v, appears to

<sup>1</sup> Oschinsky, *Walter of Henley*, p. 44.

have written also the satirical Latin 'vita', 'St. Nemo', the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and the *Vindicta Salvatoris* (frequently linked together in medieval writing),<sup>2</sup> the *Fifteen signs of judgment* ('Erunt signa in sole'), and the *Life of Adam and Eve*, as well as several unidentified fragments on omens and dreams. The version of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* includes the section known as the 'Descent into Hell', the story of Christ's redemption of souls from Hell and of the soul of the 'good thief' who died besides Jesus.<sup>3</sup> Although the hand of Bozon's *Proverbes de bon enseignement* (fols. 38r-43v) varies somewhat from that of the preceding texts, it is probably still Scribe A's hand. A shorter text (probably a 'filler') 'Me tibi teque mihi' and the Anglo-Norman 'Follies' on fol. 59v, that is, in 'part 2', also seem to be by Scribe A hand.

At least two hands (B and C) were respectively responsible for the *Mirour de seynte eglise* and the French text of Gossuin de Metz' *Romaunce de l'image du monde* (c. 1246), while the Latin *De miseria* is in a fourth hand (D) which has a notable downward slant to the right within the letter [m]. 'Quis dabit capiti meo aquam', a Latin sermon, is by Scribe E. Finally, the 'Livre des reis de Brittanie' ends the manuscript (Scribe F) but appears, and is said by Dean, to have been added in at a later period to the other works.

The probable hand of Scribe A in both 'parts' of the manuscript supports the theory that whether or not it was originally bound together, the two 'parts' did at an early stage form a single manuscript. Another support for this argument is the fact that throughout, the rubrication of initials at the beginning of 'items' or their chapters is the same or highly similar. The initial is filled with two red or blue spirals (if a single-compartment initial) or with red or blue concentric semi-circles (if double-compartment; if without compartments, a square is drawn around the initial which is then filled in the same way). The initial is then 'blocked in' with a number of lines forming a square around it, and these lines extend

<sup>2</sup> Roger Sherman Loomis, *The Grail: From Celtic Myth to Christian Symbol* (Princeton, 1964, rpr. 1991), pp. 230-31. Z. Izydorzcyk, *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus. Texts, interpretations and contexts in Western Europe* (Tempe (Arizona), 1997).

<sup>3</sup> I am basing this reading of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* or *Acta Pilati* on M.R. James' translation and notes in *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924). URL: <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/gospelnicodemus.html>. Accessed 23.06.08. See also <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/actspilate.html>. Accessed 24.02.09.

into a spiral at the top left of the letter and a long 'tail' of flourishes into the left-hand margin. Also throughout, a black paragraph mark ('paraph.')

marks numerous verses and beginnings of sections. Save for the diagrams illustrating the *Image du Monde*, there are no further illustrations except for several maniculi in the *De miseria*, and on one page of this work, two rough pen and ink pictures of what appear to be priors or priests (with high hats rather than the bare heads that monks are normally shown with) looking at the text.

There is little if any evidence about Selden supra 74's origins. Oschinsky notes that some evidence connects Walter of Henley, a Dominican, with the Herefordshire and Gloucestershire region as well as with 'the Midlands' – a broad term.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that Walter de Bibbesworth, Walter of Henley and Nicole Bozon all knew each other's works.<sup>5</sup> Walter de Bibbesworth wrote the *Tretiz* almost certainly for an Essex noblewoman, Dionysia de Munchesny. Dionysia is thought to be identical with one Dionysia de Munchesny who appears in yearbook 22 (for 1294) of Edward I as a plaintiff in a marriage question, with the Archbishop of York acting as one witness for her.<sup>6</sup> Bozon, whose family was probably from Norfolk or Nottingham, studied in Stamford but may have written in the Nottingham region in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 'Simon of Carmarthen' was an Augustinian friar of whom nothing else is known; his poems are unique to Selden supra 74 and may hence indicate some connection of the manuscript with that region. The reference to the 'evesque dotours' (Bishop of Tours?) in 'Le mois de mai' might be a possible clue as to dating and provenance of this work; further research would be needed to assess the usefulness of this.

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<sup>4</sup> Oschinsky, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Oschinsky, p. 10 and also p. 44, '[T]he comparison of the three treatises shows that the authors knew each other's work. Some proverbs in *Walter* derived from Nicole Bozon's text and some lines in Walter of Bibbesworth's treatise show that he knew and referred to *Walter*.'

<sup>6</sup> See Baker, *Manual of Law French*, p. 24. The case is listed as Scipp No. 1294.063rs in the Scipp electronic catalogue of records from the yearbooks, based on Alfred J. Horwood, *Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First: Years XXI and XXII (1293-1294)*. Rolls Series No. 31, part A, vol. 2 (London 1873), pp. 388-393 (URL: <http://www.bu.edu/phpbin/lawyearbooks/search.php>). There is no other 'Dionysia' mentioned in the year books of Edward I.

1.3 Transcription and translation of 'Niule pecchere' in BL MS Arundel 288, fol. 126v

Niule pecchere ne puet faire peche si ordz  
 Si tost come il ceo repent & del tout sen resort  
 Q[u]e dieux ne lui perdon & q[u']il ne luy confort  
 Et pur ceo suffry dieux pur peccheours la mort.  
 Del enfaire as toutz ne se doit nul targer  
 Issi se puet chescuns des peynes descharger.  
 Et ceux q[u]i en enferne [-- ons s ----] nul recours  
 Des biens quilz auoient fait les puet moult allegier.  
 Pur ceo vous pur trestoutz lesser le mal ester  
 Ceo q[ue] auetz mesfaict peussetz del amender,  
 Ne continez en peche, peuffetz vous daprester,  
 Quant dieux pur vous vendra oue luy pussetz aller.  
 Sainct pier[re] lu Apestoille q[ui] taunt de poeste a  
 Et en ciel & en tere por trois faictz dieux nia  
 Cy nel anguisseyt de ryen por sapience affia'.  
 Puis plaïoust tendrement & dieux luy perdouna  
 Niul q[ue] perdoun' requer de bon cuer ny faudra.  
 Ne fust vnqes cy ne troue [ni] en escripture  
 Ke pecchere neyt mor s'il la desprist.  
 Mes s'il se desespere ou neye ou oset'  
 Ne puet auer perdoun quant peche en lespirit  
 Kar ceo peu ad dieux misericorde eslit.

*Translation:* No sinner can commit such a heavy sin  
 That, as soon as he repents, and leaves it entirely behind him,  
 God won't pardon him and comfort him  
 And it is for this reason that God suffered death for sinners.  
 No-one should delay about Hell  
 Because here everyone can be freed from its pains [*punishments*].  
 And those who in Hell do not [*choose?see?*] no recourse  
 Can be much helped by the good that they did [on Earth].  
 This is why you should stop sinning straight away  
 What you have already done wrong, you can amend,  
 Since if God wants this for you, you will be able to turn to him.  
 St Peter, the Apostle, who has so much power  
 both in Heaven and on Earth, denied God three times,  
 Here he was not anguished for nothing in order to secure wisdom  
 Then he wept tenderly, and God pardoned him  
 No-one who desires pardon in good faith will lack it.  
 Nor would there be anyone who won't find it written in Scripture  
 That a sinner won't have death if he prays for it [*beseeches it*]  
 But if he despairs, or denies it, or dares [?]  
 then he cannot be pardoned if he sins in his soul,  
 For he has not trusted [*lit. chosen*] enough in God's mercy.

1.4 Transcription of 'Si cum jeo ju' in BL MS Additional 46919 (fols. 76r-77v)

Notes:

I have expanded most of the abbreviations, the majority of which are conventional and consistent. The scribe usually, but not always, uses modern [v] and [u]; he varies between the use of [i] and [j] for modern [j]. I have modernised all these to be consistent. Letters in square brackets indicate my guesses as to what an abbreviation might stand for, and an apostrophe indicates an abbreviation sign that I have not interpreted.

The scribe precedes words which in modern usage begin with [o] or [au] with an [h], e.g. 'ho turment' (mod. 'au tourment'); he also consistently uses 'ren' for mod. 'rien'.

(fol. 76r)

1. [ S]icum jeo jo en un lit  
la voiz oy de un esperit,  
ke fu dampnee,  
pleder forment o sun cors  
ke fut au cymiter par dehors  
enterree.
  
2. lesperit vers le cors parla,  
e vilement le ledencha,  
et dit, 'alas,  
vous cheitif cors ke cy gisez,  
cum vous estez hore changez  
de haut en bas!
  
3. tut le pays vous honoura  
pur vostre richesse et douta  
en vostre vye.  
Nule sale vous fut trop grant,  
Nule role trop lusant  
pur seigneurie.'

(fol. 76v)

4. 'hore vous est pur sale baille  
set peez de tere mesure  
escarpement.  
une herre grosse et dure  
vous est livre pur vesture  
tant soulement.
  
5. plus ke deu le monde amastes,  
en vostre vie trop affiastes.  
ce vous deceut.  
e tut entendistes a charnel desir  
e la vous teni[s]tes sanz repentyr  
jour e nut.

6. maugre vostre hore auez p[riz]  
 a touz iours connge de vos deliz  
 sanz nul repeyre'  
 sa rendrez a moy Apres ceste heure  
 pur souffrir peyne ke touz jours dure  
 sanz nule espeyre.
7. une voiz oy cum fut du corps.  
 ne sai ke fut. e dit lors  
 a cel esperit:  
 'ke estes vous ke apertement  
 ma fole vye, ma fole entent[e]  
 si ben descryt?
8. estes vous meimes cel esperit  
 a quy ceo cors tant cum vesquist  
 fu mariee?'  
 'Oyl,' fet lautre, 'ieo la suy.  
 a mal heure a vous unkes  
 fu liee.
9. mout ful bele creature  
 kant deu me fist a sa semblure  
 ade p[rimes?].  
 Mes pus ke estey joynt a vous,  
 jeo suy devenu trop hydous  
 par vostre crime.'
10. le corps respont, [cy] ly dit  
 'ben savez ke par esperit  
 le cors est guye .  
 pur quey dounke assentites  
 a ma folye e suffrites  
 ma volente?'
11. 'vers est,' dit lesperit,  
 ke en ma garde deu vous mit  
 one resoun.  
 mes vostre charnel de/lit  
 bone aprise cont[er]dit  
 e resoun.'
12. Le corps respont: 'fu ceo reso[u]n  
 ke [---]aunte duzt dame de meisun  
 mestrier?  
 vous futes dame e ieo auncele!  
 ne dussez dounkes par resoun bele  
 me chastier?'

13. Lesperit respount 'jeo noy pouher  
defer' encontre vostre voler  
nule ren.  
vous me fuztes par tut contreire  
vous me sakastes ver la tere,  
maugre men!
14. fauce pite me deceut  
de vostre pleynte jour et nut [*sic*]  
ke vous me feytes.  
vous ne poyez matyn lever,  
ne vous poyez jeuuner [*sic*]  
ceo me doytes.
15. jeo blamay vostre leccherie  
et deytes ke ne poyez mie  
retenir!  
jeo fis souvouns de aumonie doner  
e vous deites ke voliez penser  
de vostre heyre!
16. hore avisez ke il vous fra:  
il ad vos benis e pensera  
de vous nule poynt.  
De sa tere une bouce par si  
ke fussez allege  
ne lesseyt point.
17. assez vous preche' de ben fere  
tant cum poez grante quiere  
du haut rey.  
hore est tens de merci passe  
et temps de vengeance presente  
a vous e mey!
18. jeo sent ma part greve et dure  
& vous le senterez apres ceste hure  
ensemble ou mey.  
Donkes sentiru[ns] durablement  
ke nos mesfeymes trop souent  
contre ley.'
19. Le corps respound: 'ke sentiray  
kant en pur[r]ite tut cherray  
e rien for cendre?'  
'Si freez certes,'  
dit lesperit,
- (fol. 77r)  
'vous releverez cum deu vous fist  
[ici] de cendre.

20. vil et chetif releverez,  
 ho corrupcion plus ke assez  
 au dreyt jour .  
 fus la terre esterrez  
 e vostre iuhise receverez  
 ho grant hidour .
21. le corps de seynz monterant  
 haut en leyr e verrunt  
 lur glorie.  
 e pur lour tensez receverunt  
 la joie durable bon serrount  
 en memorie.
22. mes nous cheitifs rep[ro]ves  
 serrount dounkes, e comaandez  
 hidousement  
 ho ceus ke serrunt en enfern .  
 bon ancient ne estut ver  
 for turment.'
23. 'Donke,' dit le cors en suspirant,  
 'est la peyne tut jours durant  
 hou a terme?'  
 'Hoyl,' dit le esperit, 'si chescun jour  
 lermissez de tristour  
 une lerne,
24. plus amountereit ke la mer  
 tant e' lungur [le] sojourner  
 en cele peyne.  
 ceynt mile aunz ne amountent  
 la endreit du tens ke apres rondra .  
 fors une symaigne.'
25. 'Il me semble,' fet le cors,  
 'ke deu se oblye e v[a] hors  
 de mesure,  
 kant pur peche court et bref .  
 doune peyne ke navera chef  
 a nul heure.'
26. 'Nanal vers!' dit le esperit.  
 'Si mauueis se repentesit  
 de sun peche,  
 e sa me [*s'ame, son ame*] amendeseit.,  
 il serreit sauve, deu le dit  
 e ceo est esprouvee.



27. mes cely ke met sun repos  
 en male vie e nad purpose  
 de amender sey,  
 il est dampnable, ben le sai,  
 et la verite esprouee le ai  
 en vous e may.
28. si touz jours husez hu [usez vous?] la vye  
 tous jours hussein [ussez?] mene[r] folie  
 a vostre gre .  
 dount deu ne prent mie tut au fet,  
 mes il regard hou plante est  
 la voluntee.
29. e kant voluntee fynt en mal,  
 deu met peine paringal  
 a pecchee.'
30. 'Et sunt les peynes mou[l]t greuouses ?'  
 'certis, cil e anguisouse  
 a demesure.'  
 'E tant me waut [vaut?]?', fet le corps,  
 'en haste morir?  
 mort sanz mort est nostre vie !  
 e vie sanz vie a nous se ad alie .  
 sanz partyr.'
31. 'E,' dit le corps, 'purreit estre  
 ke nul amy par chant de prestre  
 nous eydat?'  
 'Si chescun gute de la mer  
 fut vn chapeleyn pur chanter,  
 e chantat,
32. ne vaudreit rien,' dit lesperit .  
 'ade fere ke deu purvyt  
 maugre seen.  
 si tote la curt de c[i]el priast  
 deu pur changer nostre estat  
 ne freit ren.'
33. 'Hou est dounkes la grant douzur  
 ke lent preche du salveour?'  
 dit le corps.  
 'la grant douzur Ihu crist  
 ne meynt pas ho nous,' dit le esperit.
- (fol. 77v)  
 'se tyent de hors'

34. 'jeo voudrei mene [*mieux*]sa douzour ver'  
 por touz jours meindre en enfern,  
 ke de estre  
 en la joie de parais  
 sanz veer la beaute de noble vis  
 le jei celestre.

35. Nule peyne pusseit greuer  
 cely ke veit la sa face clere  
 adessement,  
 Ne nule joie solacereit celi  
 ke sa face ne veit  
 a sun talent .

(fol. 77v cont.)

36. Mes double dolour hore nous tenent :  
 joe perdue e peyne ke vynt  
 apres su[u]ant.  
 e nule raunsoun pur valer  
 a vous e mey de repeler  
 ceo couenaunt.'

37. 'Nule raunsoun ?!' fet le cors.  
 'moun testament du[n]t sert lors  
 ne put eider ?'  
 'Si, put,' fet lautre, 'a repentaunz  
 en purgatorie demoranz  
 pur eus purger.'

38. A cele parole getoit vn cry  
 li chetif corps e dit issi :  
 'allas !  
 Allas ke vnkes fu de mere nee !  
 de karite aye purchace  
 ne vaudra pas

39. a mou[n] hus ke ay deusee,  
 a poueres genz pur estre allegee  
 apres la mort ?'  
 'Certis,' fet lespirit.  
 'cel raunsoun vaut petit  
 conquis atort .

40. plus haut valit un payn donee  
 en vostre vie ben gaynnee  
 pur deu amur  
 ke cent quarters de furment  
 purchasee deleaument  
 l[u]y ceo iour.'

41. 'Dounke ne est autre,' fet le corps,  
 '[ke] de mort venyr a mort !  
 allas allas !  
 jeo fu deçu par le monde,  
 ke me ad mis si profunde  
 de haut en bas.
42. Autres seyent par mey gainnyz  
 auant ke seyent de tot honiz  
 e frount lur pr[oie ?].  
 la ren de mounde ke plus hay  
 si fut la mort kant nomer la oy  
 en nul lu.
43. ceo ke solei plus hair'.  
 est hore la chose ke plus desire .  
 alas alas !  
 Et touz iours uiuerai en dolour,  
 si ne auerai de nul socour  
 ne solaz.'
44. le cheitif corps ataunt se tut,  
 e ly esprit amenee fut  
 a sa peyne.  
 Ihore en pense chescun sage  
 de contergarder de hountage  
 sa uye demeyn.
45. e priums deu ke nos trespas  
 nos pardoyne et au solaz  
 nous amene,  
 hou jame[i]s ne cet homme las  
 de regarter sa bele face  
 de joie pleyne.  
 Amen.

## APPENDIX 2

### FRENCH DEBATES

#### 2.1 Five manuscripts containing 'Une grante vision' excluding BN MSS f.fr.24865 and f.fr.2198

##### Paris, BN MS f.fr. 957 (viewed as microfilm)

This is a vellum manuscript dating from the fifteenth century, which includes both 'vision literature' (*Les trois mors et les trois vifs*, the *Purgatoire S. Patrice* and 'Une grante vision') and didactic literature including the French version of Innocent III's *De miseria* and Guy de Rouy's *Doctrinal aux simples gens*,<sup>1</sup> besides meditations of St. Bernard and two poems on the necessity of chastising the body to save the soul ('Du despit du corps', a dialogue with the body, and 'Bon chatiement').<sup>2</sup> Some care has been taken with an introduction to the book on fol. 1r, also of the fifteenth century, which reads, 'Cy en ce petit volume sont plu[sieur]s liures qui/ traitent des nouuelletez & des ancienietes de ceste/ mortelle vie et des paines de purgatoire & de/ la glorie de lautre monde Et sensuit lystoire apres'. A much-corrected attempt at this title can be seen on the flyleaf opposite (fol. i(v)).<sup>3</sup> Under the title on fol. 1r is a half-page pen-and-ink drawing, uncoloured and framed, of a man preaching to

<sup>1</sup> This is a work that was commissioned by Gui de Rouy, Archbishop of Sens, before 1370; a later, amplified version was written by a monk of Cluny in 1389. It was wrongly attributed to Jean Gerson by Glorieux, Gerson's modern editor, and others. See Hasenohr, 'Reading', p. 217, n. 46.

<sup>2</sup> 'La nouuellete du monde', *incipit*: 'L'en dit comunement selon le monde que de nouvel tout est bel'; 'Le Livre de la vilte et misere de la condicion humaine' (*De miseria*, in French); Teachings of the philosophers, *incipit*: 'Talent m'estoit pris que je racomptasse l'enseignement des philesofes'; 'Le Doctrinal aus simples gens, fait et compille des souverains clers maistres en theologie a Paris', *incipit*: 'Du nom de Jhesu Crist ce est yci une belle doctrine pour briefmen et plainement enseigner les simples gens'; seven poems against the seven deadly sins; meditations of St Bernard, *incipit*: 'Mont de gens scevent molt de choses, mes il ne scevent pas eulx mesmez'; verses on 'La Vie et l'istoire du mauvais riche homme', *incipit*: 'Devant l'uis au riche homme le ladre s'aresta'; 'De la Faucete du monde', *incipit*: 'Le monde ses amis par trayson honneure'; 'Du Despit du Corps', *incipit*: 'Corps, en toy n'a point de savoir/Car tu convoites trop avoir' (fol. 120); 'Bon Chatiement', *incipit*: 'Je vois morir, venez avant/Tuit cil qui ores estes vivant'; 'Disputacion entre l'ame et le corps', *incipit*: 'Une grante vision' (fol. 127r); 'Les iii mors et les iii vifs', *incipit*: 'Ceste diverse portraiture/Nous presente une aventure'; 'Un tres bon Chastoiement pour .i. chascun', *incipit*: 'Se tu veulx a honneur venir'; 'Le purgatoire saint Patrice', *incipit*: 'Ou temps que saint Patrice le Grant preschoit en Irlain'.

<sup>3</sup> 'En ce petit volume vy sont plus[ieur]s petis tretis/cest assauoir La nouuellete du monde cypress/la villet vilte de condicion humaine cypress le/doctrinal des simples gens = le purgatoire S/patrice & plus[ieur]s autres petis tretis de puis /je ne sais'. There appears to follow a list, but this is very faint.

a crowd of men and women on the left; to the right is seen an old man leading a horse on which is seated a younger man. This is the only illustration in the manuscript, and may underline the didactic nature of its content. 'Une grante vision' on fols. 127r-131r is here given the title : 'Cest laltercation et disputacion entre lame et lecorps/ que lun separe de lautre en dampnacion sont livris/ a lautre reueleee a vn saint pardonne comme eretis [*heretics ?*] et racon/te ce que sensuit en dirent'.

Paris, BN MS f.fr.1055 (viewed as microfilm and in original)

This is a paper manuscript, 300 x 150 mm in size (paper size), in Latin and French.<sup>4</sup> It includes an extensive contemporary table of contents on fols. 3r-4v, the numeration of which the most recent paginators have adopted, somewhat confusingly, between fols. 5r and 64r, so that fol. 5r for example is also fol. 1r, although modern pagination is reverted to from fol. 65r. 'Une grante vision' begins on the actual fol. 64r; it is included in the table of contents as 'La vision dom philibet lermite du corps et delame'. The manuscript almost certainly comes from Cluny; a testament to the founder of that house, William, Duke of Aquitaine and Cluny, and his wife Ingelberg is written in Latin prior to the table of contents. The manuscript also contains verses about the abbots of Cluny and a Latin poem comparing the monastic life with a jousting tournament. Between these two items are four French texts: the 'Doctrinal aux simples gens', here attributed to Guy de Rouye, with a title recommending the use of the 'Doctrinal' by priests for teaching their parishioners; a declaration and complaint by the writer of the book; 'Une grante vision'; and a French and Latin poetic dialogue, 'Chorea machabre', beginning 'Angelus loquitur/Hec pictura decus, pompam, luxumque relegat'. The manuscript contains no illustrations, but the initial capitals on each page from fol. 3r onwards are historiated; the first initial following the dedication is a dentelle initial in gold, blue and red with marginal decorations in green,

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<sup>4</sup> 'Testamentum seu donatio Guillermi, ducis Actquitanorum, de loco Cluniacensi', incipit : 'Cunctis sane considerantibus liquet quod ita Dei dispensacio' ; table of contents ; 'De abbatibus Cluniacensibus', incipit : 'Petrus cum Paulo prothomartir Stephanus egro' ; 'Le Doctrinal des simples gens', incipit : 'Ce qui est en ce petit livre doivent enseigner les prestres a leurs paroissiens' ; 'Le miroir du corps et de l'ame', incipit : 'Ungne [sic] grant vision' ; 'Chorea Macabre' ; song in which the monastic life is compared to a tournament, incipit : 'Quando video in choro conventum'.

blue, red and yellow, mostly of flowers including *fleurs de lys*. The writing is in a large cursive bookhand very difficult to decipher.

Paris, BN MS fr.fr.1181 (viewed as microfilm)

This is a neat, fifteenth-century paper manuscript containing numerous works in French giving advice on different types of good behaviour and on moral comportment, often mentioning this explicitly in either text or title.<sup>5</sup> The catalogue notes that a previous foliation implies the loss of fols. 1r-14v, 51r-v, 63r-69v, 158r-v, 160r-v, 161r-v and 163r-v, and that the manuscript is incomplete at the end. 'Une grante vision' is found on fols. 114r-120v. It follows a supernatural tale, unique to this manuscript, of how 'St Amadour' delivered his mother from purgatory (fols. 109v-114r);<sup>6</sup> and precedes the 'Complainte de l'ame damnée', the 'XV signes du Jugement' and the 'Danse macabre'.

Following a table of contents on the fol. 1r (modern folio numbers), all the items are set out in the same manner, written in single columns. In the first items (up to and including the 'Dits des Philosophes'), each poem is divided into monorhymed quatrains, in a neat, elaborate secretary hand. There are very few amendments to the texts and they present as a collection made for a specific patron or for an author's own use. The lack of illustration or illumination appears to preclude a book made for sale and there are no gaps implying a planned future illustration of the book.

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<sup>5</sup> Ballad, 'Ainsi devient le varlet maistre'; 'Contenances de la table', on table manners, *incipit*: 'Enfant qui veult estre courtoys'; ballad on praying for the dead, *incipit*: 'Prie Dieu pour les trespassez'; other treatises on table manners, *incipit*: 'Se tu veulz estre bien courtois'; 'Regime pour tous serviteurs', *incipit*: 'Se tu veulz bon serviteur estre'; 'Regime' (*Enseignements moraux*) by Christine de Pizan for her son 'pour l'induire en bonnes meurs', *incipit*: 'Mon filz, je n'ay pas grant tresor'; 'Les Enseignements de monseigneur saint Bernard, contenant le regime de toutes manieres de gens', *incipit*: 'Plusieurs foys par escript tu m'as fait demander'; 'Dits des Philosophes', *incipit*: 'Morir convient, c'est chose dure'; Complaint of François Garin of Lyon (incomplete), *incipit*: 'Trop en aucuns de mon avoir' (no title in manuscript); the Ten Commandments of the Law; the Five Commandments of the Church; the Twelve Articles of Faith; 'L'orologe de la Passion Jhesu Crist'; meditations on the Passion; the Hours of the Cross; the Hours of the Cross at matins; the Seven Penitential Psalms; the Litanies; How St Amadour delivered his mother's soul from purgatory, *incipit*: 'Se le monde fust tel, comme il estoit jadis'; 'La Vision de Dam Philebert, hermite, contenant le debat et disputacion du corps et de l'ame', *incipit*: 'Une grante vision'; 'Complainte de l'ame damnée', *incipit*: 'Helas! helas et plus que helas!'; 'Les quinze signes du jugement', *incipit*: 'Au temps que Dieu jugier vouldra'; the 'Danse Macabre aux hommes', *incipit*: 'Vous faictes l'esbahy, ce semble'.

<sup>6</sup> Thierry-Stanton, p. 349.

The 'Dits des Philosophes' are supposed sayings by Plato, Aristotle, Solomon, David, Hippocrates, Seneca, Tullius, Virgil, Julius Caesar, Cato, Isidore and Augustine and focus on the dangers of love (for the world, the flesh or other people) and the necessity of self-knowledge and self-restraint, e.g. 'Mieux vault assez conquoistre soy/Qu'estre pape, empereur ou roy' (It's better to conquer oneself/Than to be pope, emperor or king'). Together with the works intended to teach good manners, and especially 'Christine de Pizan's' book of good conduct addressed to her son, this would seem to suggest both a knowledge (or desired knowledge) of Classical authors, used to shape Christian ends, and a book intended for worldly use; perhaps the address to a 'son' is also echoed in the story of St Amadour and his mother; the story is unique to this manuscript, which may suggest a fictitious story written specifically for the recipient of the MS.

Paris, BN MS f.fr.1505 (not seen)

I can say little about this manuscript as I was unable to view it. It is said to date from the fifteenth century and is of paper; the first work in the manuscript, 'Le livre du chevalier de la Tour' is dated at 1361. This and the subsequent item in the manuscript, the story of Griselda, appear to be addressed directly to women or to men who wish to provide them with examples of a virtuous life: the book of the Chevalier of La Tour is written 'pour l'enseignement des femmes mariees ou a marier', and the story of Griselda (translated from Petrarch's version) is also entitled: 'A l'exemple des femmes mariees et autres a marier'. This precedes the story of Placidus (St Eustace), one of the fourteen 'helper saints', who was known for his vision of a white stag bearing the *arma Christi*. 'Une grante vision' is the final item in the manuscript.

Paris, BN MS fr.fr.22436 (viewed as microfilm)

This is a fifteenth-century paper manuscript of 160 leaves, predominantly in French with some Latin texts.<sup>7</sup> The catalogue states that it is a large manuscript (260 x 205 mm) and

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<sup>7</sup> 'Le livre des parties d'Oultre mer', translation of part of John Mandeville's *Travels*. Scribe/copyist gives author's name as 'Ogier de Caumont, en la cite de Liege' 'et finy le penultieme jour de juillet l'an mil CCC

that it was acquired by the monastery of St Victor in 1424 (from an inscription on fol. 62r: 'Hunc librum acquisivit monasterio Sancti Victoris prope Parisius frater Johannes Lamasse, dum esset prior ejusdem ecclesie. Scriptum anno Domini 1424'). It is a crowded, highly varied manuscript, using differently laid out conjunctions of text and image, and with a strong emphasis on the name of Jesus. It includes a long excerpt from Mandeville's *Travels*, but translated into French; the colophon to this (also on fol. 62r) gives the provenance of the translator as 'Ogier de Caumont' of Liege. A further note on fol. 105v concerns one 'Jehan le Mire' 'former treasurer of the wars' ('Jehan Le Mire, jadis tresorier des guerres'); this is dated 1339.

The manuscript is almost certainly of monastic/University and Parisian origin. Besides numerous prayers in both Latin and French, it contains a large number of misogynistic texts, some by Jean de Meun, on the dangers of sex and women, besides his *Testament*, which as we have seen also occurs in another probably monastic manuscript of 'Une grante vision', Paris, BN MS f.fr. 2198. Like BN f.fr. 24865, too, it ends with a note of indulgences given by Pope John XXII, although this time for saying the Hours of the Cross; directly related to the reader's use of the manuscript for devotional purposes.

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IIIxx et XVI'; prayer to the Virgin; 'Dit de la rose' in honour of the Virgin; 'Les peines d'enfer' (fol. 67v); Latin treatise on 'degradatione et combustione quorundam fratrum ordinis Predicatorum' (a treatise against friars preaching?); 'Pater Noster' and 'Ave Maria' in Latin and French verse; Latin verses on the pleasure of drink; Latin statute on the Immaculate Conception (catalogue dates this to 1497); French version of 'Ave Maris stella'; Latin verses on the sayings of St. Bernard, *incipit*: 'Si vis esse cenobita/Hujus vite vitam vitta'; treatise beginning 'Clericus sic ethimologizatur'; Latin exposition of teachings of 'Almalarius' on the 'two weeks of Christ's passion' (fol. 83r); Latin expositions on 'Pater Noster' and 'Credo'; Table of the Christian Faith, in Latin; notes on the calculation of dates and times, in Latin; prayer to the Virgin, in French verse; 'Une grante vision' (fols. 95r-99r); French prayers to the Virgin; note mentioning 'Jehan le Mire'; Poem, 'La maison de sapience'; Poem on Christ's death; Poem about those who refuse to take in Christ; Latin verses in honour of John the Baptist; 'Missa pro evitanda mortalitate' by Pope Clement VI; Jean de Meun, *Testament* (fols. 115r-130v); 'Roman de Fauvel' by Gervais Du Bus; *L'Evangile des fames*, *incipit* 'Quicumque veult mener pure et sainte vie/Si a[uer]?t famez, et croye, et du tout s'i affie'; four further pieces, in French and Latin, against women and sexual love; 'L'oraison que maistre Jehan de Meun fist'; prayer, in French, but appears to be 'Latinised'; the Hours of the Cross with a note specifying the indulgence that can be obtained by saying them as decreed by Pope John XXII; prayer to the Virgin.



## 2.2 Codicological description of Paris, BN MS f.fr.24865

**Paris, BN MS f.fr.24865 – Manuscript contents**

[http://www.bnf.fr/pages/zNavigat/frame/catalogues\\_num.htm](http://www.bnf.fr/pages/zNavigat/frame/catalogues_num.htm)

Henri Omont, C. Couderc, L. Auvry and Ch. de la Roncière, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français. Anciens petits fonds français nos. 22885-25696, par C. Couderc et Ch. de la Roncière* (Paris, 1902), pp. 459-61.

- (a) Fols. 1r-17r, 'Vita beati Quintini, martyris'.  
 (b) Fols. 18r-25r, 'Inventio beatissimi martyris Firminii'.  
 [Fol. 25v blank]  
 (c) Fols. 26r-40r, 'La vie et la passion de madame saintte margeurite', *incipit* 'Après la saintte passion/Jhesuscrist a l'Ascension'.  
 (d) Fol. 40v, 'Passion selon S. Jehan', *incipit* 'In principio erat verbum'.  
 (e) Fols 41r-57r, 'Adieu s'en va a mort amere'. Passion of Christ in French.  
 (f) Fols. 57r-61r, 'De les la croix moult douloureuse'. Prayers to Our Lady.  
 (g) Fol. 61v-63v, 'Devot dittie compose en l'onneur de madame saintte Barbe', *incipit* 'Je te salue, espouse de Jhesucrist/Sainte barbe qui souffreis grief torment' plus prayers to S. Barbara in Latin.  
 (h) Fol. 63v, 'Les joyes madame sainte Katherine', *incipit* 'Gaude, dulcis Katherina virgo'.  
 (i) Fols.64r-65r, 'Antaine de saint Pierre et saint Pol', prayers in Latin but with introductions in French to to saints Peter, Paul and Michael, and to Jesus.  
 (j) Fols. 65v-68v, 'Devote oraison a Nostre Dame', 'Glorieuse vierge pucelle'.  
 (k) Fol. 69r, ' Commemoracion de sainte Appoline vierge', 'Sancta Appolonia fuit virgo'.  
 (l) Fols. 69v-73v, 'Devot dittier de Monsieur saint christofle', 'Saint christofle, martir tres doulx'.  
 (m) Fols.74r-89r, 'La vie de madame saintte Christine, vierge & amie de dieu', *prologue* 'S'ensuit la vie et la legende de madame saintte christine/Mise en franchois pour qu'on entende', *incipit* 'Urbain estoit nomme son pere/Seigneur payen en ytalie'.  
 [Fol. 89v blank]  
 (n) Fols. 90r-110r, 'La vie monseigneur saint hildevert', *incipit* 'Dieu, le puissant pere de gloire'.  
 (o) Fols. 111r-174r, 'La passion de nostre seigneur', *incipit* 'Bonne gent, plaise vous attraire/Je prie la vierge debonnaire'.  
 [Fols. 174v-117v blank]  
 (p) Fols. 178r-185v, 'La disputacion du corps et de l'ame en forme de dyalogue', *incipit* 'Une grante vision en ceste livre est escripte'.  
 (q) Fols. 186r-197r, 'Hanc saluti ferie orisone sub scriptam', Latin orison to Our Lady said to give the devotee an indulgence of 7 years, *incipit* 'Salve mater misericordie'.  
 (r) Fols. 197r-198v, 'Stabat mater dolorosa', prayer to Mary.  
 (s) Fols. 199r-200r, 'Cy sensuit vng deucz duitiez de saint christofle', *incipit* 'Saint christofle martir tresdoulx' (not included in BNF catalogue). Cf. fols. 69v-73v.  
 (t) Fol. 200v, 'Doulx ihu crist filz dieu le pere', prayer to Jesus for protection.  
 [Fols. 201r-v blank]  
 (u) Fols. 202r-221r, *Mirouer des pecheurs*, 'Cy commence vng sermon translate/ de latin en francois appelle le/mirouer de pecheurs', 'Mes tres chiers freres, nous somme en ce

monde’.

(v) Fols. 221v-235v, ‘Le jardin amoureux, par maistre Jehan Jarson’, ‘De la sainte ame qui de joye chante’.

[Fols. 236r-237v blank]

(w) Fols. 238r-244v, ‘An de l’incarnacion nostre Seigneur Jhesucrist mil qu’cent et xxii’. Summary, in French, of papal privileges accorded to the Celestins, written in January 1422.

Paris f.fr.24865 is a small, thick paper book of 245 leaves, now bound in leather, and ruled in single lines with large margins.<sup>1</sup> The number of lines per page varies between 19 and 20. The manuscript falls distinctly into three sections, which I will here call 1, 2 and 3 for ease of reference. The relationship of these sections, however, is not easily defined. Although they appear to be very different, there are some technical similarities which pose interesting questions. For example:

- Hand B in Section 2 uses a distinctive form of capital [R] in the middle of sentences, where capitals are otherwise unused, although only when writing in French.
- However, the Latin of Hand A in Section 1 also tends to use capital [R]s mid-sentence.
- Hand B, like Hand A, writes a thick slanting tail to medial [s] and [f] but unlike Hand A also writes a noticeably straight [l] with two ‘spikes’ on its left, and a small [v] with virtually no flourish on it.
- Some of the decoration of letters – e.g. stroking letters in yellow – common in section 2 is also found in section 1; this may however only point to a more generalised decorative practice.

### 2.2.1. Section 1, fols. 1r-25v: Lives of St Quentin and St Firminius

Section 1 is written in a single hand (Hand A), in Latin only, and extends from fols. 1r-25v. It consists of two *vitae* of male saints, Quentin and Firminius, both of whom are associated closely with the city of Amiens, and both of whom were also martyrs, a motif

<sup>1</sup> Page: 142 x 106mm; written space: 109 x 65 mm.

echoed in the saints' lives in Section 2.<sup>2</sup> Hand, decoration and structure all point to these first two items forming one 'section' to fol. 25v, but it should be noted that the *vita* of St Quentin may, too, have originally been created as a single booklet, as it ends at the fifteenth line of fol. 17, followed by an unidentified sign, possibly of the writer or the place, and then a blank verso folio.

The *vita* of St Quentin and 'Inventio' (literally 'finding', here the miracle) of St Firminius share a clearly identical hand and type of decoration. The hand is a Latin, somewhat messy (although largely uncorrected) secretary hand with a distinctively thick tail to medial [s] and [f], a straight [l] with a looped ascender to the right and a single-compartment [a]. The ascender of [b] is looped to the right to meet its compartment, but that of [d] is unlooped. There is also a distinctive form of capital [R] in the middle of sentences, where capitals are otherwise unused (despite Hand B's other differences to Hand A, Hand B shares this characteristic when writing in French). Titles and section headings and some initial capitals of both works are rubricated, with the use of black 'shadowing' to create a three-dimensional effect on some letters, and there is a clear use of sentence structure, with full-stops followed by a capital letter stroked in yellow throughout the two texts. The use of yellow to 'stroke' words and/or letters is also found in 'section 2' of the manuscript, especially in the 'Jardin amoureux de l'ame'. Section 1 contains the only two illustrations in the manuscript; the first letter of fol. 14v (Incipit) is illustrated with a picture of a bearded man's head, in profile; this is repeated in a similar way, with less elaboration, at fol. 22v.

The first capital letters of each of the two works ('Sanctus' and 'Quoniam' respectively) are elaborately decorated in red and black with a spray of leaves in the centre of the initial and with long 'tails' of sprays in red extending down into the left-hand margin; the ascenders of letters in the top line of writing extend into the top margins. The red 'filler' decoration for the ends of lines used throughout Section 2 is not used in Section 1 at all,

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<sup>2</sup> St Firminius was said to have been bishop of Amiens in the fourth century before being martyred there; see : <http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/santiago/cernferm.html>, accessed 16.03.08. St Quentin, like Firminius a Roman citizen, was also martyred in Amiens after having brought the Gospel to Picardy. See Hasenohr and Zink, p. 1349, and J. Corblet, *Hagiographie du diocese d'Amiens* (Amiens, 1873).

and the writer of fols. 1r-25v has used 20 of 21 ruled lines, as opposed to normally 19 of 20 in Section 2.

Hand, decoration and structure, therefore, all point to these first two items forming a single section to fol. 25v, but it should be noted that the *vita* of St Quentin may, too, have originally been created as a single booklet, as it ends at the fifteenth line of fol. 17, followed by a 'sign', possibly of the writer or the place, and then a blank verso folio.

2.2.2. Section 2, fols. 26r-235v: *vitae*, meditations and prayers in Latin and French; 'Une grante vision', *Mirour des pecheurs*, and the 'Jardin amoureux de l'âme'

Section 2 is noticeably different. From fol. 26r-89r, a new hand (Hand B) takes over with much smaller first initials that do not extend into the margins, although these and the titles of the works are still written in red. This is a bastard secretary hand with straight unlooped ascenders; like Hand A, it writes a thick slanting tail to medial [s] and [f] but unlike Hand A writes a noticeably straight [l] with two 'spikes' on its left, and a small [v] with virtually no flourish on it. [a] and [e] are both single compartment and the compartment of the [p] is not always closed. There is no decoration either in the upper or side margins except for the occasional use of the trefoil and, in items by Hand B, the words 'Ihu' and 'Maria' in the top margin. The line fillers are the same throughout this section, a red 'infinity' sign with a black dot in each 'compartment'. Hand B appears to return at fol. 178r and continue until fol. 200v.

Possibly, a new hand (Hand B-1) may begin on fol. 90r, after a blank page (fol. 89v) but on the same bifolium, although this may also be a less formal variant of Hand B. Hand B-1, like Hand A, uses 21 lines to write on, and is a rounded, almost 'joined up' hand that slants somewhat to the right: tails of the [g] and [y] are long, and slant strongly in a shallow line to the left before making a final hook to the right. Descenders and ascenders are otherwise on the whole straight with no decoration; [q] has a straight-down tail with no hooks and [f] sits on the line with an unusually high and round curve to the right that extends over and down to the next letter. In addition, the pages written by Hand B-1

contain three-line-high spaces for historiated initials that have not been filled in, although at some points, a hand has 'scribbled in' either the usual line fillers or other wavy lines to fill up the space. There are rubricated superscripts written next to these gaps in somewhat larger writing.

If Hand B-1 is a different hand to Hand B, then this would indicate a fourth 'section' at fols. 90r-175r, especially as these are also marked at either end by blank folios. The scribe of Hand B-1 may well have envisaged that his/her work would finish the book at fol. 174r, where the poem on the Passion ends at line 7 in the usual neat handwriting, followed by what looks like a colophon with letters that are twice as big (and increase in size) and spread out to take up two ruled lines per line of text; this ends with the words 'Deo gracias' on the last line of the page. In addition, five blank pages follow (174v-177v) before the body-soul debate begins on fol. 178r. However, the latter is certainly by Hand B, which hand then continues until fol. 200v. Fols. 200r-201v are blank and the hand of *Mirour des pecheurs*, fols. 201r-221r, and 'Jardin amoureux de l'ame', is very faded but is certainly different from Hand B; I designate this Hand C. 'Une grante vision' is on fols. 178r-185v, after the saints' lives and before the two longer vernacular texts, but preceded by five blank folios, as noted above. The poem is written in long lines across the page, using 19 lines, with the use of rubrication for the title and superscripts such as 'le corps respond'. Red has also been used in the top margin on fol. 178r, where although cut, the words 'ihu' and 'M[aria]' can be made out together with the trefoil symbol typical for this manuscript. Red line fillers have been used as in the rest of the manuscript, but these are seldom required; the scribe frequently runs 'off the line' as these are too short for the verses, and uses numerous abbreviations. A distinctive dialectic feature is the use of 'ai' for modern 'a' (*oultraige* for *oultrage*, *aige* for *age*, *saige* for *sage*, etc), which Vising associates in Anglo-Norman with south-west French dialects.<sup>3</sup> This spelling is also used occasionally by Hand C, for instance at fol. 222r.

Section 2 contains no illustrations of any kind; nor does Section 3, fols. 238r-244v, which appears to be from a later date. It is written in a fourth hand (Hand D), in French and some Latin.

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<sup>3</sup> Johann Vising, *Anglo-Norman Literature* (London, 1923), p. 32.

### 2.3 Transcription of ‘Une grante vision’ in Paris, BN MSS f.fr.2198 and 24865 compared with the printed edition (1862)

#### Preliminary notes

My transcriptions here aim to provide the reader with the background information necessary to understand my discussions of ‘Une grante vision’ and its manuscript contexts in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Paris, BN MS f.fr.24865 – the subject of my case study in Chapter 2 – is here used as a ‘control’ to examine two important sets of differences: firstly, differences to the printed edition (which does not name its source) and secondly, differences to the text of BN f.fr.2198, a unique version of the poem. .

There is no clue in any manuscript (or in the 1862 edition) as to what source(s) were used for the 1486 print. This raises the question as to whether they were working from more than one manuscript, and, as I suggest in the chapter, whether they added in original text themselves. Again, although the 1862 editors are said (in the facsimile of 1994) only to have added in what they considered technical alterations, questions necessarily arise as to what these alterations entailed. To compare an edition which itself is ‘uncritical’ and does not name its source, with a manuscript varying considerably from it, is a doubly difficult kind of transcriptive work. For instance, do potential mistakes on the part of the 1862 editors imply that the manuscript source also contained these ‘errors’ or are they more modern discrepancies? I have resisted the temptation to correct the 1862 edition, which was nonetheless helpful to me in deciphering the hands of the two manuscripts.

Readers should note that in neither manuscript does the scribe divide the poem into stanzas; I have done so, however, both for ease of reading and ease of comparison with the printed version, which does divide up the poem in such a way.

#### 1. Notes on the transcriptions of ‘Une grante vision’ in BN f.fr. 2198 in comparison with the printed version.

My system here was to copy out the printed version, adding in bold words that occur in BN f.fr. 2198 and not in the printed version, and italicizing words and line numbers that occur in the printed version but not in BN f.fr. 2198. Hence, words/verses in ‘normal’ script are those of the printed version that have a semantically similar (although not necessarily orthographically identical) correspondence in Paris f.fr. 2198. Folio numbers in bold refer to Paris f.fr. 2198, as do line numbers where these do not correspond with the printed version. I have limited my indications of difference to significant differences in words, phrases or verses. I have not made a minute study of differences in orthography or relatively insignificant differences in grammar or phraseology. This is therefore not a full

diplomatic transcription; my aim is to provide a helpful point of reference for my chapter which discusses possible scribal intentionality and overall differences in the poem's manuscript version.

## 2. Notes on the transcription of 'Une grante vision' in Paris f.fr. 24865

This transcription of 'Une grante vision' in Paris f.fr. 24865 aims to be a complete and accurate transcription, slightly edited to make the sense clear to the reader. I have here expanded the numerous abbreviations, of which several are in the Latin tradition (hence [ ] for 'com' or 'cum', [ ] for 'ser'). 'Que' and 'qui', etc, are frequently but not always abbreviated to 'q'. I have here expanded them in such a way as to give the grammatical sense. Similarly, I have added punctuation, especially apostrophes, where reading the poem would otherwise be difficult. However, I have attempted to keep additional punctuation to a minimum, as no consistent system (e.g. virgules for questions) is evident from the text.

<> indicates a marginal word.

\* indicates the use of the trefoil.

Letters and/or words in square brackets [ ] indicate my guess at a letter/word I was unable to read (usually due either to margins having been cut or damaged, or to the illegibility of the microfilm copy).

I have not given line numbers to superscripts.

### 1. Printed edition compared with Paris f.fr. 2198

- 1 Une grant vision la quelle est cy escripte  
Jadis fut réuelée a Philibert le hermite  
Homme de sainte vie et de si grant mérite  
Qu'onques ne fut par luy faulse parole dicte.
- 5 Venuz estoit au siècle de grant extraction  
Mais pour fuir le monde et sa décepcion

### 2. Transcription of 'Une grante vision' in Paris f.fr. 24865

[Fol. 178r top margin: < \*ihs\* m[aria]\*>]

Cy sensuit la disputacion du corps et de l'ame en  
forme de dyalogue

- 1 Une grande vision en ce liure est escripte  
Grant temps est reuelee al dan hubert hermite  
Lui fut vng si sains homps et de si grant merite  
Qu'onques par luy ne fust faulse parole dicte.
- 5 Il estoit quant au siecle de grant astraction  
Mais pour fuyr le monde et sa decepcion

- Quant luy fut réuelée la dicte vision  
Tantost deuint ermite par grant deuocion.
- 9 La nuit quant le corps et l'ame souuent veille  
Aduint a ce preudomme tres grande merueille  
Car un corps murmurant sentoit a son oreille  
Et l'ame d'aulture part que du corps ses merueille.
- 13 L'ame se plaint du corps et de son grant outrage  
Le corps respont que l'ame a fait tout ce dommage  
Lors allèguent raison, lors allèguent usage  
Tout ce retient l'ermite comme preudomme et sage.
- 17 Hée, doulant corps, dit l'ame, quel es tu deuenu  
Tu estoie devant hier pour sage homme tenu  
Deuant toi s'enclinoient le grant et le menus  
Or es soudainement a grant honte venu.
- 21 **Le monde te portoit reuenu & honeur  
Les granz & les petiz te tenoient en seigneur  
N'a auoit nilz si grant quil n'eust de toy paour  
Or as du tout perdu en glorie & en ualour.**
- 21 *Ou sont tes grans maisons et tes grans edifices  
Tes cheuaux et tes tours faictes par artifices  
Tes gentilz escuiers mis en diuers offices  
Tout seul ès demouré comme musart et nice.*

Quant li fut reuelee la dicte vision  
Tantost deuint hermite par grant deuocion.

- 9 L'ame se plait du corps et de ses grans oultraiges  
Le corps respont que l'ame a fait tous ses dommaiges  
Or alleguent raisons or alleguent usaiges  
Tout se retient l'ermite come proudoms et saiges.

[in same line as following verse : l'ame parle au corps]

- 13 Ha dolent cops [*sic*] dit l'ame qu'estu ors deuenus  
Tu estoies lautre iour pour saige homs tenus  
Deuant toy senclinoient les grans & les menus  
Or es soudaniement a grant honte venus.

[Fol. 178v]

- 17 Le monde te portoit reuerance et honneur  
Les grans et les petiz te tenoient seigneur  
Il ny auoit si grant qui n'eust de toy paour  
Or est du tout perdue ta gloire et ta valeur.
- 21 Ou sont tes maisons et tes grans edifices  
Tes palais et tes tours paintes par artifices  
Tes gentilz escuiuers mis e diuers offices  
Tout seul es demoures come musart et nice.



- 25 *Ou sont tes nobles fiés, tes haultes signories  
Et tant de beaux manoirs, toutes tes métairies  
De tes bêtes à corne les grandes bergeries  
Rentés et reuenues qu'on te souloit paiés.*
- 29 *Tu soloye dominer sur aultres comme roy  
Maintenant ont les vers la signorie de toy  
Tu es bien renuersé et mis en désarroy  
Car tu n'as de tous biens la valeur d'un tournoy.*
- 33 *On estimoit ton fait hier une grant besoingne.  
Qui s'aprochoit de toy maintenant s'en esloigne  
Car tu ès de plus puanz que quelconque charoingne.  
Nully ne te regarde qui n'ait de toy vergoingne.*
- 37 (25) Bien est le temps changé et la chance muée  
En lieu de grant maison et de chambre parée  
Entre sept piés de terre est ta char enserrée  
Et moy pour tes meffais en enfer suis damnée.
- 41 (29) Moy que Dieu auoit faicte tant noble créature  
De trèsnoble matière et de noble figure :  
Il m'auoit par baptesme faicte innocente et pure  
Par toy suis en péché par toy suis en ordure.
- 33 **De tres noble matiere de tresnoble faiture**  
45 Par toy dolant char suis de dieu [*refusée*] **reprouee**  
Por quoy bien dire puis : a quoy fu oncques nee  
Mieux me vaulsist assez que fusse anichilée ?  
[*Ou du ventre ma mère au sépulcre portée.*]

- 25 Bien est le des change et ta chance mue  
En lieu de grant palais et de chambre parée  
Entre vii. piés de terre est ta char  
Et ie pour tes meffais suis en enfer dampnee
- 29 Et qui dieu auoit fait a la noble creature  
De tresnoble matiere de tres noble figure  
Qui l'auoit par baptesme facte innocente & pure  
Par toy suis en peche par toy suis en ordure.
- 33 Par toy dolente char suis de dieu Reprouiee  
Pour ce puis ie dire helas pour quoy fu onquez nee  
Mielx me vausist asses que fusse adnichilee  
Que du vestre maniere on sepulcre boictee

**Or puis dire helas poir quoy fu onque nee  
Mieux me vausist ussesque fusse a enchilee.**

- 49 (37) Tout comme as vescu en la mortele vie  
De toy bien ne me vint ne de ta compagnie  
A péché m'as atraite et a faire folie  
Dont j'en suis en grant peine, et tu n'y faudras mie.
- 53 *La peine que je endure surmonte tout martyre  
Que cueur pourroit penser ne langue saroit dire  
Sans confort, sans remede, a durer tend et tire  
Quant peine tousjours dure il n'est mal qui soit pire.*
- 57 *Ou sont tes champs, tes vignes, tes terres cultivées  
Tes maisons, tes chevaux et haultes tours levées  
Tes pierres précieuses, tes couronnes dorées  
De l'or et de l'argent les sommes emboursées ?*
- 61 *Ou sont tes lictz de plume et tes beaux couverteurs  
Tes robes a rechange sur estranges couleurs  
Les especes confites pour diuerses saueurs  
Tes coupes et hennaps pour seruir grans seigneurs ?*
- 65 *Ou sont tes esperuiers et tes nobles oyseaux  
Tes braches tes leuriers courans par les bois haulx ?  
En lieu de sauuagine et daultre gras morceaulx  
Est ta char cy endroit viande aux vermiceaux.*

- [Fol. 179r]
- 37 Tant que tu as vescu en ceste mortelle vie  
Par toy ben ne me vint ne de ta compagnie  
A peche m'as atrait et a faire folie  
Dont nous serons en paine que ne nous faudra mie.
- 41 Nostre panie[sic] sourmonte le mal et le martire  
Que coeur puelt penser et que langue peut dire  
Sans confort et remede toutes heures empire.  
*[line omitted]*
- 44 Ou sont tes champs, tes pres, tes vignes coultiuees,  
Tes maisons tes palais tes tours grans esleues,  
Tes pierres precieuses tes couroyes dores,  
Ton or et ton argent qu tu as enbourses.
- 48 Ou sont tes lis de plum, tes nobles couiertours,  
Tes robes a rechange sur estrange couleurs,  
Les especes confites en diuerses sauours,  
Les coupes, les hennaps pour seruir beuours.
- 52 Ou sont tes gentilz espiuers & tes nobles oyseaulx  
Tes biches et tes leurieus courans par les boys haulx  
En lieu de sauuagine et de tes grans morseaux  
Est ta char maintenant viande a vermiseaulx.

69 *Le toit de ta maison enuers toy fort saprouche  
Car tu giez sur le bas, le hault joint a ta bouche  
Tu n'as membre sur toy qui n'ait aucun reprouche  
Os, char et cuir pourrit, tu n'as dent qui ne louche.*

73 *Ce qu a par péché par long temps amassé  
Par force, et par rapine, par serment faulsé  
Par peine, par labeur, par toy mesme lasse  
En une petite heure est ensemble passé.*

77 *Tu n'euz oncques parens ne amis en ta vie  
Qui n'ait horreur de toy et de ta compagnie  
Ta femme, tes enfants et toute ta maignie  
Ne donneroient pour toy une pomme pourrie.*

81 *Ilz se passent de toy moult bien légèrément  
Car ilz ont maintenant tout en gouvernement  
Ton or et ton argent et tout ton tènement  
Tu n'as de demourant fors que ton dampnement.*

85 *De toute ta richesee, de toute ta substance  
Que tu leur as lessez en très grande habundance  
Ne donneroient pour toy ne pour ta deliurance*

*Pour un pour homme auoir ung jour sa substance.*

89 *Or peut doncques dolent corps sentir et prouuer*

[Fol. 179v]

58 *Le toit de ta maison vers toy molt fort s'aproche  
Pour le[o ?]s pares tres basses le toit joint a ta bouche  
Ou char ou cuour pouirest mal dent que ne louche  
Tu n'as membre sur toy qui n'ait aucun reproche.*

62 *Ce que tu as par peche pur long temps amasse  
Par fraudes, par fallaces, par serment fausse  
Par paine, par labeur & par ton corps lasse  
En vne petite heure est ensemble passe.*

66 *Tu n'as onques amy ne parent en ta vie  
Qui n'eust de toy horreur et de ta compaignie  
Ta feme, tes enffans, tes seruans, ta maignie,  
Ne doinroient pour toy vne pomme pourrie.*

70 *Ilz se passent de toy or moult legierement  
Car ilz ont maintenant en leur commandement  
Ton or & ton argent et ton grant tenement.  
Tu n'as de Remenant fors que ton dampnement.*

74 *De toutes tes richesses, de toute ta substance  
Que tu leur as laisse en molt grant habundance  
Ne doinroient pour toy ne pour ta deliurance*

[Fol. 180r]

*Dont vng posure [for pouuvre ?] peust auoir peu de  
substance*

78 *Or pens, dolente char, sentir et esprouer*

*Pour quoy on doit le monde fuir et réprouuer  
Car on ne peult en luy fors fallace trouuer  
Et si ne le peult on que par la mort prouuer.*

93 *Tu n'as plus maistre ouurier que riche robbe taille  
Car tu as la liurée de pouure garsonnaille*

*Tu ne feras jamais a pouure gens la taille  
Ne n'auras grans cheuaulx pour entrer en bataille.*

97 *Le monde hier te portoit révérence et honneur  
Les grans et les petis te clamoient leur seigneur  
Il n'estoit si grant homme qui n'eust de toy peur :  
Or tu as tost perdu ta gloire et ta valeur.*

101 (41) *Regarde bien ta vie puis ta mort si remire  
Tu as esté tirant qui tout prenoye a tire  
Or te tire vermine et derompt et dessire  
A tout ce que je diz ne sauroye contredire*

105 (45) *Tu n'as pas maintenant la peine et le torment  
Que je seuffre par toy sans quelque allègement  
Mais tu l'auras après le jour du jugement  
Quant reuiendras en vie, ou l'escripture ment.*

Pour quoy on doit le monde fuir et repprouer.  
Car or ne peut en luy que faulcete trouuer.  
Et se ne peut ou mieulx que pur les mors prouer.

82 Tu n'as besoing d'ouurier qui riche robe taille  
Car tu es la liuree de posure [for pouuvre ?]  
garsonnaille.  
Tu ne ferais jamais a pouure homme la taille  
Ne n'auras grant cheual pour entrer en bataille.

86 Tu n'as pas maintenant la paine & le tourment  
Que je seuffre pour toy et sans alleguement,  
Mais tu l'auras apres le Jour du Jugement,  
Quant reuendras a vie se escripture ne ment.

90 Regarde ben ta vie, et puis aussi te mire  
Tu as este tirant qui tousiours prent et tire,  
Or te tire vermine qui te ront et deschire.  
A mon parler mes fin car ne peuz contredire.

109 (49) Quant le corps vit que l'ame tellement se parmeine

Les dens estrainct moult fort et met toute sa peine  
A gémir et se plaindre et la teste demene  
Comme sopirer puis et prendre son alène.

113 (53) Quant la teste ot leuée et sa vertu reprise  
Si dit a l'esperit, j'ay mal mis mon seruire  
Tu as prins plait a moy si comme folle et nice  
Il ne finera pas du tout à ta deuse.

117 (57) Se n'est pas merueille se le corps se meffait  
Car de par soy en luy il n'y a rien parfait  
Légièrement s'encline et tantost a deffait  
Tout ce que le droit vult et ce que raison fait.

121 (61) D'une part fiert le dyable, d'autre le monde rue  
Pour quoy la poure char ne pourroit estre vue  
Que ne soit par délit de léger abatue  
Ou par consentement desconfite et perdue.

125 (65) Mais ainsi com tu dis Dieu ta faicte et crée  
De sens et de raison, d'entendement aornée,  
Il t'a faicte ma dame et a toy m'a donnée

[Fol. 27r]

\*\*\*Le corps respond \*\*\*\*

94 Quant oit le corps que l'ame ainsi fort le mal manie

[Fol. 180v]

Les dens estraint molt fort & la teste demanie  
Lors gemist et se plaint & met toute sa panie  
Comment puist soupirer et prendre sa lanie.'

98 Quant or leue la teste & sa lanie' reprise  
Se dit a lesperit, ie mal mis mon seruire  
Tu as contre moy plait ,se je m'auise  
Il n'y ira pas du tout ainsi a ta deuse.

102 Il n'est de merueille se la char se meffait  
Car quant est de la char en luy n'i a riens parfait  
Legierement decline, legierement deffait  
Ce que raison ordonne et ce que raison fait.

106 D'une part fiert le dyable, d'autre le monde rue  
Pour ce que la poure char ne peut auoir [*illegible*]  
Qu'elle ne soit de legier par delit abatue  
Ou par consentement desconfite et vaincue.

110 Mais ainsi qe tu dis dieu ta faicte et cree  
De sens et de raison t'a noblement ornee  
Il t'a faicte ma dame par toy suis gouvernee

- Ta chambrière suis, par toy suis gouuernée.
- 129 (69) Puis doncques que Dieu t'a sur moy donné puissance  
 Et t'a donné raison et clère congnoissance  
 Tu deusse auoir esté de telle prouidence  
 Que je n'eusse fait [*mal*] **pechie** par aucune ignorance.
- 133 (73) Sages hommes doivent tous sauoir et entendre  
 Que on ne doit la char ne blasmer ne reprendre :  
 Le blasme en est à l'ame qui ne la veult deffendre  
*Corps se doit deliter et tous ses aises prendre.*  
**Corps se ueust manger les grands morciaulx.**
- 137 (77) Se l'esperit ne fait la char [*considérer*] **a mesurer**  
 Chault, froit, fain et soif ne l'y fait endurer  
 Les délices mondaines la font desmesurer  
 [*Si que sans péché gaire ne peult homme durer.*]  
**Longuement sans pechie ne puet le corps durer.**
- 141 (81) La char qui doit pourrir ne scet point de malice  
 On la demaine ainsi comme une beste nice [*'nice' omitted in 2198*]  
 Légèrement s'encline a vertu ou a vice  
 [*Mais*] **Quant** l'esperit [*doit*] **veult** estre sa dame et sa nourrice.
- 145 *Vices et péchés faire ce estoit ma nature  
 Pourtant se j'ay mal fait j n'ay fait que droicture :  
 De droict faire ne doit aucune créature  
 Estre blasmée, ne qu'on luy dye ou face injure.*
- Car ta chambriere suis et a toy suis donnee.
- [Fol. 181r]
- 114 Puis doncques que sur moy dieu t'a donne  
 puissance  
 Et t'a donne raison & clere congnoissance.  
 Tu deusses ben e estre de telle pourueance  
 Qu'oncquez n'eusse commis peche par Ignorance.
- 118 Pour ce doit on scauoir & par raison entendre  
 Que mal ne doit la char ne blamer ne reprendre.  
 Le blasme en est sur l'ame qui ne se veult deffendre  
 Le corps laisse remplir & les cras morseaulx prendre.
- 122 Se le spirit ne fait la char a mesurer  
 Et fain et froit et soif ne luy fait endurer  
 Les delices mondaines la font desmesurer  
 Longuement sans peche ne peult la char durer.
- 126 La char qui se pourrist ne se sent de malice  
 On la peut amener comme vne beste nice  
 Legierement s'encline a vertu ou a vice  
 Car l'espirit doit estre sa dame et sa nourrice.

149 (85) Puis doncques que l'ame a la char encommande  
 A la char il fault faire [*tout que celle*] **ce que l'ame** commande :  
**Se tieng** [*Je tiens*] a grant folie contre moy la demande

[*Que tu faiz*] **Et se fait ay** de péché,  
 ne scay que m'en demande.

153 (89) De toy vient le péché, de toy vient la folie  
 Je ne puis plus parler ne te desplaie mie  
 Car je sens entor oy une menue maignie  
 Qui me mort et derompt, vaten et je ten prie.

157 *Celle menue maignie sont pluseurs vermisseaux  
 Gros enuiron comme sont pointes de fuseaux  
 Mon ventre en est tout plain, si est toute ma peaux  
 De moy ilz feront plus de cent mille morceaux.*

161 (93) Lors a dit l'ame au corps : encor n'est pas a point  
 [*De lesser la querelle ne le plait en tel point*]  
**Ta parole amere ou de douceur n'a point**  
 [*Ta parole est amère, de douceur n'y a point*]  
**De lesser la querelle ne le plait en tel point.**  
 La coulpe metz sur moy que durement me point.

165 (97) Toy char pouure et dolente pleine d'iniquité  
 Ta foiblesse m'a fait perdre ma dignité

130 Pour donques que l'ame a la char commande,  
 Je tiens a grant folie contre moy la demande.  
 L'ame fait le forfait et doit rendre l'amende

[Fol. 181v]  
 Car se je fait peche ne scay qu m'en demande.

134 De toy vient le peche de toy vient la folie  
 Je ne plus parler ne te desplaie mie.  
 Car ie sense entour moy trop mauuaise maignie  
 Qui me mort et me ront, va t'en, je te le prie.

\* La responte de lame au corps \*

138 Lors dit l'ame a la char, encore n'est pas ce point  
 De laisser la querele et le plait en tel point.

Car ta parole amere ou doulceur n'a point,

La coupe mes sur moy et durement me point.

142 He, char dolente et poure, plaine d'iniquite,  
 Ta mauuaistie m'a fait perdre ma dignitie.

- En tes paroles n'a aucune verité  
Et tout tant que tu dis [*n'est fors que vanité*] **est plein de faussete.**
- 169 (101) Verité est que l'ame doit la char [*châtier*] **mestrier**  
Mais la char ne se veult pour [*l'ame*] **l'espritz** corriger  
Se l'ame la reprend ne fait que rechigner  
Tousjours veult gormander, rifler, boire et menger.
- 173 (105) Quand la char doit jeuner elle a mal en la teste
- Se elle ne boit matin c'est une grande tempeste :
- [Fol. 27v]  
Un peu de pénitence luy fait si grant moleste  
Qu'on ne peult d'elle auoir joye, solas ne feste.
- 177 (109) Je deuoye par droit auoir la signorie  
Mais tu la m'as fortraite par ta lozengerie  
Tes délices charneux et ta maluaise vie  
Ou parfond puis d'enfer [*ont ma teste plongie*]  
**m'ouunt fait herbergerie.**
- 181 (113) Bien scay que j'ay erré quant ne t'ay refrenée  
Mais par tes flateries suis este barété  
Par tes mondains plaisirs m'as après toy menée  
[*Pour cela plus grant peine te deust estre donnée*]  
**Pour quoy la plus grant coulpe te doit estre donnee.**
- Tes paroles ont ben aucunement verite,  
Mais tout le demourant est plain d'iniquite.
- 146 Verite est que l'ame doit la char adresser  
Mais la char ne se veult pour l'ame corriger.  
Se l'ame la reprent ne fait qe Rechigner  
Tousiours veult gourmander rifler boire ou menger
- 150 Quant la char doit Juner lors a mal a sa teste
- [Fol. 182r]  
Celle ne boit au matin c'est vng grant tempeste
- Vng peu de penitence li est si grant moleste  
Que on ne puet de hu' tirer Joie ne leesse.
- 154 Je deuoie par droit auoir la seignorie,  
Mais tu la m'as fortrete par la louengerie,  
Tes delices charnelz & ta grant lecherie  
Ou parfont puis d'enfer m'ont la teste plongie.
- 158 Bien scay que ie fait mal que ne te refrenez,  
Mais par ta flaterie Je este baratee.  
Par les deliz mondains m'as pres toute menee
- Pour ce la plus grant coulpe t'en doit estre donee



185 (117) Car tu es trop allez le chemin et la voye  
Des delictz corporeulx que je te deffendoye,  
De l'ennemy d'enfer que toujours nous guerroye  
Pour quoy auons perdu de paradis la joye.

189 (121) Le monde deuant hier te monstroit beau visage,  
Richesse te donnoit et délices [au large] & lignage  
Et si te promectoit de viure longe eage  
Ore te fait la moe, c'est paier ton musage.

125 **Le nom [ ? ] de barreteur doit le monde bien auoir  
Quant tant com plus se passe aucun de deceuoir  
Plus li donne richesse & delices & auoir  
Plus le fait par la mort sa pouurette sauoir.**

129 **Dymoy quelle est ta face souuant fois miree  
Tes manie tes bras tes piez [v— ] co[mm]e noiz negee**  
  
**Ta dolante charoigne soigneusement baignee  
[line illegible]**

193 (133) Quant le corps [voit] l'ame si trèsfort le reprint  
Acrier & à braire & a plorer [vers elle] se prent  
Puis après simplement la parole reprint  
Forment est dur le cuer à qui pitié n'en prent.

197 (137) Hélas, quant me [pouuooye] soloie haultement maintenir

162 Car que tu as ale le chemin et la voye  
Des delis corporeulx, que ie te deffendoie,  
De l'ennemi qui tousiours nous guerroye  
Pour ce perdu auons de paradis la Joie.

166 Le monde deuant hier te portoit bel visaige  
Richesses te donnoit, delices et lignaige  
Long temps te promettoit a viure grant aage  
Mais on te fait la signe a paier ton musaige.

[Fol. 182v]

170 Le non [sic] de barateur doit le monde auoir  
<peine> Car quant plus le monde deceuoir  
Plus li fait par l'amour la pourete sauoir  
Combien que fait richesses et delices auoir.

174 Di moy quelle est ta face souuente Fois miree  
Quelz sont tes bras tes mains dieulx qu'elle espouse  
[ ? ]  
Ta dolente charoigne souuente Fois baignee.  
Voulu as plaire au monde pour ce es dampnee

\* le corps respond \*\*\*\*

178 Quant le cops [sic] oit que l'ame ainsi fort le reprint  
Acrier & a braire et a plourer se prent.  
Puis apres simplement sa parole reprint.  
Forment a le cuer dur a qui pitie ne prent.

182 Helas come ie souloie haultement maintenir

Mes grans possessions & mes terres tenir  
Lors oncques de la mort ne me peult souenir  
Et piece ne cuidasse a tel honte venir.

201 *Et si n'eust pas souffrit tout le temps de ma vie  
D'y auoir bien pensé et mis mon estudie :  
Ce que je ne fiz oncques ne heure ne demie  
Oyr parler de mort je ne vouloye mie.*

205 *Il ne souffisoit pas tout le temps de ma vie  
Sans autre chose faire, si non a estudie  
Pour bien viure et morir, mais je ne congnoissoye mie  
Le mal que je faisoye ne ma grande folie.*

209 (141) Or voy je bien sanz faille que a mort rien n'eschape  
Ni vault or ne argent, manteau fourré ne chappe

Commandement de roy, ne autorité de pape  
Grans & petis conuient [*passer icelle*] **arrester a sa trape.**

213 (145) Bien vout que es dampnée & que **il [je]** le seray  
Tu souffrez maintenant, après je souffreray  
Mais assez [*plus tu*] dois souffrir que **ie** ne feray  
Et par moult de raisons [*je*] le te **demonstreray.**

217 (149) Vray est que en pleuseurs pas, l'escriture raconte :  
Tant plus Dieu donne a l'homme et tant  
plus [*le*] **homme** monte  
Tant plus estroitement luy fauldra rendre compte

Mes grans possessions et mes terres tenir  
Las onques de la mort ne me pot souenir  
Jamais Je ne cuidasse a tel honte venir.

186 Or voy ben sanz faillir qu'a la mort riens n'eschape,  
Ni vault or ne argent mantel fourre ne chape,

[Fol. 183r]

Commendement de Roy ne auctorite de pape,  
Grant petit foib[*l*]e & fort riche & poure atrape.

190 Bien voy que dampnee es et qe Je le seray  
Tu seuffres maintenant, apres Je souffreray  
Mais tu dois plus souffrier asses que Je ne feray  
Par droite Raison qu Je te monstrey

194 De la sainte escripture le liure nous raconte  
Quant dieu donne plus a l'omme & en plus le monte

Tant plus estroictement li requira le conte

- Et si fault à compter tant [*aura plus grant*]  
**une greigneur honte.**
- 221 (153) Dieu t'a donné raison, sens et entendement  
 Volonté de fuir mauvais [*consentement*] **mouvement**  
 Et puissance de faire son commandement  
 De ce rendras [*tu compte*] **raison** au jour du jugement.
- 225 (157) De tes puissances nobles as forment [*abusé*] **mesonne**  
 Tant ton temps as perdu et folement usé  
 Et ton fait deuant Dieu est moult fort accusé  
 Pour quoy t'a par raison paradis refusé.
- 229 (161) Mais a moy [*qui ne suis*] **peut ne que** [*ta*] **ceste**  
 pouure [*portière*] **chartier**
- Que uermine assault et deuant et derriere  
 Dieu ne m'auoit donné puissance ne manière  
 Dont je puisse sans toy aller n'auant n'arriere.
- 233 (165) La char ne peut sans l'ame ne venir ne aller  
 Monter en paradis ne enfer deualer  
 Sans l'ame ne peut elle ne senitir ne parler  
 Ne les uns reuétir, ne les pouures hosteler.
- 237 (169) Mais se l'ame vouloit ouurer par bonne guise  
 Amer [*Dieu de bon cueur et faire*] **menseigneur**  
**et faire son seruice**  
 Honorer son prouchain et [*seruir sainte eglise*]  
**l'amer sanz faintise**
- Et s'il fault a conter tant plus aura de honte.
- 198 Dieu t'a donne raison sens et entendement  
 Voulente pour fuir le mauvais mouement  
 Et puissance pour faire tout son commandement.  
 De ce rendras tu conte au Jour du Jugement
- 202 De ta noble puissance as folement vse  
 Ton corps as despendu et verite Refuse  
 Pour ce t'a deuant dieu l'ennemi accuse  
 Et dieu tresiustement paradis Refuse
- 206 Mais de ce que peult riens ceste poure chartiere
- [Fol. 183v]  
 Que la vermine assault et deuant & derriere  
 Dieu ne luy a donne puissance ne maniere  
 Dont elle puisse aler ne auant ne arriere.
- 210 La char ne peut sans l'ame ne venir ne aller  
 Monter en paradis ne en enfer aualer  
 Sans luy ne peut ouir ne parler ne aler  
 Ne les uns reuestir ne poures herbergier
- 214 Mais se l'ame vouloit ouurer a bonne guise  
 Amer [menseigneur] et faire son seruice  
 Honorer son prochain et l'amer sans faintise

Elle menroit la char du tout à sa devise.

241 *Pour ce que j'ay esté tousjours a toy encline  
Ceste maison estroicte me débrise l'eschine  
Et selon l'ordenance de Dieu qui point ne fine  
Je suis toute puante et pleine de uermine.*

245 *L'escriture raconte que morir il conuient  
Et que dure era une journée qui vient  
Quant peine temporelle éternelle deuient  
O comme fol est l'homme a qui point n'en souuient.*

173 **De la sainte escripture moult tresbien me souu[i]at [sic]**

**Qui dit au dernier jour releuer me conuient  
Helas dur sera la journee qui vient  
La peine temporelle perpetuelle deuient.**

249 (177) A doncques s'escrie l'ame par grant affliction :  
Hée Dieu pour quoy m'as faicte de tel condicion  
Que je viuray tous temps sans terminacion  
En peine quant certain estoye de ma dampnacion.

253 (181) Je tien la beste brute [*plus que moy eurée*]  
**est tres ben euree**  
Car quant son corps est mort son ame est [*allée*] **tost finee**  
Pour ce me vaulsist mieux que je fusse [*anichillée*] **pourallee**

Elle menroit du tout la char a sa devise.

218 Je este tousiours vers toy trop peu encline  
Ceste maison estroite me debrise l'eschine  
Et selon l'ordonance et volente diuine  
Ma char toute puante est plaine de vermine.

222 De la saincte [*word omitted ?*] moult tresben me  
souuient  
Qui dit que au dernier Jour releuer nous conuient  
Helas dure sera la iournee qui vient  
Car paine temporelle perpetuelle deuient

[Fol. 184r]

226 Comment l'ame se complaint piteusement  
A donc se escrite l'ame par grant affliction,  
He dieu, pour quoy m'as faite de telle condicion  
Que Je viurai tout temps sans terminacion  
Punis que certaine estoie de ma dampnacion

230 Je tiens la beste mue a tres ben euree

Quant son coprs [*sic*] est mort son ame est desinee  
Pour ce mieulx me vausist qu ne ne feusse onquez  
nee

[Quant fuz crée que d'estre ainsi tousjours dampnée]  
**Que ce que ie seray tout temps mes dampnee.**

[Fol. 28v]

- 257 (185) Respond moy dit la char d'une telle demande :  
 Ceulx qui sont en enfer en si grant penitence  
 Comme tu vas disant ont-ils point d'esperance  
 D'aucun allègement ne de leur deliurance ?
- 261 (189) Les nobles, les gentilz qui sont de hault parage  
 Ou ceulx qui ont lessé or, argent [*en hostage*] a **oultrage**  
 [*Pour or ne pour argent, pour sens ne pour linage*  
*Sur les aultres dampnés ont il point d'auantage ?*]  
**Et ils autres demere ont-ils point dauantage**  
**Pour or ne pour argent, pour sens ne pour linage ?**
- 265 (193) Ta demande, dit l'ame, est trop peu raisonnable  
 Car selon la sentence de Dieu ferme et estable  
 Tous ceulz qui sont dampnés ont peine pardurable  
 Ne force ne prière [*point ne leur est aidable*]  
**ne puet faire muable.**
- 269 (197) Se tous religieux, prescheurs ou cordeliers  
 Chantoient tous les jours messes, disoient mille psaultiers  
 Se le monde donnoit [*pour Dieu*] **pouures** tous ses deniers  
 N'en [*tireroient*] **auoient** une ame de cent mille milliers.

Que ce que ie seray a tousiours mais dampnee.

\*La demande du corps a l'ame\*

- 234 Respons moy, dit la char, vne telle demande.  
 Ceulx qui sont en enfer en si grande penance  
 Comme tu vas disant ont Ilz point de esperance  
 De leur allegement ne de leur deliurance ?
- 238 Les nobles les gentiz qui sont de hault parage  
 Et ceulx qui ont laisse or argent a oultraige
- Sur les autres dampnes ont Ilz point dauantaige  
 Pour or ne pour argent pour sens ne pour lignaige ?
- \* l'ame respond au corps\*\*\*  
 [Fol. 184v]  
 l'ame Respond au corps [*sic*]
- 242 Ta demande, dit l'ame, est trop peu raisonnable  
 Car selon la scentence de dieu ferme & estable  
 Tous ceulx qui sont dampnes ont paine pardurable
- Que force ne priere ne puet faire muable.
- 246 Se tous religieux p[re]bens & cordeliers  
 Cantoient tousiours messes & disoient ps[aultiers]  
 Se tout le monde aulx poures donnoit ses deniers  
 Ne traitroit vne ame en cent mille milliers.

273 (201) Le dyable y est tousjours en forsennerie  
 De tormenter les ames [*il a tousjours enuie*]  
**li croit tousjours [ ?]**  
 [*Prometz luy*] **Donne li**, paye le, ton corps luy sacrifie  
 Pour ce ne te donra ung grain de courtoisie.

277 (205) Des nobles et des riches te diray la manière  
 Sans grace sans [*deport*] **reper** leur peine est entière.  
 Tant plus sont estés hault de tant plus sont arrière  
 Et tant seuffrent plus grant poureté et misère.

281 *On ne voit en enfer que ténèbres obscures  
 Des ennemis sans nombre en horribles figures  
 Dragons, serpens, crapaux, tous vélins et ordures  
 Pour tormenter hélas les dampnées créatures.*

285 (209) Quant mectoît à parler l'ame toute sa cure  
  
 Trois Dyables sont venus en leur laide figure  
 Tout horribles visages, plus grant contrefaiture  
 Que on ne pourroit veoir en livre ne peinture.

289 (213) Graffes de fer agues en leurs mains ils tenoient  
 Feux gregois tout puant par la bouche gétoient  
 Serpens enuelimés en leurs oreilles estoient  
 [*Comme brandons de feu les yeux flambans avoient*].  
 [line omitted]

293 (216) Un chascun de ces trois getoit sa gaffe torte

250 Le dyable est tousiours en sa forcenerie

De tourmenter les ames ly prent tousiours enuie  
 Donne luy paie luy ton coprs [*sic*] luy sacrifie  
 Ja pour ce n'en treras vng gran de courtoisie.

254 Des nobles & des riches te diray la maniere  
 Sans grace et sans deport leur paine est entiere  
 Et quant quilz ont este plus hault ca en arriere  
 De tant seuffrent Ilz plus tourments & grant misere.

258 Comment les dyables rauirent lame  
 Quant metoit a parler l'ame toute sa cure  
 [Fol. 185r]  
 Deulx dyables sont venus en leur laide figure  
 Tant horribles visaiges tant horrible faicture  
 Ne pourroit om trouuer en liure ne peinture.

262 Grafes de fer haez entre leur mains tenoient  
 Feu gregoiz tout puant par leurs geules gettoient  
 Serpens enuenimez par leurs nez s'en yssoient  
 A carbons enbr[an]jeez leurs yeulz semblans  
 estoient.

266 Lors ch[ec]un de ces deulx gette sa graffe torte

La pouure ame ont chergie comme une beste morte

Mais quant elle congnut d'enfer l'horrible porte  
Durement se complaint, forment se desconforte.

[Fol. 29]

297 (220) Et entre [*ces trois*] **les mains** Dyables à haulte voix  
sescrie  
Secours moy, secours moy Jhàsus fils de Marie  
Ne considère pas maintenant ma folie  
[*De David te souuiengne et de ta courtoisie*]  
**Merci auerti de moy par ta grande courtoisie.**

301 (224) Quant les [*trois Dyables*] .iii. **ennemis** ont ce mot entendu  
Haultement ont cryé : trop auez actendu  
[*Musart : on doit auoir son temps bien despendu*  
*Deuant que le mérite de l'euure soit rendu*]  
**Deuant que le merite de l'euure soit rendu**  
**Musart : on doit auoir son temps bien despendu.**

305 (228) Dor en auant ne vault rien ne crier ne braire

Car plus ne trouueraz Jhésucrist debonnaire  
Maintenant te conuient en ung tel lieu retraire  
Que jamais ne verras clarté ne luminaire.

309 (232) A ces dures [*nouvelles*] **raysons** le pseudom se resueille  
S'il fut espouuenté ne fut pas de merueille :

La posure [*for pouuvre ?*] ame emportent comme  
vne beste morte  
Quant celle chetiue ame choisit d'enfer la porte  
[*line omitted*]

269 Entre les mains au dyable a haulte voiz se escrie

Secours moy secours moy ihs [Ihesus] filz de marie  
Ne considere pas maintenant ma folie  
De dauid te souuienge & de sa courtoisie

273 Quant ces ii. enemis ont ce mot entendu  
Crient d'ame musarde trop aues attendu,  
Trop folement auez vostre temps despendu  
Quant apres la sentence est la louyer rendu.

277 Des ores en auant ny vault crier ne braire

[Fol. 185v]

Car plus ne trouueres Ihucrist debonnaire  
Maintenant vous conuient en icel lieu retraire  
Ou Jamais ne voirres soleil ne luminaire.

281 A ces dures paroles le prudoms se reueille  
Si est espuante [*sic !*] si n'est pas de merueille

A mener bonne vie tantost il s'apareille  
 [Et seruir Dieu du cueur des lors jour et nuit veille]  
 Dont dieu deuant la mort de ses pechiez l'as[s]oille

A telle vie mener tantost Il s'appareille

Dont dieu deuant sa mort de ses pechez absoille.

313 *De tous péchés pardon Dieu nous veulle donner  
 Et c'est mortelle vie tellement demener  
 Que nous la puissions tous en sa grace finer  
 Et avec luy joye pardurable mener. Amen*

[END OF PRINTED VERSION]

236 **Tantost se rent a dieu toutes honeurs desprise  
 De tous les biens mondains p' la couoitise  
 Et a mains de Jhucrist & de sun com[m]andise  
 Son corps & s'ame met pour faire son [ser]uise.**

285 Tantost se rent a dieu & tous honneurs desprise  
 De tous les biens mondains perdit la couuoitise  
 Son corps et s'ame met a faire son seruice  
 Es mains de Jhucrist & a sa commandise.  
 . ihs .

240 **Tant le monde dist il est plein de felonie  
 L'en [y?]trent en despit uertu et sainte vie  
 Vertu est d[e]u[ien]t vice & sagesse folie.  
 Homme soit ore tant [fo]l qui en tel hoste se fie.**

Cy fine la disputacion du corps & de l'ame.  
 (End of poem in Paris f.fr. 24865)

244 **Les vertus dont on traite en la diuinite  
 Sont foy et esperance autrement charite.  
 On les treit au jour[d]y pour vne [hunte ?]  
 Vanite et tricherie sont en auctorite.**

248 **Se tu es richez home & tiengnes bone table  
 Tu feras repute pour .i. grant connestable.  
 Salemon ne dist onque prouerbe si veritable**



**Qui se preigne a son dit soit mensonge ou fable.**

- 252 Les richesses mondaines qui n'aure[nt] la pensee  
Pour vous deuroit prier rayson enluminee  
Car estupes en feu sont de plus grant duree  
Que la faueur de vous qui tant est desiree.**
- 256 Qui pourroit pour richesse acheter leur vie,  
[Fol. 29r]  
Sanz viellesce rouente & sanz tache lign[i ?]e,  
Sante de corps tout temps, sanz mort ne maladie :  
Se richesse acorr[oïr]' [*for* acquerir ?] ne seroit pas folie.**
- 260 Mais de telle marchandise ne s'entremet la mort,  
N'a pour demere que rien n'aura a li auort  
Frere ne te vault [—] soulas voie ne confort  
A la fin te conuient arriver a tel port.**
- 264 Pour [ce ?] prie cely qui tres justement liure,  
Qui me doint en ce mont en telle maniere uiure,  
Que maine a la mort soit de toulx maulx,  
A moi aussi soit il y a fine deliure.**

**Explicit liber de disputacione anime & corporis**

**(End of poem in Paris, BN f.fr. 2198)**

**APPENDIX 3**  
**GERMAN DEBATES**

3.1 Significant contents of Basle, Universitätsbibliothek MS B.X.14

**Basle, Universitätsbibliothek MS B.X.14 – List of contents discussed in Chapter 3**  
**Catalogue description: Meyer and Burckhardt, pp. 552-66.**

1. Sermons from the *Vitae Patrum* (fols. 58r-94v), including a sermon of St. Macarius the Egyptian.
2. Treatise by Hermann of Minden (d. 1294), on the authority of priests and confessors over female religious in their care (fols. 95v-96v).
3. Works by St. Augustine, including a Rule for religious women (fol.101r).
4. Letters written by Hugo, papal legate, including a letter confirming privileges given to the Beguines in Coblenz in 1252 by Pope Innocent IV (d. 1254) (fols.102v-103r).
5. Letter from Hermann of Minden to the prioress and sisters of 'Subtilia Columbarius' i.e. a convent at Colmar, near Strasbourg (fols. 103v-104r).
6. Isidore of Sevilla's work 'Contra Judaeos'. This is said here to have been written for Florentina, his sister (fols. 114r-163r).
7. 'Laudes mulieris cuiusdam ignotae pro iss quae fratribus conventus nescio cuius OP bene fecerat' (fols. 188v-189v).
8. 'Ein sele zu dem libe sprach' (fols. 189v-190v).
9. Part of sermon 16 by 'Pope Leo' (probably Leo IX,1049-54); the part of the sermon included is that against Manicheism, possibly intended also against Catharism and other heresies (fols. 192r-193r).
10. A bull of Pope Gregory IX against heresy, a copy of Innocent III's (d. 1216) bull ordering the Fourth Crusade (1202) (fols. 182r-185r), and bulls of Innocent IV about preaching to the Eastern provinces (fols. 196r-217v).

3.2 Transcription and translation of 'Ver sele vnd her lip in Munich, BSB MS Cgm. 100 (fols. 133r-134r)

[*Introduction*]: Ver sele dient mit [**paraph.**] kreften . flize e' daz der sac verslize der iv ist gelihen vnd ze knechten geben.

[*SOUL*]: Her lip hört ir div mere  
lat iv niht wesen swere  
ic wil disen sac  
bezzern ob ich mac.  
Ir dienet mir vmb den tac  
da niuwe freude springet  
vnd gût in minne ringet  
Daz ist dirre trunk  
den ich getrinken mac.

*BODY*: Ver sele ir svlt gelauben  
daz ich bin siech vil taugen  
daz ich allen tac  
geminnen nihten mac.

*SOUL*: Her lip ir sit zchwere  
vnd sit von minnen lere.  
Ic wil vmb disen tac  
minnen ob ich mac.

*BODY*: Ver sele ir vart schöne [?]  
ir wolt mich erschrecken  
wolt ir zû rûwe mich wecken  
Ist daz minnen tat  
der wird ich schiere sat.

*SOUL*: Her lip ir sit min eigen  
ich mûz mich von iv scheiden  
Swann ich rume den sac  
daz ist ein iamertac.  
Her lip dient mit flize  
daz der mich von iv rize  
Der mich in ivch goz.

den lip der rede verdroz.

*BODY*: Fra liebiv sele min  
woltes dv mich hie mit stillen?  
vnd liezest du mir minen willen  
als man den hunden tût

den man let willen mût

*SOUL:* Herr lip man mûz ivch gevangen  
han vnd vil sere gebunden  
vast zu allen stunden,  
swie gern ir wolet gan.  
so mûzzet ir stille stan.  
Ir sit iuwer selbes diep  
vnd welt ivch des gelauben niht.  
Irn stelt ic [*prob.meant to be ir*] mer vnd mer  
iv selber die keiserlichen ere  
Die ir da soltet besitzen.  
daz komet von grozen unwitzen.  
Daz iv daz stelen ist so liep  
des mûzet ir als ein diep  
Dar vmb hangen  
wert ir an der diepstal gevangen.  
So mûget ir niht entwenken  
ir svlt en e' bedenken.

*SOUL*

*or*

*NARRATOR:* [L?] ir beginnet morgen .  
es ist weger ir stet e' vf frûwe an dem morgen  
vnd dienet mit fliz vnd mit sorgen  
den awent vnd den morgen.

*Translation:* Frau Seele, serve with strength and diligence before the sack that was lent to you and given to you to rule over is worn out. *SOUL:* "Herr Leib, listen to this story! Don't let it be a burden to you [*or* Do not take it as severe criticism]. I will try to better this sack if I can. You serve me because of the day on which new joy springs and goodness fights for love. That is the drink I can drink". *BODY:* "Frau Seele, you must believe that I have been sick for a long time and I can't love the whole day". *SOUL:* "Herr Leib, you are too heavy and empty of love. I want to love on account of this day if I can. *BODY:* "Frau Seele, you are doing a fine job! You are trying to shock me. Do you want to make me sorry for all I have done? Is that really the work of love? I've had enough." *SOUL:* "Herr Leib, you are my own. I have to leave you as soon as I leave this sack – this is a mournful day! Herr Leib, serve faithfully so that He may tear me from you, He who poured me into you before." Herr Leib was too angry [*or* sad] to speak. *BODY:* "Dearest soul of mine, do you want to shut me up and leave me to my own devices, like people do with dogs when they just let them bark?" *SOUL:* "Herr Leib, you should be imprisoned and tied up fast at all times, you are so eager to to move. You are your own thief, and even if you don't want to believe it, you are robbing yourself of any princely honour that you should have. That comes from great ignorance! Because you love stealing so much you should be hung up like a thief if you were caught . You're not going to get away like that! You should think about that in advance [*or:* you should have thought about it earlier] [*Soul or Narrator:*] Better start tomorrow – it is in vain that you always get up early in the morning and serve diligently and with care evening and morning [*Quotation from the Psalms: vanum est vobis ante lucem surgere*]

**APPENDIX 4**

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF BL MS ADDITIONAL 37049 AND  
ARGUMENTS FOR ITS COMPOSITION AS A SINGLE BOOK**

The manuscript was rebound in the 1960s with a board and blue fabric cover, and in the course of the rebinding any certainty about the original structure, and any catchmarks, were lost, as the manuscript was in such bad condition that it was necessary to glue each folio separately to a paper strip, which was then bound as a book. The size of the parchment and paper within the new binding is 269 x 207 mm. The size of the text ‘block’, if any, is not consistent; but the pages are often cropped or otherwise damaged, so it is difficult to tell how deliberate this is or whether originally more margin was available. The folios had already suffered from extensive cropping and some tears, so that it is possible that even before the rebinding no evidence was available as to how it was originally put together.<sup>1</sup> The original binding, if any, is no longer available. Rubrication is also inconsistent, but with a frequent stroking of capital letters with red ink and frequent (but not entirely consistent) red underlining of Latin or Greek quotations. Many of the numerous corrections are also marked by crossings-out in red ink.

Both James Hogg and Brant Doty, his source, agree that four scribes were probably at work on Additional 37049.<sup>2</sup> McGerr lists the geographical background to three of the four hands, based on the entries in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (LALME),<sup>3</sup> as follows:

- Scribe A: Nottinghamshire. Scribe A’s hand is that used throughout the manuscript except for those described below.

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<sup>1</sup> I discussed this with Mr Justin Clegg, manuscript Superintendent at the British Library, who informed me that original bindings are kept where possible and that there is no record of any still existing in their files. It is likely, therefore, that there are no further records about the quires of the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Hogg, ‘Unpublished Texts’, cites Doty’s thesis, pp. 13-17, at his own pp. 249-51.

<sup>3</sup> LALME, quoted in McGerr, pp. xcii-xciii.

- Scribe B: Northwest Lincolnshire – Scribe B’s hand is found in the main text and Latin phrases in the ‘Desert of Religion’, on fols. 46r-66v. Scribe A appears to have been responsible for the English phrases on speech scrolls and leaves of trees in the ‘Desert of Religion’.
- Scribe D: West Riding of Yorkshire. The writing of Scribe D on fol. 30r is limited to a single poem written around a portrayal of Christ on the Cross, and may have been added to the manuscript at a later date than the picture.
- Scribe C is an apparently entirely separate, possibly later writer, whose hand is found on fols. 26v and 27r only. The writing on fols. 26v and 27r is in a completely different and probably later hand (a form of Secretary) to the rest of the manuscript (Scribe C), although its topic is linked to the rest of the manuscript. These two pages have at some point been torn out of the book and mended again, but it is highly unlikely that Scribe C wrote on the pages when they were torn out or was unaware that the pages came from a bigger volume, because the tears run right across the Scribe A text as well as that of Scribe C.

Scribes A and B, then, were almost certainly responsible for all the writing of the ‘original’ book of BL Additional 37049. The majority of this writing is by Scribe A, an *anglicana* hand of the type described by Derolez as ‘*Cursiva Antiquior*’, with a medium execution, becoming more rapid and cursive in long prose passages (especially evident in the letter [e]).<sup>4</sup> Derolez describes the final ‘b’-shaped [s] as unusual, being found only in ‘some fifteenth century books’ and then only ever in final position; the ‘b’-shaped [s] is common in Scribe A, as is the complicated [w] which resembles a forward- and backward-facing [b] adjoining each other. Again, this kind of [w] is found more

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<sup>4</sup> Derolez suggests an extension of the Liefinck system of classification, where the main criteria for establishing differences in hands rests on the letters [a], [f] and [s], but admits that this does not work well for England as it does not take account of the *anglicana* hand as a development in its own right. The *anglicana* hand combines a cursive hand like that found increasingly on the Continent in the Middle Ages with the two-compartment [a] which by the fifteenth century had more or less fallen out of use on the Continent. Following M.B.Parkes, Derolez therefore suggests the term ‘*Cursiva Antiquior*’ to describe specifically English book hands of this period, with variations being based on the execution of the hand as opposed to the hand itself. Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), esp. pp. 22-23 and pp. 135-61.

commonly in the fourteenth century and only ‘sometimes’ later.<sup>5</sup> This may indicate that Scribe A is either writing in an older style, or that either the scribe or the manuscript itself dates from earlier in the fifteenth century than thought by the cataloguers; the former theory is probably more likely to be correct if we accept Kathleen Scott’s analysis of the manuscript’s illustrations, which show clothing not prevalent in England until 1460-70, and accords with the late fifteenth-century use of the icon on fol. 2r.<sup>6</sup>

Scribe B was responsible for the majority of the writing of the long poem ‘The Desert of Religion’ at the centre of the manuscript. An analysis of the hands used for the ‘Desert of Religion’ shows that the hand used for writing on the leaves of the trees on the recto pages differs from the hand used for the poems on the verso pages: the writing on the trees and speech scrolls, when in English, is almost certainly Scribe A, while the actual text of the ‘Desert of Religion’, and Latin writing in the speech scrolls and on the images, is by Scribe B, a conclusion also reached by Brantley.<sup>7</sup> A good example is the picture of Richard Rolle on fol. 52v. Scribe B’s hand shows greater ‘textualis’ elements, that is, while it retains the two-compartment [a] and [A] of *anglicana*, [f] and [s] stand on the line rather than descending above it and ascenders show fewer loops. Derolez describes this type of hand as ‘bastard *anglicana*’; it is better formed and more angular than ordinary *anglicana*. This does not necessarily allow us to date it later or earlier than the writing of Scribe A.

There are numerous specific examples of difference in the two hands, most of which are stylistic rather than orthographical:

- the letter [f] and frequently also medial [s] in Scribe B sits on the line and does not descend below it, while in Scribe A lower-case [f] has a looped or straight descender and medial [s] also generally descends below the line;
- the letter [d] in Scribe B is an uncial [d] (unlooped ascender) while that of Scribe A is usually, although not always, looped;

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<sup>5</sup> Derolez, pp. 139-40.

<sup>6</sup> Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, II, 193; cit. Brantley, p. 329, n.17; on the icon see Chapter 4.

<sup>7</sup> Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness*, pp. 332-33, n. 61.

- the letter [h] in Scribe A consistently shows an ascender looped around to the right to meet its upstroke again, while the [h] of Scribe B is more angular and frequently has no looping on the ascender or the descender at all;
- the descender on the lower-case [y] in Scribe A loops around to the left or occasionally right throughout, whereas the descender of the [y] in Scribe B is consistently straight with no loops;
- when lower-case [e] follows lower-case [d] in Scribe B, these two letters are consistently attached to each other;
- the capital [A] is different throughout, appearing in Scribe B more like a modern capital [A] with a looped flourish from the top point, while in Scribe A the [A] is a rounded, double-compartment [A] throughout.

There are some differences in orthography, with Scribe B, for example, preferring 'kyrk' to Scribe A's frequent 'kyrke', but this is not conclusive as Scribe A spells inconsistently; the word 'vndirstande' is spelt in two different ways in one poem on fol. 19v, for example.

Although scholars have suggested that fols. 1v and 2r might not have been included in the original manuscript, the first text of the manuscript begins on fol. 2v and the facing images of Mary and Christ in 'Byzantine' style are in some points similar to that of the other pictures of the manuscript and Scott describes them as a frontispiece to the manuscript.<sup>8</sup> Although at fol. 2r, Christ appears as if in sleep, which is unusual for the manuscript, and a realistic portrayal of a man has been attempted which is also unusual, the use of colour on both images, and some of the decoration (for example the patterns on Mary's crown) are consistent with the illustration of the rest of the manuscript; the outlining of the figures in ink is also consistent, in that it has all been done 'frechand' with no particular care to ensure consistency of size or shape. It is quite possible that these images were copied by the same illustrator as that who worked otherwise on Additional 37049, from a different source.

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<sup>8</sup> Kathleen Scott, 'Design, decoration and illustration', in Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (eds), *Book production and publishing in Britain, 1375-1475* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 31-64, p. 56, n.23.



**APPENDIX 5**  
**MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING BODY-SOUL DEBATES DISCUSSED IN THESIS**

An asterisk after the manuscript name [\*] denotes that I have examined the manuscript in person and a cross before it [†] denotes known or attributed provenance from a religious house.

**Aberystwyth**

National Library of Wales Brogyntyn ii.1 (*olim* Porkington 10)\*

**Basel**

Universitätsbibliothek †B.X.14

**Berleburg**

Sayn-Wittgensteinsche  
Schloßbibliothek RT2/2 (*olim* A170)

**Brussels**

Bibliothèque Royale †9411-9426

**Cambridge**

Trinity College B.14.39 (323)

**Darmstadt**

Universitäts-  
und Landesbibliothek 2667\*  
†3067\*

**Edinburgh**

National Library of  
Scotland Advocates 19.2.1 ('Auchinleck')

**London**

British Library †Additional 22283 ('Simeon')\*  
 †Additional 37049\*  
 †Additional 37787\*  
 †Additional 46919\*  
 Arundel 288\*  
 Cotton  
     †Julius A.VII\*  
     †Vitellius C.VIII\*  
 Harley 2253  
 †Harley 5234\*  
 †Royal 7.A.III\*  
 Royal 18.A.X\*

- Melbourne**  
Victoria State Library      \*096/G94
- Munich**  
Bayrische Staatsbibliothek    †Cgm.100\*
- New York**  
Public Library                  Spencer 19
- Oxford**  
Bodleian Library                Digby 86\*  
    Digby 102  
    †Douce 305\*  
    †eng. poet. 1a ('Vernon')  
    Laud Misc. 108  
    Selden supra 74\*
- Paris**  
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal      †3516  
Bibliothèque Nationale        fonds français †957\*  
    †1055\*  
    1181\*  
    1505  
    †2198\*  
    †24436\*  
    †24865\*
- Turin**  
Biblioteca Reale                L.V.32? (modern shelfmark not known)
- Vienna**  
Österreichische  
Nationalbibliothek              Cod. 3009\*

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