

THE LIFE AND ENGLISH WRITINGS OF JOHN CAPGRAVE

by

ELTA JANE FREDEMAN

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1963

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department
of
ENGLISH

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1970

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of English

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date April 29, 1970

Abstract

This dissertation is the first critical examination of the English works of the fifteenth-century Augustinian friar, John Capgrave (1393-1464). The appraisal of them is placed within the context of his whole career, for it is important to recognize that much of his time was devoted to duties as an official of his order and that while his vernacular canon is extensive, it is not as large as his Latin.

The biographical chapter synthesizes details about Capgrave's home convents, the conventual life and educational system of the Augustinians, the people Capgrave came in contact with and the duties of the offices he held in order to make new conjectures about certain periods in his life, to demonstrate that he was not a sequestered figure ignorant of the turbulent world about him, and to provide the background for some of the characteristic stylistic traits identifiable in his vernacular works.

In terms of Capgrave's whole career, it is apparent that the English works are in one sense an interruption, for all four of the saints' lives and The Solace of Pilgrims were written in a twelve-year period before he became provincial of the order in England, and after he had mainly ceased writing the biblical commentaries which had gained him his theological reputation in the 1430's and would preoccupy him once more in the 1450's.

Before the individual saints' lives are treated, a general chapter demonstrates that Capgrave's four lives all follow the Antonian

model of the longer Latin life and are therefore divergent from the native English tradition which focused on a few critical moments, especially the martyrdom itself. It includes a survey of the development of the genre in England, a summary of the features of the Latin lives, and an analysis of traits common to Capgrave's works.

The next four chapters deal with Capgrave's lives in the order of their composition, and the contents of each chapter are inevitably conditioned by the state of scholarship on the work and the materials available. The study of The Life of St. Norbert, a poem which is still unpublished and has received no critical attention, is chiefly concerned with an identification of the Latin source and a comparison of it with the more legendary version which Capgrave produced. At the same time it considers the various aspects of treatment and style which make Capgrave's poem more dramatic than its source.

The probable sources of Capgrave's second rime royal legend, The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria, have already been established; and after treating some of the assumptions about the manuscript transmission, this chapter moves to a more purely literary analysis. Since the poem is so long, the discussion centres on poetic techniques, characterization, and the structure of the two elaborate debates.

The two prose lives are much briefer; each depends on a single Latin source, one identified, the other apparently no longer extant. The first, The Life of St. Augustine, is closely compared with its source, a Vita by another Augustinian friar, Jordanus of Saxony, to isolate illustrations of traits already described as characteristic of

Capgrave's work in the earlier chapters and to provide examples of his skill as translator. These same techniques are also discussed in relation to The Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, but, here, more emphasis is placed on the correction of misapprehensions about the actual source and on the construction of the work.

In the last chapter, the survey concludes with a study of Capgrave's two "original" works, The Solace of Pilgrims and The Chronicle of England. The derivative nature of their materials is acknowledged and illustrated, but attention is focused on Capgrave's concern for structure and the details which reveal it.

The conclusion indicates that devotional works such as Capgrave wrote are more characteristic of the fifteenth century than the few secular works which are subjected to continual scrutiny in most studies of the period and that further examination of his works and their techniques would lead to a more realistic appraisal of the methods and taste of the time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
I. BIOGRAPHY	9
II. THE ENGLISH SAINTS' LIVES	70
III. <u>THE LIFE OF ST. NORBERT</u>	102
IV. <u>THE LIFE OF ST. KATHERINE</u>	157
V. <u>THE LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE</u>	231
VI. <u>THE LIFE OF ST. GILBERT</u>	264
VII. <u>THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND</u> and <u>THE SOLACE OF PILGRIMS</u>	310
CONCLUSION	369
BIBLIOGRAPHY	374

INTRODUCTION

John Capgrave (1393-1464) was born seven years before Chaucer died; he was a contemporary of Bokenham, Hoccleve, Lydgate, Pecock, and many of the Scottish Chaucerians; and before his death, both Malory and Caxton, the two most important late 15th-century writers, had been launched on their respective literary careers. Yet Capgrave, who was regarded in his own lifetime as a highly learned man with considerable influence, is assigned no more than a minor entry in the annals of 15th-century literature, even though his writings in English exceed in bulk and in variety those of Bokenham and Hoccleve. In the general derogation and dismissal of 15th-century literature that has dominated scholarship, Capgrave has not been so much condemned as ignored; and his works have received little more than editorial--and that scarcely accurate--attention. It is the purpose of this dissertation to reinstate Capgrave in his rightful position in the literary history of the period. To that end, the dissertation offers both a study of his life and a comprehensive examination of his vernacular writings, which places him within the context of his age and indicates the possibilities suggested by several unexplored approaches to his works.

For nearly four-hundred years after Capgrave's death, only a single work attributed to him was available in printed form. That work, the Latin Nova Legenda Anglia, a collection of saints' lives, is now known to be almost entirely composed by John of Tynemouth.

Between 1858 and 1911, manuscript discoveries revived interest in Capgrave, and during this period all but one of his English works were printed. Their editors, eager to provide texts for another medieval author, were unfortunately content to accept uncritically the long-standing appraisal of Capgrave's learning and to perpetuate the many errors in the received biography. More serious, the editions themselves are inferior. The two 19th-century texts--Hingston's edition of The Chronicle of England (1858) and Horstmann's edition of The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria (1893)--reflect poor manuscript choices; and the introductions to both J.J. Munro's edition of The Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert and a Sermon (1910) and C.A. Mill's edition of The Solace of Pilgrims (1911) fail to correct obvious errors or to provide any literary evaluation. W.H. Clawson's projected edition of the Huntington manuscript of The Life of St. Norbert was never completed, but this last unpublished English work is now being edited by Father C.L. Smetana, O.S.A.

Only since 1943 has Capgrave been given more than perfunctory notice in literary histories and in religious and historical references. However, the body of critical comment on him is still inordinately small. There is no book devoted to Capgrave; and the few important articles are concerned with specific problems--of biography, bibliography, and sources--rather than with general assessment. The best and most extensive single study is Alberic de Meijer's three-part bio-bibliography published in Augustiniana in 1955-1957, which corrects many of the accumulated errors of the past century and contains the

only detailed bibliography. The sources of one poetic and one prose saint's life--the St. Katherine and the St. Augustine--have been examined, and the place of the latter in the religious dispute over precedence between Augustine's order and the Augustinian canons regular has been investigated and evaluated. Of the remaining works, The Solace of Pilgrims has received some slight attention, because of the light it sheds on the history of medieval Rome, while The Chronicle of England is only mentioned in passing in catalogues of the historical writings of the period.

The commentators have not, however, provided a survey of Capgrave's total achievement which examines the course of his career as man and writer for materials which help to explain the style of his vernacular writings and describes the qualities of his particular literary contribution. The dissertation is divided into seven chapters, consisting of an introductory biographical survey, a general chapter on medieval saints' lives, four central chapters on Capgrave's poetic and prose saints' lives, and a final chapter treating the two later prose works. Treatment necessarily depends on the nature of the material under consideration in each of the chapters. Thus, the dissertation is descriptive, historical, and critical; it seeks to defend no single thesis, either about Capgrave in particular or about Middle English writing in general.

Chapter one utilizes, but goes well beyond, the biographical discoveries of de Meijer. In addition to fleshing out the skeleton provided by de Meijer regarding Capgrave's education and his life as

an Augustinian, the chapter seeks to establish with as great a precision as possible the chronology of his life, especially as it illuminates the so-called twelve "lost years" between 1423-1440. In his biographical article, de Meijer turned up several new documents relating to Capgrave, but he failed to enlarge and interpret the bare life records. To remedy this paucity of "body" in Capgrave's biography, this chapter includes a discussion of the communal life of the Augustinians, additional details on Capgrave's home convents, the course of his studies, and his trip to Rome; it also provides a record of his contacts with other Austin friars who achieved literary or ecclesiastical prominence in the period, a study of his patrons and of his duties as prior-provincial, and some reflections on the probable influence of his education and position on his literary productions.

In this instance external materials are adduced to provide both the background for Capgrave's works and the evidence for conjectures about certain periods in his life. If, for example, no one has treated the early years of Capgrave's education because there is no documentary evidence, there is enough data about the schools of the Augustinian friars to make a relatively detailed description of it possible. By this method, the effects of Capgrave's lengthy scholastic training and ecclesiastical vocation on his choice of subjects and treatment of them are made more recognizable and immediate. Although the application of these materials may sometimes seem circuitous, its result is not digressive, for it makes possible the recreation of a far more vital figure than the life records alone could ever provide.

Besides this synthesis, the chapter argues for new dates for some of the known events in Capgrave's career, different places than those usually assumed for his residence during certain years, and a reduction in the number of works attributed to him. For a man whose life is so thinly documented, every fact has potential significance, and the attempt in this chapter has been to get beneath the fictive facade of Capgrave as simply "the most learned of the Augustinians" to an authentic recreation of the author of the literary works that he is known to have produced.

The main body of the dissertation consists of a discussion of Capgrave's English works. It opens with a chapter establishing the background and context of Capgrave's saints' lives. Capgrave himself clearly believed deeply in the church's teachings on saints and miracles; and it is imperative that an attempt be made to illustrate the nature of his commitment. In one sense it is fortunate that Capgrave's work has not been subjected to scrutiny by any generation of critics, for it means that there is no need to disprove theories unifying what seems disorganized or disruptive in it. Part of the purpose in this chapter is to demonstrate that Capgrave worked within the traditions of his own time, and that, consequently, it is inaccurate to describe the structure, organization, or development of his work as crude or primitive, as the literary historians have generally done.

Following this general analysis of their context, of their divergence from the native model, and of their common features, a

chapter is devoted to each of the four lives. Instead of conforming to a single, rigid model, each chapter follows a pattern intended to answer the most immediate and important questions about its subject.

Chapter three treats The Life of St. Norbert, a poem which has received no critical attention whatsoever, and it includes a summary biography of this little known saint, an identification of the Latin sources, and a discussion of the omissions which increase the marvelous elements while reducing the historical figure, and of the aspects of style which make Capgrave's version more dramatic. Chapter four deals with Capgrave's second rime royal life, The Life of St. Katherine. The study is facilitated by the recent (1961) work on its sources by Auvo Kurvinen, and after correcting some of her statements, it moves to a more purely literary analysis, treating the poetic techniques, the more sophisticated and complex characterization, and the carefully polished structure of the highly elaborate debates. At the end of this chapter, the two poetic lives are compared and the considerable advance which The Life of St. Katherine represents is discussed.

The two prose lives are briefer, but each has its peculiar problems. The only complete copies extant appear in a single manuscript, Capgrave's holograph; but though they were printed sixty years ago, neither has been analyzed for its reflection of English prose style in the mid-fifteenth century or for evidence of Capgrave's characteristic techniques. In chapter five, the first of them, The Life of St. Augustine is compared to its source, a Latin Vita

identified by Arbesmann and Sanderlin in 1943. Since this is the only case where the source is both known and in the same medium (i.e. prose), this comparison provides the most concrete demonstration of Capgravian traits already identified in The Life of St. Norbert and The Life of St. Katherine. And, again because direct comparisons can be made, The Life of St. Augustine provides the best examples of Capgrave's skill as a translator.

Some of these techniques are also discussed in relation to the second prose life, The Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham; but more emphasis is put on the correction of misapprehensions about Capgrave's actual source and on the construction of his work.

The last chapter concludes the survey with a study of Capgrave's two "original" works, The Solace of Pilgrims and The Chronicle of England. While their materials are derivative, they are innovations in the sense that Capgrave designed their formats and selected his entries from a variety of sources. In this section attention is paid to the details which reveal his concern for the structure, some further examples of his characteristic annotation are provided, and the texture of his prose in original composition as opposed to direct translation is considered.

In sum, this study is intended to provide an account of the life and works of a prolific fifteenth-century writer to whom countless references are made in the catalogues of literary histories, but for whom not a single study in depth is available. It is hoped that the analyses, focusing, as first and general studies must, on sources,

methods of adaptation, and prose and poetic style, will provide the basis for future examinations of Capgrave's works, so that they will receive the attention they merit and their author will no longer be passed over when general studies of the literature of the period are made.

CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF JOHN CAPGRAVE

I

The received biography of John Capgrave is characterized as are many other medieval lives by errors and uncritical accretions, most of them the results of confusion, lack of information, and the acceptance of unsubstantiated traditions. Only a few dates in Capgrave's life may be given with certainty: his birth on April 23, 1393; his promotion to the final pre-degree status of lector on April 8, 1421; his appointment as a student to Cambridge on April 13, 1422; his formal completion of the bachelor's degree on March 20, 1423; his reception of Henry VI while he was prior at the Austin convent in Lynn on August 1, 1446; his election as prior-provincial of England on July 22, 1453 at Winchester and his confirmation in the office on May 8, 1454; his re-election at Lynn on August 15, 1455 and reconfirmation on February 14, 1456; his recognition of Edmund Rede as the founder of the Austin convent at Oxford in 1456; and his death on August 12, 1464. For the rest there is little sure evidence. Some of the problems have been convincingly resolved in recent years, and it is hoped others will be settled or clarified in the course of this chapter.

There are no further records of a public role which would account for the great reputation Capgrave apparently enjoyed in his own time and certainly had attained by the time the literary biographers

began to take note of him in the next century. He is little help himself, for he makes only minimal and bare references to a few of the people he met and he makes no comment at all on the internal conditions of contemporary England. To come to some understanding of how he could have reached a prominence which is not reflected in his vernacular works, it is important to realize that he always lived not in a rural monastery but in convents in the centre of busy towns, that he came in contact with many of the important religious and political figures of his time, that he travelled abroad, and that he rose to the highest post in the English province of his order. Some aspects of this knowledge, especially the study of his educational course, aid in the interpretation of his works, but chiefly they administer a corrective to the view of Capgrave as a sequestered figure, unaware of or uninvolved in the life about him.

In The Chronicle of England Capgrave gives his birthdate as April 23, 1393,¹ and in The Life of St. Katherine he specifically says; "My cuntre is of northfolke, of þe town of lynne."² Apart from these bare statements, the only genealogical relationship which has ever been suggested for Capgrave is that he was the nephew and namesake of a fourteenth century Austin friar, who was appointed to study at Oxford on the recommendation of the masters, bachelors, and priors of the Oxford limit (administrative district) and who received his doctorate in theology in 1390. Unfamiliar with the Augustinian archives, the early biographers were unaware that there had been two men of the same name; and in the only instance before Alberic de Meijer's 1955

biography where they are both mentioned, the literary productions are assigned to the earlier man.³ It is possible to use the few details known about the first John Capgrave to remove certain errors in the author's history.

Apparently the biographies of the two men, one obscure and the other renowned in his own age, were soon confused; and they were certainly conflated as early as the sixteenth century. Without exception until the eighteenth century, the commentators name Oxford as the writer's university. After his own works with their references to Cambridge were discovered, it became customary to describe Capgrave as a "doctor of both the universities." In itself this description is suspect, for the places at the universities were few and zealously guarded in the middle ages. Now that a John Capgrave who did attend Oxford is known, the anomaly is resolved.

This new awareness of the first John Capgrave also helps answer the question of the author's birthplace. In absolute terms, the statement in the St. Katherine that he was a man of Lynn, Norfolk may mean no more than that he was a resident of the Lynn convent at the time of the poem's composition while he originally came from Kent as his first biographers say. But, although there is no mention of his unusual surname in the lists of guild members and borough officials or in any of the legal documents extant in the town records, there is reason to assume that he was born either in Lynn itself or in the immediate vicinity.

In the first place, one of the statutes of the Austin friars required that a novice enter and thereafter be considered a conventual of the convent nearest his parental home.⁴ Since Capgrave was sent to Cambridge, it is reasonable to assume that he belonged originally to the limit which it served, that is, to one of the houses at Cambridge, Norwich, Clare, Lynn, Little Yarmouth, Orford, Huntingdon, or Thetford. Because he was made prior at Lynn by 1446 at the latest, kept the house as his permanent residence even during the period when he was prior-provincial, and remained there until his death in 1464, it seems most likely that he had also entered the order there.

Second, there are internal indications in his works which reveal a familiarity with Norfolk, and particularly with Lynn, in his early years. Most important are the references to local events which he makes in The Chronicle of England. Throughout the book, he takes note of disasters such as fires in the county and gives more specific accounts of the actions of the various bishops of Norwich than of any others. More particularly, for the year 1400, between the notice of the death of Richard II and the report of the rebellion of Owen Glendower, he records the capture of some Scottish fishing boats by men of Lynn and their being brought to the town (pp. 276-277). In 1404, when he was eleven, he was apparently an eyewitness to the departure of Princess Philippa from Lynn for her marriage to King Eric of Norway (Chronicle, p. 292, De Illustribus Henricis, p. 109). And, finally, among the more national events of 1416, he reports the stealing of three children of Lynn by beggars and their later recovery in London (Chronicle, p. 316).

Finally, since the elder Capgrave was nominated to the university by the senior members of the Oxford limit, he clearly came from one of the eight convents under their jurisdiction. One of these was in Kent, at Canterbury, and it may well have been his home. In any case, though this explanation does not help place the writer in Norfolk, it makes it more likely that it was the first John Capgrave who was "in Cantiorum comitatu natus."

Since the medieval populace was not highly mobile and since these pieces of evidence strongly suggest that the fourteenth century Capgrave was from the south and Capgrave the author from East Anglia, the hypothetical uncle-nephew link between the two is questionable. In the face of the historical evidence, de Meijer's literal reading of "faders" as "kinsmen" in the following lines is exceedingly tenuous:

Owt of þe world to my profyte I cam
 On-to þe brotherhode quech I am Inne--
 Godd zeue me grace neuyr for to blynne
 To folow þe steppes of my faders be-for,
 Whech to þe rewle of Austen wer swore.

(The Life of St. Katherine, Prologue, ll. 241-245)

Thus, while it is tempting to provide Capgrave with some bond in the past, it is more practicable to regard him autonomously and look first at the town where he spent so much of his life.

Whether he was born in the town itself or in one of the nearby hamlets, Lynn would have provided Capgrave with opportunities to view the full range of medieval economic, social, and religious activities. Although it is no longer a prominent centre, Lynn's geographical position made it an important port and market town in the fifteenth century. By 1377 it was ninth in size among the cities of England;⁵ and a

petition in 1422 for additional chapels to serve the public gives evidence of the numbers who frequented the town.⁶ In the same way, the total of fifty-two churches, chapels and oratories shows that there were great resources available for private endowment. That one of the four remaining English factories of the Hanseatic League was in Lynn demonstrates its continuing involvement in the Baltic trade. And, while much of England's international trade was destroyed by the wars with the French, by the shifting alliances in the Low Countries, and by the increasing isolation and eastward turning of the Baltic merchants, the merchants of Lynn entered the newly developing Icelandic ventures by 1420 and continually sought to preserve their rights in it by negotiations on their own behalf with the king of the Danes.⁷

As concomitants of this busy trading activity, Lynn not only had a relatively large alien population for an English town,⁸ but also felt the struggle for political strength on the part of the middle class. The increasing prosperity of the members of the seventy-five trade guilds in Lynn finally brought them into open conflict with the local merchants in the early years of the fifteenth century while John Capgrave was a student friar. And though Lynn was to become "one of the closest of the close boroughs"⁹ in the end, for the moment the small oligarchy controlling the guild of the Holy Trinity was forced by the general class of burgesses in conjunction with the privileged group of episcopal tenants to allow greater participation in the choice of officials. The increased democracy the townsmen had earned did not last long, but their capacity to get their grievances heard and to

force agreements reflects the communal power and, therefore, their relative affluence. Many of the meetings at which corporate affairs were discussed and compromises established were held within the Augustinian convent. Such intrusions of the outside world upon their religious life were of course characteristic of the mendicant orders in the late middle ages, and witnessing the struggle at close range, Capgrave must have become aware early of political realities.

With so large a population and so much prosperity, Lynn enjoyed dramatic entertainments similar to those in other large centres. There is no evidence for a mystery cycle, but plays of St. Thomas and of Mary and Gabriel were certainly acted;¹⁰ and the various public records of Lynn mention several payments for plays or to players (including minstrels) during the first half of the fifteenth century.¹¹ Since the Augustinian convent was located in the centre of the town and frequently housed visiting dignitaries, it is likely that Capgrave saw both the public spectacles in the nearby streets and market place and the private entertainments occasionally staged for guests. As later chapters will show, two aspects of Capgrave's style in his saints' lives bear considerable resemblance to the techniques of the medieval stage. Everywhere, he focuses on central, objective and dramatically realizable episodes, and whenever an occasion arises in the narrative for a debate, an exorcism, or a conversion, the scene is either carefully described or, at least, established by some prominent object.

Since it is now possible to account for Capgrave's whereabouts between 1413 and 1415, there is no longer any reason to question Father

de Meijer's conjecture that Capgrave had joined the Augustinian order no later than 1410. Why he chose the Augustinians over the Franciscans, Dominicans, or Carmelites, all of whom were represented in Lynn, cannot be determined. Certainly, his order was an important one in the town, with a house large enough to entertain Bishop Arundel and his retinue in 1383¹³ and the Duke and Duchess of Clarence with three hundred horse in 1413.¹⁴ Moreover, it was chosen as the arena for the meetings of the representatives of the town and of the Bishop of Norwich which have been referred to earlier. As prior, Capgrave was to receive Henry VI there in 1446.¹⁵

There were many differences in the original intentions of the founders of the great mendicant orders, but within a few generations, they had grown essentially alike. For instance, at the command of the pope -- whether or not he was inspired in a vision by St. Augustine, as Capgrave would have it¹⁶ -- the Augustinians left their rural convents for the urban life of the other friars. The Minors soon neglected St. Francis' injunction to renounce human learning and with the other orders followed the Dominicans in developing advanced schools for the study of theology and allied arts. Moreover, all the orders of friars sought to disseminate the basic Christian beliefs to the people, and in order to discourage concern for local interests and large estates such as occupied so many monastic establishments, they denigrated worldly possessions and created centralized controls ultimately vested in the pope. Finally, despite the Great Schism and the attempts of secular authorities to gain their support for nationalistic goals, they all

remained committed to the authority of Rome. Among them, the Augustinian theologians provided the chief arguments for the pope's dominion.

In the late middle ages the spiritual state and moral authority of the friars weakened; and they became subject to charges of worldliness as they fell away from absolute poverty.¹⁷ Medieval sources point to a general decline in their intellectual activity as well. The change from great strength to weakness is perhaps less noticeable in the case of the Augustinians because they were third in size among the orders of friars in England, and because they did not produce any scholars at Oxford and Cambridge as important in the shaping of medieval thought as the Franciscans Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William Ockham or the Dominican Nicholas Trivet. It must also be remembered that what appears on the surface as a sudden increase in the number of Augustinians attending the universities in the last decades of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, and might be taken as evidence of an upsurge in the academic level, is in fact one of the results of the Great Schism (1382-1417). Since France supported the Anti-pope, the Paris studium generale was closed to the other European friars whose countries still adhered to Rome. In consequence, they were drawn to Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and their names in the rolls of students hide the continuing decline to a certain extent.¹⁸

For all this, although the period which saw scholasticism developed to its greatest subtlety by a series of brilliant English friar doctors had ended a century before, it was still among the mendicant rather than the monastic orders that the leading theologians were found

in the fifteenth century; and, in this respect, the Augustinians were not unimportant. They provided their share of bishops, particularly to Irish sees; the Augustinian Geoffrey Hardeby was foremost in replying to Archbishop Fitzralph's attacks on the friars; and members of the order were given equal place with other orders in the great meetings on the heretical teachings of Wyclif which were held at Blackfriars under Archbishop William Courtenay and at Oxford¹⁹ and in the fifteenth century heresy trials which followed the passage of the statute De Haeretico Comburendo.²⁰

Augustinian historians do not discuss the connection in detail, but their order, or at least the Oxford convent of it, had good reason to sympathize with Wyclif's opinions in the early stages of the controversy. Since disputations were regularly held in the Austin convent, it is not especially important that Wyclif was lecturing there when he received the news of his condemnation. But many of his beliefs were derived from the greatest of the Augustinian theologians, Giles of Rome;²¹ and the later prior-provincial, Thomas Winterton, was one of his close associates. In addition, the appearance of Wyclif's Determinatio in the collection of works made by another Austin friar, Adam Stocton, in the 1370's also reflects interest in Wyclif's ideas.²²

After the authoritative condemnation of Wyclif's opinions by the mendicant theologians and by Archbishop Courtenay at the Blackfriars (or "Earthquake") Council of 1382, there is, with the single exception of Peter Pateshull,²³ no occasion to question the orthodoxy of the English Augustinians. In fact, their reaction was as immediate and

severe as might be expected in the atmosphere of fear and shock which developed when essential doctrines were questioned. Wyclif's friend Thomas Winterton, for example, answered Wyclif's treatise Confessio in a work entitled Absolutio, relying heavily on the characteristic Augustinian doctrines of lordship and grace; and, in a revision, the words of praise for Wyclif in Stocton's collection were removed.

Cambridge, where Capgrave was to go, never had significant contact with the heresy though the theological students must have been aware of the controversy; and few attempts were made to raise the issues at Oxford after Archbishop Arundel's visitation in 1411.

Persecution was moderate in England and most heretics recanted;²⁴ but the severity of the penalties ensured that orthodoxy was at pains to demonstrate itself. Yet if only his English works were considered, Capgrave would seem to have had little interest in debating theological points. Apart from notes on the doctrinal issues raised in the early days of the church, condemnations of Wyclif and Oldcastle, a few references to Lollard activities in the years before his Chronicle ends in 1417, and explanations of the specific heresies the saint combatted in The Life of St. Augustine, he does not touch the subject. In fact, however, this is another instance where the literary personality and the public man are widely divergent, for Capgrave must often have been in close contact with the disputes. For example, he cannot have been unaware that suspicions of the Lollard heresy were several times raised in Lynn; and investigations which must have been part of the common gossip were frequently carried out in the diocese of Norwich.

A single illustration will suffice to show to what extent he covered his own opinions with an anonymous style. In 1401, when Capgrave was a boy of eight, a townsman, William Sawtre, was the first man executed under the new statute; and later Capgrave recorded the event in his Chronicle. He gives not a single detail which suggests any personal knowledge:

In the third 3ere of this Herry was a Parlement at London, wher was mad a statute ageyn Lollardis, that where evyr thei were founde preching her evel doctrine, thei schuld be take, and presentid to the bischop; and if thei meynten here opiniones, thei schuld be committed to the seculere hand, and thei schuld brenne hem and her bokes. This statute was practized in a prest that sone aftir was brent at Smythfeld.

(Chronicle, p. 277)

How far the attitude displayed in his written work reflects either apathy or cautious time-serving on Capgrave's part is difficult to judge; but given the position he attained, either is unlikely. What is known is that when Capgrave entered the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine, he found himself in a community of men who were officially committed to the authority of the church both by their Rome-centred government and by their newly tested and newly strengthened intellectual convictions. The self-discipline their rules required and the education their most promising students underwent enabled them to provide many of the foremost defenders of the faith. The events of the immediately preceding decades must have deeply affected the men who taught Capgrave and Wyclif's opinions must have been answered and condemned in the lectures he heard. In addition, as the next section will show, even if he was not himself involved in heresy trials or public answers to heretical opinions, a number of his fellow conventuals were.

II

It is hoped that this survey of some of the more important events in the town of Lynn and in the religious orders during this period may help to place Capgrave in his historical context. Similarly, an examination of the available materials on theological education at the time reveals both the content of the works which were his frame of reference and the analytical method which is such an important aspect of his literary style. However, although a number of scholars in the last decade have unearthed a large body of facts, there is still uncertainty about the details of courses pursued by medieval students and the periods of time necessary to complete the various requirements. For example, the full grammar course apparently took four years, but in their regulations, the Augustinians mention only one after entry.²⁵ On the other hand, they also expected the novice to be able to read and sing distinctly when he entered, and, therefore, the young friars had presumably already had some elementary training. In fact, there are frequent references to boys who do not seem to be members of the order studying grammar in the convents;²⁶ and it may well be that there were provisions for a period of pre-training which would resolve the anomaly. Accepting these limitations, it is possible to provide a reasonably accurate picture of the course of Capgrave's education.

Father de Meijer chooses the first of the two possibilities inherent in Capgrave's statement that he was ordained four or five years before the birth of Henry VI in 1421 (De Illustribus Henricis, p. 127) and places the ordination in 1417. Then he subtracts seven years from

this date and puts Capgrave's entry into the order in 1410. There is in fact no evidence to confirm or refute his choice. The average age of entry was fourteen; but the Austins were allowed to accept boys as young as eleven and some cases of ten year olds being admitted are known.²⁷ As the following discussion will show, the most that can be said is that to have become a lector in 1421, Capgrave cannot have joined later than 1410 and that if he were seventeen (as he was then), he had probably previously completed the full grammar course. So far as the effect on his later work is concerned, the systematic division of the material into orthography, prosody, syntax, and ethimologia, using compilations such as those of Donatus, Priscian, and Alexander de Villa Dei,²⁸ would have been much the same whether Capgrave studied in his own convent,²⁹ the Lynn grammar school, or at the school of one of the other orders.

Having entered, Capgrave spent his novitiate learning the observances of the rule. Their constitutions required the Austins to celebrate five canonical hours and they had in addition a conventual mass which all of the brothers attended. For the purposes of self-discipline, they held a chapter of faults twice a week, kept strict silence (except for the reader at the lectern) during their two daily meals, and observed a great many obligatory fasts.

After his novitiate, a young friar was to take grammar for an additional year; but, being older than the average, Capgrave had doubtless finished the course, and he probably studied dialectics.³⁰ This second year done, the constitutions of the order provided for three

years of study at what was known as a studium particulare, a school of elementary philosophy. For the Cambridge limit this school was located in Norwich; and if Capgrave did follow the course outlined above, he must have been sent there by the end of 1412. Apart from the fact that it was a well-known studium, frequently attended by foreign friars, little is known about the school in Norwich.³¹ If the three-year courses in the Old and New Logic were given concurrently as they seem to have been,³² Capgrave would have completed his term at Norwich and returned to Lynn about the end of 1415.³³ His recording of two Norwich events of 1415 (a fire and the death of the bishop, p. 303) in the Chronicle provides at least circumstantial confirmation.

The methods of instruction in these lower schools were essentially the same as in the universities. Texts were read; problems were isolated, explicated, and argued in detail; and then the individual parts were reintegrated. Disputations were made on grammatical points just as they were on theological. In fact, in the schools of the friars, the basic training in "arts" was intended to prepare the student for his higher studies. The literal sense of the Bible could not be understood without a thorough grounding in language and grammar. Arithmetic was essential for number symbolism; and natural history for the symbolism of birds and beasts. Finally, rhetoric was required both in the student's own work and for his later teaching and preaching.³⁴

Similarly, the rules of religious observance went far beyond the inculcation of piety and self-discipline. The public examinations of conscience held twice-weekly and the heavy penalties for errors in

liturgical recitation encouraged both a critical attitude and precision in performance. Thus, it is hardly surprising that Capgrave's works bear the impress of his early training, since he had spent thirty years in the order as a student and teacher before he wrote his first extant English work in 1440.³⁵

Though none of the published registers contain his name -- and few exist for the whole diocese of Norwich in any case³⁶ -- Capgrave must have entered upon the various degrees of ordination from first tonsure - through acolyte, subdeacon, and deacon - to priest during his years in Lynn and Norwich. Given the vagueness of Capgrave's dating of his final vows, it is quite possible that they were taken in 1416, perhaps even in 1415. In fact, an earlier date than 1417 is more likely, for ordination normally followed soon after the completion of pre-theological studies,³⁷ and Capgrave must have been entered upon the six year course as student and cursor by early 1416 at the latest in order to have completed it by 1421 when he was made a lector.³⁸

Concessimus venerabili viro Willelmo Wellis provinciali provincie Anglie ut completa forma debita fratrum Iohannis Capgrave cursoris Londonis ac Gilberto Grey possit ipsis conferre gradum lectori in universitate Oxoniensi vel Cantabriggensi, prout ipsi coniunctim vel divisim elegerint, habita tamen depositione quatuor magistrorum etc. Et si ipse provincialis non posset dictos fratres lectorare, committat alteri vices suas auctoritate nostra. Concedentes insuper dictis iuvenibus et volentes, ut scilicet primo, videlicet fratri Iohanni, quod annus primus lecture sententiarum computetur pro primo anno universitatis, et quartus annus lecture naturalium commutetur similiter in annum theologie dicto fratri Gilberto Grey de gratia speciali.

By the time he had finished at the studium particulare in Norwich (c. 1415) Capgrave's scholastic abilities must have been recognized,

for the prior-provincial had to recommend promotion to the few places available in the higher schools. Though there can be little doubt that the masters of Capgrave's own area supported him, there is an additional factor which cannot be ignored in accounting for Capgrave's extraordinarily rapid preferment.³⁹ The long-time prior-provincial (1402-1417; 1419-1422) Willam Welles was himself originally a member of the Lynn convent, and he is known to have spent much of his time there. Since he must have met Capgrave, he may have personally sponsored him.

For most students the universities offered the only avenue for the pursuit of advanced studies, but after a series of disputes early in the fourteenth century the friars won certain privileges. The university faculties of arts preserved their rights to the extent that the theological degrees of the friars were subject to the approval of all the regents and that only one member of each order could receive the doctorate every two years; but the friars were customarily exempt from the requirement that the arts programme be fully satisfied and they were allowed to study elsewhere and yet receive Oxford and Cambridge degrees.⁴⁰ The end result of this compromise was that there were two kinds of schools in which the requirements of the first years of the theological programme could be fulfilled by a member of the mendicant orders. The lesser of these was the so-called studium generale provinciae, a school of theology under the control of the prior-provincial. The major ones, the studia generalis ordinis, under the direct control of the prior-general, were located in the university towns, and they were more international in character. But since the

Augustinians, like the other orders of friars, did not enter the faculty of theology proper and studied instead at their own houses with their own lectors, the courses given in the university towns varied little from those provided by the other established studia.

Lynn and London were both among the three known studia provinciae in the English Augustinian province, and it was in them that Capgrave followed the theological course. In all probability, he spent the first two years (1415-1417) at Lynn where there had been a lector in theology since at least 1382,⁴¹ and then moved to London for the period 1417-1422. The basis of the assumption that Capgrave was at Lynn for his first two years in theology is that, following the statutes of the order, he would not have been permitted to spend more than five years in London and that he is known to have remained there until 1422. Accordingly, he passed through the three pre-degree grades of student, cursor, and lector with their increasing degrees of responsibility for responses and lectures before he reached Cambridge. Two of his student years were at Lynn, and then he was one year a student, three a cursor, and one a lector at the London convent, long the largest and most important one in the country.

Perhaps of less relative importance than the one in Lynn so far as the citizenry was concerned, the Austin convent in London was nevertheless imposing. It was located against the city walls at Bishopsgate and its enormous church, built in 1354, was not much smaller than Canterbury Cathedral. Large crowds -- including the water-bearers whose guild church it was -- filled the preaching apse on Sundays, and

rooms were frequently let to them and others for offices, meetings, and entertainments. Guild members as well as prominent citizens and members of the royal family were buried there,⁴² and bequests, conditional or otherwise, were frequent. All of these details emphasize the many connections the friars had with the outside world.

The particulars of Capgrave's life in London cannot be precisely reconstructed. Unfortunately for the historian, the friars were exempt from episcopal visitation; and records which would doubtless have revealed some of the more characteristic trials of group living are not available. Surely there were complaints (ranging from the foul meat supplied by the kitchener's relatives to the favouritism of the prior) as were made to Bishop Alnwich when he visited the abbey of St. James at Northampton, where Capgrave's friend, the Augustinian canon regular John Watford, was abbot. If so, they were unrecorded or lost, and only more prosaic accounts of conventual life are left.

One specialized rule for the government of an Augustinian studium generale which has been published is the Mare Magnum produced about 1354 under the direction of the prior-general, Thomas de Strasbourg, for the Paris convent.⁴³ Since the extant copy is dated 1468, it was clearly in force in the fifteenth century, and probably the rules for London were similar. Much is concerned with the handling of expenses, diet, the choice of officials, and punishments allotted for failure to comply with the regulations. Hearing or reading of the mass was a daily requirement for all the brothers, with ordained students below the rank of master or bachelor ordered to celebrate it at least

three times weekly.⁴⁴ This is the only religious observance specifically mentioned, but certainly the hours would also have been celebrated.

Some additional details about the organization of studies are also found in the Mare Magnum. Two elected bachelors of theology or lectors were to examine the student within six days of his entry to determine that his Latin was not merely conversational but according to the rules of grammar; that he adequately understood the principles of logic and philosophy; and that he was sufficiently versed in theological terms to complete the course in the specified time.⁴⁵ The whole course is not outlined, but the actual lectures on the books of the Bible were to be finished in two years - the first devoted to a study of the Pentateuch; the second, to the prophets and the New Testament.⁴⁶ Disputations, with the students who were to argue and respond appointed by an elected master of studies, were held weekly, and they were attended by all the bachelors and masters.

According to this rule, the student was to be admitted as a lector when he had finished the three year course. However, it seems likely that here the term lector reflects the usage of an earlier period, for by Capgrave's time an intermediate three years as cursor, when the student had to lecture on the Bible and the Sentences as well as continue his studies, was required.⁴⁷ Obviously, the three daily lectures and the disputations were not the student's total occupation. Each had a study, of which he might be deprived for various faults, and it was there that he read privately. Each student was allowed to

borrow three books at a time from the library, and the rules to protect these after their heavy use are a further indication that these theological studies were not mere rote exercises but allowed for, and indeed required, individual interest and initiative.

Some of the other items the author of this rule felt obliged to include are reminders that these students were not ascetics divorced from the world outside, but high-spirited young men living in the centre of a bustling city. Punishments are enjoined for "immoderate laughing, whistling, shouting, hand-clapping . . . and beating of dishes"⁴⁸ in the dormitory, chapter-room, cloister, church, or refectory, for staying overnight in the city, and for frequenting taverns. Similarly, the insertion of rules against eating in the cells or entertaining seculars there, even against removing or selling items of furniture from the rooms suggests that a good deal of misbehaviour was either expected or known to exist.

By the fifteenth century, biblical study had evolved to a point where the theological questions had been separated from the study of literal meanings or moral applications.⁴⁹ The debates to resolve apparent contradictions in doctrinal questions had led to the establishment of disputations as a teaching method and to the systematization of doctrine in such works as Peter Lombard's Sentences which with the Vulgate and its glosses were the standard textbooks of the period.⁵⁰ In practice this separation meant that in his first years of theological study the student heard lectures on the books of the Bible and the Glosses, often given by a cursor or lector rather than a master. Each

passage of the text was explained at the literal and moral level, phrase by phrase, or word by word if necessary, and homely examples were frequently given. During the course of the lecture, the theological quaestiones (doctrinal problems) would be pointed out and these would frequently be set for the disputations of the senior students. These disputations were intended not just to be scholastic exercises but to make more clear the reason for accepting proven truths. In the later years, of course, the student's primary focus was doctrinal and the Sentences his major study.

Specific illustrations of the effects of these exercises on Capgrave's style will be discussed in later chapters. Throughout his works there is a tendency to state opposing views which he sometimes, in Origen's fashion, refuses to choose between and, sometimes, tries to resolve as the Lombard and his successors did. Similarly, his constant pauses for literal explanations, etymologies, and moral and symbolic applications all clearly show the shaping force of his long years of biblical study as it was constituted at the time.

The most important political events of his years in London could not have escaped Capgrave's notice, but the only direct reference he makes in his works is to the birth of Henry VI in December of 1421 and the public rejoicing on that occasion.⁵¹ His Chronicle stops before the period he was in London; and his De Illustribus Henricis demonstrably relies on popular reports. He may have had opportunities to meet John Kemp who was later one of his patrons and some of the other dignitaries who frequented the Austin convent; but there is no evidence that he did.

Certainly he would have been concerned with the scandalous disputes over the election of the provincial in 1419 and with the resulting turmoil in the order; but his primary occupation was almost certainly with his individual duties as student and conventual in London. The record has disappeared, but Capgrave must have been made a cursor early in 1418 in order to complete the full three year term before his appointment as lector in 1421. When he assumed the position of cursor, he enjoyed some special privileges and shared the lecturing duties; but in a convent as large as London there were many friars of senior rank.

The little that is known about his fellow friars in London reflects the climate in which he lived. Some twenty, including the prior, are merely names from ordination lists or from the registers of the prior-general; but others, like Henry of Colchester who was a mediator in the 1419 dispute, Nicholas Bonet who sat at the heresy trial of William Taylour in 1423, and the lector John Stocton who later became the prior at Oxford, were figures of some significance in the order. The man who was to become Capgrave's successor as prior-provincial, John Bury, came to London from Clare in 1417, about the same time as Capgrave arrived from Lynn. With his illegal trip to Rome and adventures in France, Bury was clearly a less serious student than Capgrave. Nevertheless, he eventually received his doctorate and had reputation enough to be appointed by Bishop Bourghier, at the instance of John Lowe, to write an answer to Reginald Pecock's The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy in 1457. John Lowe, the only Austin friar elevated to an English see during Capgrave's lifetime, was himself

appointed to London in 1420. With Bonet he was a judge at Tylour's trial, and he went on to become prior-provincial from 1427-1433 confessor to the king in 1432, Bishop of St. Asaph in 1433, and Bishop of Rochester in 1444. While he was Bishop of St. Asaph, he was one of Capgrave's patrons and it may have been he who commended Capgrave's exegetical skill to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. To complete the catalogue, mention should be made of the far less important but equally interesting Thomas Southwell, one of the few friars whose training was in arts and medicine rather than theology. Southwell was instrumental in the founding of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in London in 1423, and he was later arrested with Duke Humphrey's wife Eleanor Cobham on charges of necromancy.

After Capgrave was made a lector, he would normally have spent an additional four years before being admitted as a bachelor of theology.⁵² In the first three years he was to give lectures on the Bible and the Sentences and in the last year, the one known formally as the "opponency," he was expected to engage in a series of difficult formal disputations. However, numbers made it impossible for all candidates to give a full course of lectures, and Capgrave had already been a cursor for three years. Consequently as the document cited above states, he was granted exemption from the lectures on the Sentences when he was appointed a lector on April 8, 1421.

There was apparently no place immediately available at either university, for Capgrave was still in London eight months later when Henry VI was born on December 6, 1421; and a second letter of appoint-

ment, this time specifically to Cambridge, appears in the prior-general's registers for April 13, 1422:⁵³

Assignavimus fratri Iohanni Capgrave, lectori formato provincie Anglie, proximum bacchalarium, promoti locum alienigenis debitum in universitate Cantabriggensi eiusdem provincie, ita quod cum promotus pro limite Cantabriggensi debeat commutari et quartus annus ab anno presenti pro oppositione sibi deputetur in eadem universitate. Eoque ordine procedat usque ad gradum magisterii inclusive, non obstante quacumque ordinatione aut statuto quomodo-libet huius oppositum dictante, super quibus omnibus dispensamus.

This appointment is in the standard form, assuming that the student will not be presented for the bachelor's degree for four years and then will proceed to his magisterium (doctorate in theology) without any impediment. However, not only must Capgrave's earlier exemption from the Sentences have been honoured, but his additional year in London must also have been construed as his year on the Bible, for, as he himself confirms, he entered the year of opponency immediately and was promoted to the baccalaureate on March 20, 1423:⁵⁴

Fecimus fratrem Iohannem Capgrave lectorem provincie Anglie Bacchalarium auctoritate nostra, assignantes ei promotum Bacchalarium promoti locum alienigenis debitum in nostro conventu et universitate Cantabriggensi de gratia speciali.

Because no documentary evidence exists, it is not possible to date Capgrave's final degree with certainty. It is clear from the form of his appointment to Cambridge in 1422 that it was assumed that Capgrave would proceed directly from the baccalaureate to the magisterium. And both that document and the one awarding him his bachelor's degree assigned him to a "locum alienigenis debitum," a phrase which indicates that Capgrave was among the select group of four students in the convent

at various stages in their studies for the highest degree. Since each order of friars was permitted only one promotion to the magisterium every two years, the Austins restricted the number preparing for the degree at each university to four; two from the English province, one from Italy, and one from another foreign country. After the Schism had ended and the number of other studia generalia for the order had increased, it was less necessary for foreigners to come to Oxford and Cambridge. Consequently, Capgrave was assigned one of the two places formerly reserved for foreign friars when he was made a baccalarius formatus; that is, when, having completed all the requirements as a lector, he was waiting to be able to incept as a magister.

To this point the evidence is relatively uncomplicated, but unfortunately missing details make a definitive chronology or catalogue of the Austin magisters at Cambridge impossible. It is known that a Geoffrey Schale was the Austin magister in 1421; but whether or not the Thomas Lassell who was directed in 1420 to qualify for the degree ever did is uncertain, for there are no further references to him.⁵⁵ If he did take the degree, it was probably in 1423; if he did not, there is one other possibility for that year -- the poet Osbern Bokenham. Bokenham was made a baccalarius the day after Capgrave had been (March 21, 1423), and it is possible as Father Roth suggests that the words "incorporari possit" in the document conferring the degree on him meant he was to incept as magister directly.⁵⁶ Some circumstantial evidence that he did so comes from the fact that he applied for and received permission to go to Rome later in that same year. If he had become a

magister, he would not have been interrupting his studies, although he could not then have performed the two year tour of duty as a regent performing academic functions that was required of each new master. Because, in fact, Bokenham did not go to the continent until about ten years later, in all probability he did take the degree in 1423, act as regent until 1425, and then return to his home convent of Clare where he is to be found by 1427. Following him, Capgrave would have incepted in 1425 and remained at Cambridge as a regent until at least 1427.⁵⁷

During his first three years at Cambridge Capgrave must have engaged in public disputations, for sixteen were required in the year of opponency before the bachelor's degree was awarded and two more were part of the formalities surrounding the inception as magister. However, there is no record of them; and, in fact, no bachelor's Responsiones (the ideas he presented in answer to the question which was set for the disputation) or master's Determinaciones (the pronouncement of the correct answer at the end of the disputation) have survived for any English Austin friar.⁵⁸

Capgrave's one required sermon, which he preached in 1422, exists in his own later English redaction appended to his Life of St. Gilbert. His subject, the orders under the rule of St. Augustine, is not typical of the moral and doctrinal points on which most sermons were based, but it was timely. The dispute between the canons regular and the hermits over their respective antiquity and relationship to the communities founded by St. Augustine was longstanding; and an Augustinian canon had published a tract ridiculing the direct descent of the

order of hermits from St. Augustine's desert establishments in the same year.⁵⁹ Within its brief compass, this sermon demonstrates the ingenuity of practitioners of the exegetical method; and it provides a developed example of the kind of contrived analogy which become characteristic brief digressions in Capgrave's vernacular works. It begins by likening Augustine to Jacob in three ways; but the specific purpose of the comparison is to prepare for the use of the twelve tribes of Israel, Jacob's sons, as a schema on which to arrange the twelve orders. Following this introduction, Capgrave proceeds in logical order, mentioning one of Jacob's sons, giving the etymology of his name, and adducing a reason why a certain order may be likened to him.

As a bachelor and then master, Capgrave enjoyed privileges denied those of lesser academic rank. He was entitled to at least one servant, to additional books for his personal use, and even to larger portions at meal times. More important, however, were the dispensations from the rules which allowed him opportunity for private conversations with his own brothers and freedom to meet and entertain acquaintances from outside the order. Only one other Austin friar present at the Cambridge convent during these years is still a familiar name, the poet Bokenham. If he had indeed shown such promise as a theologian that he was preferred to the magisterium before Capgrave, there is no evidence of it in his later works. Bokenham spent most of his life in the Clare convent, and though he had a circle of friends among the Suffolk gentry who commissioned his works, he never achieved the reputation for learning or the distinguished patronage that Capgrave did. Provincial

chapter meetings ensured the continuing contact of the two friars, and Bokenham is known to have seen Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine before he began his own. However, there is no clear evidence of influence -- reciprocal or unilateral.

Capgrave may have known the Premonstratensian canon John Wygenhale before he came to Cambridge, for all four of the Norfolk towns called Wighenhall lie within close proximity to Lynn. Since the priory of the white canons was directly across from the Austin convent, they certainly had every opportunity to meet at the university. It is also possible that Capgrave faced such future bishops as William Ayscough, Marmaduke Lumley and Robert Fitzhugh in the disputations and that he was able to use such associations to advantage later. The first two were close friends of the Duke of Suffolk who was, in turn, the protector of Sir Thomas Tuddenham who financed Capgrave's trip to Rome.

There can be no doubt that Capgrave sharpened his critical senses in the wider field of the university's theological halls and that as a regent he became expert in the resolution of debated points. When he was replaced as regent by whoever became the new Austin magister in 1427, Capgrave was ready to move back into the system of his order and begin training younger men in the labourious course he had just finished.

III

From the completion of his Cambridge studies in 1427 until 1437, there is no reference to Capgrave's activities. Furnivall speculated that it was during these years that he travelled to Rome,⁶⁰ but his hypothesis was invalidated by the discovery of Capgrave's Solace of Pilgrims, his guide-book to the holy city, which can be conclusively dated c. 1450 on internal grounds. De Meijer thinks "it is possible that Capgrave returned to his native friary, dedicating himself to historical studies and theological commentaries."⁶¹ It is equally possible that he was appointed to lecture at one of the other convents in the province and the biblical studies he superintended for young friars provided the basis for his earliest writings. One convent where he may well have gone was the one in Northampton. It was so short of brothers by 1427, the year in which Capgrave finished his term as regent, that the prior-general empowered the superior of the house to "receive and keep four brethren from each English limit and six brethren from each ultra-marine province."⁶² Because he had just finished his academic duties and had not embarked on any other course, it is quite likely that Capgrave was chosen to swell its members. Residence in Northampton would account for Capgrave's otherwise unexplained acquaintance with the abbot of the abbey of St. James there, John Watford, to whom he addressed his Concordia, a work intended to reconcile the differences between the Austin friars and the Augustinian canons regular.⁶³ In addition, if he were living at Northampton rather than Lynn, his

trip to Woodstock in 1439 to present his Genesis commentary to Duke Humphrey of Gloucester would have been far more feasible.

The list of works no longer extant which are attributed to Capgrave is lengthy. All of them are presumed to be in Latin; and, with the exception of a life of Duke Humphrey, they are all theological in content, but the authorities for their existence are of unequal value. For example, Bale gives incipits for the three missing commentaries on books of the Pentateuch and for commentaries on the Psalms, the Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse, but none for those on Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Daniel, the twelve minor prophets or the canonical epistles or the four evangelists; and, thus, these may well be ghosts. Capgrave certainly wrote commentaries on the four books of Kings. He mentions them in his dedicatory letter to the Genesis commentary; books I and III were among the works given to the Oxford library by Duke Humphrey in 1444; and Leland notes that he saw commentaries on Kings, presumably to books II and IV,⁶⁴ dedicated to John Lowe, both at a former library of the Austin friars in Cambridge and at Walsingham monastery.

Two of the lost manuscripts, those of the Manipulus Doctrinae Christianae and of the Concordia or De Augustino et Suis Sequacibus, were in the library of Leland's friend Thomas Key; and the Concordia, which is mentioned by Capgrave in two of his other works,⁶⁵ found its way into Bale's possession.⁶⁶ The early biographers further credit Capgrave with five works of a scholastic character: Commentarii Quattuor Super Sententias, Determinationes Theologiae, Ordinariae

Disputationes, Ad Positiones Erroneas, and Orationes ad Clerum. There is not a single incipit preserved for any of these works, however, any more than there is for a book of sermons some have attributed to him; and given the tendency of early bibliographers to take the various kinds of scriptural and scholastic works and assign them at random to swell the catalogues, there seems little reason to perpetuate these titles in Capgrave's canon. And, finally, a history of the illustrious Augustinians which may correspond to the Concordia mentioned earlier is usually attributed to him.⁶⁷

Capgrave is generally regarded as a patronized writer,⁶⁸ but he was never as fashionable as John Lydgate nor did he enjoy a coterie fame comparable to that of his fellow friar, Osbern Bokenham. Theological commentary was not the genre sought after by the new patrons or by the humanists, and they did not entreat the man Bale was to describe as "the most learned of the Augustinians" to write for them. Patrons normally paid for the elaborate dedication copies of manuscripts, and those who received Capgrave's may well have done so too, especially since books made in the convent scriptorium, as his were, were not to be alienated unless they were sold with special permission.⁶⁹ However, Capgrave never petitions for more money; at most he includes a plea to be remembered in his patron's prayers as he does at the end of his Life of St. Augustine.⁷⁰

In the few works which Capgrave is known to have written on request, the subject is always appropriate to the recipient. The St. Norbert was written for a canon of his order, John Wygenhale; the St.

Augustine, for an unnamed lady born on the saint's feast day; and the St. Gilbert for Nicholas Reysby, the master of the Order of Sempringham. These volumes contain neither the long dedications of the Latin works nor the sycophantic tone which Furnivall condemns and others apologize for.⁷¹ In each case, Capgrave praises the piety of his patrons, but only in modest terms.

Some of his Biblical commentaries were also written on request, but as in his De Illustribus Henricis, The Chronicle of England, and The Solace of Pilgrims, he was basically drawn to the task of explication through his own interest in the subject matter. In the commentaries the dedications are compliments on the attainments of the man addressed and expressions of esteem for the position he holds.

Capgrave dedicated all or part of his commentary on Kings to the former prior-provincial of his order, John Lowe, during the years (1433-1437) when Lowe was the bishop of St. Asaph. The manuscripts are lost, but the form was the same as he later used in the Genesis and Exodus commentaries which he presented to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. As he explains to the Duke at the beginning of the Genesis, Capgrave's method involved a "triple exposition" for each passage, giving the literal, allegorical, and moral interpretations. Capgrave points out that the exegesis in these works is not original and that he regards himself merely as the selector and organizer of the fruits of his research. But, while this is true, in examining his sources critically, choosing and selecting his materials in terms of his own beliefs, Capgrave was employing the same scholarly method as is evident in his

English works.

Because Duke Humphrey owned two volumes of the commentary on Kings, it has often been assumed that they were dedicated to him.⁷² However, since John Lowe had been the young king's confessor while Gloucester was his guardian and since it was at least partially through Humphrey's intercession that he obtained his bishopric,⁷³ he may well have forwarded Capgrave's work to the Duke.

Humphrey of Gloucester was certainly the most important English patron of his day, supporting both native and continental writers. He received dedications from many of the contemporary English poets and chroniclers including John Whethamstede, John Lydgate, John Russell, George Ashley, and Thomas de Norton. Studies of fifteenth century humanism have revealed his correspondence with Decembrio, who translated the Republic for him; he commissioned a number of other translations into Latin from Greek by his secretary Beccaria and by Leonardo Bruni; and he gave financial support to Tito Livio Frulovisi among many others. Moreover, his large gifts of books were essential to the growth of the library at Oxford. For all this, it is easy to over-emphasize Humphrey's role and literary character. When the contents of his library are analyzed it is clear that his interests were primarily theological and historical, and thus John Capgrave fits easily into the mainstream of those the Duke patronized.

On the other hand, it is improbable that their relationship was as close as biographers since the seventeenth century have implied when they state that Capgrave was the Duke's confessor. It may be that

Humphrey chose Augustinians for this capacity in his personal retinue; and certainly an Austin friar named John South was his confessor in 1446. But that Capgrave ever was is not demonstrable. Leland says only that Humphrey "toties literatissimi Capogrevi prudentissimo consilio utebatur;" and Bale does not necessarily mean more than that the two men discussed moral problems in private when he says:

Illum igitur prae aliis elegit piissimus sui temporis princeps Umfridus Glocestriae dux praedictus, Henrici quinti frater, ut ei adesset a conscientiae secretis.

or

Illum ergo prae aliis multis elegit piissimus eius temporis princeps, Hunfridus Glocestriae dux, illustrissimi Henrici quinti Anglorum regis frater, ut sibi interdum esset a conscientiae colloquio.

It was John Pits who finally introduced the word "confess" into the standard biography in 1619:

Singularum habuit patronum Humfredum Glocestriae Ducem, principem optimum, apud quem multum valuit gratia nec minus auctoritate. Erat enim illi a confessionum secretis

And, finally, in a work published in 1644 a Spanish Augustinian friar, Tomas de Herrera, makes the relationship clearly sacramental:

Fuit a sacris confessionibus Hunfrido Duci Glocestriae, Henrici V Anglorum regis fratri.⁷⁴

These quotations demonstrate the gradual alterations in a written record which was unsubstantiated in the first instance; and there is, in fact, no evidence that Capgrave met Humphrey more than once, in January, 1439, when he presented his dedication copy of the Genesis commentary to the Duke at Woodstock.

The reasons Capgrave gives for dedicating the Genesis to Humphrey do not suggest that the two had any personal relationship earlier:

Meditationes meas, quibus in Scripturarum campo ludens delictabar, scriptis mandare intendens, aliisque communicare cupiens, nulli alio melius destinandas putabam, serenissime Princeps, quam Dominationi vestrae, quippe qui, acumine intellectus subtilissimi vicens, studiosissime, ut fertur, in scrutandis veterum auctorum opusculis indulgetis. Et, quia excellentior via humani studii Sancta Scriptura esse dinoscitur, ideo ad eam specialissime invisendam Spiritus Ille Supremo Patris vos, ut audivi, inspiravit.

O quam gloriosum mihi est videre Principem, in his diebus malis, quibus ab ecclesiasticis quasi repellitur scientia, scientiae insudantem et tanquam iis, qui in ecclesia sunt et studium negligunt sanctum, . . .

. . . Causa ergo studii vestri, qua occupatissime animum libris impenditis, me maxime movit ut illuc opusculum parvitatatis meae mitterem, ubi scientia iudicandi de litteratura invenitur.

Sed et, Annualia mea revolvens, aliud inveni quod me monet. Scriptum enim in iis reperi, quod anno Domini M. CCXLVIII. fundatus fuerat Ordo Heremitarum Sancti Augustini in Anglia per Ricardum de Clara, filium Gilberti de Clara, comitemque Gloverniae. Quia igitur per gloriosos progenitores vestros in hanc ubertatis terram ducti sumus, digne ad illum, qui generalis fundator noster est, ego totius Ordinis novissimus hoc opus meum direxi, ut si qua Catholice, et ad Fidem aedificandam, ibi inventa fuerint, ipse non tantum fundator, sed et protector eorum habeatur. Si qua vero inculta, aut piis moribus dissona, illic inventiantur, ipse correctionis lima benignissime emendet.

Movit me etiam hoc tertium, quod contra venenosas linguas modernorum Dominatio vestra murus sit, qui tunciones excipiat. . . . Non ignoramus, inclite Domine, quod ex bona voluntate vestra optimoque desiderio tota salus nostra dependeat, nec sumus apti ad reddendas vices tuarum sanctarum meditationum, quas Deo offerimus.⁷⁵

In this passage Capgrave makes clear, first of all, that he had no dedicatee in mind when he undertook his exegesis; and then he enumerates three considerations which prompted his choice of Humphrey. He pays tribute to the Duke for taking an interest in theology in a time when many clerics themselves are seeking more worldly rewards; he

recalls that an earlier Duke of Gloucester was a founder of the Augustinian order in England; and finally he points to the present duke as their guardian against "poisonous tongues." This last item seems to be a reference to Humphrey's intervention at Oxford in 1438 when he threatened to withdraw his support after an Austin friar and then the whole convent had been suspended; and it may be, therefore, an indirect expression of gratitude to the duke from Capgrave and his order. At all events, the author and his work were well enough recommended that Capgrave was allowed to make a personal presentation of the book on January 1, 1439; the reception apparently being favourable, he began his commentary on Exodus a little more than two weeks later⁷⁶ and dedicated it to the duke as well.

Capgrave probably worked on these scriptural exegeses systematically in the hours he had free from his teaching and canonical duties. In addition to them, he also wrote the lost Concordia, commonly called De Augustino et suis sequacibus by the biographers, during this first period of literary activity.⁷⁷ Dated c. 1440, the Concordia was dedicated to the Augustinian canon regular John Watford, who headed his priory in Northampton from 1430 until his death in 1445. Capgrave provides a précis of its contents in The Solace of Pilgrims where he calls it "a maner of concord betwix þe chanonys and us," that is, between the canons regular under the rule of St. Augustine and the Austin friars. And he also says it contains some additional material concerning how "monica came thider [to Rome] and in whos tyme." Obviously the work was part of the same long literary dispute over the priority of

the Augustinian orders which Capgrave had used a few years earlier as the topic of his university sermon. In keeping with his avowed desire for "concord," Capgrave would have avoided the polemical tone in his treatise, although his conclusion there as elsewhere was doubtless that "heremites of this ordre be the very childyrn of seynt Austyn."⁷⁸ His methods in his other works suggest that he cited the various arguments, expressed scepticism about some, and resolved others to his own satisfaction.

Besides continuing with his religious pieces, Capgrave wrote six of his seven English works between 1440 and 1453; and it is chiefly from a knowledge of their backgrounds and from a few internal references in them and in the Latin De Illustribus Henricis that it is possible to describe his non-literary career. For example, the fact that he completed his long poetic Life of St. Norbert in August, 1440,⁷⁹ shortly after he finished work on the Exodus commentary, is important on the literary level because it provides a reminder that the methods of biblical exegesis were natural to him and that they are bound to be apparent in his vernacular works as well. But also what is known about the dedicatee of the Life of St. Norbert is the basis for the conjecture that by this time Capgrave was again a member of the Austin convent at Lynn. It was produced at the request of John Wygenhale who had been his contemporary at Cambridge and had become the abbot of the Premonstratensian Priory at West Dereham, Norfolk. The renewed association of the two men which the commission of the poem assumes would be most likely if Capgrave had returned to Lynn, for West Dereham is less than

ten miles away.

The only direct evidence Capgrave provides of his movements in the early part of the decade occurs in De Illustribus Henricis (p. 133) when he mentions his presence in Cambridge at the laying of the cornerstone for King's College in 1441. While it would not have been difficult for him to go to Cambridge from Lynn for such an occasion, the reference is too vague to be used to confirm or refute any conjecture about his home at the time. However, he was certainly in Lynn by the time he undertook his second and last poetic work, The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria, for it was there that he says he found his source. And since Osbern Bokenham had seen Capgrave's work when he wrote his own version of the life for Katherine Denston, Capgrave must have completed his poem by 1445. All four of the manuscripts of it are dated in the mid-fifteenth century;⁸⁰ and none is the author's original. The number of extant manuscripts probably reflects less Capgrave's popularity than that of saints' lives in general and lives of St. Katherine in particular, but that there should be so many so close in date suggests that it was copied rapidly.

The St. Katherine is the only one of the English works which bears neither a dedication nor words of praise for some titled person, and this fact substantiates Capgrave's statement that he was modernizing an older version which was the work of a priest who died at Lynn.⁸¹ It also suggests that Capgrave had a broader purpose than the satisfaction of a single patron when he wrote the poem. What evidence there is about the provenance of the manuscripts gives no indication that the

St. Katherine ever spread beyond Norfolk and Suffolk or that it was ever read or heard by any but a religious audience. Even the copy with the fewest of Capgrave's linguistic forms was presented to the Augustinian canonesses at Campsey Ash, Suffolk.⁸² Its artistic propensities will be discussed later, but throughout the work there are summaries and comments on the method of composition which indicate that the poem was intended to be heard by an audience rather than read privately; and it may have been designed to be read as a work of devotion during meal-times in convents.

Because both his Latin and English works were either requested or at least gratefully received by important as well as lesser figures, it is clear that Capgrave's theological reputation was established by this time. There is also evidence that he had become a highly regarded member of his order, for by 1446, and perhaps as early as 1440, Capgrave was elected prior at Lynn. In this capacity he would have continued to attend the provincial chapters as he presumably had done since, on obtaining the magisterium in 1425, he became eligible to vote. His office as prior had to be confirmed at each meeting of the provincial chapter, but this confirmation was largely a formality. As a prior, his influence would have been greater than it had been when he was simply a master, and probably he held various offices subordinate to the provincial before his later election to that highest office, as those who succeeded him, including Bury, Halam, and Penketh, are known to have done. Unfortunately, however, the leaves in the prior-general's register which should cover this period in the history of the English

province are missing. It is not even certain who the prior-provincial were, much less the minor officials and the places where the meetings were held.

In his De Illustribus Henricis (pp. 137-139), Capgrave records the visit of Henry VI to Lynn in 1446 and the conversation they had on their tour around the convent. He also says that the house numbered thirty priests and sixteen boys, evidently attending grammar school, and an unspecified number of brothers in minor orders. Such a population makes Lynn one of the largest of the Austin convents; and the presence of so many junior members suggests that it was at this time a studium provinciae.⁸³ The administration of the financial and religious activities in the convent, including the appointment of confessors and preachers to the well-attended church, agreements with servants, tenants, and public officials, and the supervision of students and studies left Capgrave little time for literary work.

Nevertheless, he apparently inserted a chapter on Henry VI and finished the De Illustribus Henricis soon after the king's visit. The holograph manuscript with its different coloured inks and marginal additions makes clear that Capgrave composed the parts sporadically; and marked changes in the script, ink, and ruling demonstrate that the seventh gathering on Henry VI was added later.⁸⁴ It should also be noted that this work contains the only reference to Capgrave's intention to write a life of the Duke of Gloucester (p. 109), and it is possible that Leland and Bale and others following them credited Capgrave with such a work without any further manuscript evidence. As the title indicates,

the book is thoroughly adulatory and uncritical in tone even of such recent figures as Henry Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, with whose true character and history Capgrave must have been familiar.

Sometime during his years as prior or earlier, Capgrave became acquainted with the notorious extortionist Sir Thomas Tuddenham who with his fellow justice of the peace, Thomas Heydon, blackmailed and terrorized many among the Norfolk gentry, including notably the Paston family. Tuddenham's estate at Oxburgh was near Lynn, and he doubtless frequented the borough. Not only was he a man whose enmity was to be feared and, therefore, one whom Capgrave would seek to mollify, he was also evidently a benefactor of the Augustinian friars, for he was buried in the church of their London convent after his execution for treason in 1461.⁸⁵ The precise association Capgrave had with him is not known, but it was at Tuddenham's expense that Capgrave made his only documented visit outside England, a pilgrimage to Rome.

Since Capgrave himself does not date his trip and no record of an exit permit for him has been discovered, only the general dates c. 1447-1452 can be given for the composition of The Solace of Pilgrims. The terminus a quo reflects his notice of the April 1447 death of Cardinal Beaufort; the terminus ad quem, the fact that he refers to John Kemp as cardinal titular of St. Balbina and Archbishop of York rather than as cardinal bishop of St. Rufina and Archbishop of Canterbury as he became in 1452.

There was a steady stream of English travellers to Rome during the middle ages, several hundred a year by Capgrave's time,⁸⁶ both on

business to the papal curia and on pilgrimages. De Meijer speculates that Capgrave's trip was in 1450, the year of Pope Nicholas' jubilee, on the grounds that Capgrave several times mentions large crowds,⁸⁷ but there are a number of reasons for suggesting that 1449 is a more likely year. Not only would Capgrave surely have noted the special celebrations of a holy year, but also the crowds at certain shrines on days of indulgence would have seemed large to an Englishman who had spent most of his life in smaller, less holy centres regardless of the year. There are, however, two stronger reasons for choosing 1449. First, it is known that there was a meeting of the General Chapter of the order in that year; since there is no evidence of another English representative having been sent, it is not unlikely that Capgrave, who was appointed prior-provincial only four years later, was chosen. Moreover, Capgrave's patron Tuddenham immediately fell from his position of prominence on the death of the Duke of Suffolk in 1450, and he and Heydon were the subjects of a great series of lawsuits during that year. While the charges were ultimately dismissed and Tuddenham restored, Capgrave would not have been likely to commemorate Tuddenham at the beginning of the Solace in the year of his disgrace.

Capgrave left no description of his trip to Italy, but he probably stopped at Paris which was a major studium generale where he may have seen the manuscript of Jordanus of Saxony's Vita Sancti Augustini, the source for his own Life of St. Augustine.⁸⁸ Travelling through Italy, he no doubt visited other major Augustinian houses, including Lecceto where the English Austin friar William Flete, a confidant of St.

Catherine of Siena, lived his hermit existence. His stay in Rome was long enough to enable him to see all the major shrines; and it was extended by an illness.

While he was ill, he was befriended by William Gray. They may have met more than a decade earlier when Capgrave entered the circle surrounding Duke Humphrey and Gray was a Balliol student. Gray's lineage would have given him entry into the group, and his own theological interests and knowledge of Humphrey's first gift to the university would have attracted him to Woodstock. By the time Capgrave came to Rome, Gray was himself a distinguished collector of manuscripts and a well-known patron as well as Henry VI's proctor at the papal court. It is a significant indication of Capgrave's reputation, and further evidence that he was not acting in a private capacity on the trip that he should be attended by a man whom the pope personally, albeit unsuccessfully, was to try to promote to a bishopric in 1450.

Capgrave may have had access to Gray's extensive library where he would have seen many Italian works not often found in England,⁸⁹ and he probably made at least the outline of his Solace of Pilgrims during his period of recuperation. Apart from the recollection of scenes in considerable detail, the many inscriptions which he records suggest that he worked on the book while he was still in Rome.

One authority suggests that Capgrave remained in Rome for a year and a half.⁹⁰ If so, he must indeed have begun his trip in 1449 and worked on the Solace of Pilgrims during his absence, for he had returned to England and completed his last two saints' lives by 1451.⁹¹ For an

Augustinian author, a life of the founder was a natural project, and Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine reveals a close familiarity with both the genuine and spurious writings in the saint's canon, especially in the early chapters where he is not depending on his main source.

Stylistic considerations will be dealt with in detail later, but the St. Augustine is in every way superior to the hastily composed Life of St. Gilbert which followed it. When the master of the order of Semp-
ringham, Nicholas Reysby, made known his admiration for the St. August-
tine and requested a similar work on his patron, he may well have pro-
vided the Latin manuscript which Capgrave took as his source. It is an
ill-conceived work containing two recensions of the life. Capgrave
applied little of his usual critical judgment in his translation; he
made few additions; and there is no indication that he tried to remove
the repetitions in it.

The only other work which has been assigned to this period immediately before his election to the provincialate is the lost Manipulus doctrinae Christianae which, according to Bale, was dedica-
ted to John Kemp. Bale's note on it is ambiguous, however, for he
refers to Kemp as both Cardinal of Balbina and Archbishop of Canterbury,
titles he did not hold concurrently. It is more likely that Bale added
the better known title than that Capgrave erred in his dedication, and,
consequently the work has to be dated anywhere between 1439 and 1454.
Circumstantial evidence for a date closer to 1454 is provided by Bale's
cryptic note "Poggio allegat," indicating that Capgrave makes some
allusion to the Italian humanist. Poggio had visited England between

1418 and 1422, and he was well known after that time. Moreover, Duke Humphrey owned at least one of his works, and Capgrave could have seen it. However, since Capgrave so infrequently refers to contemporaries and since Gray was friendly with Poggio during his stay in Italy,⁹² it is most likely that Capgrave's reference to the scholar would follow his lengthy exposure to the humanist group in Rome.

In 1453 Capgrave was elected provincial at Winchester, and the choice was confirmed by the prior-general the following year.⁹³

Confirmavimus in priorem provincialem fratrem Iohannem Capgrave provincie Anglie electum unanimiter et concorditer in capitulo provinciali Veyntonie celebrato 1453 in festo Marie Magdalene approbando electionem ac confirmationem eius per vicarium nostrum de eo factam, dando sibi auctoritatem in temporalibus et spiritualibus ut aliis provincialibus dare consuevimus, precipiendo singulis fratribus dicte provincie, ut sibi sicut legitimo pastori obedient. Confirmavimus acta predicti capituli precipientes prefato provinciali ut illa observari faciat.

Two years later the chapter met at Lynn, where Capgrave made his permanent home, and re-elected him:⁹⁴

Confirmavimus in priorem provincialem huius provincie magistrum Iohannem Capgrave electum unanimiter et concorditer in capitulo Lynie celebrato 6a die mensis Augusti 1455, approbando electionem et confirmationem eius per vicarium nostrum de eo factam dando sibi omnem auctoritatem et potestatem sicut alias habuit in huiusmodi officio provincialatus et confirmavimus omnia acta et diffinitiones in dicto capitulo, precipiendo ut observaret et observari faceret similiter diffinitiones capitulorum generalium.

The only record of his public duties appears in two documents concerning the recognition of Sir Edmund Rede as a founder of the Oxford convent.⁹⁵ Capgrave attended the formal services at the convent church on that occasion and many of his activities must have been of a similar

functional kind. He was also responsible for ensuring that the general rules of the order were observed in the thirty convents of the province, and to that end he made visitations and heard complaints like those noted by the author of the Augustinian rule the Mare Magnum. Other duties were the recommendation of students to the studia generalia, the provision of lectorships, the arbitration of disputes, and the awarding of special dispensations and licenses.

Recent scholars agree that Capgrave finished his term as provincial in 1457 and returned to a quiet life at Lynn, carrying on with his last commentaries and The Chronicle of England. Only two of these commentaries are extant; those on the Acts of the Apostles and on the Creed. Both of them are dedicated to William Gray, and they still remain at Balliol College where Bishop Gray deposited them. With the Apocalypse of John, Capgrave finished his gathering of "eld exposiciones upon scripture into o collection" (Chronicle, p. 1), and turned to an enlargement of the Annualia which he had mentioned as early as 1438 in the Dedication to the Genesis commentary. Capgrave's dedication of this book to the new king, Edward IV, earned him the contempt of F.J. Furnivall, and Furnivall's condemnation of him as a time-server has too long been part of the standard characterization.

The power struggles which resulted in the civil war had their origins in events which took place before Capgrave's birth; and they were not concluded until two decades after his death. The older historical interpretation which placed all fifteenth century figures on either the Lancastrian or Yorkist side has been supplanted by a far

more complex view. It is now clear that the battles with the Percies, the rivalries of Henry V's brothers (the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester) for influence in the councils of the young king Henry VI during the 1420's, the disgrace of Gloucester in the 1440's and of the Duke of Suffolk in 1450, as well as the battles of the next three decades were all manifestations at the courtly level of the struggle for the control of wealth and policy which is seen not only in the alliances formed by aristocratic families but also in borough activities.

Many of the lesser known disputes, important for their effect on the social and economic stability of fifteenth century England, took place in the Northern counties and in East Anglia. The troubles in Lynn itself were mentioned earlier, severe riots took place in Norwich in the 1420's, and the general lawlessness in the county is reflected in reports in the Paston Letters.

The administration of justice was dependent on influence, and the cost of appeals was so great that there was little the average person could do if he were injured. Moreover, without wealth, he had little chance of effecting any change in the situation. In such circumstances the loyalty of the individual lay with those who could protect his interests, and, obviously, his concern was primarily on a local level. There is no doubt that the office of the king was respected, but it is equally certain that the general populace was willing to support whoever could gain the throne.

The source of the conflict was not the justice of either side's claim to the crown. In addition, the small numbers involved in actual

battles forcibly demonstrates that the mass of people were not moved by the issues. Most of Capgrave's associates have been described as violent adherents of one or the other side; but in fact they were moved by considerations of advantage rather than principle. What their actions show above all is that Capgrave, without family or high ecclesiastical position, would not have been required to take sides and that he had little reason to do so. And it is hardly surprising, nor a matter for condemnation, then, that Capgrave, among many others, should laud Henry VI in the dedication to one work and Edward IV in another.

Whether his Chronicle was cut short because of his death, because he was concerned not to indulge in controversy, or because he had partially covered the ground in his De Illustribus Henricis cannot be definitively determined. While his sources are well known and he added little, the work is an interesting pastiche of medieval interests and beliefs. Moreover, there is individuality in the characteristic scepticism of many of his comments.

Capgrave died in Lynn, where he had spent most of his life, on August 12, 1464. His reputation for learning, enhanced by the report that Henry VII tried to have him beatified,⁹⁶ was passed from annalist to annalist, but for nearly four hundred years the only work considered to be his that was ever printed was a version of John of Tynmouth's Nova Legenda Angliae.⁹⁷ Even in his own day his works do not seem to have been as well known as he was. However, The Life of St. Katherine, as has been shown, was circulated locally, and The Chronicle of England was copied in the next century. Extant fragments indicate that a

second Solace of Pilgrims, a second St. Gilbert, and a second De Illustribus Henricis once existed, and references suggest that additional copies were made of the commentaries on Genesis, Kings II and IV, and the Creed.

The survey of Capgrave's career which this chapter has made provides the context for a literary evaluation of his long-ignored vernacular works. It makes clear that while his writings are the major source of information about him, they -- and especially the vernacular ones -- are by no means the most important side of his active career. And while the discussion of his works proceeds, it is important to be mindful of the distinction between Capgrave the learned friar chiefly concerned with theology and his religious duties and Capgrave the author who occasionally, almost avocationally, wrote devotional pieces. Through Capgrave, a new perspective on certain aspects of fifteenth century letters may be achieved, for he is the only recognized scholar of the time with a large vernacular canon. His English works are not characteristic of his writings as a whole in the sense that they are not exegetical in intention, but they are more interesting because they show the stylistic effects of a strict scholastic education on familiar genres and because, through Capgrave's own comments on his points of divergence from his sources, his method of composition may be seen. In the following chapters all of the English works will be discussed, beginning with the largest group, the saints' lives.

Footnotes

* The handling of Latin words, phrases, and quotations accords with standard usage throughout the text with one exception. For emphasis, direct Latin quotations (followed immediately by a reference to their source in parentheses) are italicized and not placed within quotation marks when they are used for purposes of comparing Capgrave's translations.

¹Ed. F. C. Hingston (London, 1858), p. 259.

²Ed. C. Horstmann, E.E.T.S., O.S. 100 (London, 1893), Prologue, 1. 240.

³L. Torelli, Secoli Agostiniani, VII (Bologna, 1682), 314. A. de Meijer comes to the same conclusion in his three part article on Capgrave. With the single title, "John Capgrave, O.E.S.A.," the three parts were published respectively in Augustiniana, V (1955), 400-440; and Augustiniana, VII (1957), 118-148, 531-574. They will be cited subsequently as de Meijer, Part I, Part II, or Part III. De Meijer discusses the relationship of the two John Capgraves in Part I, 405-406.

⁴F. Roth, The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538, I (New York, 1966), 47.

⁵J.C. Russell, British Medieval Population (Albuquerque, 1948), p. 142. He estimates Lynn's population as 4,691. The eight towns larger than Lynn and their estimated populations in 1377 were: London, 34,971; York, 10,872; Bristol, 9,518; Plymouth, 7,256; Coventry, 7,226; Norwich, 5,928; Lincoln, 5,354; and Salisbury, 4,839.

⁶The contents of the petition are known from the reply to it contained in the Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, Vol. VII, A.D. 1417-1431, ed. J.A. Twenlow (London, 1906), 441-442:

To the bishop of Ely. Mandate as below. The recent petition of the townsmen of Bishop's Lynn (opidanorum ville de Lenne episcopi) in the diocese of Norwich contained that within the bounds of their parish church of St. Margaret, appropriated by papal authority to the prior and convent of Norwich, and served by four monks thereof, one of them called prior, who are removeable at the pleasure of the said prior and convent, and by a hired chaplain, a secular priest, the parishioners built at a time immemorial a chapel of St. James and another of St. Nicholas, in each of which a chaplain has hitherto been and still is/ placed by the said prior and convent, who celebrates

therein mass and other divine offices and administers to a number of the parishioners by old custom all ecclesiastical sacraments, but not baptism, marriage nor churching of women; and adding that in the said town the multitude and devotion of the said parishioners has increased so much that on Easter day every year about 1,600 persons receive the communion (sacramento Eucaristi communicantur) in the said parish church, and in the said chapels of St. Nicholas and St. James about 1,400 and 900 respectively. The pope orders the above bishop, if he finds the facts to be as stated, to grant to the parishioners that they may in the said chapels hear mass and other divine offices by the said chaplains and receive from them the said sacraments, and that the said chaplains may freely administer to them the same; saving the right of the parish church and of any other. Ammonet nos suscepti cura.

⁷ B. Power and M.M. Postan, Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1933), p. 166.

⁸ H.J.M. Kerling, "Aliens in the County of Norfolk, 1436-1485," Norfolk Archaeology, XXXIII (1962), 200-212.

⁹ J. Tait, The Medieval English Borough (Manchester, 1936), p. 148.

¹⁰ E.K. Chambers says, in The Medieval Stage, II (Oxford, 1903), 374:

There was a Corpus Christi guild as early as 1400, and the Tailor's Ordinances of 1441 require them to take part in the Corpus Christi procession; but I do not find evidence of regular annual plays. The Chamberlain's Accounts for 1385, however, include:

'iij^siiij^d to certain players, playing an interlude on Corpus Christi day.'

'iij^siiij^d paid by the Mayor's gift to persons playing the interlude of St. Thomas the Martyr.'

and those for 1462 --

'iij^s paid for two flagons of red wine, spent in the house of Arnulph Tixonye, by the Mayor and most of his brethren, being there to see a certain play at the Feast of Corpus Christi.'

In this same year the Skinners and Sailors 'of the town' received rewards 'for their labour about the procession of Corpus Christi this year.' In 1409-1410 Lady de Beaufort came to see a play.

and Chambers, Ibid., p. 384, also records:

In 1444 the corporation of Lynn showed a play with Mary and Gabriel before Lord Scales. [at Middleton, Norfolk]

¹¹ Further payments are recorded in the extracts from the Lynn records published in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Eleventh Report, Part III (London, 1887), 162-163.

¹² de Meijer, Part I, 407.

¹³ M. Aston, Thomas Arundel (Oxford, 1967), pp. 184-185.

¹⁴ H.J. Hillen, A History of the Borough of King's Lynn, (Norwich, 1907), p. 165.

¹⁵ As he reports in his De Illustribus Henricis, ed. F.C. Hingston (London, 1858), pp. 137-139.

¹⁶ In The Chronicle of England, p. 157.

¹⁷ Throughout his work, Father Roth mentions individual cases of lapsed friars and he discusses frequently recorded cases of the abuse of the vow of poverty (I, 186-189). In addition, he seeks to refute charges of Lollardry made against the Austins. He agrees that the two masters who "spoke against the shirking of taxes by the higher clergy" in 1374 were on the royal or nationalist, as opposed to papal side -- "while it is true that they voiced only the popular sentiment it also indicates the inroads Wyclif's teaching had made among those whose first allegiance should have been to the Pope," (I, 64). But, he says later, "It has often been said that some English Austins sided with Wyclif's social teaching. Whatever their ideas in the matter might have been, his attack upon faith turned them against him" (I, 66). Finally, while he suggests there was a decline in scholarship after Capgrave's death (I, 430), he does not see spiritual desuetude until about forty years before the Act of Supremacy (I, p. 431ff.). For a more generalized view of the possible truth behind charges made against the friars, see A. Williams, "Relations between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy in England in the Later Fourteenth Century," Annale Medievale, I (1969), 22-93.

¹⁸ A survey of the data in A.B. Emden's two biographical registers substantiates these conclusions. These two monumental works, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-1959) and A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1963), include notices of some 434 Augustinian friars. (This number was arrived at by reducing the combined total of 212 at Cambridge and 244 at Oxford by the 22 who are either repeated in the Oxford volumes -- Abyndon, de Venezia, de Lucca, Hervy, and Schwarzenberg -- or who occur in the registers of both universities -- Berewyck, Newbigging, Herford, Godwick, Owenby, Cressall, Constanz, Colchester, Marpes, Benit, Sharyngton, Penketh, Galyon, Curteys, Thwaytes, Rose, Toney.) Of these, 135 received the magisterium, the doctorate in theology. The proportion completing the degree reached

nearly 50% in the generation immediately prior to Capgrave's (35 of 76 English friars between 1360 and 1400). In addition, none of the 66 foreign friars -- primarily Italian and German-- appears before 1358, and there are only 17 after the beginning of the fifteenth century. Even more obvious than these indications of the isolation of the English province of the Augustinian order is the sharp decline in the number of friars who are listed as licensed to preach after c. 1352. Between 1274 and 1352, 42 of 84 are licensed, but only 4 of 113 between 1360 and 1400. Certainly more would have been covered by the blanket licenses issued by some bishops; and, of course, Emden's registers do not include any of the friars who received enough theological training to be licensed to preach but who did not attend either of the universities.

Such data provides a meaningful comment on the men who were Capgrave's teachers and senior colleagues. When one-third of those recorded at the convents in university towns were foreigners and nearly one-half continued to the final degree, there can be no doubt that their view extended well beyond the insular and that the disputations they undertook were sophisticated and diverse.

¹⁹H.B. Workman, John Wiclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church, II (Oxford, 1926). At the Blackfriars Council each of the mendicant orders had two representatives.

²⁰One of the most famous was the trial of William Taylour in 1423. At that time John Lowe, later Bishop of St. Asaph, was one of the Augustinian doctors.

²¹A. Gwynn, The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif (London, 1940), pp. 230, 235.

²²Ibid., pp. 236-239.

²³Ibid., pp. 274-275. Capgrave mentions his defection in The Chronicle of England, p. 244.

²⁴See: J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards, 1414-1520 (London, 1965).

²⁵Roth, I, 143.

²⁶Same.

²⁷Ibid., p. 137.

²⁸The terms had specialized meanings in the middle ages. Thus, orthography taught the student to spell and write Latin words; and prosody, to read aloud correctly. Then he proceeded to syntax, a study of the rules of grammar and their application to the construction of

sentences; and, finally, he studied the parts of speech by themselves in the division known as ethimologia. Brother Bonaventura discusses these divisions and many of the texts in his article, "The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England," Medieval Studies, III (1961), 1-20. Father Roth specifies the three books mentioned in the text as the basic grammars used by the Augustinians (I, 142).

²⁹When Capgrave was prior at Lynn more than thirty years later, he mentions that sixteen boys were studying at the convent (De Illustribus Henricis, p. 189), and it is reasonable to assume that the practice was a long-standing one.

³⁰Father Roth sees a conflict between the order's prescriptions for education and what is known of medieval education. Thus, he says of the first year following the novitiate: "Only one year of grammar school was prescribed though both the course in logic (dialectics) and that in grammar lasted one year. From an analogy with the course in philosophy we must surmise that the missing course was taught at the next higher studium or had been anticipated in the novitiate" (I, 143). In Capgrave's case it is possible to resolve the problem in another way and suggest that, as he appears to have been older than the average entrant, he had studied his grammar earlier.

³¹Roth, I, 314.

³²Ibid., p. 145. In addition, he lists the texts Capgrave probably used; "The textbooks for the Old Logic were the Isagoge of Porphyrius, the Categories or Praedicamenta of Aristotle and his Perihermeneias, all of them in the translation of Boethius. The New Logic comprehended in particular the teaching of syllogisms as propounded in the Topica, Analytica Priora and Posteriora of Aristotle."

³³N. Toner, "Augustinian Spiritual Writers of the English Province in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," Sanctus Augustinus, II (1959), 508. Because Capgrave does not mention the Duke of Clarence's visit to Lynn in 1413, Father Toner doubts whether he had yet joined the order. If he was in Norwich, he would not have seen it himself.

³⁴B. Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1952), p. 26.

³⁵The Life of St. Norbert. See Chapter three.

³⁶Sede vacante registers for the see of Norwich in the period 1415-1417 appear in The Register of Bishop Chichele, ed. E.F. Jacob, III (Oxford, 1945), 347-425, but Capgrave's name does not appear.

³⁷Roth, I, 141, n. 253. The age of ordination varied, the candidate usually being 22 in Capgrave's time. If Capgrave may be allowed some further looseness in his account, perhaps he was ordained six years before Henry VI's birth, i.e. in 1415, the year he was 22 and the year he finished his pre-theological studies in Norwich.

³⁸General Archives, O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 55 as printed by de Meijer, Part I, 408, n. 40.

³⁹Roth, I, 174.

⁴⁰D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 190-191.

⁴¹Since he was nominated as a lector in 1421, had been at London only since 1417, and was required to spend a total of six years (three as a student and three as a cursor) before he was eligible for this rank, there can have been no break in his studies.

⁴²Roth, I, 280-291 lists some of the better known.

⁴³Ed. E. Ypma, Augustiniana, VI (1956), 275-321.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 282.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 310-311.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 308-309.

⁴⁷Roth, I, 160.

⁴⁸Ypma, pp. 304-305.

⁴⁹Smalley, p. 209.

⁵⁰Roth, I, 147-170.

⁵¹De Illustribus Henricis, p. 127.

⁵²Roth, I, 166-169.

⁵³General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 75v as printed by de Meijer, Part I, 409, n. 42.

⁵⁴In his Prologue to The Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, ed. J.J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S. 140 (London, 1910), 61 Capgrave mentions a sermon he wrote "þe 3er befor myn opposicion," and at the opening of the sermon itself (Ibid., p. 145) he gives the precise date. Clearly, he means by "opposicion" the end of the year of opponency, for his

bachelor's degree was awarded early in 1423. The document is preserved in the General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 106.

⁵⁵ According to the General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 18 as printed in F. Roth, The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538, II (New York, 1961), 295, he was directed to take the magisterium at either Oxford or Cambridge, but A.B. Emden assigns him to Cambridge in his Register.

⁵⁶ Roth, I, 172.

⁵⁷ The matter of Capgrave's progression from lector to magister is unnecessarily confused in the biographies of both Father de Meijer and Father Roth. Much of this confusion comes from the awkward handling of recorded dates. It must be recognized at the outset that while the civil year began on March 25th in England, the dates in the registers of the Augustinian priors-general accord with modern usage as the foliation makes perfectly clear. So, for example, a permission for a certain friar William to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem which was given on March 14, 1422 occurs on f. 73v and a dispensation for another friar to practice medicine in contravention of the order's regulations which is dated April 12, 1422 occurs on f. 75 (Roth, II, 298). In any case, only one of the documents concerning Capgrave is dated before March 25th.

Nevertheless, Father de Meijer states (Part I, 408) that Capgrave was first appointed a lector in 1422 and he repeats this date on the following page. But in his evidence, the entry in Register Dd 4, f. 55 (Part I, 408, n. 40), he gives the date as "8 Aprilis 1421." That this is in fact the correct year for the initial appointment de Meijer seems to have recognized, for when he cites the document of April 13, 1422 from Register Dd 4, f. 75v (Part I, 409, n. 42) assigning Capgrave specifically to Cambridge, he says it is "a year later" and then goes on to say "This year was 1422" (Part I, 410), using Capgrave's own date in the sermon cited in n. 55 as further evidence.

There is a further inconsistency in de Meijer's account. In his two references (Part I, 406-407, 409) to the notice of the celebrations in London at the time of King Henry VI's birth in December 1421 found in De Illustribus Henricis, de Meijer seems to accept Capgrave's self-denomination studens in a strict rather than a generic sense. But, as the document of April 8, 1421 shows, Capgrave was already a cursor when he was made a lector. At either of these ranks, Capgrave was responsible for certain lectures; and though space apparently prevented him from gaining immediate preferment to one of the universities, there was nothing to prevent him from undertaking the required lectures at the London studium. Indeed, it is presumably because he did so that he was dispensed from the lectures on the Sentences and proceeded to the bachelor's degree with such rapidity.

Father Roth derived most of his biographical information from Father de Meijer's articles, although he does place the document of

1421 in the proper context. In one sentence (I, 111) of his discussion of Capgrave as prior-provincial, however, he doubles the length of Capgrave's stay in London and as a consequence places the completion of Capgrave's academic training in 1433. In turn, this date scarcely coincides with his conclusion on p. 174, that "The fastest promotion on record is that of John Capgrave, the author, who obtained the magisterium ten years after his ordination and just within the prescribed time limit." In this instance he has no additional evidence for the date of either the ordination or of the inception; and he is not following de Meijer, who places the ordination in 1417 and the magisterium in 1425, a period of only eight years.

⁵⁸Roth, I, 169.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 105.

⁶⁰The Life of St. Katherine, Forewords, p. viii.

⁶¹Part I, 411.

⁶²General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 4, f. 220v as printed in Roth, II, 308.

⁶³This work is now lost. Capgrave describes its contents in his Ye Solace of Pilgrimes, ed. C.A. Mills (Oxford, 1911), p. 92; John Bale once had it in his possession and noted the incipit with the dedication to Watford. See de Meijer, Part III, 548.

⁶⁴The dedication to the Genesis Commentary is printed as an appendix in De Illustribus Henricis and the reference in it to the commentary on Kings appears p. 231; Leland's note appears in his Commentarii de scriptoribus britannicis, ed. A. Hall, II (Oxford, 1709), 453.

⁶⁵In Ye Solace of Pilgrimes (see n. 64) and in the sermon delivered at Cambridge (see n. 55) pp. 146,147.

⁶⁶de Meijer, Part II, 120, n. 8 and Part III, 548.

⁶⁷de Meijer, Part III, 548-549.

⁶⁸As such he is discussed by S. Moore in his article, "Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk c. 1450," PMLA, XXVIII (1913), 97-100 and by K. Holzknecht in his Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages (Philadelphia, 1923), pp. 55, 69, 94n, 104n, 112, 121, 145n, 146, 151, 160, 178 among others; and it is standard for the biographers to refer to Duke Humphrey and John Lowe especially as Capgrave's patrons.

⁶⁹Roth, I, 371-378 discusses the various rulings.

⁷⁰ed. J.J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S. 140 (London, 1910), 60.

⁷¹See: Furnivall in the Forewords to The Life of St. Katherine, pp. xv-xvi, Hingston in the Preface to De Illustribus Henricis, p. xvi, de Meijer, Part I, 439-440, Roth, I, 417-418, and D. Brimson in "John Capgrave; O.S.A.," Tagastan, IX (1946), 110-111.

⁷²It is certain Humphrey owned two volumes (1 and 3) of the commentary on Kings, because they were among the books he donated to Oxford in 1443. (See the record of the bequest as printed in the Introduction to The Chronicle of England, pp. xiv-xv). However, the incipits for these are nowhere recorded, while the other two volumes were seen by Leland before their disappearance and their dedication to Lowe noted.

⁷³Roth, I, 106.

⁷⁴The comments of Leland, Bale, Pits and Herrera have all been collated against xeroxed copies of the originals; for convenience, however, they are here cited as they appear in de Meijer, Part II, 119-128. After the seventeenth century, it was standard to call Capgrave Humphrey's confessor as Father de Meijer did as late as 1955 (Part I, 419). Without explicitly disagreeing, Father Roth suggests that such a formal relationship was improbable:

Within the English province Capgrave is not known to have done anything against the ever growing tendency for personal independence, though his dislike is evident from his attitude towards honorary papal chaplains. For the same reason he probably disliked the constant recruiting of his best men for the service of noble families.

(I, 115)

And, recently, on grounds similar to my own, Peter Lucas has denied the possibility, "John Capgrave, O.S.A., (1393-1464), Scribe and 'Publisher'," Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, V, Part I (1969), p. 31.

John South's dispensation to act as Humphrey's chaplain is reprinted from the Calendar of Papal Registers in Roth, II, 328.

⁷⁵De Illustribus Henricis, Appendix IV, 229-231.

⁷⁶See the colophon as printed in de Meijer, Part III, 539: Incepit hoc opus frater iohannes capgrave in festo sancti antonii confessoris que occurit mense ianuarii anno domini m.cccc. xxxviii. [i.e. 17 Jan. 1439].

⁷⁷de Meijer, Part III, 548. The assumption is strengthened by the evidence that suggests Capgrave returned to Lynn c. 1440.

⁷⁸Ye Solace of Pilgrimes, p. 93

⁷⁹As Capgrave says in his epilogue:
 the freris name þat translate þis story
 Thei called Ion Capgraue, wech in Assumpcion weke
 Made a end of all his rymyng cry
 The 3er of Crist our Lord, wit3-ouen ly,
 A thousand, four hundred & fourty euene.
 (ll. 4104-4108)

⁸⁰See P. Lucas, pp. 4-5, for the following dates: BM. MSS. Arundel 20 (1460-1500); Arundel 168 (1460-1500); Arundel 396 (1445-1460); and Bodley MS. Rawlinson poet. 118 (1460-1500).

⁸¹The Life of St. Katherine, Book I, Prologue, ll. 218-219.

⁸²Arundel 396, See The Life of St. Katherine, Forewords, pp. xxix-xxx and de Meijer, Part III, 564-565.

⁸³Roth, I, 291.

⁸⁴Lucas, pp. 12-16.

⁸⁵Roth, I, 291.

⁸⁶G. Parks, The English Traveller to Italy, I (Palo Alto, 1954). Park's figures are inexact because precise records are scanty and the data scattered. It is interesting that he says of 1450, the year many assume Capgrave made his trip to Rome:

In 1450 all records were said to be broken when 40,000 pilgrims were thought to arrive daily; during this year nearly 200 persons were trampled to death in a panic on the crowded bridge.

Such a crowd would indeed have been one to reckon with. I find no evidence of so great a crush in The Solace of Pilgrims.

⁸⁷Part I, 422.

⁸⁸R. Arbesmann, "Jordanus of Saxony's Vita Sancti Augustini, the source for John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine," Traditio, I (1943), 353.

⁸⁹R. Weiss, Humanism in England in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1957), pp. 86-96.

⁹⁰Toner, p. 508. He offers no documentary evidence, however.

⁹¹The Life of St. Gilbert, which Capgrave says was composed shortly after The Life of St. Augustine (p. 61), ends with a precise date:

Thus endith þe lif of Seint Gilbert translat in-to
 our moder tonge, þe 3ere of þe incarnacioun of our
 Lord a Mccccli. (p. 142)

⁹²Weiss, p. 90.

⁹³General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 6, f. 16, as printed by de Meijer, Part I, 401.

⁹⁴General Archives O.E.S.A., Register Dd 6, f. 16, as printed by de Meijer, Part I, 400.

⁹⁵Printed in The Chronicle of England, Appendix II, 329-334.

⁹⁶The origin of this report is not ascertainable: de Meijer gives the Introduction to Mills' edition of Ye Solace of Pilgrimes p. viii as his only source and Mills in turn has none. I have found no evidence that Henry VII made any petition to Rome.

⁹⁷This legendary has been printed under Capgrave's name since 1516, although it was long ago conceded that little of the material was original. In fact, none of the manuscripts contain Capgrave's name. Peter Lucas has an article forthcoming in The Library surveying Capgrave's traditional relationship with the Nova Legenda Angliae and suggesting "that Capgrave's role in connection with this work was probably nil." See his previously cited article, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

CAPGRAVE AND THE MEDIEVAL SAINTS' LIVES

I

Despite the popularity of hagiography as a literary form and the endeavours of many scholars to put it into an historical and literary context,¹ the controlling force underlying the genre tends to be misunderstood. The clichéd summaries of their repetitious and incredible contents often distort not only the evaluation of the lives as literature but also the beliefs of the men who wrote them and the essential purposes to which they were directed. It is necessary, before discussing Capgrave's particular application of the form, to examine in some detail the background of the saints' lives in which he was working.

The antecedents of the fully developed saint's life lie far in the past. For some early martyrs genuine records of examinations and executions do exist,² and historical works contemporary with the eras of persecution refer to the sufferings of many individual Christians. In the case of later saints, the source materials of the vitae may include notices in chronicles and even such personal documents as their correspondence and other preserved writings, or reminiscences by friends and others who knew them. These sources are essential to any examination of the historical truth of recorded events; but of more importance to the student of literature is the way in which these accounts, whether authenticated or not, are transformed into literary

materials and shaped into a recognizable and persistent form. It is unnecessary in the present discussion to trace the complicated processes by which the rhetoric of Greek panegyric was grafted onto the stock of historical records of passions to produce an elementary model for later formal hagiographies. It is important, however, to remember that in the development of the form there is not a direct chronological progression. Rather, the simplest, unadorned varieties of the lives continued to exist simultaneously with the more sophisticated elaborations, and this pattern was repeated as the various stages entered the European vernaculars.

Three independent types may be isolated in the evolutionary development of the form: calendars, martyrologies, and longer, semi-biographical lives. Using the unchanging solar calendar as a basis,³ churchmen in both the east and west catalogued the Christian martyrs in lists which were read at certain of the solemn feasts. Tangentially, certain of these calendars were expanded to include the anniversaries of other saintly men and women, some of whom were honoured only in their own regions. In the mainstream of development, however, the more usual tendency was to elaborate the calendars into martyrologies, which passed beyond the mere notation of names and places to include descriptions of the passions suffered, together with accounts of miracles which preceded, attended, or followed the saint's death. Some of these martyrologies were in turn extracted and became the foundation for longer, individual accounts. Finally, as the age of the early martyrs receded in time and Christianity produced new proselytizing and

ascetic heroes, the desire for longer memorials in narrative form grew, and, with motives of instruction and exhortation to prayer providing additional impetus for composition, individual lives, frequently imbedded in sermons, became familiar parts of private devotional exercises and monastic and public service. In all three stages, the church calendar provided a logical structure for grouping related works, and everywhere collections flourished.

Examples of all three varieties survive in the Anglo-Latin and early English literary remains. Both prose and poetic simple calendars exist in Old English. Their contents are virtually identical (one includes thirty-seven, the other thirty-eight dates), but the verse Mnologium⁴ with its characteristic Anglo-Saxon poetic devices is better known. The paucity of information contained in these listings is well illustrated by the note on Gregory the Great, the chief instigator of the Christianization of the new Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of England:

Dænne se halga þæs
 emb XI niht æpele scynde
 Gregorius in godes wære,
 breme in Brytene.

(ll. 37-40)

Proof that the calendars remained in vogue during the entire medieval period is offered by Lydgate's fifteenth-century Kalendare.⁵ With the dates of the year inscribed line by line in the margin, the calendar itself becomes a poetic device determining the length of the poem and forcing condensation of the notices. Here the number of anniversaries recorded rises to one hundred and ninety-two; and the anglicization of the genre is reflected by the introduction of many native saints.

Obviously, such works were inadequate instruments for use in the religious training of monks and laity in a country distant in time and place from the events and shrines commemorated in them, and it was necessary for clerics to write their own longer Latin and vernacular lives. Using the Martyrologium Hieronymianum in conjunction with longer vitae in his possession, Bede, for instance, produced a Latin martyrology between 725 and 731 which, probably because it was one of the most critical and reliable examples of its kind, became a source book for writers in subsequent centuries.⁶ The intention of such works is clarified by Bede's assertion at the end of his Ecclesiastical History that he had not set out in the martyrology to provide either spiritual or literal biographies but merely to commemorate the day and manner of each saint's death.⁷ In fact, Bede's entries vary in length from the excessively brief

II Kl. Oct. In Bethleem Iuda, deposition
sancti Hieronimi presbyteri,
qui obiit anno nonagesimo primo.⁸

through such notices as that of St. Quentin,⁹ to which the miracle of the rediscovery of his body is appended, to quite elaborate accounts such as that on St. Apollinaris, bishop of Ravenna, whose original ordination and assignment to missionary work by St. Peter are included together with a lengthy description of the tortures he endured.¹⁰

Four transcripts of an English example of this middle stage of development, known only as An Old English Martyrology (c. 850), are also extant.¹¹ In this work, the notices are often so abbreviated that the editor suggests that they may have been mere reminders for a reader,

probably a preacher, familiar with the events from other, presumably Latin, sources.¹² In any case, the accounts are similar to Bede's, though brief details of miracles more frequently appear.

Longer lives were also common in England in the early Middle Ages. Much of Bede's Ecclesiastical History is comprised of lives of saintly kings, bishops, and other holy men, many of them deriving from earlier vitae; and Bede, of course, wrote both poetic and prose versions of The Life of St. Cuthbert. The other most frequently cited Anglo-Latin lives of the period are The Life of St. Guthlac by Felix of Crowland and The Life of Gregory the Great written by an anonymous monk of Whitby. Though their merits are unequal, the best Latin lives follow a continental model sometimes referred to as the Antonian after Evragius' Vita Antonii, the most influential and mature example of the form. The content of those lives which follow the Antonian model is all more or less consistent and is characterized by the following recognizable features: 1) an apology for the author's incapacity to perform the task before him; 2) an account of the parentage of the saint; 3) the recording of the wonders attendant on his birth; 4) a description of his vicious or rash youth; 5) a call to the religious vocation accompanied by various mental struggles preceding acquiescence; 6) a departure for an isolated area; 7) a narration of battles with demons and other temptations; 8) the establishment of a growing reputation for piety and holiness; 9) the appearance of groups of pilgrims seeking blessings and cures; and, inevitably, 10) an account of the saint's death and the miracles which follow it.¹³ Both Bede and Felix

follow the Antonian model. Though they seem eager to impress their readers with the credibility of the reports by reference to eyewitnesses, the verbal echoes of Evragius in Bede's work, and of both Evragius and Bede in Felix's, are fortified by some direct borrowing of actual incident.¹⁴ However, their disregard for literal truth stems not so much from ignorance of historical criteria as from a belief in higher, ethical truths which transcend the factual details in the life which they record.

While the Latin model was being imitated in this way, another tradition was adopted in the vernacular. Although they are quite distinct, the well-known Anglo-Saxon poems Andreas, Elene,¹⁵ Juliana, and Guthlac A and B¹⁶ share certain attributes with the prose lives found in compilations such as the Blickling Homilies,¹⁷ Aelfric's Catholic Homilies,¹⁸ and Lives of the Saints,¹⁹ and other individual works. Though they are all highly developed, these lives conform to a pattern (established in the martyrologies) of ignoring or truncating the events of a saint's life which do not deal with his conversion, physical trials, passion, or miracles. When the early history of a saint is discussed, it is treated perfunctorily, following certain conventions which will be discussed shortly.

The Andreas is concerned with the saint's adventures in Myrminonia; Elene really commemorates the discovery of the true cross; both of the Guthlac poems emphasize his trials and death; and the primary interest of the Juliana lies in her confrontation of the tyrant and her passion. The same focus on a single major event, or on a brief period

of time, is characteristic of the homilies. Other examples include the Life of St. Chad,²⁰ which does not begin until Chad has been made a bishop; The Legend of St. Veronica,²¹ in which the interest in the saint is entirely subordinated to the desire to procure the relic to cure Tyberius; and the Passion of St. Margaret,²² which, like the many treatments to follow, describes with relish the demons, dragons, and tortures, but leaves the saint little more than a flat stereotype.

It must be firmly maintained at this point that the type of life just described, dealing exclusively with critical moments in the history of the saint, was not an invention of Anglo-Saxon writers. Many continental Latin "passions" from which the English works derive were precisely this kind of life. However, the adoption of this model, with its concomitant emphasis on marvels and debate to the exclusion of the broader Antonian concerns, established a vernacular tradition from which, as will be shown, all four of Capgrave's saints' lives diverge.

Although the continuity of the preserved records is often broken, hagiography in Middle English evinces few variations from the conventional patterns established in the earlier period. The most frequently discussed early vernacular lives in Middle English are the three heroic tales of virginity preserved and the devil defeated in the West-Midland Katherine-group. Much longer than the Old English homilies and most of the other prose lives, these legends still adhere to the English tradition by their emphasis on the trials, torments, and martyrdom of the saints. The author of Seinte Marherete, for example, spends only twenty lines on the saint's biography before introducing her first

tormenter, and five of those lines are devoted to her choice of Christ as her lover;²³ the similar preamble to Seinte Iuliene is even further fore-shortened.²⁴ Lives of other saints are similarly reduced and simplified: those of Joseph of Arimathea begin only after the crucifixion;²⁵ those of St. Anne emphasize the birth and early life of Mary;²⁶ St. George becomes exclusively a slayer of dragons; and young, native saints such as Edward and Kenelm are the innocent victims of treacherous plots. Lydgate's short legends fall into this category, as do the twelve lives Osbern Bokenham collected as the Legendys of Hooly Wummen.²⁷ When a saint is being treated whose life is relatively uneventful, such as St. Robert of Knaresborough,²⁸ there is certainly a tendency to manufacture activities and miracles, and the distinction between these and the Antonian type blurs -- except insofar as the subject of the short life never wavers in his faith; he may be attacked but he is never tempted, and there is thus little or no spiritual growth evident. Moreover, when the saint has sinned, like St. Mary of Egypt or St. Julian,²⁹ the emphasis all falls on the expiation and on God's grace and forgiveness.

Besides the South English Legendary and the Northern Homily Cycle,³⁰ other English and Latin collections flourished in the Middle English period. In the first part of the 14th century, John of Tyne-mouth produced a Latin Sanctilogium³¹ organized according to the calendar which, revised, enlarged, and rearranged in alphabetical order, has long been attributed to Capgrave under the title, Nova Legenda Anglia.³² The most popular of the European collections was Jacob of Voragine's

Legenda Aurea.³³ Long before the first complete translation was made in 1438, its 192 short chapters³⁴ proved a compendious reference work for the compilers of sermon collections which remained in vogue until well beyond Capgrave's time. Two known compilations are John Mirk's Festial and the anonymous Speculum Sacerdotale.³⁵ Both of these works were apparently composed a generation before Capgrave was writing, and if they were not actually known to him, certainly they illustrate the kind of vernacular life with which he was familiar. Like the short Latin lives just mentioned, and the other English types which have been previously considered, these works ignore or rapidly pass over the saints' early days and, except for occasional brief catalogues of miracles, portray their subjects as unswerving in their course toward martyrdom. As prose compositions, these sermons are often stylistically immature. Few transitions are employed as the preacher recounts the events documenting the history of the saint's life, and the little unity that exists depends almost exclusively on the opening explanation of the significance of the feast day and upon the closing exhortation to prayer.

Apart from the representative lives already discussed, it should be noted that there were also Anglo-Norman lives -- many of them written on the Antonian model -- dealing with nearly contemporary, or at least historically verifiable, saints, and usually directed at a more learned audience. However, because these lie outside the English vernacular and belong to a different hagiographic tradition, they are less germane to a discussion of Capgrave's art than those types, already

surveyed, which belong to the early English and Latin literary remains. The differences between certain fully developed Latin lives that approximate biographical methodology by their subordination of miracles to higher spiritual and ethical aims and that large and important class of brief Latin and vernacular lives which, by their reliance on conventions and on the cataloguing of incredible marvels, concentrate on a single event or quality has already been pointed out. It remains now to identify these conventions and to elaborate the reasons for their use by English writers of saints' lives.

II

No extant work contains all the features which might be described as "typical" of the saint's life, but if such a life did exist, it would follow something like this pattern, presented in chronological order. The noble parents of the saint are aged and barren. If they are Christians, the birth of the child will attest to their great piety. If not, they will either die early in the child's life or be converted to the true faith by him; most commonly, however, such parents are rejected by their offspring. Irrespective of their religious convictions, the parents are generally given some premonition of the child's greatness, sometimes by means of a vision, or perhaps by a light issuing from the child's mouth. From its earliest days, the child manifests signs of virtue and an aptness for learning. If the saint is pagan by birth, he will be converted suddenly, often through the agency of heavenly visions and conversations, frequently accompanied

by a period of fasting reminiscent of Christ in the wilderness. A female saint will almost certainly become the object of advances by the lord of the land or his son; and, as she has already sworn perpetual virginity, she will reject his offers. Male saints have rather more difficulty running headlong into martyrdom, but their testing leads equally to a rejection which infuriates the lord or emperor, who, discovering that the saint is a Christian, threatens dire consequences if the saint refuses to make sacrifice to the pagan gods. During the refusal, or a series of refusals couched in the most aggressive and defiant terms, the saint proves the worthlessness of the pagan gods by causing statues of idols to fall and through his actions converts many of the learned men in the kingdom. Next the saint is subjected to physical tortures such as scourging with iron rods which enable him to exhibit both his fearlessness and the intensity of his belief. While incarcerated in a dark and filthy prison where he is given no food, the saint is visited, fed, and healed of his wounds by angelic attendants who flood the cell with light and sweet odour; they also give the saint the courage and strength to overcome the devils and monsters who threaten his endurance. During his confinement, the saint frequently converts both his jailer and sometimes even members of the lord's immediate family who, professing their Christianity, are executed before the saint. Removed from his prison cell, the saint, persisting in his refusal to revere the pagan gods, is subjected to public tortures, such as fires, racks, and boiling oil, none of which can kill him. In his severest agonies he prophesies events of the future and converts

thousands of by-standers. Before he is finally executed with a sword, the saint prays that all who ask grace in his name be granted it, and a sign from heaven confirms that his prayer has been heard. After the saint's death, the body remains incorruptible and perfumed oil seeps from the tomb; visions of the saint are seen amid the heavenly choir, and miracles are performed at the sepulchre.

As the above reconstruction indicates, most of the events in saints' lives are highly romanticized. Besides the conventional catalogue of events, and the etymology of the saint's name which often introduces the life, other reiterated motifs are apparent, especially those relating to the miracles performed by the saints. These legends clearly echo incidents from the lives of Christ and the prophets. Samuel, Mary, and John the Baptist, for instance, were all born to aged and barren parents, and each of their respective births was preceded by an annunciation. The rejection of pagan parents reflects the total immersion in Christ's way and recalls Christ's wedding command that the husband shall leave his father's house and cleave unto his wife (that is, the church). Similarly, the refusal of worldly wealth, sometimes represented by the suitor, follows Christ's injunction to give up all earthly goods and signifies a desire for spiritual values. Signs of early virtue and learning parallel Christ's youth and recall his appearance with the doctors in the temple. The afflictions to which the saint is subjected, especially the scourgings, are certainly intended to remind the reader (or listener) of Christ's passion; and the incorruptibility of the saint's body and the visions of him among the

heavenly choir are conscious reminders of the Resurrection and Ascension. Even the miracles performed by the saint during his life, or after at his tomb, are modelled on accounts of Christ. Chiefly, these miracles concern physical cures, but some saints are credited with resurrections and the exorcising of devils. That these parallels are intentional seems clear from the fact that the authors of saints' lives arbitrarily assign actions, speeches, visions, and miracles to individual saints without any regard for documentary evidence. Indeed, there is no perceptible difference in the treatment of historical saints and wholly fictional ones whose entire life may depend on a false etymology or on the misreading of a source inscription.³⁶

The stereotyped personalities, the recurrence of identical tortures in the martyrdom of the saints, and the repetition of miracles which they are reputed to have performed have long been used, together with distinct verbal echoes and even direct borrowings, as evidence against the historicity of the events recorded. Yet praise has been given to such Old English religious poems as Guthlac and Andreas as survivals of a form which preserves to some degree the heroic motifs of the pagan myths; and Aelfric's Lives of the Saints, coming at the end of the early period, are regarded as examples of the means by which Christian stories were passed on to the people. When they encounter the medieval legendaries, however, critics begin to speak with scorn of the credulity of the authors and auditors, of the physical torments and of the sheer repetitiousness of events. Some few works such as Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale and Lydgate's The Life of Our Lady are conceded

genuine artistic merit but the majority of saints' lives are considered merely quaint examples of the credulous piety of medieval man.

Such a view of the genre is oversimplified. What has too often been obscured is the fact that the authors of saints' lives, motivated as they certainly were by pious devotion, possessed a conception of ethical as opposed to historical truth³⁷ which in its effect posits a demand not unlike Coleridge's "willing suspension of disbelief," which is requisite both for the poet who seeks to create and the reader who wants to perceive. Whatever the credulous reader-listener may have believed, the theologians, and most of the writers, denied both the importance of miracles themselves and those standards of historical veracity which are today adduced against them. There is no need to repeat here the arguments by which Father Delehaye, C.W. Jones, and others following them have amply illustrated the universalizing qualities apparent in the development of martyrologies and saints' lives from the calendars. These writers have clearly shown that as early as the 8th Century writers were perfectly aware that they were writing moral exempla rather than literal histories of the saints. To Augustine and Gregory, miracles were no more than manifestations of the goodness of God which could be easily comprehended by the vulgar. Because God's grace rather than the event was important, it mattered little that a specific action was attributed to the wrong person or, indeed, that the chronological sequence of events might be violated. Appeals to authority and insistence that the author is conforming as closely as he can to literal truth must be understood to be subordinate

to the primary aim of exhortation to the good life, a view made unequivocal by the anonymous author of the Anglo-Latin Life of St. Gregory:

And neither should anyone be offended if any of these deeds were actually done by some other of the saints, since the holy apostle, through the mystery of one body with its members the saints, by comparing it with the living body has so brought them into union that we should attribute to each member the works of the other in turn.³⁸

Because the saints are seen as ideals, assembled in a heavenly community of souls, praise of one is honour for all; and in a metaphorical, or perhaps even an ethical, sense, they all join in any "saintly" act or virtue. Therefore, it was not regarded as reprehensible to attribute any action or words to a saint so long as they accorded with the kind of behaviour he might have been expected to practice. In fact, since real documents were so scarce, the majority of saints' lives were constructed on precisely this principle.

Too many literary critics seem to expect from saints' lives the sophistication of modern fiction or biography. Working backwards from contemporary aesthetic principles, they look for evidence of realistic characterization -- motivation, revelation, development, internal illumination or awareness -- and would exact from the genre qualities that it never possessed and purposes which were never intended by the authors. As a mode, saints' lives are monolithic in structure; all elements are subordinated to the controlling moral function. Intentionally didactic, the lives work from a fixed set of assumptions. It is inconceivable in hagiography, for example, that any sympathy should be expressed either for heretics or for persecutors of martyrs; and the

portraits of tyrants are infused with every evil trait that the author can marshal. If the modern reader is tempted to find these unrelieved and hyperbolic characterizations ludicrous, he should remember that they are meant to be read as iconographic symbols of evil rather than as individuals with a flesh and blood reality. Characters in saints' lives do not exist for their own sakes, or independent of the didactic intent that colours the whole presentation. Flat, stereotyped characters and conventional, unmotivated actions are simply the components, not so much the limitations, of the species as it was conceived.³⁹

III

Thus, when Capgrave decided, in 1440, to translate a Latin prose saint's life into English verse, he was working in a well-established and conventional genre with which he was undoubtedly thoroughly familiar. The popularity of the species, especially among clerics, makes it self-evident that he had read and heard a great many examples before embarking on his own adaptation. Even the metrical form he chose for his first two works, rime royal, was no innovation; both Chaucer and Lydgate had employed the form for similar purposes⁴⁰ and Capgrave knew the works of both these famous predecessors, if not their many imitators.

The only reasonable explanation for Capgrave's sudden turn from the composition of Latin scriptural exegeses, scholastic treatises, and other theological works to English vernacular poetry at the age of forty-seven is accident. Piously willing to accept the task imposed by

his friend John Wygenhale, he nowhere evinces a natural inclination for translation or for the popularization of seldom-read texts. Nevertheless, within eleven years Capgrave did produce four saints' lives; and they contain enough shared traits and commentaries to show fully and clearly what was one 15th-century author's conception of the genre. The studies of the individual works which appear in later chapters will demonstrate that Capgrave's handling of the species bears more the stamp of his education than of his personality, and that while he followed identifiable principles in his adaptations, he seldom diverges very far from his immediate source.

Whether or not Capgrave actually revised John of Tynemouth's Sanctilogium, a series of narratives on the lives of the English saints arranged according to the calendar year, he doubtless knew it or other collections of short lives based on the Legenda Aurea just as most other clerics did. As a scholar who had had the opportunity to use the convent libraries in the studia at London and Cambridge, he was also probably familiar with a large number of longer ones; and his acquaintance with them would have reinforced his tendency to include more scenes than the usual English life. But, as later chapters will show, his rendering of them is much more elaborate and dramatic than that of his antecedents. Capgrave's vernacular works are thus distinct from most of the works in the "native" tradition, because they are Antonian, delineating the whole of a saint's career. In the one case where his source did not deal with the saint's ancestry or early years at all, The Life of St. Augustine, Capgrave supplied the lacunae from other

sources. Partially because of this tendency, and even more because they modify the contents of their immediate and fairly lengthy Latin sources only slightly, Capgrave's works are much longer than most English writings, with the exception of one or two of Lydgate's works which in length rival Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert.⁴¹

All of Capgrave's vernacular lives share these superficial and obvious qualities of length and completeness -- qualities which immediately differentiate them from other contemporary lives in English. In addition, however, they have in common at least four more subtle elements -- relating to their genesis, point of view, sources, and style -- which identify them as the products of a single, individual writer who is exercising conscious control over his materials.

First, three of the four works were written at the request not of a patron but of a friend: The Life of St. Norbert for John Wygenhale, abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery at West Dereham; The Life of St. Augustine for an unnamed gentlewoman born on the saint's feast day; and The Life of St. Gilbert for the Master of the Order of Sempringham, Nicholas Reysby. The other life, St. Katherine, was a translation into his own dialect of an earlier English life preserved at the Lynn convent. Since St. Katherine was specially honoured by the order, the prior may well have asked Capgrave to prepare his version for the information of the less-learned members of the order. The fact that the Katherine exists in four manuscripts, none of them Capgrave's holograph and all of Norfolk or Suffolk provenance,⁴² reinforces the possibility that the work was intended mainly for local dissemination.

If such were the case, it is probable that Capgrave would assume his readers were aware of his purpose and that he would have no need for honouring a dedicatee.

Second, in each of his works, Capgrave observes the rhetorical topos of alleging his incapacity for his task, though he is by no means unique among writers of English saints' lives in his employment of this device. Bokenham's Prologue to the Legendys of Hooly Wummen and Lydgate's Prologue to The Life of Our Lady contain but two of the many contemporary examples of its use, and Chaucer's whole comic pretense of dullness throughout his works is an adaptation of the theme. Still, the device is more usual in Latin than in English writings, and Capgrave utilizes it in both English and Latin.⁴³ His most elaborate extension of the apologetic technique occurs in The Life of St. Norbert where his simple assertion that he is "of rymeris now þe leest" (l. 5) is fortified by other conventional motifs associated with the theme: that he has been ordered to write the Life; that critics are so severe in this age that nothing escapes their censure; that he bears great love to his subject; and that he hopes the matter will be honoured even if the manner be deplorable. The amount of space devoted to the apology is considerably reduced in his later works. In the St. Katherine, for example, he asks in the most glancing way only for indulgence:

Trostyng on other men þat her charyte
Schall helpe me in þis cas to wryte and to seyn.
(ll. 234-235)

In The Life of St. Augustine, he moves even farther as he grants that he is "sumwhat endewid in lettirur" (p. 1, l. 9), although he still

maintains the fiction of humility by adding, "3et dar I not take/ up-on me forto be dettour on-to hem þat be endewid in sciens mor þan I" (p.1, ll. 9-11). And in The Life of St. Gilbert, the topos is reduced to the formulaic statement, "I, ffrer I. C., amongis doctouris lest" (p. 61, l. 3), before he passes on to a literal explanation of the request for the translation.

A third feature all four lives share is their dependence on specified sources. Capgrave uses such general line fillers as "myne auctour seyth" and "as þe bok tellith" as often as do other medieval authors in his poetic lives, but he goes beyond them in both poetry and prose by describing in sufficient detail to make recognizable the work he is translating. The Life of St. Norbert derives directly from the standard Latin life of the saint with revisions and additions which had been made by the end of the 12th century. Obviously, Capgrave does not describe his source in such precise terms, but he announces at the outset that his purpose is to "sewe and translate þis story" (l. 23); and when he comes to the point where the Latin concludes the first description of the Life, he not only makes a firm conclusion but he also explains the nature of the briefer rescension, made by a brother of the Cappenburg monastery, which he is about to translate:

These wordis folowand ar drawyn ful schortly
Owt of a book þat lith at Capenbregense
Her foundouris lif is wrytin þer seriously;
But þei hem-selve þus in schorter sentense
Brigged it thus on-to þe complacense
Of her breþerin, which desired þis lif
And of her desire were rith inquysitif
(ll. 3851-3857)

The "seriously" in the third line clearly refers to the longer life.

Much of the long prologue to The Life of St. Katherine is an account of the unfinished poetic version which Capgrave had before him. Twice he refers to the "straungenesse of [the] dyrke langage" (l. 62, l. 209); and later he speculates on the dialect of the author, a man he identifies only as a sometime "parson of Seynt Pancras":

Of the west cuntre it semeth þat he was,
Be his maner of speche and be his style;
(Book I, Prologue, ll. 225-226)

For the last book of his Life, Capgrave had to turn to a second source which he "translated now newe fro Latyn" (Book V, Prologue, l. 62). In this instance, neither the poetic nor the prose source has survived.

In the case of the prose lives, only one has an extant source. By whatever process of transmission he received it, Capgrave translates a Life of St. Augustine written just over a century earlier by another Augustinian friar at the Paris convent. This author Capgrave never identifies by name, and, indeed, this work contains fewer references to his source than do his other writings. Since there can be little doubt that Capgrave himself knew the provenance of his source, it is reasonable to assume, following the argument for his omitting a dedication to The Life of St. Katherine, that he regarded material emanating from his own order as common property, to whose compiler no particular reference need be made.

The Life of St. Gilbert presents far more difficult problems regarding sources, and a great part of a later chapter is devoted to a reconstruction of the probable primary source. At this point, it need only be noted that Capgrave directly states in his prologue (p.61, ll.

15-18) that he has been asked to make a translation, and that he recognizes a break in his source at the end of Chapter 13.

It is natural that close adherence to widely varying sources would obscure many of the common features of style which are associated with a single author, and certainly it is not easy to isolate stylistic features which identify a work as unmistakably by Capgrave. Nevertheless, although he seems never to have been concerned with recasting his source in order to make his own "style" predominate, there are a number of characteristic methods of adaptation which he consistently employs.

Despite the great length of his own translations, Capgrave omits, and readily admits to so doing, passages which he considers prolix, repetitive, or irrelevant. He is harshest on the author of the "west cuntre" Life of St. Katherine. Omitting passages from Katherine's debate with the philosophers, Capgrave suggests that while there may be those who love argument for its own sake, he finds repetition boring:

But the same resons that other dede sewe
Reherseth my[n] auctor, as he dooth ful ofte
I suffer the leuys to ly[e]n stille ful softe,
lete other men here hem that love nugacyon;
(Bk. IV, ll. 2112-2115, italics added)

and:

Eke al this mater, as thenketh me,
A- forn is his werk þis man dede it tras;
Wherefore fro alle these þus schortly I pas,
Supposyng that þis same prolyxite
Wulde make men wery of reedyng to be.
(Bk. IV, ll. 2152-2156)

Later, he dismisses another part of the debate as irrelevant:

. . . but this dilatacyon,
 As me thynketh, longeth not to this lyf present,
 It occupieth ny al the newe testament,
 That men myght plod in her, if þat hem lyst,
 Wherefore myn entent I wold that 3e wyst:
 I love no longe tale, evere hangyng in oon.
 (Bk. IV, ll. 2278-2283)

Sometime, he does retain a passage but hints at its irrelevance as he explains its inclusion. For example, because he was engaged in certain marriage negotiations, St. Norbert happened to arrive in Spire when the bishop of Magdeburg was being chosen. The report of the difficulties in arranging the marriage is both disjointed and fragmented in the Latin. Capgrave, however, instead of either summarizing or omitting it, carries the flaw over into his version and clumsily tries to rectify the awkwardness:

But of þis mater schul we sese as now,
 Myn auctour telleth of it not o word moo.
 Be-cause it longeth not to þe lyneal bow
 Of Norbertes lyf but rennyth þerfro al row,
 He þout3 it was but a mater occasionate,
 Whch broute þis Norbert to his grete a-state.
 (ll. 2816-2821)

Such omissions and explanations are by no means the only indications that Capgrave did not follow his sources verbatim. He contradicts his author when he feels he has better authority:

In þis reknyng myne auctour & I are too:
 ffor he acordeth not wyt3 cronicles þat ben olde,
 But diuersyth from hem, & þat in many thyngis
 þer he acordyth, þer I hym hold;
 And where he diuersyth in ordre of þeis kyngis,
 I leve hym, & to oder mennys rekenyngis
 I 3eue more credens whch be-fore hym & me
 Sette all þese men in ordre & degre.
 (Katherine, Bk. I, ll. 686-693)

And, if he is not wholly convinced, he cites additional possibilities:

. . . þe othir hith þus,
 As þis story seith, Petir þe leoun;
 But othir bokes sey he hith Anacletus.
 (Norbert, ll. 3547-3549)

Occasionally, too, he moves to another source if he feels that his principal author is insufficiently clear or not detailed enough. When the important subject of the incarnation is being discussed, for example, Capgrave will not trust a translation of his source's "derk" speech:

And yet his langage vnnethe I undirstande;
 Wherefore with other auctouris I enforce hym thus,
 Which spoke more pregauntly as in this matere.
 (Katherine, Bk. IV, ll. 2198-2200)

Similarly, there are passages in which he indicates his recourse to other works, even if his search has been unproductive. Thus, he reasons about Norbert's birthplace:

This mannys name Norbert þoo þei called;
 Of Teutonys nacioun, þe story seith rith soo;
 Whch word made me of study al a-palled;
 For whedyr it is a cyte weel I-walled
 Or elles a cuntre, auctouris touch him nowt.
 But aftirward, whann I was bettir be- þowt,
 I supposed þan þis cuntre stant in Germayne
 Be-cause þis man, of whch we haue now told,
 Was sumtyme dwelling in þe cite of Colayne.
 (Norbert, ll. 79-87)

These comparisons are a logical extension of Capgrave's exegetical training, during which he was taught to collate commentaries and texts with painstaking care and to look for any unresolved issues which they might contain. Further, because he learned to explain the literal and allegorical meanings of biblical stories, in all his lives he both explicates biblical references, drawing significant parallels between

these and similar events in the saint's life, and extends these by providing the appropriate moral applications. His thoroughgoing use of this technique of elaboration will be demonstrated in later chapters, but it is interesting to note at this point that Capgrave employs chiefly moral exhortation in the St. Norbert, a combination in the St. Katherine, and almost exclusively explication in the two prose lives.

About the basic materials of his lives Capgrave shows little skepticism, and he makes few attempts to expand his narrative beyond literal reporting. The prefigurations of the unborn Norbert and Gilbert's greatness; the marvels attending the conversions of Augustine, Norbert and Katherine; the gifts of prophecy revealed in Gilbert and Katherine; the visions seen by the saints or by their close associates; and most of the miracles -- all are simply accepted as they occur in the source and included without reference to their spiritual implications. However, since he had not himself made the selection of materials, it would be an unfair judgment to suggest that C.W. Jones' statement that for the medieval theologian miracula = virtutes,⁴⁴ that is, that miracles are only important as manifestations of the saint's virtue, is not applicable in Capgrave's case. There are many instances when he questions the means by which something was achieved or the actual nature of the event. Thus, he says he cannot explain how Adrian was transported from his cell to Alexandria and back, or how the celestial beings who received Katherine in the desert appeared to her. In these cases, he suggests that the miraculous is inexpressible in human terms. Sometimes, indeed, he states that it is not required of faith

to believe the circumstances of his story, as when he describes the way in which Katherine is miraculously fed in prison:

. . . I wil no man bynde
 But if he wil, for to leue my tale.
 She was fed -- that haue we of trewthe;
 (Katherine, Bk. V, ll. 910-912)

Moreover, in the lives of St. Norbert and St. Katherine, where pagans people the stage, Capgrave frequently points out the efficacy of miracles in conversion, and in both lives he is careful to apply spiritual interpretations to physical events. The healing of Katherine's wounds, for example, shows that

Thus can oure lord redresse al doloure
 whiche men suffre, be it in heed or sole,
 (Bk. V, ll. 834-835)

And, following one of Norbert's miraculous escapes from a would-be murderer, he says:

Thus all men þat wil our Lord plese
 Schul scape daungeris, þouþ þat þei be grete,
 (ll. 3260-3261)

Also, there is no doubt that the majority of miracles which occur in these lives occur because of the singular virtue of the saint, which they are intended to illustrate.

On the other hand, when the miracles can be read as symbolic representations of internal struggles - as in the case of St. Norbert's many battles with an especially stubborn devil, or in the slanders which both Norbert and Gilbert endure - Capgrave never presses the interpretation on the reader. For him, ethical issues are enforced by direct exhortation; they may be suggested by the actions of a saint

but they are not regarded as direct corollaries.

Finally, one or two examples will suffice to show that Capgrave did adhere to the conception of "ethical" as opposed to "historical" truth, outlined earlier in this chapter. Each of his lives tends to follow a roughly chronological line, though in both the St. Norbert and the St. Gilbert there are in fact two rescensions. Nevertheless, Capgrave says in the St. Norbert that there is no need to follow any order in recording the acts (l. 1799). He also clearly believed that unauthenticated, or even historically untrue, good words and deeds could be attributed to a saint, for he is untroubled by the many new speeches that he adds in his lives. If, however, a man's character might be damaged by a false conclusion, he refuses to proceed without authority:

Ne I my-selue list not for to ryme
 Neythir of her vertues ne of her cryme,
 But if I fond therfor sum auctoryte.
 Me þinkith reson þat it so schuld be.
 (Norbert, ll. 1992-1995)

All these traits, which can be found to a greater or lesser extent in other medieval writers, place Capgrave firmly in the tradition of his time. In combination, however, they coalesce to produce a literary persona and give to Capgrave's writings a character that is distinctly his own. Certainly, Capgrave is no Chaucer viewing life humanely and humourously; neither is he a Langland trying to capture truths in a language that Capgrave would have regarded as "mysty" indeed. His mind and his method were concrete, and he modified his sources chiefly for purposes of clarity. To comprehend how he worked, how he made the figurative literal, and how he achieved so many

artistically effective scenes is the aim of successive chapters which examine in detail his individual works.

Footnotes

* References to Capgrave's works are provided internally throughout. Though seemingly inconsistent, references are determined by the available text of each work. Because The Life of St. Katherine, ed. C. Horstmann, E.E.T.S., O.S. 100 (London, 1893), is enumerated separately in the Prologue and in each of the individual books, notations include both book and line numbers (e.g. Katherine, Bk. I, ll. 35-36); The Life of St. Norbert (unpublished MS. edition of W.H. Clawson) is consecutively numbered and cited only by line reference (e.g. Norbert, ll. 3216-24); The Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, ed. J.J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S. 140 (London, 1910), are referred to by page and line number.

¹ Notably, Hippolyte Delehaye, Henri Quentin, René Aigrain, and, for English lives in particular, C.W. Jones, Bertram Colgrave, and, most recently, Theodore Wolpers. See the Bibliography.

² In many of his books and articles, Father Delehaye has shown that supposedly original documents are in reality later reconstructions. Chapter one of his Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires (2nd ed., Bruxelles, 1966), for example, is largely devoted to the subject. In addition, as René Aigrain points out in L'Hagiographie (Paris, 1953, p. 95), as early as the 16th century scholars such as Baronius knew that the "Acts," that is, the testimonies of the ancient martyrs, had been destroyed on Diocletian's orders and that available documents were only inventions or ill-remembered remains.

³ For an interesting discussion of the timeless and pagan solar calendar which became the basis of the church calendar and of the Hebraic lunar calendar which, originally used to establish the dates of the moveable feasts, became the recording table for historical events, see C.W. Jones, Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England (Ithaca, 1947), 5-13.

⁴ The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems, ed. E. Dobbie, Vol. VI of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (New York, 1942), 49-55.

⁵ The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. H.N. MacCracken, E.E.T.S., E.S. 107 (London, 1911), 363-377.

⁶ Henri Quentin, Les Martyrologues historiques du moyen age (Paris, 1908), 17-119. In his lengthy opening chapter on Bede, Quentin evaluates the manuscripts and attempts to demonstrate what the precise nature of the original was before later accretions.

⁷ See The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ed. T. Miller, E.E.T.S., O.S. 96 (London, 1890), 484.

- ⁸Quentin, p. 108.
- ⁹Ibid., p. 110.
- ¹⁰Ibid., p. 106.
- ¹¹Ed. G. Herzfeld, E.E.T.S., O.S. 116 (London, 1900).
- ¹²Ibid., p. xi.
- ¹³Adapted from the comments of Bertram Colgrave, "The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England," Proceedings of the British Academy, XLIV (1958), 38.
- ¹⁴Ibid., p. 52.
- ¹⁵The Vercelli Book, ed. G.P. Krapp, Vol. II of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (New York, 1932), 3-51, 66-102.
- ¹⁶The Exeter Book, ed. G.P. Krapp and E.V. Dobbie, Vol. III of The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records (New York, 1936), 49-88, 113-133.
- ¹⁷Ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S., O.S. 58, 63, 73 (London, 1880).
- ¹⁸Ed. B. Thorpe, 2 vols. (London, 1844, 1846).
- ¹⁹Ed. W.W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., O.S. 76, 82 (London, 1881), and O.S. 94, 114 (London, 1900).
- ²⁰Ed. Rudolf Vleeskruyer (Amsterdam, 1953).
- ²¹Anglesächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, ed. Bruno Assmann, III (Darmstadt, 1964), 181-192.
- ²²Ibid., 170-180.
- ²³Ed. F.M. Mack, E.E.T.S., O.S. 193 (London, 1934), p. 4. 1. 15 - p. 6, 1. 21.
- ²⁴Ed. S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne, E.E.T.S., O.S. 248 (London, 1961), p. 3, 1. 11 - p. 5, 1. 21.
- ²⁵Ed. W.W. Skeat, E.E.T.S., O.S. 44 (London, 1871).
- ²⁶Ed. R.E. Parker, E.E.T.S., O.S. 174 (London, 1930).
- ²⁷Ed. M.S. Serjeantson, E.E.T.S., O.S. 206 (London, 1938).
- ²⁸Ed. J. Bazire, E.E.T.S., O.S. 228 (London, 1953).

²⁹ These and other saints' lives for which editions are not separately cited are found most frequently in collections such as those noted below.

³⁰ Eds. C. D'Evelyn and A.J. Mill, E.E.T.S., O.S. 235, 236 (London, 1956), with an introduction by C. D'Evelyn in E.E.T.S., O.S. 244 (London, 1959).

³¹ John of Tynemouth was a monk at St. Alban's when he made his collection. He apparently travelled extensively in a diligent search for sources. However, the earliest manuscript (Cotton Tiberius E 1) is fire-damaged and has never been printed. None of the extant 15th-century manuscripts include Capgrave's name, and it is unlikely that the attribution of the work to him can ever be made with certainty. For a full discussion see Nova Legenda Anglie: As Collected by John of Tynemouth, John Capgrave and Others, and First Printed, with New Lives by Wynkyn de Worde, ed. Carl Horstmann, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901).

³² See above reference.

³³ Ed. T. Graesse (Dresden, 1846).

³⁴ One of the many valuable articles dealing with the establishment of a genuine text of Voragine's work by screening out later accretions is Sister Mary Jeremy's "Caxton's Golden Legend and Varagine's Legenda Aurea," Speculum, XXI (1946), 211-211.

³⁵ Ed. T. Erbe, E.E.T.S., O.S. 96 (London, 1905), and E.H. Weatherly, E.E.T.S., O.S. 200 (London, 1936).

³⁶ H. Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, trans. D. Attwater (London, 1962), 61-62, discusses several examples of just such misreading. Delehaye also surveys other ways in which apparently historical but purely fictional saints are created.

³⁷ This idea is most explicitly stated in Jones, p. 83, but it is basic to most of the recent historians of the saint's life.

³⁸ The Life of St. Gregory, in Jones, p. 118. The early part of this life also includes a discussion of miracles as a demonstration of relative saintliness (see especially p. 99); and the work makes no pretense to chronological order in its recitation of anecdotes.

³⁹ Despite the attempts at rehabilitation, and a fairly general acceptance of the principles involved, there has been no wide-spread change of attitude towards the saints' lives. Guthlac's battles, Margaret's dragon, and the tale told by Chaucer's second nun have captured critics' imaginations by their fineness of imagery and by the intensity of their feelings of religious or poetic fervour. Dozens of

other fine passages are buried unread in works that have never been anthologized. In the Life of St. Thomas à Becket in the South English Legendary, to cite only one example, the archbishop is not examined for human flaws as he has been by countless historians, and in many modern plays. Instead, with all the accoutrements of predicated holiness, wise youth, and chastity present during his engagement with secular activities, he becomes through his speeches a real and steadfast defender of the faith, devoid of the overbearing arrogance so common in other lives.

⁴⁰Chaucer's two saints' lives, The Prioress's Tale and The Second Nun's Tale, are both in rime royal as are his two stories of long-suffering women, The Man of Law's Tale and The Clerk's Tale. Many of Lydgate's saints' lives are also in rime royal: The Life of Our Lady, St. Austin at Compton, Edmund and Fremund, The Legend of St. George, The Legend of St. Margaret. St. Albon and St. Amphabel is a mixture of seven and eight line stanzas.

⁴¹The Lyf of Our Lady has 5932 lines, Edmund and Fremund 3694, and Albon and Amphabel 4724; The Life of St. Norbert has 4109 lines, and The Life of St. Katherine 8624.

⁴²The evidence is partially orthographic-linguistic (see F.J. Furnivall's Introduction to The Life of St. Katherine, pp. xxiv-xxxi) and partially circumstantial. Even the manuscript with the least of Capgrave's forms (Arundel 396) once belonged to the Canonesses of St. Augustine of Campsey Ash Priory, Suffolk. See A. de Meijer, "John Capgrave, O.E.S.A.," Augustiniana, VII (1957), 564.

⁴³In De Illustribus Henricis, ed. F.C. Hingston (London, 1858), p. 1, it appears as "suus infirmus servulus, Frater Johannes Capgrave, Doctorum minimus . . .," and in the Dedication to his Genesis Commentary (Ibid., p. 229) as "suus humilis in Christo, et orator sedulus, frater Johannes, inter Doctores minimus." None of his other extant Latin work is printed.

⁴⁴p. 76.

CHAPTER III

THE LIFE OF ST. NORBERT

I

To judge from preserved records, John Capgrave had had no practice in vernacular composition nor shown any inclination towards it when he undertook to provide an English version of The Life of St. Norbert for John Wygenhale, the abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery at West Dereham. Since the poem is unpublished, its Latin source accessible but hardly known, and the saint himself unfamiliar to most English-speaking people, a summary of Norbert's well-documented career must precede any evaluation of Capgrave's motives or achievement in his version. This biographical survey will also serve to distinguish Norbert from the other saints Capgrave commemorated, particularly St. Gilbert, Norbert's contemporary, who, like him, also established a religious order; and it will indicate the degree to which the historical figure has been subordinated to the vir Dei in the poem itself.

Born at Xanten between 1080 and 1085, Norbert was highly connected on both sides. His father was count of Gennepe and a cousin of the Emperor Henry V. His mother was a descendant of the dukes of Lorraine and her most important blood relative was Godfrey of Bouillon, the king of Jerusalem. For their eldest son, Norbert, they provided the formal education typical of noble families, and at the age of eight or nine Norbert was preferred as a subdeacon to the prebend of the

college of canons at Xanten. Despite his mother's hopes, Norbert did not initially embark on a religious career. After spending some time as a member of the worldly court of the bishop of Cologne, Frederick of Carinthia, Norbert joined the emperor's court and council, where as chaplain he exerted considerable influence and frequently spoke in the emperor's name. The only particular mark of piety he exhibited during these years was in the year 1111, when, having accompanied Henry V on his trip to Rome to claim the rights of investiture, Norbert, distressed by the emperor's seizure of the pope, prostrated himself and begged absolution. He nevertheless remained with the emperor and continued to refuse the ecclesiastical positions that were offered to him.

In 1115, however, the year when the emperor was excommunicated, Norbert underwent a sudden and miraculous conversion. Seeking retreat at the Abbey of Sigeberg, he went through a period of penance before requesting ordination from the archbishop of Cologne. For three more years Norbert occupied himself with study and contemplation, visiting holy men and enduring complaints about the austerity of his own life and the rule he attempted to impose on his canons at Xanten. He did preach during these years, but it was not until 1118, following bitter charges made at Frixlar against his conduct, that he decided on his apostolic mission. In the same year he visited Pope Gelasius at St. Giles and received from him his general license.

Besides the theological subjects which he treated before monastic audiences, Norbert's chief message to the people was peace.

Everywhere he was received enthusiastically, and he was instrumental in ending many local wars between feudal lords. In 1119, his license was confirmed by the new pope, Calixtus II, and Norbert was placed under the special protection of Bishop Bartholemew of Laon. It was Bartholemew who gave him the land on which, late in 1119, the Abbey Prémontré was built, and by Easter of 1120, Norbert headed a small house of fourteen canons. Because Norbert frequently absented himself on preaching missions, some of his followers were tempted to fall away from the rigorous adaptation of the Augustinian rule that he had ordained. Still, novices flocked to him from all walks of life, attracted both by his powerful personality and by his growing reputation as a worker of miracles.

Among the most powerful princes who sought him out were Godfrey, count of Cappenburg, whose gifts made him a second founder of Norbert's new order, and Theobald, count of Champagne and grandson of William the Conqueror. While his order was expanding rapidly, Norbert continued to regard his main role as that of a missionary. His greatest success was in the extirpation of Tanchelin's heresy in Antwerp, but his fame spread gradually throughout all of Europe. He gained papal approval of his order in 1126, and later that year he was chosen as archbishop of Magdeburg. Here as elsewhere, his attempts to correct abuses met with strong challenges from both the landed aristocracy and the local clergy, and for three years he was subjected to violations of his authority and even to attacks on his life. His new status as archbishop lending dignity to his own rank and his established reputation, he was often

called upon to take part in affairs of state. In 1127, he aided his friend Otto of Bamberg in the conversion of the pagan Wends, but his most important activities in his last years centered on the schism. It was Norbert who brought together Pope Innocent and the Emperor Lothar and induced the latter to undertake the expedition against the Anti-pope Peter Leo. During his trip to Rome, Norbert was instrumental in conducting the negotiations, and indeed a papal bull credits him with saving the papacy. Norbert continued to act as Lothar's chancellor on the return journey, but his health was failing and he died in Magdeburg on 6 June 1134.

Excluded from this account are the many miracles and supernatural events associated with his life and death on which the Vita focuses. Clearly, Norbert was a man of distinction whose name figures prominently in many of the most important political controversies of the 12th century. He was regarded as a spiritual peer by contemporary religious figures including Bernard of Clairvaux, and his magnetic personality attracted followers from the highest ranks of medieval society. A friend of popes and a confidant and advisor to emperors, Norbert was reviled by Peter Abelard and attacked by other clerics either jealous or fearful of his power. Notwithstanding his political significance, however, Norbert has not attained an important place in church history. Perhaps because he wrote little and so had a minimal intellectual influence and because the order he founded never rose to great prominence, his name is less familiar than that of lesser men.

The documentary evidence on which the foregoing account of Norbert's life is based¹ is sufficient to demonstrate that the portrait of the saint contained in Capgrave's Latin Vita source and in his poetic Life does not reveal in full the true character of the man. In large measure the lack of balance is the result of the aims and conventions of the genre itself. The saint's life seldom provides any detailed rationale for the deeds of the person commemorated; little internal motivation is provided, apart from the passionate love of God, and the words and acts reported are used chiefly to emphasize the virtues of the saint and to exhort the reader. The skeletal biography presented in the Vita is, of course, based on fact. Norbert did found a religious order, restore peace among various warring feudal factions by admonishing them in Christ's name, defeat a heresy, repair the many inroads made upon the possessions of his archdiocese, and play an important role in ending the schism. Moreover, he was sincerely devout, and his biographer, writing a memorial for his followers, had every reason to stress Norbert's humility, patience, and courage in the face of physical and verbal attacks. But it was not part of his concern to describe Norbert's high birth or early years during which he took more interest in the courtly life than in his religious duties at Xanten.²

A fuller knowledge of the historical Norbert than is offered by the Vita biographer enables the modern reader to understand more readily those aspects of his spiritual life on which the Vita concentrates. The absence of these motivational details, which must have been accessible to the writer who, after all, knew Norbert personally, is another

indication of the simplicity of many saints' lives as examples of the biographical genre. A knowledge of what Norbert sacrificed strengthens the impact of his conversion to a harsh, ascetic life and his adherence to the pope rather than to the emperor; it also explains such minor details as the charge that he wrongfully abandoned the clothing to which he was entitled.³ Similarly, an awareness of his high birth and station in life helps to clarify his role in the major events in which he was involved, for his status would assure his being treated with some deference, and when he confronted lords with their wrongdoings he spoke as their equal or superior and not simply as a humble man of God. These observations are not made to suggest either that Norbert was haughty or arrogant or that the author of the Vita wilfully misrepresented his subject; the point to be drawn is that religious purposes overshadowed historical objectivity in the composition of the saints' lives.

This conflict between the concerns of the historian and the hagiographer applies equally to the treatment of Norbert's adversaries. A striking instance of the hagiographic tendency to view them simplistically as only enemies of God, without regard to their possible motivation, occurs in section 32 of the Vita (cols. 1304-1306), in which Count Godfrey of Cappenburg, embracing voluntary poverty, decides to give land to Norbert for religious use. Although his wife and her brother are at first opposed, they finally agree to the plan. Godfrey's father-in-law, Count Frederick, however, asserts that the property in question was part of his daughter's dowry and cannot be disposed

of. The passage exhibits the habitually slanted style of the saint's life. Godfrey is a comes . . . praepotentissimus . . . dives, potens in armis, ut pote homo iuvenis, in praediis multis, servis, et ancillis satis locupletatus (col. 1304) -- in short, the fine, honourable gentleman whom the canons revere as the founder of three monasteries;⁴ but while he no doubt was admirable, he must have had human failings as well. His wife's whole role is shadowy, and it is by the will of God that she and her brother are converted. The original reference to Count Frederick's objection is neutral -- de dote filiae suae esse dicebat (col. 1305) -- but when he fails to retreat, the author begins to assail his character. Thus he acts ambitioni suae indulgens (col. 1305); now he is seen only as praetendens [the land] esse dotem filiae suae (col. 1305). His reported threat -- arrogantia verba (col. 1305) -- to hang Norbert and his ass in the balance to see which one is heavier (col. 1305) marks him as crude and makes the humble, unarmed priest who returns only the threat of God's wrath the hero of the scene. Naturally, Frederick's painful death from a stomach disorder a short time later is seen as a just and fitting end.

Although almsgiving and the endowment of churches were valued as unquestionable signs of the giver's piety and virtue as well as a means of ensuring perpetual prayers for his soul, disputes over the alienation of family lands, the rights of possible heirs, and the ownership of the dowry have been the subject of litigious debate throughout the centuries. Literary students are mindful of Chaucer's Man of Law, "All was fee simple to him in effect," and no historian considering this episode

in Norbert's life could disregard the rights of the landlord, with the attendant losses of revenue. But to the hagiographer any opposition to the saint is villainous. Similarly, when Norbert sets out to reappropriate lands formerly belonging to his church, no allowance is made for the fact that many of them had been held by their new owners for several generations. No distinctions are made; the lords as a group are castigated as revilers of the archbishop and defilers of the church. And when Norbert decides to replace the canons of St. Mary's with members of his own order, no sympathy is expressed for the displaced clergy's attachment to their church. They are presented as disobedient and impious,

þe chanonis of þe gret cherc seid him ful plat
 Ther schuld no man wit₃ hood ne wit₃ hat
 Take a-wey fro hem here possession.

(ll. 3119-3121)

while Norbert's high-handedness is apparently regarded as appropriate:

. . . at þe last his hert gan he up pulle
 And took vp-on him auctorite at þe fulle,
 That sith he was hed and souereyn of hem alle,
 Nedys to his entent þey must bowe and falle

Rather than he to hem, þis was the ende.

(ll. 3126-3130)

In these respects, Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert is even less objective than the Latin Vita, as reference to the index of the contents of the thirty-seven sections of Capgrave's work and the fifty-four of the Latin schematized at the end of this chapter will easily show. By large omissions Capgrave reduces the Vita's picture of Norbert's compelling impression on individuals as opposed to faceless groups, and thereby he diminishes to a certain extent the strength of personality

inherent in the Latin version. He also discards vital episodes in the saint's life. The story of Godfrey of Cappenburg's family relations related above is not pleasant, but it does indicate Norbert's appeal, as do the reports of his influence on Hugh of Fosse, Count Theobald, and the countess of Namur. Capgrave omits not only the violent attack on Norbert by the citizens of Magdeburg and his flight, which might suggest widespread resentment of the bishop, but also the general accounts of the enthusiastic reception he received everywhere, his meeting with Pope Gelasius, his defeat of Tanchelin's heresy, his settlement of the civil disorders at Fosse, and his trip to Rome to have his order confirmed in 1125/26 together with the secular activities associated with it.

Capgrave's work, however, found its audience not among men still mindful of the names and events but among the saint's disciples three hundred years after his death, in England, a country Norbert had never visited. This audience was less interested in Norbert's tribulations than in his glories; and continental French and Saxon nobility had not sponsored the foundations in England. Naturally enough, then, the supernatural element, the universal and generalizing features of the saint's life, took on larger proportions. Since Norbert's life was filled with confrontations by demons, reported as fact rather than as evidence of psychological struggles, the result of the attrition of historical content is an emphasis on the repeated and to some extent repetitious defeat of the forces of evil by a saintly man.

Capgrave is not necessarily the exclusive culprit in this bowdlerization of Norbert's history. There is evidence to show that he set out to translate, not to revise, his source and that another hand was probably involved in the actual abridgement. Moreover, as the later part of this chapter will prove, Capgrave employed several methods to vitalize those scenes from Norbert's life which he does include. The specific ways in which he modified the Vita's portrait of Norbert will be discussed in connection with his stylistic devices. However, since the purpose of the work and the structure and content of the poem govern the possibilities in characterization as well as the whole tone, they must be examined first.

II

Capgrave did not choose Norbert's life for a subject; it was, as he makes perfectly clear in the Prologue, written on request:

. . . I haue myn entent
So I plese him þat 3aue me comaundment

To make þis werk . . .

(ll. 13-15)

At this point his patron is unnamed and referred to only as "my goodly fader," but in the envoy to the Life Capgrave expressly identifies him:

Sey þou were made to þe abbot of Derham;

.

The abbotes name was called at þat tyde

The good Ion Wignale

(ll. 4095-4102)

In the Prologue also, amid compliments to the white canons as fellow adherents of the Augustinian rule and assertions that he had long since

placed himself under Norbert's protection, Capgrave suggests that his poem is in part payment for hospitality granted to him and other friars at the Premonstratensian abbey at West Dereham:

I write to 3ou wit3 ful pur entent;
 Thankyng 3ou euyr of 3our hertly chere,
 Whech 3e make us whan we ar oute sent;
 (ll. 58-60)

Besides this internal evidence, there are external facts to support conjectures about the circumstances under which the poem was written. First, although priests were expected to have a working acquaintance with Latin, the Premonstratensians were never known as a learned order;⁵ for this reason a vernacular life of their founder would be a prized accession. Second, the population of the monastery at West Dereham was always small,⁶ and a priest with the time and skill to make the translation could not likely be found there. But, third, the canons were not restricted to their own group. They had considerable property and they were celebrated for their hospitality. The monastery at West Dereham was well endowed, and among their many visitors must have been friars from Capgrave's convent at Lynn, for the two towns are separated by only ten miles. Despite the fact that episcopal records for Norwich are scanty during this period, it can reasonably be assumed that members of the house at Lynn were licensed to preach and it is surely to their excursions that Capgrave refers when he says, "whan we ar oute sent."

More convincing, perhaps, is the final piece of external evidence, which relates to Capgrave himself. When he returned to Lynn, he

came not just as a learned man to whom Wygenhale might reasonably turn for this translation or for other theological works, but probably as an old acquaintance. There is no record of Wygenhale's birthdate, but the two men must have been contemporaries. They were studying at Cambridge in the same years; Capgrave received his doctorate in theology and Wygenhale his license or bachelor's degree in canon law in 1425;⁷ and, as was noted in the biographical chapter, the Augustinian convent in Cambridge faced the Premonstratensian priory. There can be little doubt that the two young men from Norfolk would have met and continued to hear of each other as they pursued their respective successful careers. Whether Capgrave volunteered for this translation, and why he chose poetry as his vehicle are unanswerable questions; but it is certain that his motives were friendly and that his desire to honour the saint was sincere.

The precise manuscript Capgrave had to "sewe and translate" is not known but it derives ultimately from the standard (B) Vita composed between 1155 and 1164 rather than the shorter (A) version.⁸ Most of the extant copies of the Latin life are of the longer version; and, like Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert, they usually contain as an appendix a contemporary abridgment of Vita B with a few unparalleled additions made by a brother of the Cappenburg house. Capgrave's Life reports no events that are found only in A, includes many details which are unique to B,⁹ and still recognizes the Cappenburg source of the second recension:

These wordis folowand ar drawyn ful schortly
 Owt of a book þat lith at Capenbregense.
 Her founderis lif is wrytin þer seriously;
 But þei hem-selue þus in schorter sentense
 Brigged it thus on-to the complacense
 Of her breþerin.

(ll. 3851-3856)

However, one piece of internal evidence suggests that Capgrave may have been working from a shortened revision and not from the entire Vita B. When he treats Norbert's part in Theobald's marriage negotiations, Capgrave can only suppose that the count's fiancée was "longing to Germain, wher Norbert came fro" (l. 2798). Had he seen chapter 34 of the Vita, he should have remembered that the girl was the daughter of Englebert of Ratisbon.

It is also demonstrable from the poem that Capgrave's immediate source was written during the Great Schism (1378-1417). This fact makes it of much later composition than any of the extant manuscripts, for they are all of the 12th or early 13th century; and it makes more probable the suggestion that the passage of time accounted for the excision of matters no longer of general interest. The evidence of the reviser's hand (if he was more than a copyist) is contained in the following lines:

In þis tyme, as elde cronicles seyn,
 ffel a scisme of which is dool to her;
 But neuerþelasse I must telle 3ou al pleyn
 Swech maner þing as I fynde wrytin her.
 Too popes regnes at ones þat same 3er,
 As now þei doo, God amende þe caas.

(ll. 3529-3534, italics added)

Drawing a comparison between the schism Norbert helped heal and the one during which he lived, the writer clearly dates his work.

Unfortunately, though there are three references which point to an English composer, they are too vague to help in deciding whether the abridgement was made by the author of this intermediary source or by Capgrave himself. It is likely that any Englishman would have omitted the twice-repeated detail that the faithless novice was an "Anglicus"; and either of them might have added the observation that asses are unknown in "his cuntre." The last reference, to the fact that a specific water jug is cleaner than any "hens to Kent," is probably Capgrave's own, but since it seems to be inserted only for purposes of rhyme, its value as evidence is slight. With the manuscript lost and no other contemporary references in the poem, it is futile to speculate how extensive may have been Capgrave's revisions. In the particular instance cited above, lines 3530-3532 would appear to be Capgrave's, for they constitute a familiar poetic topos to allege fidelity to the source. On other occasions, where specific citations are made to "our langage," or where concrete explications of figures of speech occur, Capgrave almost certainly intrudes. But given this break in the manuscript transmission, it is not possible to consider changes as necessarily examples of the author's style; they can only be treated as part of the overall texture of the poem.

Like Capgrave's other saints' lives, The Life of St. Norbert follows the tradition of the long Latin lives giving the saint's whole history (i.e. the Antonian) rather than the native model which concentrates on a few critical moments. Although Capgrave denies that he is following any order in presenting the miracles of Norbert's life, the

work is clearly organized along chronological lines, but with only two dates explicitly mentioned -- Norbert's conversion in 1115 and his death in 1134.¹⁰ The first six sections of the poem (ll. 1-539) are concerned with his birth, conversion, and early preaching activities; sections nine and ten (ll. 659-833) provide the background for his choice of Prémontré as the site for his abbey and the coming of his first adherents; the description of the setting of the abbey and the construction of the church occupy sections seventeen and eighteen (ll. 1604-1799); his elevation to the archbishopric, his installation, his activities to recover the church's lands and to establish his canons in the church of our lady are the subject of sections twenty-seven to twenty-nine (ll. 2780-3143); his provision of new abbots for the Premonstratensian monasteries is dealt with in section thirty-two (ll. 3326-3465); and his role in the schism, his illness, death, and burial are treated in sections thirty-four and thirty-five (ll. 3529-3710). In the remaining sections, the focus is either on Norbert's personal behaviour and governance of his order or on the miraculous events connected with him and his followers.

This basic division does not, however, assume any change of tone. All the major episodes of his career are attended by some sign proving Norbert's special status or at least by some circumstance which allows the narrator to add instructive commentary. His mother, for example, is informed of his future preferment by a "heuenely vision":

"Be mery & glad, woman, & not a-frayde;

"ffor he þat is now in þi wombe conceyuyd
A herchbisschop schal be."

(ll. 105-107)

His conversion follows a call from God (ll. 148-161) and a massive thunderbolt which digs a man-size pit in the ground (ll. 163-168); and the building site for the church at Prémontré is shown to one of the brothers by a vision of Christ on the cross (ll. 1667-1686). Similarly, the chance that takes Norbert to Spires where he is chosen as archbishop is seen as an instance of the strange workings of God's will:

A wonder þing is who God can dispose
 To worchep a man þat semeth ful onlikly
 As to our doom and eke ful on-weldy.
 (ll. 2784-2786)

When the porter at the gate of the archbishop's palace fails to recognize Norbert in his threadbare garments as the new lord, there is an opportunity for Norbert to demonstrate his humility and for the narrator both to praise the saint and to exhort his readers:

"Thin eyne be mor cler, I telle the rit now,
 "That callest me a begger, þan her eyne were
 That chose me to worchep or to degree.
 Hide not thi-selue ne fle not for fere.
 Trost me sikerly þou hast thank of me,
 So art þou worthi, þou flaterist not, parde!"
 O noble mekenesse, þat hast mad þi nest
 In Norbertis herte and þer hast þi rest!

Euyr art þou stabil in þat same place
 And euyr wilt þou dwelle to his lyuys ende!
 Thus was this man stuffid al with grace,
 Thus be-gan he in his exaltacioun to bende
 His lyf al to mekeness. Crist mot us sende
 Euyr swech condicionnes to rest in our breest
 Wech wer I-founde in this noble preest.
 (ll. 2975-2989)

The same motives of instruction, exhortation, and confirmation of Norbert's saintly powers inform the sections dealing with his miracles and his characteristic demeanour. Capgrave certainly regarded

the marvellous events as factual, but biographical accuracy was not his chief aim. Throughout the poem, he makes brief statements accounting for the inclusion of certain episodes. When some of Norbert's brethren disparage him with complaints about the rule, Capgrave says:

And for þe mannes name was þus defamed
 God ordeyned a remedy to rere it a-geyn;
 With which mene he was mor I-named
 Than euer he was be-for, for as clerkys seyn,
 The deuele, which is euyr mor in peyn,
 Exalteth seyntes with his temptacioun
 With which þat he supposed to brynge al a-down.
 (ll. 1023-1029)

And there are many more occasions when he interrupts his narrative to praise God for his concern for men or to pray that Norbert's example may serve as a guide. Some are lengthy, like the general prayer to Christ for direction and salvation in the Prologue, which is almost an invocation,

O Lord Ihesu, of all religious men
 Abbot and maystir, bryng us to vnyte
 And 3eue us grace wit₃ þi comaundmentis ten
 To fulfill þe counsell which wer 3oue be þe;
 That we may dwelle in parfith charite
 Whil we be her & aftir our endyng day
 To se þat ioye which þat lasteth ay.
 (ll. 64-70)

or the conclusion to the first recension (ll. 3834-3850). Others, specifically commend one of the saint's attributes. Thus Norbert's humility calls forth the "O noble meknesse" passage already quoted (p. 117). Most of the shorter examples however have the tone of a refrain or of a perfunctory response, pious and platitudinous interpolations with little vitality, such as:

God be euyr þankid in his seyntis alle
 And on her helpyng mote we calle.
 (ll. 2456-2457)¹¹

Beyond these, Capgrave digresses to explain what he considers the significance of a given event, in the following example providing a moral for the name of the Prémontré and stating the suitability of its location:

fful rithfully is þe name called Premonstrate,
ffor Premonstrate in our langage he soundit₃ þus--
A place schewid befor, wech was desolate,
And aftir schuld be inhabit wit₃ folk vertuous.
It was schewid be name, þan now is it plenteuous
Of schewyng in dede, as we se at y₃e.
Euyr be it soo thorw Goddis mercy₃e!

Rith as þe verytees wech are in owr feith
Wer schewid be figuris in þe elde Testament,
Rith so þis ordre wech Norbert forth leith,
fful of religion, ful of holy entent,
Took in þis place a very fundament.
As in a figure schewyd mystily,
Amongis busschis & breris hid ful pryuyly.
(11. 757-770)

He also employs biblical parallels and gives characteristic explanations of terms his author has used. The temptations, misfortunes, and slanders which befall Norbert and his brethren are justified as God's will. One such example follows the disappearance of a novice with money belonging to the order:

God wold hem þe weyis of perfeccion lede
And lerne hem be smale þingis who þei schuld do in grete;
Therfor with temporal duresse he wold hem bete.
(11. 1601-1603)

Elsewhere Capgrave makes general statements revealing that miracles are meant both to glorify the saint (1. 294) and to give concrete demonstrations of the faith to the unlearned.¹² Few of these explanations are found in the Vita, and they are one of the principal marks of Capgrave's style. Again and again in the succeeding chapters, the literal-

minded exegete clarifying his materials for a less learned audience will be seen condensing and expanding his source.

The Life of St. Norbert also contains examples of less relevant excursions in which Capgrave outlines various possible interpretations but refuses to force a single resolution. Lines 1475-1512, for example, are occupied with a discussion of the habit ordained for the white canons by Norbert. The Vita says only:

Laneis ad carnem, laneis ad laborem uti,
et absque ulla tinctura praecepit; licet
asperrimo cilicio assidue vestiretur. In
sanctuario vero et ubi divina sacramenta
tractanda fuerant, vel celebranda, propter
munditiam et multimodam honestatem lineis uti
voluit, et omni tempore utenda disposuit.

(col. 1294)

Capgrave first confirms the wearing of the wool for labour with a bull of Pope Innocent (ll. 1479-1484); he then states the problem:

But for be-cause þat þer is dyuersite
In oppiniones of þese clothes partyng,
Now lynen, now wollen, to make a vnyte
Of this mater, and who I the wrytyng
Vndirstand, I will witȝ ony lettyng
Telle ȝou now vndir þis protestacion
That I take up-on me here no dominacyon.

(ll. 1485-1491)

Next, he translates the Latin in two prolix stanzas (ll. 1492-1505); and, finally, he declares:

If men wil algate of here deuocyoun
Were lynend alwey; I wil it not dispraue;
Lete every man aftir his discrecioun
His obseruances in his monastery haue.
But þis wold I, þe vynte for to saue,
That all schuld go lich, to kepe honeste,
Euene as alle cleyme of o religioun to be.

(ll. 1506-1512)

Thus, he makes a claim for uniformity and gives an opinion, but he will not presume to set a rule. An elaboration of this kind is clearly directed at Capgrave's immediate audience, for it involves a contemporary dispute.¹³

Another passage which exemplifies Capgrave's concern for questions which may arise in his readers' minds even though he cannot answer them occurs at the end of the passage dealing with two brothers who were deluded by the devil into believing they had powers to interpret prophetic scriptures. The final statement in the Latin is that the brothers quarrelled. Aware that this climax is unsatisfactory, Capgrave points out that he is not omitting anything wilfully:

Wheythir þei wer mad at on aftir þis tyme
 Mi book tellet not; with-uten doute;
 Ne I my-selue list not for to ryme
 Neythir of her vertues ne of her cryme,
 But-if I fond therfor sum auctoryte.
 Me þinkith reson þat it so schuld be.

(ll. 1990-1995)

This passage offers an interesting sidelight on the whole principle of veracity in the saint's life. Since he elsewhere creates ex nihilo speeches for saint and demon alike, Capgrave certainly did not always demand authority. The difference is that such speeches are written with a view to the black or white character of the subject, and they are therefore "ethically" true. Were he to make a statement of resolution at this point, however, he might falsely praise or blame.

Since for Capgrave the narrative continuity is always subordinated to the didactic purpose for retelling the life of the saint in the first place, his digressions follow a fairly consistent pattern.

And his preoccupation with the lessons of the life rather than with the man also explains his excisions and departures from his source. That Capgrave was at least to some degree aware of the critical problem is suggested by his candid admission that he has been selective,

Alle þese þyngis þat we haue teld in þour audiens
Are but a few of many that he dede.

(ll. 659-660)

and by his denial that any significance attaches to the chronological ordering of events in the saint's life:

. . . now wil we turne
To telle þou treuly his occupacyon,
Nout3 only his, but also we schul returne
Alle þe condicioun of hem þat þer soiorne,
So as her actes rith wer do indede,
ffolowyng non ordr, for it is no nede.

(ll. 1794-1799)

Throughout, Capgrave is shaping subtly the materials of his source to produce a calculated effect. Digressions, exclusions, selection, shading of emphasis -- all reinforce the basic assumptions that underlie his handling of the genre. Like other saints' lives, the St. Norbert is intentionally didactic. Directed outwards, with the audience and the impact always in mind, it exemplifies both those qualities native to the form and the particular adaptations of its author. How these are conveyed, and their success, depends on the poetic and stylistic techniques that now remain to be examined.

III

By any definition of poetry compatible with 20th-century aesthetic theory, Capgrave's writing would be found wanting; but such a

comparison puts too negatively and too uncompromisingly the limitations of his verse without sufficient regard for those positive qualities which it does contain. That he was more comfortable in prose than poetry is immediately apparent from even a superficial reading of his four saints' lives; but that he should have tested his vernacular ability in both media is in itself an important fact about him as a writer. Why he chose to write in verse cannot, as has already been pointed out, really be adduced, but that he did makes possible areas of comparison -- of style, language (syntax, and diction) -- that otherwise could not be seen.

It is manifestly fair to state that Capgrave was not by instinct poetically inclined. He was, clearly, familiar with the conventions of his time as regards language, metre, and stanza form, and competent to reproduce them, but he does not advance the art in any significant way; indeed, it can be argued whether in fact he ever managed to transcend the level of poetic exposition. Without exaggerating his achievement, it is no small accomplishment to turn Latin prose into English rime royal while at the same time maintaining a considerable fidelity to the original text. Capgrave makes syntactical inversions required by the rhyme and employs tags which are relatively unobtrusive to fill out lines metrically; but there is little evidence that he sensed the evocative possibilities inherent in patterns of sound and imagery. For example, the alliteration that occurs is most frequent in the kind of doublets that are characteristic of English, ones such as "rend..and race" and "derk and dym." End rhymes seem more often chosen for

convenience than for precision of meaning; and while his rhythm is not monotonously regular, it is not patterned or varied to arrest the reader's attention at crucial moments, and it is not always even particularly harmonious.

In fact, his use of metre shows that Capgrave is a figure of transition in poetic as well as in prose composition. Many of the verses may be scanned as iambic pentameter, the line already made popular by Chaucer and soon to be standard. But examination suggests that the influence of the older native metre with its four strong stresses and a varying number of unaccented syllables was still great. When syllable counting is replaced by a regard for the syntactically, etymologically, and rhetorically emphasized words in a stanza like the following where the number of syllables varies from eight to twelve, his tendency towards a four-stress line is readily apparent:

Swech maner soutȝ he in þoo dayes.
 To lerne lettirur, to lerne eke prudens.
 To dyuers men made he dyuers asayes.
 To vse vertu and to voyde necligens
 Was ȝoue al his bysi, studious eloquens.
 This was his lyf all these thre ȝer,
 Saue sumtyme in preching þe puple wold he ler.
(ll. 309-315)

The following passage illustrates amply the essentially prosaic nature of The Life of Saint Norbert:

In this same cherch, of chanones seculer
 Was þan a college of twenty persones & no moo.
 Thei kept her obseruaunce in cloyster & in qwere
 Mech þe bettir þat he cam too and froo
 So often as he ded. But he desired þoo,
 Be-cause it was ny him, his breþerin schuld be þer.
 He seide he him-self wold al þe costes ber

Both to the Pope and eke on-to þe kyng.
 He profered hem eke a better place þan þat.
 This peticioun was not to her lykyng;
 ffor þe chanonis of þe gret cherch seid him ful plat
 Ther schuld no man wit3 hood ne wit3 hat
 Take a-wey fro hem here possession
 ffor if he dede he schuld haue þe malyson

Of Iesu Criste and owre fader the Pope,
 wech had confermed it be many a bulle.
 Thus was our Norbert frustrate of his hope.
 But 3et at the last his hert gan he up pulle
 And took vp-on him auctorite at þe fulle,
 That sith he was hed and souereyn of hem alle,
 Nedys to his entent þey must bowe and falle

Rather þan he to hem, þis was the ende.

(11. 3109-3130)

While the two expressions, "& no moo" (l. 3110) and "too and froo" (l. 3111) are the only tags used, and only three lines (3109-3110, 3129) and one phrase ("up pulle," l. 3126) are noticeably inverted in syntax, there are in this passage no images and the rhymes are commonplace and bear little stress. Moreover, the highly varied metre of this passage does not serve an artistic purpose. Most of the lines may be scanned as iambic pentamer if the free use of anacrusis in Middle English verse is used to account for the extra syllables. But the last three lines of the first stanza are more satisfactorily seen as hexameters, and many lines, even such decasyllabic ones as:

Of Iesu Criste and owre fader the Pope
 wech had confermed it be many a bulle,

really have only four stresses.

It is in his dramatization of the incidents rather than in his poetic style that Capgrave's literary skill is most apparent. A structure with little necessary connection between the events is common in

medieval narratives, and the Latin Vita S. Norberti is itself episodic. By his greater awareness of causal relationships and by the subordination of lesser elements, Capgrave improves on the logic of the divisions and the transitions. On three occasions he draws together previously separated events. Thus he groups Norbert's attendance at the council of Reims, where he was commended to Bishop Bartholemew, with the later events in Laon; and he combines Theobald's request for Norbert to intervene in his marriage arrangements with the result that his journey causes Norbert to be in Spires when the new archbishop is chosen. In the third case, the grouping together of the three miracles concerning the wolf, Capgrave seems to have been guided simply by their logical relation.

In two cases in which he allocates a particular event to a different section, he improves both the logic and the overall dramatic effect. Thus, he ends his second section with Norbert's conversion and relegates the stay at Sigeberg to section three, along with the other details of Norbert's period of penance and study. And, later, he dissociates the story of the faithless novice from the description of the desolate ground at Prémontré and puts it where it belongs, with the vision showing the site where the church should be located.

With few exceptions, the Latin sections begin with an expression that conveys the passage of time.¹⁴ Generally, however, the author limits himself to the conventional forms -- fuit, itaque, deinde, cumque, eo tempore, post, or igitur -- frequently modified to a degree by an ablative absolute. In Capgrave's Life, many episodes open with a

summary of the matter they contain or with some connective linking them with a previous passage. The summary may remove the possibility of suspense by pre-stating the outcome of the narrative, as it does in

Afftir þis not longe tyme, as I wene,
 He sayde a masse in a ful lowe voute;
 Where fel a caas of stoynyng & of tene,
 Vn-to him eke ful desesy in thoute;
 But fynaly it harmed hym rith noute.
 This was þe caas . . .

(ll. 246-251)

or, it may more generally denote the importance of the section. The first lines of section three, for example, show that Capgrave saw Norbert's conversion, the subject of the previous section, as a climactic event and that he wished to isolate it dramatically from the period of religious training which ensued:

Now riseth he up, a-stoynd and a-drad.
 He fleth þe pres þe besinesse he had er.
 Ther he was wone to singe & be ful glad
 Now ar his corage, his wordes, & his cher
 Turned on-to sadnesse. A reddy, a good skoler,
 To holy ordres he hastith now in al wise;
 His stody is now to lerne dyuyne seruyse.

(ll. 176-182)

When he connects one episode with a preceding one, Capgrave usually relies on common transitionals such as "thus," though sometimes he achieves a new coherence with his links. For example, although he has falsified history by telescoping the council of Frixlar and Norbert's meeting with Gelasius at Saint-Giles, Capgrave manages both to remind the readers that Norbert had obtained a general license to preach and to prepare them for the following four stanzas which effectively summarize Norbert's evangelical travels:

Whan he had take þus þis general licens
 To preche to þe puple ouer-al wher he cam,
 With too deuoute felawis ful of Innocens,
 Swech as he was, his iornay sone he nam.
 Ouyr þe feldys, þe marys, and þe dam
 Went þei rith forth, þei spared no hardnesse;
 Her hertis were 3oue only to hardynesse.

(ll. 393-399)

More interesting, however, are the ways in which, having increased both the length of the scenes he retains and the episodic nature of the St. Norbert by introductions setting off the parts, by moral applications of the events, and by explications of terms and references, Capgrave still renders his action more dramatically effective than that in his source. Nearly every episode contains examples of his chief methods: increased use of direct speech, colloquialisms in the idiom, homely imagery, and more detailed description of the actions of characters. Before two scenes are examined more thoroughly, a few brief illustrations will suffice to clarify his use of these techniques.

Sometimes Capgrave simply lengthens the direct speech given in his Latin source. Thus, when one of the feuding lords at Gemlacum agrees to Norbert's petition for peace, Capgrave replaces the Latin

Fiat quod vis; non est aliqua certae rationis
 oppositio, quam possit aliquis objicere, tuae
 contradicendo vel obsistendo petitioni.

(col. 1281)

with

"God þank 3ou, ser, for þat 3e list to lere

"Swech as I am both loue and charyte.
 I wil obeye on-to 3ou in all maner wyse;
 Rith as 3e wil, rit3 so schal it be.
 I am a-ferd of þat hye iustyse
 That whan he sittith in his grete assyse
 He wil elles dampne me but I do sum good."

(ll. 588-594)

In this instance Capgrave does not employ a particularly colloquial idiom; but, turning away from the academic appeal to reason, he does draw on the preacher's threat of eternal damnation. In addition, of course, in the first four lines he creates a different impression of Norbert's personal effect by emphasizing "loue and charyte."

Elsewhere, Capgrave either invents whole speeches or elaborates them from indirect statements in the Latin. For example, according to the Vita, after he was told of the vision concerning the location of the church, Norbert gratias egit Domino Deo (col. 1297). From this hint, Capgrave supplies a seven-line prayer:

"Euyr be þou worched for þi hye graas,
And neuer be þin honour fro mannis hert layde;
ffor whan all frenschipis haue be a-sayde
Than is þin best, þou 3euest, Lord, coumfort
Of þing þat is passed, & eke if we resort

"On-to þi proteccion for any comyng nede,
þan 3euest þou us knowlech of þin hye grace."
(ll. 1690-1696)

The introduction of colloquial phrases also serves to alter the tone of the work. He makes a character like the faithless novice more realistic by having him assure Norbert that "we lese not in this house a heryng-cobbe" (l. 1582) on the night before he commits the robbery. Occasionally, the interjection is personal. Referring to one of the many times when Norbert was undeservedly slandered, Capgrave cannot refrain from an outburst which has a fine, impatient ring:

And eke for þe slaundir which was be-falle
Of þe euele tungis which can neuer but knok
And clater in euele tyme -- wold God þei had a lok
To schet with her tunge --
(ll. 1648-1651, italics added)

Such changes and additions as these are frequent in the St. Norbert, and they give a more forceful tone to the English version. Some of the images also contribute to this effect by their more concrete and homely nature. When Norbert declares his choice of the white habit, for example, Capgrave's approval of his argument is indicated by the introductory line, "Thus wit3 his malle þe nayle-hed he hit" (l. 1363). To describe the movement of a demon, Capgrave uses a simile picturing a fluff-ball blown by the wind:

Euene as þe wynde lifteth up a wullock
ffor very lithnesse, rith soo þese spiritis flye
ffro place to place; and þat ful hastilye.
(ll. 2189-2191)

The juxtaposition of evil and harmless elements is by no means ironic; rather, it reflects a conception of them as co-existing aspects of man's world.

Capgrave could also use a brief image to render a scene concrete or to vivify otherwise unrealized characters. When Norbert first enters Magdeburg as bishop, he is pictured as "walled/ All with men" (ll. 2938-2939); and the indirectly reported speech of his adversaries is given a proverbial tone with

The othir part seid he had leyd his ore
fferther in the watyr þann he myth rowe.
(ll. 3043-3044)

Additional descriptions of physical action appear everywhere. When the possessed man is brought into Norbert's presence at Traiect, for example, the crowd is given a dynamic role. From the brief Latin phrase, cum magno suffragio plebis circumstantis (col. 1303), Capgrave

makes a tableau wherein the people first kneel praying to Norbert to help the bailiff (ll. 2208-2212) and then form separate groups on either side to watch the conflict (ll. 2213-2217). Sometimes, so many new details appear that the episode could be pantomimed. For the Latin author, the importance of the devil's appearance to the labourer at Viviers is to show the efficacy of the invocation of the saint's name. In Capgrave, on the other hand, it becomes a vivid realization of the powerful effect of apparitions. In this case, Capgrave removes all the dialogue. He depicts the man sweating in the field (ll. 2381-2385), running to the well (l. 2386), looking into it (l. 2390), starting away in terror (l. 2393), meeting the devil (ll. 2394-2395), swooning (l. 2399), tearing his clothes as he is possessed (l. 2401), and being seized by other men (l. 2404) -- all previous to any mention of the saint.

These same techniques obviously coalesce and function together in some of the more extended episodes. New, direct speeches frequently include colloquialisms and homely images, and movement is often indicated during the scenes in which the speeches are made. Perhaps the most singular example of the combination, which most clearly reveals the total effect of Capgrave's changes, is the possession and exorcism recorded in section twenty (ll. 1996-2184). During one of Norbert's absences, one of the brothers is seized by the devil and afterwards bound by his fellows. The devil cries out against the prior who comes to conjure him; but he is forced to admit his identity, and, indeed, he testifies to Christ's lordship when he sees the crucifix. One of the

young brethren volunteers to lead the possessed man to the holy-water single-handedly; and in short order the devil appears on the man's tongue in the form of a lettuce seed, makes one more effort to pervert the brothers, and finally disappears.

The account is dramatic enough in the Latin; much of it is in direct speech and the references to such apparatus as would be required for a stage performance -- including the crucifix and the font -- are already clear. What Capgrave does is, in the first place, to lengthen the speeches, both by repetition and extension, so that the prior and the devil become more developed adversaries, and to alter the tone of the devil's speeches so that he becomes cruder. Then, he introduces additions which make the secondary characters more visible and their actions on the stage more effective.

In the Latin version of the devil's first speech,

Modo intrabit ad me, modo intrabit ad
me, modo venit, modo venit magister ille
cum clavata tunica sua, maledicantur ipsi;
firmate ostium, firmiter firmate quam celerimme.
(col. 1301)

the repetition creates a sense of anxiety and impending conflict. However, while Capgrave retains the essential outlines, he depicts a more obvious copy of the ranting devil of the medieval stage:

"Now schal he come, þe cursed prest & proude,
He schal now entre, and sor on me croude,
This daffid fool, with his barred cote!
Cursed be he, and hanged be þe throte!

"Spere þe dor, men, & barr it sor & fast."
(ll. 2013-2017)

In adding the devil's vain threats to bar the prior's way with a tree (11. 2019-2022), Capgrave increases the interval before the prior's first words and so makes his lack of hesitation more forceful. In the next speech, Capgrave has the devil address the prior as "dotard balled schrewe" (l. 2035) and replaces the list of titles (magister, tutor, doctor) with the generalized slur, "man þat werith hood or hat" (l. 2033). In his remaining speeches, there are no further examples of this particular line of offense. But as the devil reveals himself as especially spiteful against Norbert and his followers and defiant in his attempts, despite his powerlessness, Capgrave's expansions increase the sense that his efforts are hopeless. The devil is made to stress his own evil and misery by repetition and to remind the audience of his previous defeat:

" . . . Ey me! Ey my!
 What schal I do? I must now tell my name.
 I am þat deuele, I am rith þat same

"Whech dwell sumtyme in þat fayr zong mayde
 At Nyuygelle, whech mayde þo was browt
 Be-for þour Norbert, where he his charmes sayde.
 He lessed my power and set me al at nowt.
 If I had power it schuld ful der be bowt.
 Cursed be þat our þat þour Norbert was bore,
 He and hise, þei contrary me euyrmore."

(11. 2063-2072)

In the Vita, he says only:

Ei mi, ei mi, quid agam? Ego sum...ille,
 qui fui in puella Nivigellae coram Norberto
 magistro tuo, albo cane. Maledicatur hora, in
 qua unquam natus fuit.

(col. 1302)

Much of the expansion in Capgrave's first few lines (11. 2063-2067) is only by repetition and by the addition of adjectives; but in the

remainder, the devil reiterates the events at Nivelles (ll. 2068-2069), wishes he had the power to revenge himself (l. 2070), and includes Norbert's followers among his adversaries (l. 2072).

In the case of the prior the expansions involve expressions of his complete trust in Christ and his acceptance of God's will. So, there is nothing in his long speech conjuring the devil (ll. 2045-2061) which is not implicit in the Latin (cols. 1301-1302). The distinction is always between good and evil, but because he emphasizes Christ's sacrifice and his love, the prior is a somewhat more humanized figure in Capgrave than his counterpart in the Latin source.

The presence of the other members is realized mainly by two additions which give the convent as a whole an active role. The first is a speech (ll. 2079-2088) in which they all take part in the decision to pray, fast, and undergo corporal punishment to speed the cure of their brother, rather than merely to accept the command of the prior. Later, by expanding

aquam in vase ad hoc habili benedicunt, et cum
processione eunt ubi erat demon. . . .
(col. 1302)

to

And to þe hous a-non streith þei ȝede.

They made haliwater with grete deuocoun,
A vessel ful, ordeyned for that cause.
All þe couent went on processioun,
Syngyng and seying many a holy clause.
Whan þei cam þedir . . .

(ll. 2093-2098)

Capgrave provides a participating audience for the final action.

Thus, on stage for the dénouement, along with the possessed brother, the demon, and the prior is the rest of the convent, and to them Capgrave adds a young boy holding the cross. Finally, the part allocated to the young canon who leads the victim to the font is increased. After the prior dramatically pauses to consider his request, a stanza is inserted to focus greater attention on his moment. In place of the abrupt,

ille solus tenuit et usque ad aquam benedictam
adduxit. . . .

(col. 1302)

Capgrave elaborates:

No man halpe him with hand ne wit₃ tonge,
But brout₃ him a-lone lich a childe
þat is led wit₃ norce whil he is ful 3unge.
This man, þat was be-for-tyme so wilde,
Now is he made in maner meke and milde.
The deuele qwook in þis mannes presens,
Whech was so hardy to fulfille obediens.

(ll. 2143-2149)

Another and much briefer example of Capgrave's ability to dramatize an event is found in section thirty-one (ll. 3263-3325). His account derives from the following passage in the Latin:

Non cessabat aemula iniquitas in occulto, in manifesto mansuetam simulans aequitatem, et tanto gravior et nequius, quanto magis a domesticis fiebat et familiaribus. Familiaritas vere dicenda est; quia cum quodam noctis tempore, ad celebranda cum clericis suis Matutinarum solemnia, more solito surrexisset, advenerat clericus quidam de domesticis, et retro ad ostium se in insidiis posuerat, iniquitate plenus et crudeli malitia; utpote armatus competentibus armis, quibus innocentum caute et in dolo ferire posset et interficere. Egressisque capellanis qui praecedebant, sicut mos est in terra (praecedunt enim dominos suos capellani) ille de insidiis prosiliens, novissimum putans episcopium, unum ex clericis media veste conscissa percussit. Cumque ille exclamaret et diceret: "Quis est que me laedit?" ille, sonitu vocis, non esse ipsum quem

quaerebat agnoscens. "Putavi, inquit, hunc novissimum esse, quem morti tradere disponebam." Praecesserat enim episcopus mistim inter alios, eundem eventum, quasi futurorum praescius, timens. At ille concito curso in fugam versus est, et cum alli ad capiendum illum insequerentur: "Sinite, ait vir Dei, fugere eum, nec malum pro malo reddatus; fecit quippe quantum potuit et quantum ei Deus permisit. nondum enim venit hora mea. Sed qui miserunt eum, non dormient nec quiescent; donec opprobriis suis satientur, et me vel morti tradant, vel, si divinum sit opus quod agitur de me, manifeste probatum reddant.

(col. 1328)

After a two-stanza introduction (ll. 3263-3276) stating that Norbert's good example was despised by certain malicious individuals, Capgrave establishes the scene of this particular episode -- Norbert's habitual solemn attendance at the chapel (ll. 3277-3280). Then, he gives the unknown clericus a motive; failing to observe the rule strictly, he has been frequently reprimanded by Norbert (ll. 3281-3287). Next, Capgrave inserts a speech made by some of the would-be killer's relatives, so that when the actual crisis occurs, no explanation is necessary:

"This sory bisschop," þei seid, "þat is so lene,
Schal neuer be in pees, but grucchin all his lyf.
Go forth, þou man, take in þin hand a knyf.

"Wayte vp-on him whan he to mateyng goth;
Take and serue him, þan schul we be in pees.
He is euyr chidyng, euyr angry and wrooth."

(ll. 3288-3293)

Finally, the tableau is presented: the clerk lying in wait (ll. 3294-3296), the procession passing by (l. 3298) while the villain waits for the last man (ll. 3202-3203), Norbert by chance walking in the middle. (l. 3305), and the falling of the blow (ll. 3309-3310). Then Capgrave adds a speech by the wounded brother to stop the action at the crisis point:

"What art þou?" he seid, "in vertu of God a-boue,
 That smytest me soo, and I greue þe nowt.
 This maner brothirhod is not groundid in loue."
 (ll. 3312-3314)

At the conclusion, he alters the words of the villain to include a more natural expression of surprise:

"O!" seyde þis theef, "al mys haue I wrowt!
 That ilk man wech þat I haue sowt
 He is skaped and goo or þat I wist!"
 (ll. 3315-3317)

Both of these extended scenes clarify Capgrave's relationship to his material. As a scholar-poet, he maintains a fidelity to his sources without that slavish commitment of the copyist which would stifle any recreation of their contents. Although he is working with characters who are conventional and stereotyped and who permit him little opportunity for shading or individuation, he manages by a careful manipulation of the scene and setting to give them a dimension through dramatization which they do not have in the Latin original. It is this sense of dramatic balance that distinguishes Capgrave as a writer. That quality more than any other compensates for deficiencies in his poetic and narrative art and gives to his work a stamp of originality.

In the second of his poetic lives, The Life of St. Katherine, Capgrave's capacity for dramatic realizations combines with features of design and improved poetic techniques to produce a more artistically effective work. To demonstrate the differences between the two poems more clearly and to show how far they may indicate a greater maturity in Capgrave's work, the next chapter will discuss the sources, style,

characterization, and dramatic arrangement of the debates in

The Life of St. Katherine.

APPENDIX

A SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF LATIN VITA B COLLATED
 WITH CAPGRAVE'S LIFE OF ST. NORBERT

Roman numerals in left-hand column refer to sections in Capgrave's Life; the number of stanzas and line numbers are given below the Roman numerals [17: 1212-1330]. Arabic numerals refer to chapters in the Vita. Chapters in the Vita that are omitted by Capgrave are so indicated [Omit]; when Capgrave's sections do not correspond exactly with the Vita chapters, the break is indicated by a slanted stroke [/]. When no Roman numeral appears opposite a Vita chapter not indicated as omitted in Capgrave, it can be assumed that it is included in the previously cited chapter of Capgrave's Life.

- | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I | 1. Birth of Norbert in 1115 to Herbertus and Hadwig at |
| 8: | Xanten, following maternal vision; Norbert's youth |
| 71-126 | in the courts of the archbishop of Cologne and the emperor; loved by all, he was both intelligent and attractive. |
| II | 2. Unsure of the way to turn in the midst of corruption, |
| 7: | Norbert, setting off in a thunderstorm with a single |
| 127-75 | servant, hears a heavenly voice; he begins to reform |
| III | his ways,/ turns his life to study, and resides at |
| | Sigeberg. |
| | 3. Asks ordination as deacon and priest from archbishop |
| 10: | of Cologne; the devil who appears is easily defeated. |

176-245

spends 40 days at Sigeberg before returning to Xanten.

4. There, the next day, he gives a sermon on eternal life; his efforts to restore pristine rule are attacked but he accepts the contumely and so shows his patience.

Omit

5. A dissertation on the reasons holy men endure evil.

IV

6. The miracle wherein Norbert swallows a spider from the chalice and expells it through his nose is here used to show his faith in God and his disdain for life.

10:

246-315

7. Thus, upheld by patience and faith, Norbert spends three years in his austere manner of life and studies, visiting Sigeberg, Roda, and the hermit Liudolf.

V

8. A council is held at Frixlar and Norbert is accused of usurping rights of preachers, wearing a habit when he is not in orders, and abandoning the clothes to which his rank entitles him; he gives his answers.

11:

316-92

9. Deciding to watch in prayer the whole night, Norbert begins to fail, but rouses to confront a devil who taunts him. Realizing the reasons some had accused him, he goes to the archbishop and resigns his benefices and then gives up all his patrimony and sets out barefoot with two companions.

OmitOmit

10. At St. Giles he meets Pope Gelasius who absolves him from fault in his double ordination. The pope wished

to keep him but Norbert refuses the life of the papal court.

Omit

11. Seeing his constancy, the pope gives him full license to preach.

VI

21:

393-539

12. Norbert sets off again in icy weather, is joined by a third companion at Orléans and arrives at Valence on Palm Sunday. There his preaching is understood though he spoke in German, not French; his intention to depart is hindered by the illness of his three companions who ultimately die. Meanwhile, his old friend Burchard, bishop of Cambrai arrives and they meet again. During an illness suffered by Norbert, one of the bishop's followers decides he wishes to become Norbert's disciple and sets out to settle his affairs before joining the saint.

Omit

13. Thus in 1118, Norbert received Hugh who was later to succeed him. Norbert again sets out preaching and everywhere men from all ranks of life collect to hear him; he is successful in reconciling enemies, and he is always received gladly at tables. He also preaches to religious communities on more strictly theological subjects. On every side, he leads people away from error, makes them penitent, and restrains them from crime.

- Omit 14. By Norbert's example and exhortation, Hugh is led towards the perfect life.
- Omit 15. At Fosse, the people tell Norbert of great and murderous disputes. After long prayers and celebrating the Mass, Norbert exhorts the people to forgive their enemies and peace is established.
- VII
12:
540-623 16. The next day he proceeds to Gemlacum and there seeks to reconcile two warring lords. One recognizes the wisdom of Norbert's words, but the other remains obstinate. Norbert prophesies that the latter will be seized by his enemies and the truth of his words is proved.
- VIII
5:
624-58 17. Norbert proceeds to Colroy where he again urges peace. When one of the disputants flees the church, his horse refuses to move. Thus, he is led to repent and God's glory is shown.
- IX
16:
659-770 18. The author urges the truth of the preceding reports against possible derogation. They are in fact only a few of Norbert's deeds. Gelasius died that same year (1119) and Calixtus II was chosen as his successor. The new pope called a council at Reims where Norbert received confirmation of his apostolic letters.
19. Calixtus ordered Bartholemew, bishop of Laon, to take Norbert to his court, and eager to keep holy

men in his city, Bartholemew urged him to accept the abbacy of the church of St. Martin. After first refusing, Norbert accepted the task, but the canons soon complained of his stringency. At this time Hugh returned to be Norbert's companion. The bishop continued to urge Norbert to accept a place in his diocese and finally he settled on the desolate Prémontré.

- X
9:
771-833
20. The winter being over, Norbert again went on his rounds of preaching, and soon Evermode of Cambrai and Antonius of Nivelles became his disciples. With these two, Hugh, and ten others, Norbert took possession of Prémontré at Easter.
- XI
21:
834-980
21. The demons, enemies of God, naturally attempted to disrupt this new foundation. One brother is tempted by a devil pretending to be the trinity, but he easily recognizes the delusion. Later, another particularly renowned for the harshness of his fasts is tempted from his abstinence. The others cannot prevent his fall despite their exhortations; at his return Norbert immediately senses the evil. However, he soon perceives the diabolic inspiration and leads the brother back to his customary rigour.
- XII
33:
22. Then Norbert returns to his preaching, continuing to pacify discord and eventually he returns to Nivelles.

981-1211

Certain men there who had not been able to endure the rigour of the life at Prémontré sowed opprobrium against him, but the power of his words was greater than their evil. He cures a girl who had been vexed by a demon for a year and thus it is proved that Norbert is a true apostle.

Omit

23. Norbert goes on to Cologne seeking relics for the church he wishes to build. He fasts and prays and during the night one of the 11,000 virgins appears to him and tells him where her body lies. Her body is found and on the following day, after prayers, he also discovers the body of St. Gereon. He is given relics and goes back on his way. The countess of Namur hears of him and urges him to accept Florefe as a new establishment for his order. He agrees and returns to Prémontré at Christmas where there are now thirty lay brothers and clerics.

XIII

17:

1212-1330

24. The number increases to forty clerics and more lay brothers, and Norbert night and day exhorts them to heavenly thoughts. However, he knows that a rule must be established; some advise the eremetical, some the anchorite, some the Cistercian way of life. Norbert chooses the Augustinian rule as most suitable to the combination of canonical and apostolic life he wants./

- XIX
28:
1800-1995
29. Norbert returns to preaching peace and unanimity to clerics and to lay people. Meanwhile, armed demons appear to some of his brothers who try to fight them, but others, recognizing the delusion, banish the demons with holy water and the sign of the cross. The devil could not prevent men of all ranks from joining Norbert's order. One of the brothers believes he can expound Daniel's prophecies and foretells the future of some of the others. Soon, those who had been confused recognize the delusion. Another thinks he can expound the Apocalypse but wiser brothers refuse to hear him until Norbert returns. The demon, angered, sets the two expounders against each other.
- XX
23:
1996-2184
30. The demon then seizes another brother who is so violent that he has to be bound. The demon acknowledges that it was he who tormented the girl at Nivelles and after much effort he is finally exorcized.
- XXI
26:
2185-2338
31. Leaving the brothers, the demon pursues Norbert to Traiect and enters a man who is brought to Norbert for curing. In his raging, the man accuses bystanders of secret sins. Finally, Norbert manages to effect the cure, but points out that the man has been tormented because of his own evil deeds.

- Omit 32. This chapter deals with the conversion of Count Godfrey of Cappenburg. Against the desires of his wife, brother, and father-in-law, he decides to change his castle into a monastery. His wife and brother accept the holy path, but his raging father-in-law, after attacks and threats, finally dies the painful death he deserves. Thus the order continues to grow.
- Omit 33. Everything cannot be told, but Norbert's fame grew in both France and Germany. Count Theobald, for example, wanted to give up all his lands to him. Norbert reminds him of his other duties but agrees to give him a rule of life and to choose a wife for him.
- Omit 34. On his way to Rome to have his order confirmed, Norbert stops at Ratisbon and gets the Marquis Englebert to agree to give his daughter to Theobald. Norbert receives what he asks from the pope and on the return journey a heavenly voice predicts he will be made bishop of Parthenopolis. He is afraid to linger at Herbipolis whose last syllable is the same, and there a blind woman is cured while he celebrates Mass.
- XXII 35. On his way back to Prémontré, he establishes houses
17: of the order at Laon and Vivier. At Vivier a demon
2339-2457 possesses a labourer as he drinks at the fountain.

The man is carried to Norbert and seems to be cured. Norbert knows the demon is not gone, however, and the exorcism is not completed until the next day.

Omit

36. People focus on these demonic events, but it should not be forgotten how he was called to Antwerp by the heresy of Tanchelin and how easily his eloquence recalled the people to the faith.

XXIII

8:

2458-2513

37. Among other things that happened is the strange event at Prémontré. When the brothers arrived with water, Norbert said it was foul and ordered it poured out. This happened twice more and finally a huge toad is poured out. Norbert says the devil has a thousand tricks.

XXIV

20:

2514-2653

38. Another time some brothers find a wolf devouring a kid. When they take it from him, he follows them home. Norbert discovers the theft and orders the kid returned.

39. A boy who guards the sheep is jocularly asked how he would chase off a wolf. He replies that he would command him to depart in Norbert's name. When the event occurs, the wolf does leave. On another occasion, the wolf helps guard the sheep and demands payment for his labour at the monastery. Norbert recognizes his claim and again shows his brothers proper behaviour by example.

- XXV 40. The demon appears to a man late at night, but he
9: bravely pursues him until he catches a tree and
2654-2716 recognizes the illusion. Another one, after long
remaining immobile, makes the demon disappear with
the sign of the cross.
- XXVI 41. The demon also appears to Norbert in the shape of a
9: bear, but the saint easily drives him off.
2717-2779
- XXVII 42. The time approaches for Theobald's marriage and Nor-
27: bert agrees to inquire into the reasons the bride
2780-2933 has not appeared. He sends his expense money to the
brothers at Prémontré to aid in feeding the poor.
On his way, he arrives at Spire where the first
consideration of the council is the choice of a new
bishop for Parthenopolis (Magdeberg). Pointed out
as the best man by one of the other nominees,
Alberon, later archbishop of Trèves, Norbert is made
bishop of the perverse Slavs and Saxons.
- XXVIII 43. When Norbert enters his possessions, the porter turns
24: him back because of his poor dress. Norbert merely
2934-3101 smiles and says the man knows him better than those
who chose him.
44. After his consecration, he discovers the bad state
of the church's revenues and sets out to recover
alienated lands. Naturally, he has to endure much

calumny both from the lords who hold the possessions and from the clerics whose irreligious life he endeavours to correct.

- XXIX 45. After initial difficulties, he establishes some of
6: his own canons in the church of the Blessed Virgin
3102-43 in front of the episcopal palace.
- XXX 46. His order grows in Saxony. Much murmuring continues
17: against him and on one occasion a man who plans to
3144-3262 murder him is marvellously revealed by Norbert.
- XXXI 47. He has enemies even among his closest associates and
9: one tries to kill him as he leaves the cathedral.
3263-3325
- XXXII 48. He allows an election of a new abbot for Prémontré
20: since his flock has so long been unattended. Soon
3326-3465 he also chooses abbots for the other five monaster-
ies and the order continues to multiply.
- Omit 49. When Honorius dies, the church is broken by a
schism. Norbert attends the true pope's council at
Reims and has his order and position confirmed.
When he returns to Magdeburg, many accuse him of
failing to maintain the glory of the church. He
shows his constancy, however. At the same time the
church was defiled and Norbert insisted on re-con-
secrating it. His enemies said it was unnecessary
and accused him of planning to steal the church's

treasure. After a long night hidden in the church, Norbert is saved by the arrival of the count, and he is able to show that nothing has been disturbed.

Omit

XXXIII

9:

3466-3528

50. His enemies continue to rise up against him and he is compelled to leave the city./ Finally, however, the people perceive the truth and offer restitution which Norbert considers unnecessary,

51. Forty marks of silver are given to repair the damage done his palace. Thus Norbert shows himself able to endure all ills.

XXXIV

13:

3529-3619

52. Lothar, the German emperor, sets up an expedition to re-seat the true pope in Rome and has Norbert accompany him. The trip is successful, but the much weakened Norbert dies a short time after their return.

XXV

13:

3620-3710

53. The cathedral and the church of his canons dispute over the body of the saint, and Lothar decides in favour of the Premonstratensians. His body has remained uncorrupted while the decision was being made.

XXXVI

20:

3711-3850

54. One of his distant canons has a vision of Norbert with an olive branch as a symbol of the order he has planted, and it is found to be the day of the saint's death. Another brother sees a vision of Norbert who changes into a lily and the prior notes the day, which turns out to be the day of his burial. Yet another brother, one of the earliest converted,

has a vision of Norbert in bliss. Final assurance of the author that these things are true because they were reported by eyewitnesses.

[XXXVII]

37:

3851-4109

[The second recension of St. Norbert's life, which is found in all extant versions, follows here.]

Footnotes

* Internal references are to: John Capgrave, The Life of St. Norbert, ed. W.H. Clawson, unpublished manuscript in the Huntington Library (HM55). Line numbers are taken from Professor Clawson's unpublished transcript, the manuscript of which is in the University of Toronto Library. And Vita S. Norberti, P.L., CLXX (Paris, 1894), cols. 1258-1344. References to Capgrave are by line number, to the Vita by column number.

¹ Most of the documents are cited in Godefroid Madelaine, Histoire de Saint Norbert (Lille, 1886). Of the religious biographer, Madelaine says, "Pour lui le grand rôle politique du saint paraît secondaire, et il n'en parle qu'incidemment" (p. 14).

² H.M. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951), p. 1.

³ The excommunication of the emperor is not mentioned in the St. Norbert; for the accusation on his apparel see Capgrave, ll. 342-343. Certain materials were restricted to members of specific ranks, and they were expected to wear garments suitable to their station. As a member of the nobility who had as yet not renounced his position, Norbert was vulnerable to this attack.

⁴ Cappenburg, Elvestat, and Varlar in Vita, col. 1306.

⁵ Colvin, p. 315.

⁶ Ibid., p. 307.

⁷ A.B. Emdem, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1963). Wygenhale is listed under his family name, Saresson. Further information about his career is contained in Colvin, pp. 321-323.

⁸ The late 19th-century controversy over the priority of the two early versions has not yet been finally resolved. Roger Wilmans edited as Vita A a life which he discovered and believed to be earlier in Monumenta Historia Germanica: Scriptorum, XII (Hanover, 1856), 670-703. His dating was challenged by Godefroid Madelaine in his Histoire de Saint Norbert (Lille, 1886), pp. 17-19. The latter clearly establishes (p. 18) that the standard Life (B) is of French origin, A of German. However the single linguistic example that he cites for B's ultimate priority is scarcely sufficient proof, and his whole argument is so dogmatic as to cause doubts in the reader.

⁹ The three lists which follow clarify Capgrave's precise relationship to Vita A and B. While he selects freely from B (as the third

list indicates), he follows B both in the details omitted from A (list 2) and in the addition of details which do not appear in A at all (list 1).

1) Details which appear in Capgrave and B but not in A

- Troye as an alternate name for Xanten (l. 93)
- The detail that Evermode kneeled in Norbert's footsteps when he finished preaching (ll. 786-789)
- The name of Norbert's second disciple (l. 811)
- That the third disciple was Hugh of Fosse (ll. 813-814)
- That Norbert arrived with his disciples at Prémontr  in Passion Week (l. 822)
- The generalizing statement that the devil awaits his chance (ll. 988-991)
- Norbert's direct speech (l. 1045) and the explanation that he understood the devil's tricks (ll. 1086-1089)
- The explanation that a monk was standing in the crowd (ll. 1095-1098)
- The degree to which Norbert's speech ravished his disciples (ll. 1235-1239)
- The discussion of modification of the rules (ll. 1443-1454)
- The conclusion to section XV (Chapter 25) that Norbert taught by example (ll. 1527-1533)
- The moral to the story of the young novice's theft (ll. 1599-1603)
- The generalized discussion of the doubts of many concerning the success of the order (ll. 1629-1658)
- Norbert's address to the brothers on Satan's inevitable future assaults (ll. 1699-1710)
- Norbert's designation of deputies while he is absent preaching (ll. 1800-1816)
- Norbert's consultation concerning the brother who wishes to expound biblical prophecies (ll. 1921-1929)
- The speech of those who wished to hear and the indirect speech of those who refused to hear the second expounder (ll. 1966-1974)
- Introductory statement to Section XX (Chapter 30) (ll. 1966-1998)
- The fact that a boy holds the cross during the exorcism (ll. 2119-2120)
- The image of the order growing as the fruit of a tree (ll. 2351-2354)
- Norbert's ordination of an abbot at Viviers (ll. 2362-2363)
- The fact that the devil was following Norbert (l. 2368)
- Additional details in the seizure (ll. 2380-2455)
- Norbert's direct speech to the brothers about impure water (ll. 2474-2476)
- The three supernatural events concerning the wolf (ll. 2514-2639)

- The brother catching a tree as he pursues the devil (l. 2694)
- The transition from the trials of the brothers to Norbert (ll. 2717-2719)
- The fact that Norbert was involved with negotiations for Duke Theobald when he happened to be in Spires and the arrangements he had made with his brothers (ll. 2787-2846)
- That Alberon indicated Norbert should be chosen as archbishop (ll. 2868-2870)
- The explanation of the names of the Slavs and Saxons (ll. 2913-2920)
- The comparison to Leah and Rachel (ll. 2926-2927)
- The fact that Norbert's original intention had been to minister to the heathen (ll. 2927-2928)
- The doorkeeper's speech and the response of the people (ll. 2963-2965)
- The dialogue between Norbert and officials on the wasting of church revenue (ll. 3008-3024)
- Additional details in the reports of his attempts to restore the church's possessions (ll. 3037-3100) and of his difficulties in establishing his canons in the church of Our Lady (ll. 3101-3144)
- The details concerning the Anti-pope's possession of Rome by the power of his kindred (ll. 3542-3556)
- Post mortem visions (ll. 3711-3826)

2) Details omitted by Capgrave and B from the account in A

- Norbert's speech to the pope (Wilmans, p. 678, ll. 30-38)
- Chapter 11 (p. 681). Not the same as B's chapter 11, this sequence concerns a barren woman and a holy child born to her after Norbert's prayers.
- The speech of the prior (p. 686, ll. 25, 30)
- An appearance by the devil (p. 687, ll. 21-36)
- The date 1125 (p. 693, l. 22)
- Cardinal's name (p. 694, l. 4) and his speech (ll. 17-24)

3) Capgrave's omissions from B (see Appendix)

- The Prologue
- Chapters 5, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 23, 32, 33, 34, 49, half of 50
- Numerous shorter passages

¹⁰ The Latin also includes a reference to the year 1118 (col. 1256).

¹¹ Other examples are found in lines: 195-96, 652-58, 1209, 2181-84, 2338, 2642-43, 2987-89, 3499-3500, 3901.

¹²He sees the incorruptibility of the saint's body as proof of bodily resurrection (ll. 3669-75), for example. Among other explanations of the significance of events, the following lines may be cited: 643-44, 1883-90, 2372-73, 2775-79, 2848-49, 3174-76, 3260-63, 3961-69.

¹³A theological question concerning the treatment of unclean objects which fall upon the altar is at the core of the third example (ll. 281-97).

¹⁴The exceptions are chapters 5, 25, 28, 33, 36, 39, 41, 45, 46, 47, 48, 52, 54; three of them (25, 45, 52) begin with erat and two others (46, 47) with other past tense verbs suggesting a time division; three more (5, 33, 36) are omitted in Capgrave's poem; and two (41, 54) begin with generalizing statements.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFE OF ST. KATHERINE

I

The second of Capgrave's poetic lives, The Life of St. Katherine, may be approximately dated from Osbern Bokenham's acknowledgement of it in his Legendys of Hooly Wummen.¹ This collection of lives was written for various noble ladies who lived in the vicinity of Bokenham's convent at Clare,² and it was complete by 1447, when yet another Austin friar, Thomas Burgh, had the whole transcribed in Cambridge.³ In this manuscript. The Lyf of S. Katherine follows The Lyf of Marye Maudelyn, composed after Bokenham returned from a pilgrimage to St. James of Campos-tello in 1445. It is reasonable to suppose that not much time elapsed between the completion of the first and the commencement of the second life, on which Bokenham says (l.7367) he spent only "dayis fyve," and that, therefore, Capgrave's "newly compyled" version (l.6357)--which Bokenham says is available for consultation--was already finished and in circulation, at least in his order.

More important than the date, however, or even the confirmation that Capgrave intended his work for dissemination among Augustinians, is the contemporary assessment of Capgrave's skill--the only extant critical commentary--contained in the following lines:

More-ouyr all þo þat redyn or here
Shal þis treftyhs, as lowly as I kan,
I beseche no wyse to lokyn here
I beseech every man that is here,
That he will not be so hardy,
As to say that I have done any
That is not true, for I have done none.

That I shuld telle hou she fyrst began
 To be crystyne, & howe oon clepyd Adryan
 Hyr conuertyd & crystnyd in hyr youthe,
 For þat mater to me is ful vnkouthē,
 But who-so lyst knowleché for to haue,
 And in þat mater enuereyd to be,
 My fadrys book, maystyr Ioon Capgrave,
 Wych þat but newly compyld he,
 Mote he seke, & he þere shal se
 In balaadys rymyd ful craftyly
 Alle þat for ignorance here nowe leue I.
 But for-as-mych as þat book is rare
 And straunge to gete, at myn estymacyoun
 Compendyously of al I wyl declare
 No more but oonly þe passyoun
 (11.6347-6364)

Obviously, Bokenham's main concern is to justify his translation of the life of St. Katherine found in the Legenda Aurea, which, like most other medieval versions, deals only with the debate with the philosophers and the martyrdom. At the same time, he is clearly concerned to acknowledge Capgrave's greater competence to handle the theological materials of Katherine's conversion, which figure so prominently in Capgrave's longer Life. The passage also has some biographical relevance. Capgrave's position in the order at this time is not documented by contemporary records, but Bokenham's use of the term "my fadyr," despite the fact that the two men were exact contemporaries and it was Bokenham who was first preferred to the doctorate, suggests a clear priority. Though his reference to "balaadys rymyd ful craftyly" is merely a descriptive tag and need not be regarded as a serious literary judgment, Bokenham's tribute is more than simply a conventional expression of humility toward a superior in the order, for the whole passage emphasizes Capgrave's skill and his great

reputation for learning.

There is a certain justice in the man who was to be dignified by the epithet, "the most learned of the Augustinians,"⁴ choosing the most learned of the virgin martyrs as a subject, though, of course, Capgrave himself saw no such correspondence, and, as usual, he derived his poem from a source which came into his hands without his having sought it.

While there are no contemporary accounts of St. Katherine, she may well have been one of the Alexandrian martyrs. It was the opinion of Hippolyte Delehaye, the most productive and scholarly Bollandist of this century, that it would never be determined whether she was truly a saint or simply a real person around whom a cult developed.⁵ Whatever the case, she was one of the most popular saints of the medieval period, chiefly revered for her learning. The Augustinians recognized her as their patroness of knowledge, and her anniversary was doubtless celebrated by many more convents than the Paris studium generale, for whose festivities there is documentation.⁶ As her legend grew, it attracted nearly all the common fictional devices. There are probably earlier lost notices of Katherine, but the version of the Menologium Basilianum (886) is the first known:

The martyr Aikaterina was the daughter of a rich and noble chieftain of Alexandria. She was very beautiful and being at the same time highly talented, she devoted herself to Grecian literature, and to the study of the languages of all nations, and so became wise and learned. And it happened that the Greeks held a festival in honour of their idols; and seeing the slaughter of the animals, she was so greatly moved that she went to the King Maximinus and expostulated with him in these words: "why hast thou left the living God to worship lifeless idols?" But the

emperor caused her to be thrown into prison, and to be punished severely. He then ordered fifty orators to be brought, and bade them to reason with Aikaterina, and confute her, & threatening to burn them all if they should fail to overpower her. The orators, however, when they saw themselves vanquished, received baptism, and were burnt forthwith. She, on the contrary was beheaded.⁷

Even in this early source, the embellishments for the glorification of the saint are apparent. She is beautiful, of noble birth, and credited with great learning. Moreover, she appears not before the Roman judge, as she would have in fact, but before the emperor himself. Her expostulation with the emperor, her debate with the orators, and their conversion are all obvious fictional trappings and fit subjects for the devices of amplification so familiar to medieval rhetoricians. Thus, by description of scenes and persons, by the addition of dialogues--including expositions of doctrine and prayers--by hyperbole, by magnification and elaboration of the torments endured, and by the creation or borrowing of miraculous voices and events, medieval Latin hagiographers created a biography on the Antonian model for Katherine as they did for so many other saints.⁸

Amplification by the invention of events was not Capgrave's method, as has previously been shown; here as elsewhere, he provides evidence which would precisely identify his source were it still extant. By Capgrave's time, the story had acquired a great many standard incidents, among them: Katherine's genealogy; the marriage debate; her conversion and the visionary marriage to Christ; the development of the debate with the philosophers; the tortures; the conversion of the queen and of the king's steward; the prayers, conversions, and miracles

at her execution; and the miraculous translation of her body to Mount Sinai. No new incidents are added in Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine, and it is doubtful even whether any of the details relating to the incidents, such as names and numbers, which are unique in Capgrave's version, were actually invented by him. Given what is known about his reworking of identified sources, it is almost certain that these details were present in the lost source that lies behind St. Katherine. Indeed, some indication that he was following carefully a specific source is provided by several reservations which he articulates regarding certain of the recorded events and details, such as the mode of Adrian and Katherine's voyage to his hermitage from Alexandria, the concreteness of the visions surrounding Katherine's mystical marriage to Christ, and the reports of the miracles at her tomb in Sinai.

A close Latin prose parallel to Capgrave's poem, in a 15th-century hand, was discovered by Auvo Kurvinen in Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 205.⁹ She effectively demonstrates that even though the two share many details, they do not derive from each other; however, she asserts that they depend on a mutual and non-extant source, which she attributes, on the basis of internal evidence in Capgrave's poem, to one "Arrek." The author of the Latin prose version paralleling Capgrave's poem she identifies as the John Staneborn whose name appears as a running headline in the liber primus.

There are at least two major errors in Dr. Kurvinen's reconstruction, both relating to the transmission of manuscript sources. Dr. Kurvinen clearly misses a stage when she claims that "Staneborn"

and Capgrave had a single source, although it may be that Capgrave's source and "Staneborn" had a common Latin original.¹⁰ That this is so is attested to by Capgrave's categorical statement that his pre-eminent source was an incomplete English version written in a western dialect:

he mad þi lyff in englysch tunge ful well.
 But 3et he deyed or he had fully doo:
 (Bk. I, Prologue,ll.57-58)

Of þe west cuntre it semeth þat he was,
 Be hys maner spech & be hys style.
 (Bk. I, Prologue,ll.225-226)

Supporting evidence (not entirely circumstantial) derives from a consideration of the probabilities of transmission. In the first place, it would be a virtually unique, and therefore highly unlikely, for a Latin translation to have been made from a vernacular original. Second, since the author of the English source died at Lynn (ll.218-219) and presumably left his unfinished manuscript there, and since "Staneborn," as Dr. Kurvinen indicates, may have been only a scribe or a previous owner, and has no known association with Lynn, there is no reason for assuming that he, or whoever was the author of the Latin prose version, had consulted the work of Capgrave's "preest."

Kurvinen's second error involves her claim that Capgrave used two versions of "Arrek's" work, one in English and one in Latin, a claim impossible to support from Capgrave's own observations.¹¹ Apart from the fact that Capgrave says that his author died leaving the work unfinished, his only reference to his source for the last book occurs in the Prologue to Book V: "This schal be translated now newe fro

Latyn" (1.62). There is no suggestion in Capgrave's comment that this Latin author is identical with the author of his English source. Unfortunately, Laud Misc. 205 lacks many leaves, and its assumed fourth book is not extant. There is, therefore, no way to demonstrate whether this missing book may have been derived from the same Latin source as Capgrave's version of the martyrdom, which does come from a Latin source.

A further ambiguity relating to the sources must also be resolved. The identification of "Arrek" as the author of the first Latin life and the equating of him with the priest who wrote the English version (who was for a time the rector of St. Pancras, and who died at Lynn) stems from a misreading of the text made by Furnivall, a misreading which Dr. Kurvinen adopts. Considering Capgrave's weak transition, it was easy for this mistake to occur. In the Prologue, lines 47-126 deal with the eighteen-year search (11.49-76) made by an English priest for Katherine's life and the vision he has (1.78ff.), which leads him to a book buried by Amylyon fitz amarak in "Cyprelond" (1.121). At this point, Capgrave says:

And in pope vrbane tyme, I vnderstonde
 þe fyfte of rome, fell all þis matere
 wheche 3e haue herd and 3et 3e schall more clere.
 (11.124-126)

What he means by "more clere" is the elaboration (11.127-320) of the contents of this buried book. Capgrave begins with a long passage on Katherine's confessor, Athanasius, who wrote her life in Greek and remained bishop in Alexandria long after her persecutor, Maxentius',

death (11.127-129). Then he says that Katherine's name was little known until Arrek made a translation of Athanasius' Greek life; and he explains how Arrek spent twelve years in Alexandria learning the language before he found and translated the life (11.170-203). It is "þis new werk" (1.199), Arrek's Latin life, that was "on-to englischan/I-soute & founde, & broute un-to londe" (11.203-204) by Capgrave's priest. Arrek's Latin life, then, is the immediate source not of Capgrave's life, but of the English life which Capgrave is versifying, and it was discovered by the English priest in the time of Pope Urban, that is, between 1362 and 1370 (11.124-125). Arrek's translation was made a hundred years after Athanasius' death (11.198-201), that is, no later than the beginning of the 5th century.¹² Finally, in giving Katherine's genealogy, Capgrave further distinguishes his English source, reinforcing, by his comparison of it with older (obviously Latin rather than Greek) chronicles, the argument that it is a composition of fairly recent origin:

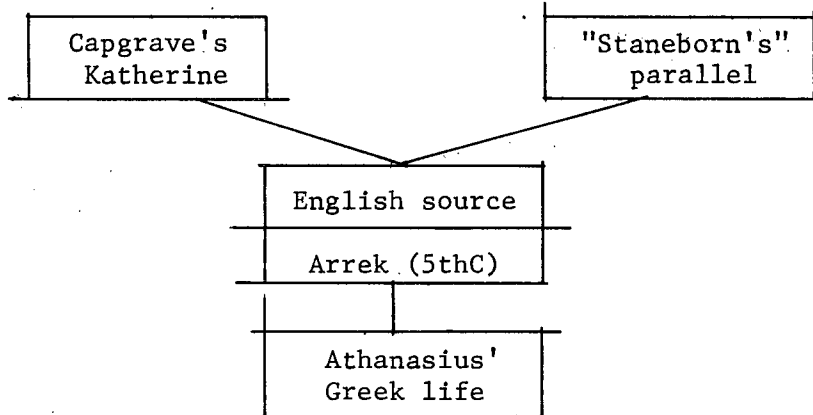
In þis reknyng myne auctour & I are too;

ffor he acordeth not wytȝ cronicles þat ben olde,
 But diuersyth from hem, & þat in many thyngis.
 þere he acordyth, þer I hym hold;
 And where he diuersyth in ordre of þeis kyngis,
 I leue hym, & to order mennys rekenyngis
 I ȝeue more credens which be-fore hym & me
 Sette alle þese men in ordre & degre.

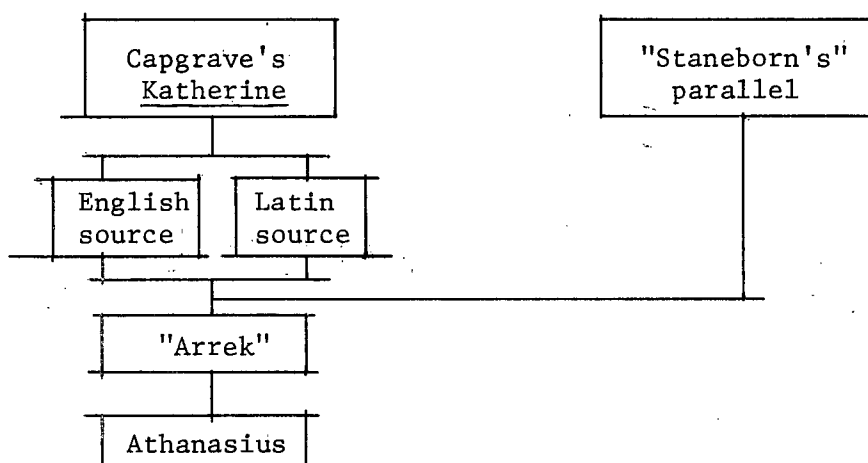
(Bk. I, 11.686-693)

To recapitulate, the above argument is perhaps best clarified visually by using a manuscript tree. Furnivall and later Kurvinen have traced the source transmission in a direct line from Athanasius

to Capgrave, identifying Arrek's translation as the common source of both Capgrave's Life and (in Kurvinen's case) "Staneborn's" prose parallel, and Arrek and Capgrave's "preest" as one:



Their account fails, however, to consider all the evidence: it ignores Capgrave's own positive statements about his "auctour," or immediate English source, and it begs the question of his having to rely on an additional Latin source to fill in the lacunae occasioned by the incompleteness of the English version. If the transmission I have suggested above is accurate--and it derives wholly from Capgrave's own discussions of his source--the line of descent is as follows:



Since none of the immediate sources for either Capgrave's Life or "Staneborn's" Latin parallel are extant, source arguments must be limited to problems of transmission, and Capgrave's utilization of his sources becomes only a topic for speculation. The matter is of more than academic interest, however, for it can now be established unequivocally that for the St. Katherine he drew primarily upon a vernacular source--the unique instance in his canon where this is the case. That he did so may reflect only his adaptation of materials convenient to hand; but it may also, when added to the extensiveness of his English writings, say something about his concern for the vernacular and reinforce his claim to be regarded as an early and serious writer in English.

II

These observations bring no closer the identification of the English priest, and unless the manuscript should suddenly come to light, there would be no particular profit in pursuing his identity. The second problem which arises is no easier to resolve. Given the date of composition and Capgrave's reference to the "style" as well as the "maner speche" (Bk. I, Prologue, l. 225) as evidence of the west country origin of the author, one suspects that the lost work was an example of the works in highly stylized prose and poetry which flourished in the western regions. Many of the lines in that part of the Prologue which describes the Latin rather than the English source are strikingly alliterative:

Aungellys bar her, þe deuelys bar hys beer (1.159)

Who schē for lofe her lyffe hath þus layde (1.178)

had brent þe bokys, boþe þe leffe & þe brede (1.192)

Countless others which have only two alliterative words echo early 14th-century examples from the North-West Midlands dialect.¹³

Beyond the alliteration, there is one pervasive stylistic characteristic of the poem which is found nowhere else in Capgrave's writing and which is presumably a survival from the original--repetition and balance in form and/or meaning, in which two nouns, verbs, or adjectives, identical in meaning, are juxtaposed:

þe spede & þe sauacyoun (1.164)

hys help & hys socour (1.174)

hys conquest & hys victory (1.283)

ordeyned & sett (1.199)

cryeth & wayleth (1.212)

passed & I-gon (1.226)

ful huge & ful grete (1.76)

mek & mylde (1.241)

Any of these kinds of doublets may be extended to phrase or clause length; and two or more parts of speech may be paralleled:

in ioye & in mekyll myrthe (1.150)

many a good coment & many a holy exhortacyon (1.132)

for hys owyn spouse & for hys wyffe der (1.191)

Schall sche now grone; schall sche now crye? (1.207)

every man may know & euery man ler (1.291)

Contraries are similarly employed:

Boþe styll & lowde (1.10)

bothe fer & ner (1.11)

Wer it in pees or ellis in wer (1.75)

of hethnes & of cristyndome (1.80)

loue ne dred (1.146)

þer wold sche sytte, & þer wold sche ryse (1.348)

Whch ar of goode wyll & whch ar of ille (1.396)

Generally, almost any phrase or clause capable of this kind of amplification receives it. Thus, in the following cases, while there is neither identity nor opposition, the expansion cannot be said to advance the narrative:

of felde, of town or of see (1.89)

in towr & in walle (1.109)

wyth fyr & wyth yryn I-slayn & I-brent (1.121)

þe kyng is ful febyll, þe qwen ful eld now (1.206)

ladyes in þe chaumbyr & lordys in þe halle (1.210)

Aftyr her age & aftyr her dygnyte (1.324)

who men schall speke, & who þei schall wryte (1.368)

Sometimes this device is found in long sequences of lines, occasionally with shorter parallel syntactical units embedded in longer ones. For example, Alexander's admiral's speech is rhetorically supported by twin parallel "loke" admonitions, followed by a "how"- "why"- "wherefore" series:

"Loke þat 3e þrow not now all in þe mere!
 Loke þat 3e lese not now your gret namyd lose,
 Whan þat 3e may so heyly it endoos!

"Who honoure 3e 3our owne greté astate!
 Why hate 3e now þat ilk lady must haue?
 Wherefore haue 3e swech þing in hate
 That may 3oure londes & eke 3our-self saue?
 (Bk. II,11.880-886)

Lines 882 and 886, which disrupt the stylized sequence and add nothing to the debate, may well be Capgrave's additions, concessions to the requirements of the rhyme. Katherine's testament of faith to the philosopher provides two other examples of a similar series, and here the portions which Capgrave added to meet the demands of his verse form are much more obvious:

"I lerne how god is lord of creature,
 I lerne hough he the heuene white and blew,
 The water, the feyr, the erthe, eer þat it grew,
 Made al of nought--this is now my lernyng.
 I lerne also that he a child ful ying

"Was bore in erthe of Mary, . . .
 (Bk. IV,11.1354-1359)

Line 1355 was almost certainly simply, "I lerne how he made al of nought"; and "this is now my learning" (l.1358) is indisputably only a line filler. Similarly, in the following lines,

"This is my scole, þis is my philosophie
 This is þe scyens I hope schal neuere lye;

"This is my feyth, this is my victorie.
 (Bk. IV,11.1371-1373)

the second (l.1372) seems merely an addition to meet the requirements of the final rhyme.

In any case, if these three examples--or any of the hundreds more that might be cited in the 8624 lines of The Life of St.

Katherine--are compared to passages which are unquestionably Capgrave's, such as the genealogy passage quoted above, the sections in the introductory chapter in which he discusses his author's prolixity, his original prologues and conclusions to the various books; or his whole manner in The Life of St. Norbert, there can be little doubt that this technique was part of his source, not his own invention. It would be hazardous to suggest, however, that his original was necessarily a poem, for it is precisely these features of alliteration and balanced constructions which led many 19th century scholars to assume that the works in the 12th century, West-Midland Katherine Group were poems. It seems most likely that like them, Capgrave's source was one of the highly stylized prose works preserved in the western dialects. The fact that the fifth book also reveals these characteristics leads to the further supposition that the original English version derived from an equally rhetorical Latin source.

Apart from the correction of his material from what he considered more authoritative works, then, Capgrave seems to have followed his unknown original closely. However, he does make a few other direct comments on the subject matter which reflect the scholar's belief that the vernacular is not a fit vehicle for the mysteries of faith, indeed, that making certain ideas accessible to the unlearned is a dangerous undertaking. In Book I, he says:

. . . mych other thyng
 Was seyde & do, wech nedyth not to rehers,
 ffor happily sume folk myght than be þe wers.
 To her swech maummentrye & swych-maner rytes.
 (11.474-477)

Later, he editorializes:

It is ful hard swiche þingis for to ryme,
 To vtter pleylnly in langage of oure nacyon.
 Swiche straunge doutes þat longe to the incarnacioun,
 But that myn auctour took swiche þing on hande,
 And yet his langage vnnethe I vndirstande;

Wherfore with other auctouris I enforce hym thus,
 Whiche spoke more pregauntly as in this matere.
 (Bk. IV, 11.2194-2200)

At the end, refusing to confirm or deny the miracles he has heard and read of at Katherine's tomb, he clearly means that he has no Latin authority and shows that he is fully aware of his own reputation as a theologian:

But for be-cause I haue noon auctorite,
 I dar not wryte heere her declaracyon,
 lest that I poyson alle myn forsayd weerk,
 lest þat men eke of myn owne nacyon
 Shulde ymagen þat I, whiche am a clerk,
 Might of swiche thyngis take a wrong merk,
 Wherfore I commytte al this thyng in-feere
 On-to the discrecyon of hem þat shul it heere,

ffor I wil determyne noo conclusyon
 as in this mater;
 (Bk. V, 11.1967-1976)

The prosaic nature of his intrusions is, of course, evident again, both in this passage and in the one to follow.

What Capgrave is willing to elaborate on for his vernacular audience, in the St. Katherine as in others of his works, are natural phenomena and figures of speech. For example, he explains Katherine and Adrian's invisibility as they pass through Alexandria as the result of a spell of blindness invoked by God on the population:

. . . a sekenes meruelous--
 It is called acrisia, it maketh men seme blynde
 As for a tyme, for sykyr all her mynde
 Schall be so a-stoynd þat þei schull not see
 þing þat in her hand vp hap þan bee.
 (Bk. III,11.801-805)

When he refers to Katherine as "blynde" during her heathen period, he interrupts the progress of his narrative with the following explanation:

Blynd I calle hir whil she was in that lyf,
 Knewe not crist, baptem had noon I-take,
 Of heuenly thyngis litel inquisityf
 hir old oppynyons had she noȝt forsake;
 ffro this blyndenesse cryst made hir a-wake,
 In oure thredde book ryght as we seyde before--
 It nedeth not as now reherce it no more.
 (Bk. V,11.43-49)

Such digressions are frequent in the St. Katherine. At various points in the narrative, he explains why St. Augustine called the Apostles "ydyotis" (Bk. I,1.288) and identifies God's servants as angels (Bk. V.1.699), pauses to discuss earlier meanings of the names friar, hermit, and monk (Bk. III,11.84-91), and predicates that Adrian was happily occupied while Katherine was ravished to heaven (Bk. III, 11.1012-1015); he conjectures why Mary and Katherine had no company when they approached Christ's throne (Bk. III,11.1019-1022), discusses whether Katherine was fed physically or spiritually (Bk. V,11.896-912), and gives Maxentius' later history (Bk. V,11.1097-1110). Proportionately speaking, however, Capgrave's intrusions tend less toward exposition in this work than in his other writings, perhaps because so much of the material is itself expository. Instead, they tend to be editorial in nature, as when he disparages pagan rites (Bk. I, 1.450, Bk. IV,11.405-406), makes certain the reader recognizes the false

logic of anyone who speaks against Katherine (Bk. II,11.1143), and provides his source for a particular statement (Bk. I,11.554-557; Bk. V,11.1697-1698). Occasionally, he intrudes personal allusions, such as the anachronistic reference to the Lollards (Bk. III,1.327), and his acknowledgement of his own ignorance of astrology (Bk. I, 11.390-392) or of a character's name (Bk. II,1.108). In addition, there are a great many purely conventional addresses to the reader.¹⁴ As in the St. Norbert, Capgrave uses aphorisms to express observations about life in general,

Solitary lyff to stodyers is comfort (Bk. I,1.350)

or about God's power over all:

Thus can oure lord the pacyens proue
Of hem þat arn chosen to dwelle al aboute
In heuene in his presens.

(Bk. IV,11.942-944)

Such aphorisms, however, are noticeably less hortatory in the St. Katherine than in the previous work.¹⁵

Although Capgrave refers to his audience variously as either "readers" or "hearers," it is clear that he expected his work to be included as part of some edifying or devotional exercise and to be read in sections, perhaps a book at a time, to a gathered assembly. The five-part structure provides a convenient frame for the separation of episodes in Katherine's life. At the end of Book I, after having recounted Katherine's "byrth, her kynrod & her countre," Capgrave enforces a distinct interruption of the narrative:

It wyl be long or þat þis tale be told;
þerfor I counsell þat we make her a pause

And eke a-rest ryth euene at þis clause.
(11.1041-1043)

The conclusion of the second book is also definite, although "Amen" (1.1498) need imply no suggestion that the reading must necessarily stop there. On the other hand, Book III begins with a recapitulation of the contents of the preceding parts, which seems to assume a lapse of time:

ffor I haue tolde 3ow - schortly, as I can,
þe byrth, þe kynrod, þe nobyllhed of þis mayde,
þe gret disputyng of lordes who it be-gan,
And eke hyr answer, what sche to hem sayd;
þis haue I pleynty now be-for 3ow layde
In swech ryme, as I coude best deuyse--
(11.8-13)

The book ends with a statement that is already long enough and a prayer which conclusively divides it from the succeeding prologue:

þis same book which we haue be long a-boute,
We wyll now ende, if 3e þer-to acorde.
God sende vs alle of vnite acorde,
To plese hym oonly a-boue all menne--
þer-to sey we alle wyth oo voys AmEN.
(11.1501-1505)

The last two books, the prologues of which commence with original and elaborate similes not directly associated with the narrative, are more skillfully demarcated as structural units than the first three. In the first forty-two lines of Book IV, men are compared to bees; "Some will laboure, and some will neuere thryue" (1.5). The workers take true nourishment from "goddis lawe" while the drones only sleep; the church is their hive with cells of honey and wax. The application of this general simile begins at line 43, where, until line 71, the simile is elaborated to suggest Katherine's study of holy

books during the two year interval before her persecutor arrives.

Capgrave adduces no further reason for concluding the fourth book than that it is "ful convenient" (1.2341), but he adds a prayer (11.2342-2345) to make his ending more convincing.

The opening of the last book is the most interesting for it demonstrates unequivocally that the five part division of the work was intentional from the outset, and that Capgrave was as capable as any other author of employing conventional medieval symbols in an allegorical fashion. Again suggesting an interval of time in the reading, Capgrave compares both Katherine and his version of her life to a rose:

Now is it come, oure leyser and oure space,
 In whiche we may, after oure grete labour,
 Of other maters, now, whil we haue grace,
 Turne ageyn and taaste the swete sauour
 Of this clene virgyne, of this weel sauoured flour,
 Whiche with fyue braunches grew thus here in erthe.
 The firste, the secounde, the thredde, and the feerde

haue 3e perceyued, if 3e haue red alle;
 Now shal the fyfte be shewed on-to 3oure sight.
 ffor now we lyste this lady a rose to calle, . . .
 (11.1-10)

He then explains that the redness of the rose stands for Katherine's martyrdom; the thorns represent both her suffering and her heathen ancestry. The leaves, protecting the flower and then opening to reveal its redness, illustrate that her whole life was directed towards martyrdom. The application of the comparison to his own work follows. Like a rose, two of the leaves have no rough edges; these are the two books which concern her life before her conversion. The last three are the leaves of "vertu," and thus they are "berdes." Finally, because the

leaves are evergreen, the reader is reminded that Katherine's grace is everlasting.

These two elaborate introductory figures of speech, stylized openings in medieval poetry, are in no way characteristic of Capgrave's writing. While they testify to his familiarity with rhetorical devices employed in the poetic compositions of his time, they are virtually unique examples of figurative elaborations. In fact, the only others extended to any length are a comparison of the sparks which indicate that "summe fyre is nye" to the holy words and deeds which prove that "pe fyre of charite & loue" burns in Katherine long before she is aware of it (Bk. II,11.1-18), the description of how the "sercle" of virtues operates (Bk. II,11.35-49), and Katherine's explanation that she is "lych a griff . . . vp-on an elde stoke" (Bk. II,11.1239-1253). And developed and appropriate on an expository level as they may be, these figures are not original and none adds any lyrical feeling to the poem.

Occasional similes and colloquialisms in dialogue do vivify some passages:

. . . as wyth-Inne þe wale
Of a strong schyppe a man is bor a-lofte, . . .
(Bk. II,11.642-643)

The sturdy herte in hym which was soo stoute,
Was hid with langage as venym in a cloute; . . .
(Bk. V,11.1005-1006)

But for the most part, what little imagery there is tends to be casual, undeveloped, repetitious, unimaginative--even trite. Katherine's swooning mother, for example, lies in a heap "as rownd as any balle"

(Bk. II,1.1461); and to describe a heart as "heuy as led" (Bk. V,1.784) must have been to overwork a cliché even in the 15th Century. Capgrave repeatedly uses the martyr's symbol, the rose, for Katherine without developing it (Bk. I,1.201; Bk. III,1.949; Bk. IV,1.490, 1.1040); and he so automatically employs either the simile "as strem out of welle" or the metaphor "þe welle" whenever virtues are mentioned, that any force is lost. And, similarly, in two of the less obvious metaphors he uses, neither of them new, he cannot omit the literal explanation:

These vessells of gold, martires I mene
(Bk. I,1.120)

these ciclopes, smethes I mene
(Bk. V,1.1409)

In his diction there is neither the abrupt shifting of levels which creates humour in Chaucer and awkwardness in unskilled hands, nor the aureate style of the Scottish Chaucerians. There are words of French and Latin origin throughout, and some of them (like "nugacyon" and "vinolent") were short-lived; but the basic vocabulary is simple and native.

As his language tends towards a prosaic or plain style, so also there is little technical originality in Capgrave's poetry. His metre is clearly accentual with additional syllables freely admitted, but he vacillates between tetrameter and pentameter lines without any apparent pattern. Thus, four-beat lines like the following are the most common:

So sprong our lady oute of þe Iewys,
And kateryne of hethen, þis tale ful trew is.
(Bk. I,11.55-56)

Our lady had called hem on-to þat deute
 To comfort þis mayde & do hyr seruyse.
 Tho spak þis lorde, þis hye iustyse:
 (Bk. III, ll. 1202-1204)

ffor he hath stodied with al herte and meende
 Thi virgynal body to destroye and shende; . . .
 (Bk. V, ll. 1313-1314)

But they frequently alternate with five beat ones such as:

"ffor if men take heed, oft-tyme þei may se

"Owte of a tre growyng dyuerse frute,
 And þat same tre þat sumetyme bar þe grene,
 Now bereth he reed or qwyte, of dyuerse sute.
 (Bk. II, ll. 1239-1242)

and

But I passe ouere, 3euynge to 3our assayles
 Tyme and space. I prey god þat 3our entrayles
 he endewe with grace, that 3e may knowe the truthé.
 (Bk. IV, ll. 1733-1735)

Capgrave expresses his belief in the relative unimportance of the technique in comparison to the subject when he says:

þis haue I pleyedly be-for 3ow layde
 In swech ryme, as I coude best deuyse--
 (Bk. III, ll. 12-13)

and later he suggests that both the vernacular itself and his imposed form inhibit his attempts at explanation:

It is ful hard swiches þingis for to ryme,
 To vtter pleyedly in langage of oure nacyon
 Swhiche straunge doutes þat longe to the incarnation,
 (Bk. IV, ll. 2194-2196)

Consequently, it is not surprising that he does not explore the possibilities of rhyme any more than any other technical device. There are stanzas where the rhyme words have weight, but both the high proportion of feminine rhymes and the perfunctory use of words like "þis,"

'per-by," "wyse" and "soo" to complete a set lessens the general impact.

And, finally, conventional line fillers, like "schortly for to seye" or "myn auctour seith," and weak transitions, such as "What schuld I lenger hyde now my mater" or "what schuld I lenger to 3ow tale now make," are commonplace. For Capgrave, the requirements of metre which demanded their use were only obstacles to be overcome, and he met these, as he did problems of rhyme, with perfunctory solutions that evince little imagination. Examples have already been given of Capgrave's tendency to add lines merely to pad out a stanza; in all his poetry, there are more of these competently composed but uninspired stanzas than there are ones in which form and sense combine.

The single measure of advance in metric skill in the St. Katherine over the level of the St. Norbert is in the increased use of paired rhyming lines that function almost as heroic couplets. Even in this area, however, the advance is less the result of conscious artistry on Capgrave's part--though change and experience obviously figure--than of the exigencies of dialogue which is so prominent a characteristic of the St. Katherine. Before her debate with the philosophers begins, Katherine states her unshakeable commitment to Christ:

"I wil neuere chaunge, wil I have lyf,
I shal been evere to hym truwe spouse and wyf."
(Bk. IV, ll. 1049-1050)

In the next stanza, Maxentius sets out the inevitable consequence of her commitment, martyrdom:

"Avisē ȝow of too thyngis whiche ye wil take;
 Eyther shal ȝe deye, or youre lawe forsake."
 (Bk. IV, ll. 1056-1057)

In both debates, a high proportion of the speeches end in couplets in which the speaker summarizes his statement, demands an answer, or simply underscores rhetorically the conclusion of his argument.

"ȝe ber vs downn wyth ȝour philosophye;
 But at þe last ȝe must bowe, hardylle."
 (Bk. II, ll. 692-693)

"lat vs know pleynly, lady, what ȝe mene;
 We be ȝour men, þinkyth ȝe be our qwene."
 (Bk. II, ll. 769-770)

"Thinke on othir þat haue abyden long,
 And at þe last þei haue walked wrong."
 (Bk. II, ll. 909-910)

Capgrave also uses rhymed lines effectively in the narrative portions of the St. Katherine. Dozens of examples might be provided, but the following couplet, which reminds the reader of Katherine's situation and isolates the episode in which the emperor exhorts the philosophers from the following day's debate, is especially interesting because, by bridging the two episodes, it functions structurally as a transitional link while at the same time it prepares the reader for the narrative advancement which is to follow:

Thus leue I hem stille in thoughtful besynesse,
 And Katarine, oure mayden, in presun and distresse.
 (Bk. IV, ll. 1014-1015)

III

This is not to make an exaggerated claim for Capgrave's sense of the fusion of form and meaning in his writing--that the various

aspects of his technique can be so readily isolated militates against any such conclusion--however, it is fair to say that even though the poetic quality of the St. Katherine, like the St. Norbert, is no more than competent, he does succeed, in his treatment of literary materials in the St. Katherine, in introducing elements which distinguish it from any other extant life of the martyred virgin. Chief among his changes are the development of the heroine into a more realistic character, the humanizing of other conventional figures, and the manipulation of the material of the debate scenes so that a logical sequence of argument is apparent, and the confusion or conversion of the Saint's adversaries becomes more believable. The greater length of Capgrave's work, of course, allows for an extended characterization impossible in the shorter compass of the legendaries. Certainly, such passages as the description of Katherine's education (Bk. I, Chaps.6-7) or the catalogue of her ancestors (Bk. I, Chaps.9-12)¹⁶ reflect his use of the traditions of rhetorical amplification to emphasize the wisdom and nobility of the subject rather than any desire to motivate later actions; but Capgrave adds to the rhetorical nature of his source by his own researches in "elde cronicles," and his changes go far beyond any mere prolix expansion of scenes.

In the first place, Capgrave maps out the course of Katherine's conversion with preparatory hints so that event, when it occurs, is neither a sudden assumption nor merely a marvel. A brief comparison with other English versions which follow the native model and focus on the confrontation and climax will confirm this generalization. In The

South English Legendary,¹⁷ the author states at line 2 that Katherine's parents were "boþe of olde lawe," that is, pagans, and without any further explanation he proceeds (l.11ff.) to her confrontation of the emperor with attacks on the idols. Bokenham's version simplifies the problem by omitting any reference to her pagan heritage, inserting instead a passage on her natural inclination toward spiritual values and prayer (ll.6404-6413). The same natural virtue is emphasized in Capgrave's Katherine, but he stresses her gradual perception of the meaning of her innate beliefs. Thus, all of Book I, Chapter 14 is devoted to Katherine's good works and to the essential point of her perfection, despite her ignorance:

Sche was a very seynt, truly, as I wene,
þow sche wer not baptizid--

(11.803-804)

Sche hauntyd holy werkys be steryng of þe spryght,
Whch made hyr of synne for to hafe fere
And to loue vertu . . .

(11.814-816)

Most importantly, at the end of the chapter, Katherine, still a pagan, acknowledges her belief in an eternal ruler:

"þer is oon a-boue þat loketh on our face,
And on all þe membrys of our bodye;
Iff he ony fowle dede may in vs aspye,
He deynyth our seruyse--þis is my preue;
Sey clerkys qwat þei wyll, þus I be-leue.

"ffor wele I wote, a-boue Iupiter and alle
Is a mayster-rewler, & eterne he is;
Vp-on þis werld qwat-so-euyr schall be-falle,
ffalle qwan it schalle, he is euyr in blysse.
And þei þat loue vertu, schall not want, I-wysse,
Neuyr his gode lordschep, he may, as it is skylle,
Make goddes of men, qwan þat euyr he wylle."

(Bk. I, ll.829-840).

As his chief subject in the Prologue of Book II, Capgrave takes Katherine's commendation of virginity in a country where this virtue is unexampled and undesired by the people who are anxious for a male consort for their queen. He offers this hatred of the flesh as proof that unknowingly Katherine was seeking Christ as her Lord:

Alle þoo [her holy acts] were tokenys þat her hert gan seke
 Here gostly spouse, sche lefte not tyll sche fond
 That blyssyd lord. sche knowyth not 3it hys hand
 As sche schall aftyr, but sche haue tokenys gode;
 And all of god sche knowyth not 3it þe rode;

Sche knowyth not crist, sche hath not herd his lore,
 But 3it þe fyre of charite & of loue.
 Brennyth in here; so þat euer more & more
 Here hert is sette on oon þat sytte a-boue.
 I trowe þat dowe þe qwech vp-on crist dide houe
 Whanne he was baptizyd, had mad in hyr hys nest.

(Bk. II, Prologue, 11.10-20)

Katherine's desire to preserve her chastity, then, becomes the basic motive for her refusal to wed in the following debate with her lords, though she never articulates the cause, preferring to refute their arguments. In the course of the debate, she also defines the perfect spouse (Bk. II, 11.1402-1449), who is endowed with the following characteristics: "wyth-oute pere" (1.1403), "stable" (1.1405), omniscient (11.1408-1410), omnipotent (11.1415-1418), unequalled in wealth (11.1422-1424), generous in heart (11.1425-1428), "fayr & amyable" (1.1430), and "eterne" (1.1436). So clearly do these requisites of the perfect spouse parallel the attributes of Christ, which would have been instantly perceived by the medieval reader, familiar with the transference of courtly love motifs to devotional poetry, that Capgrave, for once, omits his literal explanation of the analogy.

In Book II, Katherine also makes two references to biblical authorities; in each instance Capgrave ensures, by using Katherine's own direct statement, that his reader remembers that she is not yet a Christian. In her debate, Katherine uses Nebuchadnezzar's treatment of Daniel as an example of how kings can be misled by the advice of their people, but she adds her own prayer that she might know Daniel's God (Bk. II,1.524). A few lines later, defending books as preserves of past history, Katherine cites Genesis as one she has read "on a eve" (Bk. II,1.543), and says:

"3et is þat book not of our be-leue
Receyued as 3et--"
(Bk. II,11.544-545)

With these extensive developments of Katherine's predisposition towards saintliness and suggestions that she is familiar with the Old Testament as history, Capgrave prepares the reader for the central book, the story of her conversion, baptism, and marriage to Christ; and he prepares for her future martyrdom in a way that no other early English version of the life even approximates.

In the early part of Book III, the same technique prevails. On the one hand, Capgrave has Katherine express doubts about the central mysteries of the faith and ask anxious questions about the lady who sent the hermit (Bk. III,11.483-772); on the other, he reiterates that Christ has always been with her, and categorically states that the hermit who comes to instruct her is only an instrument. Moreover, by intruding statements on the striking effect that the hermit's words have on Katherine, he makes clear that her conversion is imminent.

Thus, before Adrian becomes involved in his explanation, Capgrave pointedly observes that

. . . cryst had made hys horde
 Or þis ermyte cam, & leyd his grete tresour
 Ryght in hyr hert emprended full sore;
 ffor þow³ he sent þe ermyte as hys messanger,
 Or þe ermyte cam crist hym-self was ther.

Ryght as gabriell, whan he fro heuene was sent
 On-to our lady to do þat hye massage,
 In to nazareth in forme of man he went,
 ffayr & fresch, & zong eke of age,
 But er that he cam on-to þis maydes cage,
 Cryst was ther, as we in bokes rede:
 Ryth so dyd he her, if we wyll take hede.

But þow³ god were come as þan to hyr hert,
 It was fer as zet fro hyr knowlechyng.

(Bk. III, ll. 465-478)

And he incidentally compares Adrian's appearance to the Annunciation in a way characteristic of the saint's life.

At one point in the encounter between Katherine and the hermit, midway between Adrian's statement that the immortal lord she seeks is with his virgin mother and Katherine's request for an explanation of the virgin birth, the semi-realistic expression of her emotions and doubts about Christianity and the conventional unquestioning acceptance are momentarily fused:

Than was þis mayden sor marred in mynde--
 Men myght se in hyr colour, in cheke & in pytte
 So ran hyr bloode, so changed hyr kynde--
 ffor neuyr was sche or now put in þis wytte;
 Sche is in swech a trauns, wheyther sche stant or sytte
 Sche wote not hyr-selue, sche is in swech cas,
 ffor to sey a soth, sche wote not wher sche was.

Betwyx too þingys so is sche newly falle,
 Whch sche schall leue or whch she schall take.
 If sche leue hyr lawe whych hyr lordés alle

hold at þis tyme, & now it forsake,
 ffalle to a newe for a straunge lordes sake,
 Sche seeth not what perell in þis mater is.
 But for þe ermyte spake of þis lordes blys,

hys wordes haue enclyned now ful sor hyr þowte
 þat sche schall haue a þing long desyred.
 All hyr goddys & hyr goode set sche at nowte,
 So sor is hyr hert wyth þis loue I-fyred,
 It schall no mor, sche cast, wyth þe world be myred.
 (Bk. III, 11.610-628)

She is at once quite reasonably distressed and confused because the perfect lord she had described is offered to her by an unknown and ill-attired man; less logically she is instantaneously inflamed with love for this "straunge lord."

As the narrative moves forward to Katherine's marriage with Christ, the virtuous pagan is gradually replaced by the martyr, and the author's interest now lies in glorifying his saint's fidelity. As he has no further need to try to resolve her paganism and her perfection, Capgrave reverts to a more conventional characterization of Katherine. His treatment of her at this point is not conventional in the sense that he ceases either to record the progression of her life events or to elaborate the dialogue, or even to humanize Katherine by making her less strident than she is in the common portraits; rather, he becomes more conscious of her moral value, and her use as an example becomes more predominant. As most homilists and preachers made clear, an important reason for recounting the life of any martyr was to point out how easy in comparison is the life of most men and by this method to bring men to rectify their evil ways. To do this, most authors not only exaggerated the torments which the martyr endured, but they also

created less colourful scenes designed to exemplify the virtue of the saint. At this point in Katherine's conversion, the hermit Adrian, long a servant of the Virgin Mary and a man who by undertaking the journey to Alexandria had earlier demonstrated his own fidelity, is cast in the role of a doubter so that Katherine can be magnified. Finding his cell gone, Adrian laments, while the still unbaptized Katherine bids him trust in his lady. In case the reader should miss the point, Capgrave gives Adrian an explanatory speech:

"3e hafe set 3our trost hyer þan my-selue;
 Thow 3e be entered in to þe feyth but a lyte,
 3e wyll pace in schort tyme oþer ten or twelue."
 (Bk. III, ll. 855-858)

Forewarned of her death by Mary, Katherine hesitates only once in the last two books of the poem. When Maxentius orders death to those who refuse to adopt his pagan faith, Katherine's old servant suggests that she remain in the palace. Yet, although she immediately thinks of her baptism and marriage, Katherine does not, as she would in any conventional portrait, promptly act:

Thus walked she foorth softly than a-pace,
 fful sore astoynd what hir is beste for to doo.
 (Bk. IV, ll. 497-498)

Naturally, her hesitation is only momentary, but it is one of the many additional touches which Capgrave introduces that soften and humanize his portrait of the character Katherine. Elsewhere, he achieves the same end by eliminating the stridency from Katherine's voice so that the reader can accept that she made her final response to the emperor still "with ful mylde voys" (Bk. V, l. 1744). With a single exception,

Katherine's speeches in the last book are neither violent nor recriminatory. She makes statements of faith and consoles others about to be martyred while the narrator takes upon himself the role of judging Maxentius, and so of guiding the reader's view. He refers to the emperor as "the tyraunt," and consistently describes his behaviour and demeanour as mad:

Now was the emperour ny wod and oute of mynde,
his eyne rolled as thei wolde falle out.
(Bk. V,11.155-156)

Tho chaunged the emperour bothe word & chere
(Bk. V,1.526)

Thanne was þe emperour ny wood for Ire
(Bk. V,1.603)

Very anger his herte now ny sleth
(Bk. V,1.969)

Soo was he with hir woordes now afrayde,
What he shal doo now is he fallen in doute
(Bk. V,11.1116-11117)

In anger & wodness
(Bk. V,1.1247)

. . . oute of mesure wood
.
ffor very anger he rente habyte & hood.
(Bk. V,11.1401,1403)

in his anger and in his grete Ire
(Bk. V,1.1471)

. . . the very malencoly
Made hym so wode he wiste not what he sayde.
(Bk. V,11.1601-1602)

In describing the emperor, Capgrave also uses pejorative verbs and adjectives, such as "he gloseth" (Bk. V,1.335) or "his male-corage & his euele entent" (Bk. V,1.1705); and he colours his descriptions with

partisan phrases such as "for his wykkydnesse" (Bk. V,1.956) and "with doubelnesse" (Bk. V,1.1002).

There are dozens of others characters in the poem, but when Katherine's opponents in the debates are excluded, the number who come in contact with her is sharply reduced. Four of the remainder--Katherine's mother, the hermit Adrian, Mary, and Christ--do not appear in the typical legendary version of the Katherine Legend or in any others in the English vernacular, since they belong to her youth, the marriage debate, and the conversion scenes of the first three books. Apart from amplification on her ancestry, and a few lines indirectly expressing her travail at Katherine's birth (Bk. I,11.211-212) and her grief at her husband's death (Bk. I,11.463-466), Queen Meliades is used exclusively as a device of plot. She summons the parliament for Katherine's coronation (Bk. I,1.512) and replies favourably to the people's request that her daughter marry (Bk. I,11.974-1026), ordaining a second parliament for the purpose. Interestingly, she addresses Katherine only once, to berate her in the marriage debate (Bk. II, 11.1014-1029); after that she disappears even from mention until Mary informs Katherine in Book III (11.1473-1477) that her mother is dead. Katherine seems to have no filial feelings for Meliades, and the queen herself is completely devoid of any personalizing traits.

From the details mentioned earlier, Adrian would seem to play a mechanical role in the poem. But, while there is no mystical rapture in his expositions of Christian doctrine, there are scenes unrelated to Katherine in which he is clearly conceived as an individual. One

example occurs in Book III, Chapter 2, where, walking on the seashore, bemoaning his incapacity to live so ascetic a life as he had in the past, suddenly he is called upon by the Virgin Mary to be her messenger. This passage confirms Capgrave's later statement that it is the virtue of Christ, not the words of Adrian, that move Katherine. The entire scene is rendered concretely; Adrian's opening prayer is simple, devout, and sincere, and his approach to God forthright and direct:

"Now god," he seyde, "þat syttest hey in trone,
ffor-geue it me þat I do not so weell
As I was wone! my body is cause a-lone,
And not my soule, ful sykyrly þis I feele;
I may not wake ne fast neuyr a dele;
I can no mor--all þis defaute is myne;
If any goodenes haue I, lord þat is þin.

"Demene not me, lorde, aftyr my febyll myght,
But aftyr [my] wyll, þat euyr desyreth in on
Wyth blessed dedes to be a-losed in þe syte
Of þi mercy! for þow3 my myght be gon,
3et is my soule as stable as any ston,
And euyr schal be, as I can best deuyse,
In þi drede & eke in þi seruyse."

(Bk. III, 11.99-112)

Adrian is not a man with a mind and soul able to unite with the divine mysteries, but one who wants only to serve God as he can. As such, he offers an example to the average man and once again proves, as Capgrave says in The Life of St. Norbert:

A wonder þing it is who God can dispose
To worchep a man þat semeth ful onlikly
As to our doom and eke ful on-welody.

(11.2784-2786)

His simplicity and devotion are enhanced by the language of the poem as Adrian, failing to recognize the Virgin and abashed at his mistake, begs her not to deny him her favour. His initial reaction to the vision

is described in purely physical terms,

he is not febyll, he is no lenger seke,
 hys blode is come a-gen on-to hys cheke,
 hys eyne haue caute of new coumfort a lyght,
 hys body is 3onthyd, he pinketh hym-self ful lygth.

(Bk. III,11.123-126)

Adrian's inexpressible emotional response is reduced to the simple observation, "Thus merueylying be-twyx ioye & drede" (Bk. III,1.134).

Adrian's refusal to accept the strange lady's commission demonstrates his singular adherence to his vow to cling to the eremitical life:

"I haue made couenaunt euyr her to dwelle
 Whyl þat me lestys brethe, flesch & felle,
 Tyl ihesu wyll fecch me, þat was maydenys sone:
 Speke not þer-of, for it may not be don!"

(Bk. III,11.158-161)

Mary herself refers to his dullness (Bk. III,1.171), and later she makes clear that the words he speaks to Katherine will be inspired by Christ (Bk. III,11.330-333); but there is no derogation intended in this emphasis on Adrian's lack of wit. His slow perception reinforces his simple devotion and makes him a suitable instrument, while several passages affirm the fervour of his love. The first part of his prayer for Mary's forgiveness, for example, employs two rhetorical series to convey passion:

3e may well se my wytte is komerous,
 3our comyng was to me so meruelous
 My wytt was goo þan, I sey 3ow veryly.
 My lordes moder, myn aduocate, my mary,

And I her seruaunt, & euyr hath be & cast!

(Bk. III,11.249-253)

Although neither Mary nor Christ are physically visualized, both are attended by excessive brightness and their presence is felt as real

beings. Mary's warm compassion is realized in human terms, not just in this scene with Adrian but throughout her later dealings with Katherine (Bk. III, ll. 1002-1183: 1429-1493). The comparison with earthly relationships is stressed as Mary consistently refers to Katherine as her "dowtyr" and "my sones wyffe." She not only arouses Katherine from her despair when she is afraid to look on Christ's face and accompanies her in his presence; she also consoles Katherine when Christ informs her that she cannot see him until she is cleansed of sin. The scene in which Mary compares baptism to a prenuptial bathing shows the indecorum into which the one to one relationship of literal and figurative levels occasionally degenerates:

"Beth not discomfortyd in no-maner weye
 Weyth my sones wordes! for, in sykynesse,
 3e must to hys byddyng ful buxumly obeye.
 It is a goodely vsage, sothely to seye:
 Who schal be weddyd on-to duke or kynge,
 Be-for hyr weddyng to hafe a bathynge,

"ffor to mak hyr swete, for to make hyr clene--
 Ellys myght sche renne in ful grete offens.
 Be þis example on-to 3ow I mene,
 Do 3e 3our deuer, do 3our dylygens
 ffor to plese 3our lorde! a-non goo we hens
 In to 3on chapell to 3our baptistery;
 Aftyr 3our waschyng 3e schal be full mery"
 (Bk. III, ll. 1066-1078)

Mary herself undresses Katherine for the christening ceremony, presents her to Christ as his bride, and gives her away at the marriage.

The treatment of Christ is more difficult and more subtly handled. On three of the four occasions in which he appears in the poem, he is apprehended only on an abstract level. When he refuses to accept the unbaptized Katherine, an article of faith is being presented, and

Capgrave makes this clear by his description of Christ's words as "mysty" (Bk. III, l. 1030). And in Book V, when Christ appears to Katherine in prison (ll. 924-936) and answers her final prayer (ll. 1860-1883), he is disembodied since his purpose is primarily to enunciate the efficacy of martyrdom. At the wedding, however, he is both King of Heaven and a real bridegroom. The actual events of the wedding, as he asks Katherine if she will marry him (Bk. III, l. 1231) and takes the ring from Mary's hand to give to his bride (Bk. III, ll. 1275-1276), are overbalanced by passages acknowledging his universal lordship and asserting the mystical significance of the ceremony; but their very presence in the poem reflects the anthropomorphic conception of Christ, the literal apprehension of allegory in the Middle Ages.

The other three characters of importance are the tyrant Maxentius, his queen, and his favoured advisor, Porphyry. All appear in other versions, the emperor as the type of evil persecutor necessary to any tale of martyrdom, the other two as confidantes of the villain who are nevertheless converted by his victim. Something has been said of Capgrave's treatment of Maxentius earlier, but the portrait is not wholly unrelieved. The complexities introduced are perhaps more troublesome than helpful, however, and certainly Capgrave would not have been interested in "explaining" Maxentius' motives. Still, he is made more than a vicious, bloodthirsty pagan. His avowal of love for Katherine, including his statement that he recognizes his prior duty to his wife, gives a more human motive to his acts, credits him with a sense of honour, and even suggests that he is truly devoted to his

own gods:

"But loue haue I on-to 3ow, sekirly,
As to best of alle saue oon and no moo.
[&] whi I doo soo if 3e wil wete why:
Yowre beaute it causeth 3oure connyng eke, þat I
loue 3ow so weel that, if 3e wil consent
And thuryfye to Iubiter omnypotent,

"3e shul haue honoure, no woman shal be liche.
O swete virgyne, enclyne 3our wil to me!
O fayre visage of beute now most rich,
O woman wurthi to Imperial degree,
O very merour of parfighte felicite,
Wolde god 3e knewe what care I haue for yow,
And what behestes I made in myn avow!

"Whi wolde 3e despise oure goddis immortal?
Whi wolde 3e calle hem soo villenous a name?
Why seyde 3e thei were feendes infernal?
Whi slaundre 3e soo her hooly endued fame?

.....

"Betwixe the queen and you shal be no distaunce
But oonly this, because of oure spousayle:
She must of me haue more dewe plesaunce,
The loue Be-twixe vs, I trowe, shal neuere, fayle:
(Bk. V, 11.345-361; 393-396)

Given this preparation and Katherine's continued refusals, the cruel death he orders for his wife immediately upon discovering her defection seems less the natural behaviour of the conventional tyrant than the spontaneous response of a man harassed and betrayed, who feels his power to command crumbling.

The reader's response to Maxentius is heightened by his long lament when he discovers that it is his beloved Porphyry who disobeyed his commands and buried the queen. Porphyry's words are "a wounde/ On-to Maxcens-is herte" (Bk. V, 11.1597-1598); and in his speech, Maxentius reveals genuine distress over his wife, a hope that he can

regain Porphyry as he so often tried to gain Katherine, and his belief in his own gods:

"O me most wretched of alle men þat leue!
 Wereto brought nature me on-to lyf?
 Whi wolde she to me suche astate geue,
 Whanne she thus wretchedly hath taken my wyf?
 had she suffered me with a sharpe knyf
 Be steked in my cradel, she had doo þe best!
 ffor now am I reued of my dewe reste.

"ffor porphirie here, on whom I most trost,
 O, porphiry now, the beste frende I haue,
 My good porphirye, my gentel knyght, is lost,
 So disceyued of witchecraft þat gynne[th] to raue.
 Euene as the spokes resten in the naue,
 Soo in his breste stood al my comforte;
 To swiche a-nother frend can I neuere resorte.

"He dysceyued my wyf, but she now is ded;
 he hath disceyued hym-self, that greueth me most.
 Myn herte is waxen as heuy as ony leed,
 Soo am I comered with thoughtis in my goost.
 Allas, my porphirye! I durste a made a boost:
 Though al my kyngdam had me forsake,
 ffals to my crowne no man shuld the make!

"Yet, though thou hast doon this grete despite,
 Disseyued my wyf and disceyued thi-selue,
 Yet of þi treson thou shalt haue respyte;
 Ten dayes I graunte the or ellis twelue:
 Leue þat crysten company, forsake þat elue,
 Ihesu of nazareth--he dede neuere man good,
 he is cause of spillyng of mekel gentel blood.

"If þou wilt leue þis newe cursed scole,
 Thou shalt haue grace þou shalt not deye.
 So wyse a man now made a foole!
 hoo caused the soo sone to reneye
 The holy relygion, the very true weye
 Whiche that oure faderis kepten with-oute mynde?
 Allas man, allas! thi reson is ful blynde."

(Bk. V, 11.1604-1638)

In the cases of the Queen and Porphyry, individualization derives neither from such complication of character nor from detailed motivation

behind their conversions. Instead, both exhibit compassion--the Queen for Katherine, Porphyry for both Katherine and the Queen. At the outset, the Queen declares that she has long believed in Christianity (Bk. V, 1.750), but fear of scorn (1.753) and her husband's anger (11.754-755) have prevented her conversion. Reports of Katherine's imprisonment and starvation

meued the queen of very womanly pete
To haue compassyon of these peynes alle
(Bk. V, 11.736-737)

When she approaches Porphyry to gain access to Katherine, he too declares his sympathy for the woman he had seen defeat the philosophers:

"With this mater haue I ben sore torment;

Me thenketh, grete wrong this lady suffreth heere,
Soo horribely bete[n], kepte fro mete and drynk,
And she noon harm dooth in no manere!"
(Bk. V, 11.791-794)

In the prison, the two visitors view Katherine surrounded by angels, and they are assured that these heavenly attendants will prove the means of salvation for many others (Bk. V, 11.806-882). Though they leave, "keepyng this mater al close in sylens" (Bk. V, 1.882), they have been strengthened by the sights and words, and when the opportunity comes each proves his virtue.

However, while the conventional portrait of the saint demands that Katherine convert others, their stature as martyrs must be kept subordinate to her own. Thus, neither the Queen nor Porphyry is introduced on Katherine's behalf when Maxentius returns, threatens her once again, and has the evil engine designed by Cursates built (Bk. V, 11.946-1400). Instead, the Queen waits until 4000 more pagans have been

destroyed in the angelic demolition of the Katherine-wheel and then attacks her husband on the grounds that he is foolish and cruel to remain obstinate and prideful when he has seen the might of the Christian God (Bk. V,11.1423-1449). Unlike Katherine, who is unmoved by tortures --a conventional trait of the saint which always reduces the modern reader's capacity for empathy--the Queen fears that pain may cause her to recant, and she begs Katherine to pray that she may endure the suffering:

"Prey eke for me that I may kepe also

"The same good purpos whiche I am Inne,
That this payne horryble make me not reneye
The lawe of you cristen, for more ne for mynne;
I am soore a-feerde my flesh, er that I deye,
ffor very dreed the contrarie shuld seye:"

(Bk. V,11.1498-1503)

By the Queen's request, the focus is returned to Katherine and her speech (Bk. V,11.1507-1527) assuring the Queen that she is chosen and promising heavenly consolation. The issue here, as earlier when Katherine told the condemned philosophers that the blood they shed in martyrdom made baptism unnecessary (Bk. V,11.253-280), is not to demonstrate the efficacy of the saint's intercession but rather to suggest that still on earth she is privy to God's ultimate judgment.

In Porphyry's case, Katherine does not reappear after the prison scene, and he becomes, in effect, a weak echo of her actions. As she refused to be silent during the pagan ceremonies, so he confesses that he buried the Queen "boldly with-ouen fere" (Bk. V,1.1568). And when the emperor discovers that the rest of his court has also been converted,

Porphyry asserts that he has been the prime mover:

"Men wil wene that thou be ny wood
 To sle th[is] puple thus sodeynly in her blood
 And lete me scape whiche stered hem alle."
 (Bk. V, ll. 1677-1679)

Finally, he assumes Katherine's role as a prophet of doom for Maxentius and comforter for those about to be martyred (Bk. V, ll. 1680-1682).

Here, in a digression, Capgrave shows again his understanding that the purpose of the saints and martyrs is to provide illustrative examples to weaker souls:

Thus seyde this man as I vndirstond
 To comforte hem þus er thei be deed;
 Be-cause thei were of visage heuy as leed,
 he was adred ful soore þat thei shulde fayle
 If thei with-oute hym had goon to [þis] batayle.
 (Bk. V, ll. 1683-1687)

IV

Implicit in the discussion of style and characterization in The Life of St. Katherine to this point is the judgment that Book III, with its emphasis on Katherine's conversion--a feature unusual in shorter versions of the legend--is the narrative centre of the poem. Though Book III's position as the apex has perhaps been lost sight of in the welter of detail already elaborated, its crucial positioning is reinforced by the symmetrical balance of the books which surround it. Books I and V offer a logical, and obvious enough, frame for any saint's life that details the early life, conversion, and passion as the pre-eminent divisions. The presentation of popular themes of medieval disputations, treatises and literatures in conventional stylized debates in the two

books preceding and following the conversion, however, increases the impact of the conversion in quite another way. Not only do Books II and IV emphasize the consistency of Katherine's character both before and after conversion, they also, by their static settings, provide an interesting contrast with the splendid movement--from hermit's cell to Alexandria, back to the cell and up to Heaven--in the central book. More important to this section, however, is Capgrave's careful structuring of the debates and the results achieved by this ordering of sequences within the lengthy arguments.

Because the first debate has sixteen speakers and the second twelve, and because Katherine is resolute, first in her virginity and later in her Christianity, it might easily be assumed that the scenes can be little more than tedious and repetitious amplifications glorifying the saint. In fact, however, there is progression in both debate scenes, and if Katherine is not quite so persuasive as Capgrave declares--

Of hir wit and of hir eloquens;
 Thei that now in presens arn there.
 herde neuere be-fore swiche-maner sentens.
 She can alle thyng of very experiens.
 (Bk. IV, ll. 1633-1636)

--there is nevertheless far more reasonable preparation for her success in confusing the lords at the end of Book II and converting the philosophers by the end of Book IV than is apparent in most medieval debates.

Following his practice of establishing episodes by a clear delineation of setting, Capgrave sets the static stage for each debate in

such a way that, with the narrative links removed, the scene might easily be construed as a drama, in the limited sense, say, that the earliest Elizabethan plays can be so designated. The debates contain none of the subtleties of sophisticated drama; the characters merely orate at one another in what amount to set sequential speeches--but even in the marriage debate the visual environment is not unlike that of a staged dramatization. The participants in the debate are introduced in the following lines:

þe lordes are gadred to-gedyr all in-fer.
 þe lenghe of þe halle fully too hundyrd pace
 So was it, certen, in wech þei gadered wer,
 Syttyng in her counsell . . .

(Bk. II,11.100-103)

Directions are provided both by expressions, such as "Than ros a lord, a man of grete statur,/ A ryche man . . ." (Bk. II,11.232-233), "Than ros a reall, a ryche lord þer-wyth-alle" (1.316), or "he stode up þan" (1.450) and "he stode up tho" (1.667); or by abbreviated reminders of the other spectators:

Euery man satt stille and held his pees
 To her þe spech, þe tale wech þat he
 Be-gan to telle; for his auctorite
 Was þoo ful gret . . .

(Bk. II,11.570-573)

Before the final appeal by the wise clerk whom the lords have chosen, Capgrave invents a time lapse wherein the assembled peers disperse, consult, and reconvene:

Qwan þei had sayd all þat euyr þei coude,
 þei went a-sundre & parted for a space;
 Comound her wyttys styll, & no-þing lowde,
 Euyr [h]opyng & loking aftyr grace
 Of þis same mayde, if þei it myght purchase,

And at a day sette þei cam to-gedyr a-geyn,
To haue an answer of hyr plat & pleyn.

(Bk. II, 11.1261-1267)

In fact, while this stanza and the next state literally that the parliament was adjourned, their effect is more to imbue a motionless scene with action, foreshadowing the conclusion of the debate and elevating this speaker with his scholastic arguments, than to dissipate the visual image of the formal session.

The formality of the stage is far greater in the second debate, for from the outset Katherine is a prisoner at the bar, come not simply to reason with subjects whose advice she is not bound to take but to defend the true faith against an overlord who has power over her physically and to win souls to salvation. The stakes in this second debate are sufficiently high to generate a greater interest in the conflict and the outcome; and Capgrave presents the tension of the situation by an implied contrast between the bustling mob and the stately assembly where the defenseless Katherine is isolated from her accusers:

Now in the Citee, for to see this mayde,
Gadered in-feere with noyse and rumo[u]r;
Euery man there after his connyng sayde:
"Now is come the day and eke the hour
In whichè there shal falle ful grete honour
On som party, or elles ful grete shame."
And be-cause this lady was of soo grete game,

Euery man is besy to stoonde that tyme ny,
That he myght heere and see al þat was doo.
The emperour is sette, the lordes sitte faste by
The cle[r]kis eke were sette, be too and too;
The may is sette in a sete also
Right be hir-self for she is leftte allone.
The emperour, sitting al hy in his trone.

(Bk. IV, 11.1254-1267)

Many of the directives in this scene are of the "then rose" category, but far more frequent are those which include a statement of the speaker's tone, facial expression, or mode of action:

ffor very anger of colour was he wan;
with cryenge voys he filled tho the place,
(Bk. IV,11.1405-1406)

in haste . . .
(Bk. IV,1.1492)

Soo aferd was he neuere in al his lyf
Of no mater ne of no diuers cas
Soo of this mater now he feses was;
But thus seyde he þan softly . . .
(Bk. IV,11.1858-1861)

The effect of these responsive directives is to emphasize the rashness of the philosophers' attacks on Katherine and to put into severe relief her own poised motions and calm words:

The mayde stood up, and wyth ful good chere
She crossed hir hed, hir mowth and hir brest;
(Bk. IV,11.1317-1318)

with moost goodly chere . . .
(Bk. IV,1.1458)

with sad avisement . . .
(Bk. IV,1.1590)

The way Capgrave creates variety in the formal atmospheres of the two dialogues can only be seen by an examination of the arguments and demeanour of the different speakers and of Capgrave's responses to them. The arguments to be raised in the marriage debate are prepared for as early as Book I, Chapter 8, with the consternation of the people at the death of the king (11.452-462), and they are advanced in Chapter 15, where three interwoven issues are outlined. Since Katherine

is too interested in her studies, she has not taken a lord, and therefore the people have no leader for battles, and they are afraid the succession will fail. Thus, marriage and lordship are combined at the outset, and it remains for the individual speakers set against Katherine to develop the conventional points. The debate itself occupies 1420 lines divided into thirty-two chapters. It is commenced by a suitably servile address made by the unnamed lord who is chosen as speaker (Bk. II, 11.112-154). The purpose of this opening address is simply to state the subject of the argument, namely, that Katherine's people wish her to leave her studies and marry. Apparently astonished, and acting as if the whole matter were only now brought to her attention, Katherine meditates on the problem of her vow of chastity (11.157-194) and then dissembles, asking for delay, for the most obvious reason, "I am but yunge" (1.211).

Her contrived procrastination is effectively and definitively countered by the next speaker, a man of rank and wealth enough to take the floor, but one also given to plain-dealing. Capgrave prepares for this speaker's bluntness of tone with the cautionary comment:

hys wytte was not sufficient as in þis cas
 To speke in þis mater, ryth þus he þouth.
 (Bk. II, 11.236-237)

He then allows the speaker to launch into an account of his personal financial losses, a direct attack on the Queen's previous response--

"We ar come heder to her now your entent
 In þis mater, & 3e haske a-vysement!"
 (Bk. II, 11.244-245)

--a series of proverbs (11.250-258) to prove, "In long a-bydyng is ful

lytyl prowe" (1.248), and, after a disgusting description of the disem-bowling common in medieval warfare (11.267-271), a declaration that Katherine's people need a male ruler to lead them. The elementary nature of this speaker's arguments gives it a logical priority at the commencement of the debate; and the speech elicits from Katherine a response devoid of crudity but equally direct. After a mere line and a half asserting that she is more injured than her people by the loss of her father, she argues that a captain could be chosen, as had been done in her father's time, and without equivocation she details punishments which her father could no more perform alone than she can. Accordingly, a rising-falling current is introduced into the debate which by balancing two groups of speakers in the opposition against Katherine creates a secondary and more subtle tension than would be provided by the set speeches alone.

With the third speaker, Clarus, Prince of Capodos, the complimentary tone of the opening address reappears, though the specific references to fealty are replaced by acknowledgments of Katherine's wisdom (11.319-320, 358, 364) and beauty (11.344, 364). Clarus essentially reiterates the previous churl's argument, but he courteously disguises his charge of female weakness beneath the cloak of a natural distinction between the sexes:

"Natur can not ne wyll not, parde, plante
 Myght & strength in women, for þei it waunt;
 In stede of strength, of natur þei hafe beute."
 (Bk. II, 11.361-363)

After making this generalization, he piously expresses the hope that Katherine will produce many progeny. When he is finished, Katherine

replies in his own dignified vein, expressing her thanks for his concern and counsel. The very length of her reply--ten stanzas as compared to the five she took to reply to the former speaker--reinforces the impression that Clarus is to be taken seriously. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that Capgrave intended no irony in her words when she says:

"I thank 3ow, syr; I sey not þat 3e raue,
But wysely spek all þat 3e haue told,
And for þis talkyng I am to 3ow behold."
(Bk. II, ll. 383-385)

Immediately afterward she charges him with exaggerating the case (ll. 387-392) and with failing to admit that her soldiers presently keep the peace as law officers punish criminals.

A similar balance between argument and refutation continues in the next set. The "erle of Iaff," "Ananye," is not described as angry, but he is clearly aroused by Katherine's response to Clarus, for Capgrave says, "Agens hyr answer he gan ryght þus reple" (l. 451). Moreover, Ananye omits the formalities and moves directly to what he believes to lie at the root of Katherine's obstinate refusal to comply--her constant devotion to her studies. To his mind books are valueless,

". . . þei wyll not saue
Neyther man ne best; þei dull a mann[y]s mende,
Apeyr hys body, his eyne þei make blynde."
(Bk. II, ll. 467-469)

and he wishes that whoever introduced Katherine to this foul course "mote be hangyd" (l. 471). Katherine does not reciprocate with this kind of violence in her reply, but an abrupt and imperious tone

emerges when her answer is given without either narrative introduction or formal address--"ge wold allgate þat I schuld wedded be . . ."

(1.464)--and when she curtly informs him of the road to a well-ordered kingdom:

"help ge on your syde as I shal on myn!
 loke ge be trewe on-to my crowne & me,
 let no treson in 3our hertys lyn:
 Than schal þis lond ful wele demened be."

(Bk. II,11.498-501)

In addition, after her defense of learning (11.534-560), she suggests that she is indeed unafraid to exercise her royal powers:

"Blame not swech þing þat stant in full grete stede;
 Curse not my mayster, for þan wyll I be wroth!
 It semyth 3ou bettir for to bydde 3our bede
 Than to sey swech wordes"

(Bk. II,11.561-564)

Taking another tack, the fifth speaker, Hercules of Paphon, returns to softer and more flattering tones. He not only brings the bookish Ovid as witness against Katherine's position, proving by him that the inevitable should be accepted, but he also tries to make the "medecyn" more palatable by suggesting that since a husband could assume many of her duties, such as the "progresses" through the lands under her sway, she would have more free time for study. Again, compliments are returned in kind. Elaborately commending Hercules' knightly prowess (11.610-623), Katherine softens her quite logical refutation of his case on the grounds that no man can be in two places at once.

Once more the failure of persuasion leads to an angry outburst, and the "duk of damaske," "wroth" with Katherine, takes his turn. The second and fourth speakers relied on blunt crudeness and violent

condemnation respectively to make their points; Damask's anger is restrained, and, assuming the wisdom of age, he avows his loyalty to Katherine before reminding her of her oath to redress wrongs and declaring that "wher is no lorde, þer is no lawe" (1.688):

"In my 3ong age, ryght thus dyd I ler:
 þe pupyll must nedys on-to þe kynge obeye,
 love hym & drede hym eyr tyll þei deye,
 ffor þei ar bounde full sor thus to do;
 And we wyll eyr hertly bowe þer-too"
 (Bk. II,11.668-672)

The Duke's brevity indicates his calm anger, and Katherine, in her even briefer response, maintains the tone. Using the Duke's argument against him, she says that while she has no intention of disregarding her oath, it is the sworn duty of the Duke to stop "debate" or uprisings.

A clerk then seeks to meet Katherine on her own learned ground, thinking he has caught her in a logical contradiction because, though she has assured her people she wants proper governance for them, she still refuses to marry. Capgrave tries to establish the relative neutrality of his demeanour by pre-disposing the reader to find careful reasoning in what is in fact a very simple argument:

A Gret clerk þoo stod up be hym-selue,
 þat was fful scharp in wytte, as I wene;
 In þis mater he thowte þoo for to delue
 A lytyll depper . . .
 (Bk. II,11.715-718)

These lines clearly show the poet attempting to adjust the rationale of the debate; but the sense of progression is also confirmed as elements of earlier arguments are skillfully fused. Here, a third

reference is made to Katherine's studies. The clerk neither condemns books outright as Ananye had done nor, following Hercules' example, draws on classical authorities to disparage learning in women; instead, in a clever reversal of the usual clerk versus woman role, he suggests that reading Valerius' anti-feminist tracts has made Katherine fearful of marriage, when in fact, "swech myschauns/ . . . is not þus in swech grete mageste" (ll.743-744).

Again, Katherine's reply corresponds in length, and, fitting her words to the audience, she displays her command of the rhetorical vocabulary as she proceeds toward her assertion that she meant to choose a duke rather than a consort:

" . . . which þat schuld lede 3ow,
 Not for to haue no (!) gouernauns vp-on me,
 But to my byddyng he must lowte & bowe.

 Thus schull 3e haue 3our wylle, & I schall haue myne;"
 (Bk. II,11.828-832)

She mentions "termes" five times (ll.779, 807-808, 817, 824), and insists upon precise meanings--"vse my langage stably & ferme" (l.808). Further, she recognizes the misuse of rhetoric for she says, "I vse treuly myn art" (l.805); and twice she accuses the clerk of sophistry:

"lett be 3our sophym! 3our termes ar but sour!
 ffor thow 3e bryng forth alle 3our hool bunch,
 3e schall not make an elne of a vnch"
 (Bk. II,11.817-819)

"3our termes come owte of þat sotyll box
 Of Aristoteles elenkes, made in swych wyse
 Who so lerned hem, he schall seme wyse."
 (Bk. II,11.824-826)

Finally, she gives an example of false logic:

"I sett cas a man hath 3oue to 3ow a best,
 It folowyth not þer-of þat he 3aue 3ow an ox;
 he may as weell paye þe mor as þe lest,
 he may chese to 3eue 3ow a hors or a fox."

(Bk. II, 11.820-823)

This example of her skill leads to the climax of the first part of the debate in the following brief exchange with the earl of Lymanes, who admits her wit and offers no additional argument, except to make the point that the lords would be restive unless their leader were both equal to her and superior to them. The last eight lines of Katherine's brief rejoinder indicate the finality of her rejection of all these arguments:

"Thus say I now & þus sayde I ere:

"I wyll abyde tyll better tyme may come,
 A 3ere or two, tyll þat I elder be;
 ffor to wedde 3it me thynk it full sone;
 And to 3our gouernawns þus I demene me.
 Iff 3e lyst not to haue on, I graunt 3ow two or thre,
 Whych men may gouerne wyth-owtyn enuye.
 I profyr 3ow reson, what-so-euer 3e crye."

(Bk. II, 11.868-875)

This conclusion occurs midway in the range of sixteen speakers; and with her refusal of immediate marriage complete, the next stage is to remove the pretense and bring her to an explicit statement that she never intends to wed.

The issue is broached as the first speaker in the second half of the debate, the admiral of Alexander, asks, "why hate 3e now þat ilk lady must haue?" (1.884), before going on to give his practical argument against her single rule. From personal experience he has found:

"per is many a man & many dyuerse degre,
 Both cristen & hethen . . .
 I woote not sumtyme what is best to doo,
 I dwelle her soo in swech-maner drede,
 I knowe not my frende whan I haue nede."
 (Bk. II, 11.899-903)

While Katherine does not hesitate to answer either part, saying first that she has no taste for love--

"My wyttys, I telle you, no-þing besy been
 I[n] swech mater, neythir to lust ne to loue--
 ffy on þo hertes þat euer on swech þing houe!"
 (Bk. II, 11.913-915)

--and then asserting that the admiral has only to exercise his power to establish peace in his realm, she has not yet denied categorically the eventuality of marriage. That the time has now arrived for deeper probing is indicated by the conciliatory request made by the Queen's cousin, "Ser clamadour . . . duke of Antioche," that since they cannot ascend to Katherine's level of wit, she should condescend to reveal her mind (11.938-959). This plainness reveals Capgrave's organizational skill, as does his arrangement of the issues for debate so that at this point Katherine has no arguments to answer. Still she proceeds by indirection a little longer. The poem is never suspenseful, but Katherine's long philosophical dissertation on the nature of kingship (11.960-994) both advances her characterization and cushions the abruptness of her announcement that the subject is for her exhausted:

"But for þe wyll allgate know myn hert,
 Whath þat I thynk, I tell you platt & pleyn:
 þer schall neuyr man, be he neuyr so smert
 No eke so st[r]ong, wyne me, þat is to seyn
 haue me to spowse--I wyll no lenger feyn--
 But if he be so strong hym-self a-lone
 þat he be able to fyght wyth all hys fone.

"Thys is þe ende, & þis my wyll now is,
 let vs no mor as in þis mater speke."
 (Bk. II, 11.995-1003)

Since this passage so evidently foreshadows the description of Christ as the perfect lover which ends the debate and the book, the final sequence of speakers is used chiefly as a delaying device preparatory to the dénouement. From this point the careful structuring disintegrates markedly, though the apparently random nature of the remaining part of the debate may itself be seen as an integral part of the confusion generated among the assembly by Katherine's firm words and adamant position:

Than was þer woo & wayling eke enowe,
 þei morned alle & made mekyl mone
 Whan þat þei sey wher-to þe mater drowe,
 (Bk. II, 11.1009-1011)

The remainder of the debate is clearly anticlimactic. Other lords, grasping at straws and reiterating earlier arguments, are marshaled, but they speak without conviction. In rapid succession, Katherine's mother rails against her error (11.1014-1029); her uncle inveighs against chastity using the familiar argument that Katherine herself would not have been born had her mother remained chaste (11.1057-1085); Baldake merely repeats "We want a leeder" in his two-stanza address (11.1114-1127); the lord of Nichopolis returns to the theme that a ruler must have power as well as wit and that therefore the lords require a man to rule such as other nations have (11.1146-1169); finally, the Duke of Athens appeals to Katherine's pride in her noble blood, using a syllogism to suggest that she has betrayed her kind (11.1198-1225).

By all these arguments Katherine remains unmoved. Since she has no intention of agreeing to their demands, she makes no real effort to adduce counter-arguments. The only novelty in her replies occurs in Chapter 29, in which she argues that they would regret her choice if it fell to a weak or foolish man. Significantly, however, a balancing of the two halves of the debate is achieved. Just as Katherine had used her scholastic learning to undermine the arguments of the clerk in Chapter 14, now, in Chapter 31, she sets out logically to disprove the Duke of Athens' assertions. Again, she employs rhetorical terms and refutes the argument with naturalistic examples:

" . . . thow þat 3e be endewyd
 Wyth werdly wysdam & can all þing pleyedly,
 So þat 3e may wyth no sophym be pursewyd:
 3et to 3our motyff answer þus may I,
 And voyd 3our resoun well & pregnantly,

"Owte of a tre growyng dyuerse frute,
 And þat same tre þat sumetyme bar þe grene;
 Now bereth he reed or qwyte, of dyuerse sute.
 Be þis example pleyedly þus I mene:
 My modyr is, & so am I, a qween,
 In þis we a-cord; & þat I am a may,
 In þat we dyuerse, I can not þer-to sey nay.

"It semeth me þat lych a griff am I,
 I-planted be god vp-on an elde stoke,
 Of an oþer kynde, an oþer sauour hardyly;
 And euene as be miracle þe elde blok,
 Wech is clouyn in four wyth many a knok,
 Schall rather folow þe gryff, þan þe gryff hym,
 So faryth it be me & be my elder kyn:"

(Bk. II, 11.1233-1253)

This elaboration, like the earlier one, serves a useful narrative function by momentarily diverting the reader's attention in order to strengthen the impact of Katherine's final words:

"ffarwell ffadyr, ffarwell modyr & eem,
 Whan þat her counsell is not profitable;
 I take swych lyffe, I hope is ferm & stabyll."
 (Bk. II, 11.1258-1260)

Something has already been said of the long, final exchange between Katherine and the wisest clerk which occupies Chapters 32 and 33. By offering four considerations which should encourage Katherine to marry--her "bloode ryall," her "beaute," her "cunnyng," and her "rychesse"--the clerk establishes the basis for Katherine's description of her only acceptable spouse, a definition which in turn prepares for Katherine's mystical marriage to Christ in the central book.¹⁸

The question of the poetry has not figured prominently in this long discussion of the first debate primarily because the quality of the verse is not a feature which distinguishes it from dozens of other examples in medieval writing. Occasionally there are individual lines and images whose vitality and aptness excite the reader, but these are not dominant. Rather, Capgrave's talent lies in his capacity to exploit hidden possibilities in his static material. With no real opportunity to alter Katherine herself or her adversaries, he manages to effect a subtle change in the presentation, transforming the debate in which two irreconcilable extremes are rigidly and repetitiously advanced into one in which the same two extremes are made more dynamic by simply varying the tones adopted by the speakers involved. Even though the characters cannot be described as realistic--in the sense that they have any life outside the particular scene--their speeches are appropriate to their station, and their words and rhetoric cannot be regarded as interchangeable. Within the circumscribed limits of

each speaker, his words, behaviour, and ideas are presented with a consistency that necessitates a structurally balanced and logical reply.

The second debate in The Life of St. Katherine, the theological one with the philosophers, occurs in the second half of Book IV and occupies just under 1100 lines. This second debate is considerably shorter than the first, but it is also--perhaps because it is shorter--much more closely structured. The organization is demonstrably tripartite, each part consisting of encounters between Katherine and various of the philosophers which culminate in a statement of conversion.¹⁹ In this debate, Capgrave seems to go well beyond the artificial devices employed for parallelism and balance in Book II, in which the outcome of the narrative is simply held off to provide additional elaboration to the debate scene. Again, as in Book II, although it holds off the climax, the delay cannot have been intended to provide suspense since in both cases the end of the debate is predetermined.

In the standard treatments of Katherine's meeting with the philosophers, she is brought before the tribunal and there expounds Christian doctrine so convincingly that despite the emperor's threats, the astonished philosophers either are converted immediately and happily die a fiery death as they do in Bokenham's version,²⁰ or they are converted after putting at most one or two doctrinal questions as is the case with the legend in the Katherine Group.²¹ Capgrave transforms this standard debate scene into a full-scale theological disputation between Katherine and twelve identified (five named and seven anonymous) adversaries among the gathered assembly. The disputants

are divided into four distinct groups, each of whom argue doctrinal issues with Katherine. To put the organization briefly, the debate is divided into 26 chapters (19-44). Chapter 19 introduces the scene. In Chapters 20-26, Katherine debates with three philosophers, of whom only one, Astenes, is named; Katherine's speeches occupy Chapters 22, 24, 26. Chapter 27 is transitional as one of the philosophers concedes and Katherine becomes by consensus (1.1653) the instructress of the philosophers. In Chapters 28-31, Katherine answers queries put to her by two of the masters, and in Chapter 32 occurs the first conversion, followed by Maxentius' attack. Chapters 33-39 present the "new motyf[s]" of Appollymas, another master, and Alfragan, leading to the second conversion (Katherine speaks in Chapters 34, 36, 38). In Chapters 40-44, Katherine debates with Aryot, concluding with the third and final conversion. Schematically, then, there are three parts: Part I = Chapters 19-32 (with 27-31 transitional); Part II = Chapters 33-39; Part III = Chapters 40-44--the last chapter in each part ending in a statement of conversion.

In Chapter 19, the assembly gathers and Maxentius orders Katherine to "Defende thi feith with al the circumstaunce/ That þou can thenke" (11.1292-1293). Crucial to any such debate, of course, is the ultimate purpose, which is to convert the saint, or at least to bring her to renounce her faith; so, on the urging of the first of the Council to speak, Amphos of Athene, who admonishes Katherine to

"Sey ye 3oure groundes, and we shul puruay:
 Answeris ther-too. or we goo [hens] this day,
 We caste us sekyr newly you to conuay

On-to that feyth whiche 3e dede reneye.
 Be wykked counsail. therefore first shal yee
 Speke in this mater, and than answer wee."

(Bk. IV, 11.1311-1316)

she commences her defence in Chapter 20. As defender of the faith, Katherine immediately seizes the initiative from the philosophers, and within a few chapters the argument-counterargument procedure gives way to a question-answer technique in which she is, in reality, giving the assembly elementary instruction in the Christian beliefs. Her dominance in the debate is apparent in the fact that eleven of the 26 books belong exclusively to her; and, significantly, after her opening address, the first disputant, fearful that in the end she will triumph, advises the emperor to stop the proceedings:

"Wherfore, sir kyng, be war of hir offens,
 Suffre no[w] this lady [no] lengere [for] to speke;
 These lewde foolkis that listen with grete silens.
 With apparent resons she shal soone I-cheke,
 That fro her feith she shal soone hem breke--
 Thei come neuere hom, though we wolde hem drawe.
 To suffre swiche prechouris it is agayn oure lawe."

(Bk. IV, 11.1429-1435)

Following her initial statement, Katherine then debates with three of the pagan philosophers, and the early chapters are characterized by the strength of the pagan argument, which diminishes after the turn in Chapter 27.

As a kind of collaborator with Katherine, Capgrave allows no direct attack upon the tenets of Christian belief, and the first respondent is described as a madman:

there stod vp tho a man.
 Of fers corage, though it were wodnesse--
 Maister astenes, soo thei called hym than;

ffor very anger of colour was he wan;
 with cryenge voys he filled tho the place,
 (Bk. IV,11.1402-1406)

Only after this precautionary description does Capgrave give this speaker leave to condemn Christianity as "delirament" (1.1421) or to cast doubts on the virgin birth and the resurrection. The second and third speakers defend the use of idols as incentives to worship (11.1494-1512) and discuss the pagan gods as symbols of the eternal natural principles (11.1564-1589). Katherine has no difficulty in dismissing the arguments of all three speakers, and, as in the earlier debate, an attempt is made to make her tone consonant with that of the individual adversary. She makes a direct assault on the open blasphemy of the first speaker, without any attempt to convert him:

"Make no comparyson be-twyx your god and myn!
 ffor my god hath made al þing of nought,
 Eke your goddis arn not soo goode as swyn--
 Thei can no3t grunten whan hem eyleth ought."
 (Bk. IV,11.1478-1481)

While she makes insulting remarks about the morals of and the rites accorded to the pagan gods in her reply to the second speaker (11.1513-1554), she at least appeals to the philosopher's reason: "ge þat ben wyse/ ffile this foly, drede the hye Iustise!" (11.1553-1554). In the third exchange, a neat balance is achieved by the speaker's insistence on the philosophical grounds of pagan belief and by Katherine's rebuttal that the "figures" and "colouris" of his "exposicions" are precisely what has led them to "wurshep the shadwe and leve the substauns" (1.1616).

A further underlying motif in this part is the recurrent prediction of the conversion of the philosophers. Astenes' admonition to Maxentius has already been cited in this regard, but Capgrave interposes himself following the arguments of the second and third speakers, saying "god wulde haue hym turned in this manere" (Bk. IV,1.1490) of the second, and describing the reaction of the third to Katherine's argument:

Oure blissed lord his herte gan tho bynde
 On-to his seruyse--therfore lete hym goo,
 Sitte and reste as for that tyme with wo!
 Thus shul thei stynte whan god wil sey pees;
 Of alle wysdam he can soone relees.

(Bk. IV,11.1557-1561)

Chapter 27 is plainly transitional, for it opens with another philosopher asserting his belief in Katherine's words, addressing his colleagues to "leue, felawes, now oure olde scole" (1.1640), and requesting further instruction. The assembled philosophers all agree, and Katherine is "eke . . . as glad as thei" (1.1660):

Thus is consented now all þe companye;
 Thei wil lere of hir, þei sey plat and pleyne,
 ffor it is aboue al her phylosophie,
 What lord he is þat made the wynd and reyn.
 That there is swiche on, can thei weel [I]-seyn,
 But what he is, or what is his name,
 This desire thei to lerne now of this dame.

(Bk. IV,11.1653-1659)

From this point, Katherine becomes essentially a Christian teacher, and the trial aspect of the debate is virtually dropped. In Chapters 28-31, the argument-response technique continues but the two speakers, the "Maister Princypal" and another unidentified philosopher, are primarily seeking clarification when they ask Katherine to explain the

human and divine nature of Christ and to prove her statements "Be natural resons" (1.1778). And in Chapter 32, Capgrave confirms the conversion that was first announced in Chapter 27:

Whanne this answeere was youe thus to þis man,
 Eche man be-syde þat stood tho aboute
 fful merueylously chaunge thei be-gan.
 ffor thei þat cristen were, with-oute[n] doute,
 Whiche to the maumentis before-tyme dede loute,
 Now wayle þei soore with ful grete repentauns,
 Demyng hem-self ful worthi gret penauns;
 (Bk. IV, 11.1821-1827)

Because Capgrave might well have brought the debate to a conclusion at this point, it is pertinent to inquire why he does not, especially since the fact that three separate conversions seem to take place (in Chapters 27/32, 39, 44) could lead to a charge of inconsistency. Several reasons may be advanced for the structure that Capgrave imposes. First, it must be emphasized that the conversions in the debate are of two kinds--individual and collective. In Chapter 27, for example, when the master acknowledges his acceptance of Katherine's doctrines--"I wil beleue now as þis lady demeth" (1.1652)--his personal conversion leads only to the consent of the other philosophers that "Thei wil lere of hir" (1.1654). In Chapter 32, when Capgrave announces the conversion, there are at least two reservations to be made. The philosophers have been overwhelmed and silenced by the force of Katherine's arguments, and their stunned acceptance of Christian doctrine "putte þe puple in conceytes [ful] suspens" (1.1838). Capgrave capitalizes at this point on the inherent drama of the situation, for the pagan-spectators at this debate have not yet been converted and neither, of course, has Maxentius, who immediately

shames the assembled philosophers and exhorts them to "pluk vp goure hertis, lete no3t oure lawe thus falle,/ lete not oure goddys suffre thus this wrong!" (11.1849-1850). More drastically, he warns them that if they do, "the moost part of yow shalle/ Er longe tyme be the nekke shul be hong" (11.1851-1852); and his threats are sufficient to prompt the continuance of the debate in the second part, in which Appollymas, another master, and Alfragan advance their "new motyf[s]." That fear of the emperor is the prime motivation of this second round of speakers is made clear by Capgrave's description of Appollymas:

Soo aferd was he neuere in al his lyf
Of no mater ne of no diuers cas
Soo as of this mater now he feses was;
But thus seyde he þan softly to the mayde:
(Bk. IV,11.1858-1861)

None of the speakers in Part II makes any attempt to argue the cause of the pagan gods; rather, they probe deeper the Christian God whom Katherine has presented with such eloquence. And, thus, although the form is retained, the tone of the debate is not. Each in turn is separately converted to Katherine's faith:

Appollymas: "As 3e beleue, lady, soo beleue I"
(Bk. IV,1.1932)

Alfragan: "I can noo more, I wil turne to hyr feyth
And leue myn olde, what ony man seyth"
(Bk. IV,11.2071-2072)

The conversion of the middle speaker, though not specified, is obviously to be assumed; and the response among the assembly is unanimous:

Thei cryed all concoursly with oo voys
That thei consenten to his conclusyon,
Oo god confesse thei
(Bk. IV,11.2080-2082)

Katherine's arguments--and by implication the tenets of Christian doctrine--are substantial enough to overcome even Maxentius' threat of death. Thus, though Capgrave does not make the point specifically, Katherine, who has long ago accepted her condition, is, by instructing the pagan philosophers, preparing them for eventual martyrdom.

An interesting shift occurs in Chapter 39 following the conversion of Alfragan--the debate moves from the assembly of philosophers into the public arena. Their philosophers having apparently all capitulated, the people begin to dispute among themselves, first about the failure of their pagan masters to defeat Katherine, and then about the arguments which have led them to their defection from pagan belief. Maxentius, seeing his people "despyse" and "spurne" their own gods, once again explodes in wrath, and two final disputants take the stage. The first of these Capgrave dismisses peremptorily (probably departing from his source) as having nothing new to offer. With Chapter 40, Aryot, "thorgh-oute that lande/ Most famous men noysed in þat tyme" (ll. 2119-2120), launches the argument of the third and final part; and he is obviously intended to be Katherine's most formidable adversary. Aryot is the only speaker in the debate who establishes clear terms for the argument, and the alternatives he proposes foreshadow Katherine's complete victory in the end:

"If it soo be-falle þat I, with argumentis grete.
Or ellis with auctoryte, þat I may 3ow leede
ffrom all 3oure feyth and from 3oure fekel creede;
Than haue we wonne; and if that 3e led me,
Thanne haue we doo, for victour are 3e."

(Bk. IV, ll. 2138-2142)

Katherine and Aryot debate for four chapters the vital issues of Christian doctrine--the dual nature of Christ, the virgin birth, the Trinity, and original sin. As in Part II, however, it is not a conflict between two alternatives; pagan theology is presented only negatively and by implication. It is Katherine's faith that must be defended, and this gives her an instant advantage over her adversary. At the end of their debate, Katherine triumphs, and "Aryot stood stille as ony ston" (1.2301). With his personal conversion, the conversion of the entire assembly, both philosophers and populace (though not, of course, the king), is assured. And it is Aryot who, acknowledging that "we haue gon wrong euere on-to this day" (1.2305), puts the question, "This is my crede; felawes, what sey 3ee?" (1.2317), to which

Thei answerden all þat thei had now founde
 Thyng þat thei [had] sought alle her lif-dayes;
 This wil thei kepen now as a true grounde,
 ffor thei haue walked many perillous wayes,
 With veyne argumentis iangelynge [euer] as Iayes;
 (Bk. IV, 11.2318-2322)

Their response is followed by a general expression of repentance and a prayer for forgiveness, at the conclusion of which Capgrave observes, "Thus are thei conuerted; this conflicte is I-doo" (1.2339).

Structurally, the second debate, though similar to the first, is more carefully controlled. The tripartite division, the paralleling of the three speakers in the first and second parts, and the three conversions are neatly enough balanced to tempt an allegorical interpretation (e.g., in terms of the Trinity); but, as has been shown, the organization almost certainly reflects Capgrave's preoccupation with the inherently dramatic aspects of the debate itself. By allowing

the several tensions and conflicts in the narrative to determine his structure, Capgrave makes a successful fiction out of what would otherwise be little more than a theological tract. He has in fact shaped his material to create certain effects which suggest at least conscious artistic control. The total impact on the whole of The Life of St. Katherine is to vivify the character of Katherine herself. The ideals of beauty, virtue, and learning that are Katherine's natural attributes are fortified by the wisdom which accompanies her apologetics and these all coalesce in this portrait of her as defender of the faith. In converting the heathens, she doubtless strengthens her own convictions, and so is better prepared for the ordeals which lie ahead. The debate with the philosophers, then, is central to Katherine's life-story, and, coupled with its counterpart in Book II, it provides a fitting frame for the conversion of Katherine that is the apex of the poem.

V

The Life of St. Katherine is Capgrave's last and longest poem. It is also the most ambitious of his literary works in English. While it does not seriously advance his rank as a poet, the St. Katherine is a more sophisticated and polished work than The Life of St. Norbert, with which it must inevitably be compared. Whereas the St. Norbert is prosaic and episodic, the St. Katherine is carefully and climactically structured, and there is considerably more evidence of a conscious attempt to use poetic language, unimaginative though most of the figures of speech may be.

Despite Capgrave's alterations, the St. Norbert remains formless, without a centre for the 37 breaks in the narrative. On the other hand, the five books of the St. Katherine all have clearly defined themes, so that the structure at once orders the material and arranges it in a dramatic sequence. The accounts of Katherine's studies and genealogy and of her debate with her lords in the first two books include within them the motivation for the crisis of the third, her mystical conversion to Christianity, and then--in a manner which resembles the movement of later tragedies--the theological debate of the fourth book delays the climax of the passion which occupies the last book.

An attempt has been made to demonstrate how this organization, with the corresponding adjustments in the narrative that Capgrave was forced to make, affects the presentation of the story. Evidence has also been offered which clearly indicates that in the St. Katherine, Capgrave makes a much more liberal adaptation of his source material than he does in the St. Norbert. And there is no doubt that, however flat may be the characterization in the St. Katherine, the central character is more fully developed and realized on a more human scale than is Norbert. In fact, although she is not "humanized," Katherine does at times achieve a certain dynamic realism that makes her almost believable. The main source of accomplishment in the later poem, however, is in the treatment of narrative conflict, in which not only dialogue but inner tension work to produce a fictional interest that overrides the didactic intention of Capgrave's retelling of the story.

It is almost as if Capgrave himself became more involved in his Katherine and sought to give her a life-dimension within a conventional context. This may account for the fuller treatment accorded her, for not even the prose lives are as detailed and rounded as the St. Katherine.

In part, the gradual development of the main character and the more dramatic subject matter are responsible for the greater psychological interest of the St. Katherine. But, in addition, the events are given an expressionistic impact which those of the St. Norbert do not have. The debates which demonstrate Katherine's gradual change from heathen princess to Christian martyr may be taken as objective correlatives for her internal struggles with the conflicting ideologies; and, similarly, the concrete portrayal of her marriage is an objectification of her commitment to Christ. In the St. Norbert there is no such relation of the event to the psychological contest. Norbert's recall to the life God had ordained for him comes suddenly, without preparation, and thereafter he is a flat, unchanging character. If the reports of miracles which are the basis for most of the poem are interesting to the modern reader, it is because they show the agonizing effect of a belief in the powers of the forces of evil on medieval men, not because they reveal anything about the saint in whose honour they are told.

This argument still does not explain Capgrave's conscious decision to write the St. Katherine or the St. Norbert in poetry, and no amount of speculation on this question has suggested fruitful avenues for pursuit. Not even the known or proffered sources provide a

satisfactory answer, for the source of the St. Norbert was certainly not a poem, and, though Capgrave is vague about the source of the St. Katherine, it may well have been an alliterative prose life. In electing to cast both works in rime royal, Capgrave was probably doing no more than following contemporary examples; however, he may perhaps have been consciously experimenting, not with literary forms per se, but to find new ways of presenting and popularizing the moral teachings of the church. In other words, he may have chosen the form for the same reasons that he decided to write his saints' lives in the vernacular. Or, the St. Norbert and the St. Katherine may represent early tendencies in Capgrave that gave way to a later exclusive concentration on prose, though in this regard it should be remembered that he did not turn to the writing of English until his mid-forties. Whatever the explanation, it is difficult to make value-judgments of Capgrave's poetic accomplishments. His poetic writings, like his later prose works, have a certain literary (as opposed to historical) interest as extant examples of medieval writing, but they are not great creative and imaginative literature.

At the end of Book IV in The Life of St. Katherine, Capgrave says, "I loue no longe tale, euere hangynge in oon" (1.2283). The St. Katherine is 8,624 lines in length, almost equivalent to Paradise Lost. As such, it presents a great many problems and a great many avenues for exploration that have not been pursued in this chapter. The questions that have been dealt with have been concentrated on because they all bear on aspects of Capgrave's other writings in English which remain

to be considered. The Life of St. Katherine could easily, and perhaps should be the focus for a later and more thorough investigation.

The St. Norbert and St. Katherine are linked as joint productions from the first stage of Capgrave's English writings and as the two poetic saints' lives in an oeuvre containing two others in prose. In combination, they offer early examples of his use of the vernacular and extensive specimens of his poetry. They also provide an interesting contrast with the two prose lives which follow them chronologically and remain to be considered. In Capgrave's English writings, these two poems loom large, and they must figure prominently in any attempt to evaluate him as a writer.

Footnotes

* Internal references are to: John Capgrave, The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria, E.E.T.S., O.S. 100, ed. C. Horstmann (London, 1893). For the first three books, this text includes the versions found in both Bodl. MS. Rawlinson 116 and BM. MS. Arundel 396, and the quotations have been cited from the former as the closer to Capgrave's dialect. For the last two books, only the text of Arundel 396 is given.

¹ Ed. M.S. Serjeantson, E.E.T.S., O.S. 206 (London, 1938).

² See S. Moore's discussion of Bokenham's relations with his patrons in his article: "Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450," PMLA, XXVIII (1913).

³ Bokenham, p. 289.

⁴ John Bale, Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytanniae, quam nunc Angliam ac Scotiam vocant catalogus, I (Basle, 1557), 582.

⁵ Hippolyte Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, trans. D. Attwater (London, 1962), p. 89.

⁶ Francis Roth, The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538, I (New York, 1966), 192.

⁷ As translated from the Greek by E. Eickenel in his edition of the 12th Century West-Midland Life of St. Katherine, E.E.T.S., O.S. 80 (London, 1884), viii.

⁸ For a discussion of the way in which rhetorical techniques were applied to saints' lives, specifically to the lives of the martyrs, see Hippolyte Delehaye, Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires, 2nd ed. (Bruxelles, 1966).

⁹ Auvo Kurvinen, "The Source of Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LXI (1960), 278.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 315-319. Following this logic, the attribution of certain deviations from the Vulgate (Standard Latin) version and from Staneborn to Capgrave himself becomes uncertain; they may just as well have been the work of his predecessor.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 324.

¹²I reached this conclusion independently, but Theodor Wolpers agrees in his Die englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters (Tubingen, 1964), pp.331-333. He emphasizes also Capgrave's distinction between "oon arrek" (l. 173), "this arrek" (l. 199) for the author of the Latin life and the several uses of "þis preest" (ll. 47,54,71,204) for the author of the English version. And he points out (p. 332, n. 17) that Arrek may well be the Arechis to whom an early Latin version is attributed.

¹³A catalogue of the lines and the investigation of this possibility are beyond the scope of this chapter. Also, much more would have to be determined about Capgrave's own dialect before an authoritative statement could be made.

¹⁴Bk. I: ll. 314-315, 335-336, 357, 378, 471, 528, 554-560, 567, 633, 685, 783, 1034, 1042. Bk. II: Prologue, ll. 1, 3, 4, 6, 29, 57, 70. Bk. III: ll. 22, 56, 384, 1013, 1502. Bk. IV: ll. 35-36, 68, 193, 374, 435, 838-839, 1092, 2286-2287. Bk. V: Prologue ll. 2, 3.

¹⁵For other examples of such pieces of wisdom see Bk. I: ll. 430-432, 510-511, 609, 817, 820. Bk. III: ll. 365-369, 873-875, 934-938, 978-980, 1186-1187, 1282-1295, 1303-1308, 1424-1428. Bk. IV: Prologue, ll. 1-42 and ll. 180-191, 1560-1561, 2293-2296. Bk. V: ll. 332-334, 835-838, 944-945, 1368-1373.

¹⁶In Bokenham, for example, all of the early material on Katherine's noble ancestry, great beauty, and knowledge is summed up in 41 lines (ll. 6375-6415).

¹⁷Ed. C. d'Evelyn and A.J. Mill, E.E.T.S., O.S. 236 (London, 1956), 533.

¹⁸To compare the speakers here with the eleven in the Latin life would enlarge the chapter to unacceptable proportions. In Kurvinen's article the speakers and their arguments are summarized (pp. 281-282).

¹⁹This second debate has closer affinities with the Staneborn version in the order and names of speakers as well as in the arguments adduced. Capgrave's early insertion of statements that certain people were converted and his whole structure make the final effect of the English and Latin version quite different. See Kurvinen (pp. 288-293).

²⁰There the debate is reduced to Katherine's enunciation of Christian doctrine (ll. 6748-6795), the emperor's anger at the silent philosophers (ll. 6803-6807), and the confession of one, speaking for all, that they have been converted by Katherine's words (ll. 6810-6825).

²¹In this instance after Katherine tells of man's fall and redemption, she is questioned on the dual (God and man) nature of Christ and on his ignominious death before the conversion and martyrdom of the philosophers. (pp. 35-65).

CHAPTER V

THE LIFE OF ST. AUGUSTINE

I

In turning to prose saints' lives in 1451, Capgrave found a medium more compatible with his own natural inclinations towards biography, theology, and moral instruction. His poetic lives are by no means insignificant examples of the genre, but the exigencies of rhyme and poetic decoration are foreign in many ways to the training he had undergone, to his interest in academic and theological issues, and to the literal mind and austere character he seems to have possessed. The shift was fortuitous, too, for the discipline imposed as he adapted his Latin sources for a less educated audience in both The Life of St. Augustine and The Life of St. Gilbert reinforced the methods and principles which also control his last vernacular works.

There are several reasons why Capgrave might be expected to choose the life of St. Augustine of Hippo for a subject and why he was prepared to undertake it. To begin with, his order claimed to descend from the saint's original monastic establishment in Africa, and its members were governed by a rule they believed he had provided.¹ Moreover, since Augustine is one of the four great Latin fathers of the church, his theological opinions, as they appear in his own works and as they influenced later scholastic commentators, were heavily impressed upon any student who followed the divinity course as Capgrave did.

But, while his experience thus equipped Capgrave to adapt and expand his materials, he was not "meued" to compose this work by his own desires but by the request of an unnamed woman who happened to be born on Augustine's feast day.²

Because Augustine's influence is so pervasive, any material concerning him draws scholarly attention, and Capgrave's Life has been no exception. To date, however, the commentaries have been basically limited to the enumeration of contents and the identification of sources. In addition, since standard reference works do not yet correctly represent Capgrave's bibliography, the old error describing the Life of St. Augustine as an original composition, begun by its E.E.T.S. editor Munro in 1910 and perpetuated by Gerrould in his history of the saint's life, is retained in even the most recent general studies.³

One reason critical notice is minimal is that The Life of St. Augustine was virtually unknown until it passed to the British Museum from private hands in 1902.⁴ In fact, although as early as 1748, Thomas Tanner had seen Capgrave's own reference to a vernacular life while he was examining the Concordia and suggested that it was related to Capgrave's other lost works dealing with Augustine and the Augustinians,⁵ no other biographer mentions it.

Thirty-three years passed after the publication of Munro's edition before George Sanderlin and Rudolph Arbesmann separately and almost simultaneously identified Capgrave's source as Jordanus of Saxony's Vita S. Augustini.⁶ Certainly, the evidence of the parallel passages cited by Father Arbesmann seems conclusive, and, indeed, it

is borne out by detailed analysis. It is strange that the connection went so long unnoticed, for Jordanus was a prominent fourteenth century member of the Augustinian order, well-known for his executive ability, often given responsible assignments, and an important author besides.⁷ Although the Vita was not printed until 1686, several of Jordanus' homiletic works are incunabula, and the basic reference for Augustinian history, his Liber Vitasfratrum, was in print in 1587/88.

Perhaps those who had seen both versions failed to perceive the relationship because Capgrave's Life begins with a prologue and five chapters which do not appear in the Vita S. Augustini. The possibility that leaves are missing from the opening of Jordanus' work is unlikely for the whole codex deals with St. Augustine, his mother, and his writings; and the complete manuscript (Codex de l'Arsenal 251, Paris) is preserved in the author's own holograph.⁸ Therefore, the abrupt opening must be regarded as intentional; but, if Arbesmann's conjecture that Jordanus prepared this collection as a preliminary to his Vitasfratrum is correct,⁹ his divergence from the model of the longer Latin saint's life becomes explicable. Interested only in Augustine's literary and religious career, he ignores the saint's antecedents and birth and begins with the sixteen year old Augustine's desire for advanced rhetorical studies. Because this was not his purpose, Capgrave restored the early part of Augustine's history.

Well-acquainted with available materials, Jordanus relied on three lives by Possidius, D'Harvengt, and Dacius which he considered trustworthy in addition to a number of genuine and spurious works

attributed to Augustine.¹⁰ The careful selection and balance of materials evident in the Vita S. Augustini reveal that Jordanus and Capgrave were alike in their historical and concrete turn of mind as well as in education and career. In Jordanus' case, both the pedagogical technique of the divinity schools and the historian's desire for accuracy lay behind the identification of sources in phrases opening with Latin tags such as hec ipse or ut ipse; but the consistency of their use, like Capgrave's constant refusal to commit himself on uncertain issues, gives the piece a tone of detachment. This suggestion of a temperamental similarity between the two authors is increased by Jordanus' clear decision to omit or abbreviate descriptions of Augustine's philosophical and emotional struggles. Similarly, though here as elsewhere he is ready to add physical details, Capgrave tends to excise lyrical and abstract expressions.

There is more than one explanation possible for Capgrave's acquaintance with Jordanus' work. From the point of view of neatness, it is attractive to adopt Arbesmann's suggestion that Capgrave paused at the Paris convent during his journey to Rome and either made his translation of the Vita then or procured a copy to take with him. It is equally likely, however, that transcriptions were made and disseminated as Jordanus had requested¹¹ during the hundred and thirty years which separate the two versions. Indeed, other copies of the Vita do exist,¹² and many French friars who could have brought manuscripts with them came to the Oxford and Cambridge studia generalia.¹³

The second alternative has as a corollary, of course, the possibility that Capgrave's first five chapters may be the work of some unknown intermediary. Furthermore, as his treatment of his source for The Life of St. Gilbert vividly demonstrates, it was not Capgrave's habit to make major rearrangements of the material he was translating. He added commentaries and omitted passages, but he seldom altered the sequence of the narrative. Thus, the division of the material into chapters with descriptive headings and the fact that five of the chapters do not even correspond with the beginnings of new paragraphs in the Vita lend circumstantial weight to the theory that the transmission was not direct.¹⁴

Nevertheless, apart from the addition of the five new initial chapters giving an account of Augustine's birthplace, parentage and early schooling, and two later ones (12 and 24), all mainly derived from the Confessions, the Latin and English versions are basically congruent. Chapters six, seven and eight concern his studies in Carthage and his nine-year adherence to the Manichean heresy; and chapters nine to twenty-four narrate the events of Augustine's sojourn in Italy, his reputation as a rhetorician, his conversion, his first compositions, and his decision to return to Africa. Of the remainder, three (26, 41, and 42) describe Augustine's writings; five (36-40), his characteristic behaviour and demeanour; and thirteen continue the biography with the institution of the various monasteries, his advancement to the episcopacy, and, finally, his death during the Vandalic invasions.

II

Such differences as the physical division of the contents and the inclusion of seven new chapters can be seen on the surface, but close analysis also reveals a wide range of minor deviations and alterations which change the direction of the work. The fact that the primary audience was a woman, educated enough to read the vernacular but not even a member of a religious community, gave Capgrave further reason to remove the scholarly apparatus. He would have regarded the citation of secondary sources as irrelevant to her education and his own purpose. Therefore, while Capgrave retains many of the references to Augustine's own works, he excises all those to Possidius and the Legenda Famosa along with the hec ibi ipse tags following quotations from Augustine's sermons.¹⁵ There is only a single inconsistency in his practice;¹⁶ otherwise, apart from occasions where he inserts his own notes from Augustine's work, there are only five pieces of documentation not found in the Latin. Moreover, as these additions cite Gregory's Dialogues, the Psalms and the Pauline epistles,¹⁷ all well-known in the middle ages, they suggest an author working to increase his audience's sense of familiarity with the material.

Similarly, where Jordanus gives the titles of several sermons or quotes Augustine's works to document his generalizations, Capgrave often reduces the number of examples or makes a summary comment. In most instances, only one or two sentences disappear,¹⁸ and the one long omission of this kind shows Capgrave critically choosing to avoid

repetition. In place of more than three pages (p. 54,1.2 - p. 57,1.19) filled with Augustine's own statements concerning the establishment of his three monasteries, all of which repeat details recorded earlier in the Vita from the chronicler's reports, Capgrave's Life has only:

Many þingis myht we plant in here, who þat he loued bettyr þe
felauchip of þe heremites þan of þe prestis in þe cathedral cherch,
and what grucching þe same prestis made a-geyn þis affeccion, but
all þis I ley be-side and wil procede to þe opir part of his lif.
(p. 44,1.35 - p. 45,1.4)

before returning to the narrative.

If Capgrave's sensitivity to the needs of his audience is a reasonable explanation for these two large groups of excisions, it probably also accounts for most of the additions he makes. All these elaborations tend to deflect the main course of the narrative, but before examining the precedents for such disruptions, their various forms must be examined. In all his works Capgrave digresses to define ecclesiastical terms; here he also interrupts the narrative to define the contents of Augustine's works, to explain the beliefs of various heretical groups, and, indeed, to insert asides whose pertinence is not always immediately clear.

Certainly, Jordanus would not have felt such elaborations necessary, for he made his collection while resident in one of the order's studia generalia and intended it for his own later use and for his fellow friars, most of whom underwent intensive theological training and were, therefore, familiar not only with technical terms but also with the subject matter of the major theologians' works. However, Capgrave's less-educated audience would not have found the mere

translation of Latin terms and the catalogues of writings into English illuminating. Thus, if he wished these portions to be instructive, as he so obviously did, Capgrave had to elaborate.

All of the examples show that Capgrave intended his definitions to be objective; they never become speculative or abstract. However, his concreteness was not the result of his natural proclivity for the literal alone. First, Capgrave apparently thought that description of philosophical arguments would have been inappropriate, for when he mentions Augustine's "þe quantite of þe soule," he says "sotil þinggis ar touched which long not to þis maner of wryting þat is cleped narratyf" (p. 31, ll. 19-20). A similar, though less explicit statement occurs several pages earlier: "Mech mor þing is touchid in þis book, speciali of þe knowlech of God, which þing as now we may not declar" (p. 24, ll. 14-15). Moreover, he believed that it was dangerous to expose the unlearned to heretical opinions which they might not be able to combat. When he first refers to the Manichees, for example, he says, "Many mo heresies held þei which were ful perilous to be rehersed, specialy in our tonge" (p. 9, ll. 32-33). Such a fear was common, and for Capgrave it was reinforced by the many attempts to suppress Lollardy in his time.¹⁹

In addition to these more general issues, of course, Capgrave had the particular needs of his patroness as a guide. Her desire to have a translation of the Vita attests to her piety, but it also suggests that she would not have been familiar with the details Capgrave explains. Moreover, theological questions were not the

usual concern of a mid-fifteenth century "gentill woman"; she need only accept and adhere to the orthodox views. Therefore, not feeling that he had any reason to argue or explain philosophy, Capgrave simply stated errors and gave summaries of undefined terms.

The clearest cases of explanatory elaboration involve simple definitions. There are only two in The Life of St. Augustine;

"cathecume":

. . . a cathecume is as mech to seye as a newe receyuour of þe feith; for in elde tyme men had certeyn dayes assined be-twix her conuercion and here baptem þat þei myth lerne wel þe articules of our feith or þei wer bounde þerto. And so schuld men do now, as I suppose; if þei schuld be baptizid as þat age.

(p. 9,11.1-5)

and "fluctuacion":

Fluctuacion calle we her whan a man is broute fro an euel entent, and get þe same man stand in study wheithir he schal to þe good wey or nowt. In þis plith stood our Austyn.

(p. 16,11.20-22)

Interestingly, neither is the mere exegetical interruption that those in The Life of St. Gilbert are. Instead, the final sentence of each digression serves to reintegrate the commentary into the main flow of the narrative, in the first instance by relating the event to the reader; in the second, by drawing attention to Augustine again. Similarly, when he expands the reference to Ambrose's sermon on the incarnation, Capgrave includes a definition but makes it subordinate to the theological principle; "who þat for þe special loue which he had to mankynde he disdeyned not to take þe flesch and blood of man with all þe infirmities; saue synne" (p. 15,11.9-12).

The expansions associated with the titles of Augustine's works are much like the definitions. Though his alterations are not consistent with any discernible principles, Capgrave seldom uses a title without additional commentary. Apart from the Latin sermons, which he apparently regarded as a group and whose incipits he seldom translates,²⁰ Capgrave either gives only a Latin or an English title followed by a brief comment or he gives both and furnishes a longer note.

When the Latin alone appears, the summary of the subject which follows is, in fact, no more than a free and enlarged translation of the title.²¹ Nevertheless, in doing so, Capgrave does provide his lay reader with important information.²² On the other hand, Capgrave's additions are less integral to the subject when he uses only English. Possibly a lay person would not know that the Sermon on the Mount contained the Pater Noster, and Capgrave's expansion (p. 42, ll. 18-20) is not mere prolixity. However, his remarks on "of musik" (p. 35, ll. 2-14), "of þe quantite of þe soule" (p. 31, ll. 17-20), and "of þe Trinite" (p. 56, ll. 3-7)--interesting though they are as asides on literature and education--are not connected with the main direction or intention of the narrative.²³

Precisely the same distinction between the extraneous and the significant must also be made for his comments on the third group of titles, those containing both the Latin and an English translation. In every case, of course, the literal translation is useful, but only one of the additions is pertinent per se. Moreover, the kinds of irrelevance vary. For example, since De Pulchro et Apto was already lost in

Augustine's time, Capgrave did not know it, and he could only elaborate by rationalizing the loss:

. . . his bokes which he mad aftir he was cristen be more in deynthe pan þoo which he mad be-fore.

(p. 12,11.12-13)

Similarly, he had not seen De Achademicis,²⁴ and so he used the assumed derivation of the title for the centre of his development (p. 23,11.24-29).

On the other hand, though he had more knowledge of the three works in this group which are related to the two major themes of this version of Augustine's life, his activities as a defender of the faith against heretics and his role in the establishment of religious orders, Capgrave did not markedly change his treatment. Only with De Libero Arbitrio where he notes the Manichean belief in co-eternal principles of good and evil does he focus on a primary issue. In the case of De Moribus Manicheorum et De Moribus Ecclesie Catholici, he discusses the licentiousness of the heretics (p. 31,11.12-15), and his addition to Jordanus' description of De Opere Monachorum is a purely digressive account of the altered meaning of the word "monk" (p. 54,1.26 - p. 55,1.7).

The same lack of a concern for absolute relevance seems to prevail in other additions. Some, like the brief statements on the opinions of the Arian, Donatist, Pelagian, and Manichean heretics²⁵ are not objectionable, for combatting such opinions was Augustine's concern; some, like the list of Roman gods (p. 56,1.12), are too brief to be disruptive; others, however, like the pause to give the etymology and

location of Hostie (p. 31,11.31-33) and the passages on the origin of the Barbarian tribes (p. 58,11.18-27) or Carthage's importance as a trading city (p. 34,11.5-8), are by length alone too prominent to be read over or dismissed.

The reason for what seems an undisciplined and irrational style on the surface begins to become apparent in the examination of the remaining short explanatory additions. Capgrave's constant aim is to clarify the meaning of his source. Thus, he stops to make certain that the importance of an event is not overlooked and that it is correctly interpreted, either to clear up a possible ambiguity before a question arises, or simply to make details more precise.

In the first category, for example, where Jordanus is satisfied to report the circumstances of Augustine's moves to Rome and Milan, Capgrave adds passages to show that God's providence, not fate, lay behind the decision (p. 13,11.19-21; p. 14,1.27). Similarly, he explains why Augustine used notaries when he debated with heretics (p. 42,11.3-5), why Faustus was called to argue with Augustine (p. 12,11.16-25), why God allowed Augustine to suffer illness (p. 25,11.2-3), and why Ambrose composed hymns (p. 27,11.10-16).

Occasionally, too, Capgrave foresees possible ambiguities and seeks to forestall them. Thus, because there might be some question about Augustine's right to make his first monastic establishment when he was not yet in holy orders himself, Capgrave states (p. 34,11.23-25) that some of the hermits Augustine brought to Africa with him were priests. Later, when Jordanus notes that the hermits were permitted

to preach and receive confession, Capgrave, perhaps mindful of charges of abuse in his own time, adds "not alle, but þoo which were lerned in diuinite and custumablely used in good lyf" (p. 41, ll. 10-11).²⁶

Finally, Capgrave lengthens certain passages in order to make the stages of a process more clear or to make details more precise. Thus, for example, following the attribution of the Te Deum jointly to Ambrose and Augustine, Capgrave explains, "Ambrose be-gan þe first vers, and Augustin þe secund, and þus þei said it to an ende" (p. 25, ll. 35-36). On many other occasions, the extra detail is only a clarifying phrase. Thus, when Jordanus refers to Augustine's desire to leave his school and notes that it is fall, Capgrave adds "whan skole is wone to cese." (p. 23, l. 11); so, too, though the seven psalms which Augustine reads constantly while he awaits death would obviously be the penitential psalms, leaving no room for error, Capgrave says, "þoo same which we rede with þe Letanye" (p. 60, ll. 4-5).

Before any positive statement of some principle governing Capgrave's composition is made, one further substantial group of additions must be taken into account. Since all of these involve enlarged descriptions of other figures in the Life, it is tempting to credit Capgrave with a desire to humanize his central figure by making his associates more vivid. Such a conclusion would, however, distort the quality of Capgrave's work in favour of modern standards of realism in characterization unknown to him and directly opposed not only to his own aim but to the general purpose of the genre. Even allowing that the portrait of St. Augustine still fails to achieve more than two

dimensions after all of Capgrave's changes, it can be shown that the new statements are directed outwards to instruct the reader rather than inwards to reflect facets of Augustine's character.

When Capgrave unites Simplician and Ambrose, the bishop of Milan, Augustine's two chief guides through his conversion, by adding that the bishop both supported the hermit during his life (p. 19,1.1) and chose him as his successor (p. 19,1.3-5), he is interested not in their relationship to Augustine but in them as further examples of the holy life, and his purpose here is consistent with the other additions he makes when they are mentioned. His method is similar when he elaborates on the activities of Augustine's various contemporaries who were closely associated with him. When he describes Poncian's visit to Alipius and Augustine, Capgrave propounds a general moral precept--"cam on-to hem to se her welfar, as þe maner of men is which he bore in straunge cuntre and dwelle fer fro hom" (p. 20,1.2-3)--instead of elaborating the character presented. Moreover, the lengthy passages on Alipius' seizure for theft (p. 17, 1.20 - p. 18,1.24) and Vitalis' discovery of a bag of gold (p. 30,1.5-27) neither provide insight into personality nor relate to the main themes of the Life. Capgrave says the purpose of the first event was "for to lerne him which schuld be aftirward a iuge of mennes soules in þe cherch þat he schuld not deme ouyr sone of signes outward" (p. 18,1.22-24), and of the second to teach "What-so-euer þou fyndist and gyuyst not a-geyn, þou stelist" (p. 30,1.26-27). Coming as they do at the end of the incidents, these are certainly statements of ethical principles to the reader rather than relevant

comments on the characters concerned.

This didactic tone which was not present in Jordanus' work is even more emphatically revealed in Capgrave's last major series of changes--the elevation to prominence of Augustine's mother, Monica. The alterations are so many and so thoroughgoing that there can be no doubt that they were intended to increase Monica's role; and it may well be that Capgrave set out to provide a figure with whom his patroness could identify. What Monica becomes is an ideal of resolute piety in feminine form, and the traits Capgrave chooses to enlarge from the basic portrait are her grief for her son when he is in a degenerate state, her joy at his conversion, and her own deep and abiding faith.

In those early chapters which have no parallel in Jordanus' Vita, Capgrave fixes the characterization; and no elements enter later to alter or complicate it. In chapter two he says,

... sche was a cristen woman fro hir childhold, and norchid in
 be best condiciones and most plesaunt to God and to man.
 (p. 4, 11.20-22)

and the major portion of the third chapter is devoted both to the good effects which the "governauns" and "moderacion" naturally found in such a woman have on her husband, other local matrons, and her mother-in-law and also to her desire to see her children become good Christians. It is this last aspect, chiefly manifested in her concern for Augustine, that Capgrave intensifies in later chapters.

To obtain his ends, Capgrave either expands with additional details and direct speech while excising Jordanus' more generalized statements, isolates Monica by placing her activities in separate

chapters, or combines these two methods. Often the elaborations themselves seem slight but the change in tone is marked. For example, in the description of Augustine's riotous behaviour during his student days in Carthage, both the Latin and English lines contrast the responses of his parents. However, whereas Jordanus notes that Augustine dismissed his mother's admonitions as those of an old woman, at ille matris monita quasi anicularia reputans (p. 15, ll. 8-9), Capgrave ignores this denigration and instead emphasizes Monica's own feelings as she rebukes her son "with ful sad countenauns" (p. 8, l. 29). So, too, the changes in the account of her daily devotions after Augustine deceives her and leaves for Rome, though they amount only to a spelling out of ideas implicit in the Latin, place greater stress on the fact that all her actions are directed towards procuring the spiritual well-being of her son.²⁷

Though the relationship between mother and son is obviously assumed to be a close one, it is never Monica's emotions which Capgrave develops. Instead, he demonstrates her natural wisdom and acceptance. For Jordanus, De Beata Vita is a scholastic topic separated from his immediate subject, and he summarizes the discussion in the phrase et tandem diffinitum est inter eos quod beata uita non nisi in dei cognicione consistit (p. 29, ll. 10-11). Capgrave, on the other hand, not only corrects the reported definition in accordance with Augustine's actual words in his book--"All þe cumpany saue his moder saide it is a blessed lyf a man for to haue all þat he desireth" (p. 24, ll. 10-11); he also adds Monica's pious amendment, "he hath a blessed lyf which hath

al þat he desirith and eke þat he desire no-þing but good þing"

(p. 24,11.12-14). Her own belief in this premise is expressed in the short addition to the beginning of Chapter 21. There Jordanus reports only that Monica was the cause of Augustine's decision to return to Africa, instigante eius pia matre (p. 34,11.16-17), while Capgrave adds, "for sche had all her desire which sche desired in þis world whan sche wist þat he was a trewe cristen man" (p. 29,11.12-13).

Chapter 24 is the only one dealing with Monica which is new to Capgrave's life, but even here the prayer given by Augustine emphasizes not his sorrow or sense of loss at her death, but rather her purity in life:

Thi seruaunt, Lord, whom þou hast now take on-to þi mercy, as þou knowist & as I be-leue, aftir þat tyme þat sche had take þi feith and þi baptem; sche defouled neuer hir lippis with no vnclennesse which schuld be offense on-to þi lordchip; no lesingis wer founde in hir tonge, no slaunder, no vice which longith on-to þat membir. . . . Sche bond hir soule on-to þe prys of thi blod whil sche lyued, for þere was no day left but sche wold be present where þe sacrificise and þe memory of þi holy blod schuld be had in mynde.
(p. 33,11.12-17, 27-30)

The other four chapters (7, 9, 11 and 23) are all set off at least by paragraph divisions in the Vita, but they become testaments of Monica's faith and piety as Capgrave makes his characteristic expansions. The additions to Chapter seven, for example, provide illustrations of the three traits which dominate this portrait. The first reinforces the portrayal of her grief over Augustine by describing her appearance, "with ful heuy cher" (p. 10, 1.14); the second repeats her single, guiding desire, "þat sche hoped for to se him a trewe cristen man or sche deyid" (p. 10,11.22-23); and the last reiterates her constant

efforts on her son's behalf, "witȝ many menes and many exhortaciones was biȝi nyth and day to bring him fro þis mischef" (p. 10,11.7-8). Moreover, Capgrave emphasizes her steadfastness as he explains, "Thus was þe woman in her consolacion stabil and coude not be led oute for hir trewe beleue with no sophisticacion þat hir son coude make" (p. 10,11.29-31). Finally, he excises the unfavourable suggestion found in the Latin that her importuning was tedious to the bishop (p. 18,1.1).

Obviously, any work whose surface presents such eclecticism lacks unity and co-ordination of theme by prevailing aesthetic criteria. And even if it is granted that nearly every addition can somehow be justified, their collective effect is nevertheless stylistically digressive, disruptive, and indiscriminate to the modern reader; and if they are to be seen as anything more than the *minutiae* of detail collected by the voracious scholar and trained exegete, some artistic method, principle, or precedent must lie behind them.

It is a commonplace that even a literate person in the middle ages heard rather than read much of the literature with which he came in contact and that, therefore, he did not demand the kind of precision so highly regarded by the modern reader. Further, as a genre, the saint's life itself tended to derive its internal unity from the eulogistic purpose of glorification, not from some controlling theme or thesis regarding the saint's personality or career. While many of them, like Capgrave's Life of St. Gilbert, are extremely disorganized, both author and reader allowed the introduction of diverse elements

because all redounded to the saint's honour; for the same reason the apparent lack of plan was not disturbing. Thus, though Jordanus' Vita tends to be seen as unified because it follows a chronological order, in reality the continual focus on Augustine provides the centre which a plethora of quotation and citation of authorities cannot disrupt.

There is only one medieval genre which characteristically exhibits the particular combination of disruptive exegesis and moral exhortation found in Capgrave's Life--the sermon. It is precisely the appearance of this secondary motive, the preacher's desire to explain, which describes how Capgrave's work differs from the typical saint's life, and the following discussion will demonstrate that to call his technique disunified is to be governed by modern principles rather than by an understanding of the traditions within which he worked.

It is not necessary to repeat the explanation of the pedagogical method given in the biographical chapter, but a brief comment on and an illustration from the contemporary vernacular sermon will make clear that such diversions from the narrative path would seem natural both to Capgrave, as a trained exegete and preacher, and to his reader. Many of the preserved Middle English sermons are as brief as the martyrologies, with their abbreviated accounts of the acts and passions of the saints, and they shed little light on Capgrave's style. However, sermons could also be, and academic ones were expected to be, highly structured.

Basically, this structuring consists of the elaboration and iteration of the main theme of the day--a Biblical text, the reasons

for observing the feast, or praise of a saint. The formal arrangements recommended in theoretical works²⁸ are seldom present in their totality in vernacular examples, but their influence is observable throughout. The effect of any of the preferred means of discussion--exempla, the four-fold method of exposition, logical argument, and word definition--is essentially static; the intended reference, the object of the digression, is always to get back to the original text after explaining it more fully; and thus, though there has been development, there has been no advance. Even when the major part of such a sermon is a saint's life, the narrative element is frequently checked by moral applications or admonitions, and it ultimately ends with an exhortation. In such cases the story, which itself is not the primary concern, remains subordinate to the ethical issues being presented.

A good example of the developed vernacular sermon is one on Christ's Ascension included in John Mirk's Festial.²⁹ After the initial announcement of the feast day and the explanation that this is why a light has been removed from the choir, the preacher describes Christ's final appearance to his disciples and the ascension. Here "to stegh up" (i.e., rise) becomes the keynote, and it is repeatedly used to recall the main text; but before the details of the ascension are given, a mention of the Mount of Olives calls forth a four-line digression on its suitability as a location since olive oil "by tokenybe mercy." Then follow references to the angelic choir and the speed of the ascension accompanied by an interjection on Rabanus Maurus' calculation of the distance, a calculation which is scorned on the grounds that "he pat

metype þis way, he can best telle þe myles and þe lengþe of hom"
(p. 152, ll. 26-28).

The preacher then gives two more details--Christ was accompanied by souls rescued from Hell and his wounds were fresh--before inserting Bede's five reasons why Christ appeared with his wounds still fresh. Then he moves to two additional reasons for man to rejoice on this occasion; he now has a "trew avoket" in heaven, and it increases his "dignyte" to have one of his own kind sit at the right hand of God. Returning to the narrative, he notes the marvelling of the lesser angels at the explanations of the higher orders, and at length he returns to the still upward-gazing disciples with whom his sermon began. And, finally, he exhorts his parishioners to ask mercy of Christ and provides one example of prayer rewarded.

Nowhere, of course, does Capgrave introduce such a disproportionate amount of digression into his narrative; but sermons like this one indicate that a model for his frequent lists of reasons or causes, for his interruptions on Alipius, Vitalis, Victorine, and for the prayer on Monica's death was ready to hand. Such a blending of purposes and techniques helps to explain Capgrave's method of composition in all of his English works, but more remains to be said specifically of his prose style.

III

It may seem at the outset that The Life of St. Augustine is not the best work to discuss in this context, for it is a relatively close

translation, and, as such, it is governed largely by the style of the Vita. However, since all four of Capgrave's saint's lives are translations and only this one source is extant in its entirety and in the same prose medium, it provides the soundest basis for studying any differences between his style in it and in the original compositions. In addition, translations from Latin and French comprise a large proportion of the extant literary prose of this transitional period, and measuring Capgrave's skill as a translator in a sense provides an index to his talent for prose.

The major contribution of medieval translation, as Workman sees it, was the shift from the composition of single phrases and clauses, frequently resulting in such structural anomalies as changed subject and lack of parallelism, to organization by broader, more complex units.³⁰ Further, he establishes and demonstrates as a general rule that skill in complex sentences is directly proportional to the literalness of translation.³¹ Interestingly, however, Workman singles out Capgrave's Life of St. Gilbert as an exception, wherein the style often improves rather than degenerates when the source is treated freely.³² The next chapter will show that Capgrave's source was not in fact the exact text Workman supposed, but the generalization he makes is confirmed by an examination of The Life of St. Augustine.

The praise inherent in this judgment by no means implies that Capgrave is never guilty of Latinisms or that his subordination and coordination are always perfect. There are a number of examples of

incorrect or awkward structure based on a too literal translation. On the final page, for example, with "standyng his breperin about him, and commendyng his soul to God, he 3ald" (p. 60, ll. 14-15), the ablative absolute which so often caused English translators difficulties leads Capgrave into a dangling modifier whose meaning is ambiguous. Elsewhere, however, he easily turns such constructions into "with" phrases. Secondly, the automatic urge to supply the missing personal pronouns for Latin verbs often leaves Capgrave with a pleonastic pronoun insertion. Some of these are as simple as "Seynt Ambrose, whan he lay at his last ende . . ." (p. 51, ll. 15) from Beatus enim ambrosius cum in extremis esset . . . (p. 67, ll. 6); but most are complicated by the intervention of modifiers between the subject and the pleonastic repetition. Occasionally, these modifiers occur in the Latin as when Capgrave adds an extra "pei" in translating ut et ipsi qui centum annorum sunt et amplius, pater noster sedendo in lectulo dicant (p. 64, ll. 3-5) as "pat pei pat drawe to þe age of a hundred 3ere, pei schal sitte stille in her beddis and sey her Pater-noster" (p. 49, ll. 24-25). More often, however, it is Capgrave himself who introduces the modification of the subject, and as he fails to excise the repetition, he reveals in these places at least that the characteristic unit composition was still very much a feature of his style.³³ Similarly, the awkward placement of some of the other modifiers derives from the Latin. For example, "Faderles childyrn and widowes whan þei wer in ony tribulacion he wold visite" (p. 48, ll. 31-32) comes from Pupillos et viduas in tribulacione constitutos et egrotantes

postulatus visitabat . . . (p. 62,11.17-18),³⁴ but many are his own afterthoughts disrupting the flow of the sequence.

On the other hand, the very errors he makes in changing structures or adding parallel members show Capgrave's conscious desire for subordination and thus mark him as a prominent transitional figure. Removing the rhetoric of Augustine's sermon In omnibus operibus vestris by abbreviating the numquid series (p. 34,11.4-12), for instance, Capgrave fails in parallelism; the two sentences Numquid non ipsi vere pauperes? . . . Numquid non mundum et pompes eius concu- cauerunt? become "Be not þei very pore men in Crist, and for his loue have for sakyn al þis world?" (p. 28,11.32-33). The tension between the old and new methods is sometimes evident too when Capgrave tries to subordinate a series of events which he perceives as having a casual relationship to the following statement and finds he cannot extricate himself from the structure which he has begun. One example is the translation of

. . . ipse simplicianus . . . audiuit famam celeberrimam de augustini sapientia et eius admirabili doctrina, eumque episcopum esse factum. Propter quod sibi misit quasdam questiones subtiles de sacra scriptura soluendas.

(p. 70,11.12-17)

as

And whanne he herd sey þat Augustin was bischop at Ypone and famed þorw þe world as for þe grettest labourer in study and þe grettest dissoluer of qwestionos þat was leuand, --heryng al þis he sent to him certeyn questiones . . .

(p. 54,11.6-10, italics added)

Later, Capgrave uses the same structure when he sees Augustine's final sickness as the result of the destruction the barbarian invaders

brought to Africa (p. 58,1.33 - p. 59,1.5).

Thus, obvious as some of these errors are, they are all evidence of concern with prose style. Moreover, smooth rehandling and skifull transition are much more common marks of Capgrave's translation. The omissions and additions discussed earlier resulted from the differences in Capgrave and Jordanus' purposes, but there are two groups of changes which are primarily stylistic: transitional introductions to chapters and re-arrangement of material on more logical bases.

As has already been shown, the only chapter break which does not seem immediately necessary is that between chapters fourteen and fifteen; and even then, the former recounts the event which provides the impulse for Augustine's final acceptance of the orthodox faith in the latter. More important, however, is the fact that in eighteen of the thirty-eight openings Capgrave introduces some transitional statement. Of the remainder, eleven already contained an expression of time in the Latin, chiefly inter hec, post hec, eo tempore, or interea (chapters 6, 10, 11, 14, 19, 30, 32, 41, 43, 44, 45) and in six more cases the time and place are stationary (chapters 15, 22, 36, 37, 38 and 39).

The transitions Capgrave makes are of four kinds. In the opening sentences of chapters 7, 9, 13, 21 and 33, Capgrave supplies the reason for the actions or feelings of the person who is the subject. Thus, while the Latin says only Mater autem eius pro eo multum flebat . . . (p. 16,1.15), Capgrave gives the cause of Monica's grief--"His modir, whan sche herd þat he was falle on-to þis heresie,

sche wept . . ." (p. 10,11.5-6, italics added). At the beginnings of chapters 23, 25, 26, 27 and 31, on the other hand, he reiterates the main events of the preceding chapter. Sometimes he is merely expanding a condensation in the Latin, as when Quibus peractis . . . (p. 38,1.16) becomes "Whann his moder was ded and byried at Hostie, as we seid be-for . . ." (p. 34,11.3-4); sometimes he provides a new summary of what went before, as "Dwellyng þus in his own possession he wrot . . ." (p. 34,11.31-32) or "Thus lyued our maystir in holy study and contemplation . . ." (p. 35,1.22). Thirdly, Capgrave has a group of openings which suggest the passage of time; two chapters (34 and 42) use a phrase comparable to the Latin ones previously cited (p. 43,1.31, and p. 56,11.5-6) as a relevant aside. Two of the others (16 and 17) begin with a new statement focusing on Augustine's changed habit of mind, and chapter 28 makes the shift to the establishment of the monasteries with the bishop's help less abrupt by stating that "He had not longe dwelt at Ypone or he fel in aqweyntauns of Valery, . . ." (p. 36,11.32-33). Into the fourth group fall the openings of chapters 8, 18, 35 and 40, only the second of which, giving the history of his liaison with Adeodatus' mother, seems altered for transitional purposes. The other three reflect Capgrave's own reading of the work before him, and all are minor.³⁵

It is the freedom from slavish literalness these changes indicate which is the dominant feature of Capgrave's prose and which suggests his assurance as he works. The preceding examples illustrate the ways Capgrave amplified or reduced his source, changes he

introduced to improve transition, and occasional failures as he tried to increase subordination. Further examples will demonstrate more clearly how the improvements overshadow failures.

Both large-scale revision and minor alterations figure in these changes; most often they are towards concreteness and conversational tone, leaving less to be inferred by the reader. Two variations he makes in the report of Monica's visit to the African bishop (p. 10,1.31 - p. 11,1.23) serve to illustrate his techniques. First, Capgrave reduced the finite verbs and adds nouns so that legendo et intellegendo quam fugienda esset cognovi et fugi (p. 17,11.22-23) becomes "with long redyng of her bokes, I aspied þat it was a secte rather to be fled than folowid" (p. 11,11.15-16). The nouns make the actual activity more concrete and the other changes both emphasize the perception of error and support it with alliteration of parallel forms. Second, with his repetition of the dismissal and explanation of the metaphor filius . . . tantarum lacrimarum, Capgrave makes the final speech more colloquial.³⁶

The same principle of change towards concreteness, homeliness, expansion and moral exhortation which is evident in these examples, is also apparent in longer passages in The Life of St. Augustine. Thus, a large section of chapter 36 is altered. The single Latin sentence with careful parallelism and antecedent reference,

Religiosis quippe honeste matus, secularibus vero mature iocundus aderat, ut illos in sanctitate cepta exemplo sui confirmaret et istos ad sanctitatem congrua hilaritate inuitaret.

(p. 59,11.5-9)

becomes four with equal structural balance, the additional length deriving only from a care that his meaning be comprehended.

To religious men and women he was in his exhortaciones sad and sobir, zeuyng hem grete ensauple who bei schuld do. To othir seculer men þat were occupied in þe world he was familiar, and in his talkyng had on-to hem in maner of mery langage with stedfast cher of sadnesse. The o puple coumforted he with sad talking to conferme hem in her holinesse. The oþir puple gadered he on-to a perfeccion with goostly myrth and deuoute iocundnesse.

(p. 46,11.9-16)

A similar re-organization occurs at the beginning of chapter 43 (p. 57,11.10-18) where Capgrave presents Augustine's three reasons for re-reading and revising his works in parallel form while the Latin has a less logical structure (p. 73,11.8-15).

Finally, there are instances where Capgrave considers the rhetorical effect as he translates and re-orders his passage accordingly. For example, while he rejected the numquid series in his translation of one of Augustine's sermons as too shortened and abrupt, in this example Capgrave not only adds two iterations of the verb came, he also moves the verb to the beginning of his sentences, and divides the third sentence of the Latin so that the repetition becomes more prominent.

Ego, sacerdotes dei altissimi, ut multi vestrum viderunt et audire potuerunt, veni ad hanc ciuitatem cum karissimis meis amicis, euodio, simplicio, alipio, nebridio et anastasio. Securus denique ueni quia sciebam presulari sanctum senem valerium. Propterea securus accessi non ut haberem in uos potestatem, sed ut abiectus essem in domo domini omni diebus uite mee, non ut ministrari deberem, sed ministrare et pacifice uiuere optabam in solitudine,

(p. 42,11.4-12, italics added)

and

As 3e know, *I cam on-to bis cyte* with my welbeloued frendis Euodio, Simplicio, Alipio, Nebridio & Anastasio. *I cam hidir* with a maner of sikirnesse, for I wist wel þat þe good fader Valerius was bischop her. *I cam hidyr*, not for to haue powere ouyr 3ou in dignite, but for to dwelle as an outcast in þe hous of our Lord all þe dayes of my lyf. *I cam hidir*, not for to receyue seruyse of oper men, but for to lyue pesibily in desert with my breþerin.

(p. 37, 11.5-12, italics added)

Such examples from the one work which can be compared to its source show that Capgrave was a careful composer despite his lapses and, above all, that he was aware of his audience. Such features of his style as the exegetical elaborations, translations, and references to authority figure in all of the prose works. But the differences in the nature of their sources and in the persons to whom they were directed make their surface effects highly varied. Thus, The Life of St. Gilbert was clearly meant for readers familiar with the subject; and The Solace of Pilgrims and The Chronicle of England were just as surely not written with any specific audience in mind.

Footnotes

* Internal references to Jordanus' Vita are from C.L. Smetana's 1948 M.A. thesis which contains a transcript; those to Capgrave's Life are from E.E.T.S., O.S., 140, ed. J.J. Munro (London, 1910). This volume contains both of the prose lives and the text is based on the only surviving manuscript, Capgrave's holograph, BM. Add. MS. 36704.

¹ Augustine is now believed to have been the author of a very brief rule, but the much more detailed one under which Capgrave lived had a complex history of transmission.

² In the prologue to The Life of St. Augustine, Capgrave refers to his patroness only as "a gentill woman . . . browt forth in-to þis world in [Augustine's] solempne feste" (p.1,11.15-16,22). She is tentatively identified by C.L. Smetana as a generosa femina, Katherina James, grandmother of the Edmund Rede whom Capgrave formally recognized as the Lynn convent's founder during his term as provincial. No confirmation is possible for this conjecture, and, indeed, if the woman did belong to this family of benefactors, the date of composition makes it more likely that she was Rede's mother or wife.

³ See for example, T. Wolpers, Die Englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters (Tubingen, 1964), p. 405.

⁴ Ed. J.J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S., 140 (London, 1910), xi.

⁵ Bibliotheca britannico-hibernica: sive De scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt (London, 1748), p. 152.

⁶ George Sanderlin, "John Capgrave Speaks Up for the Hermits," Speculum, III (1943) 358-362 and Rudolph Arbesmann, "Jordanus of Saxony's Vita S. Augustini: The Source of John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine," Traditio, I (1943), 341-353. Of these, Sanderlin's brief article is less crucial, for its major purpose is to suggest that both Jordanus and Capgrave were motivated by an urge to press their order's claim to predate the Augustinian canons regular. Certainly in this longstanding dispute which ended only at papal command in 1484, the two friars would have supported their own group's opinion. On the other hand, neither the Latin nor the English version is argumentative in tone, and while there are a number of passages asserting Augustine's preference for the ascetic life he shared with his first chosen companions over the episcopal life where his closest associates were the recently instituted prototypes of the canons, they are not long or inappropriately introduced.

⁷Arbesmann, Ibid., surveys Jordanus' career pp. 341-344.

⁸Ibid., p. 344.

⁹Ibid., p. 347

¹⁰Ibid., p. 345.

¹¹Ibid., p. 347.

¹²Same, no. 33.

¹³F. Roth, The English Austin Friars, I (New York, 1966).

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries some are known to have been in attendance at the schools. See A.B. Emdem's A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500, 3 Vols. (Oxford, 1957-59) and A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500 (Cambridge, 1963).

¹⁴The five chapters are 8, 15, 18, 36 and 45. They begin in what is the middle of a paragraph in the Latin version. It should also be noted that while nine of Jordanus' paragraphs do begin with a de or qualiter phrase equivalent to a chapter heading, only six accord with divisions Capgrave makes and only two of those have a marked similarity in the heading used.

¹⁵The following is a list of references in Jordanus' Vita omitted by Capgrave: p.15,11.10-11; p.16,11.11-12,13-14; p.18,11.4-5,11-12,18-19; p.20,11.10-11; p.22,11.5-6; p.23,11.18-19; p.28,11.24-25; p.29,11.12-13,15-16; p.31,11.5,8,11; p.32,11.8-9; p.33,1.16; p.35,1.24; p.36,1.4; p.40,11.8-9; p.41,11.5,12,15; p.42,1.21; p.43,1.10; p.44,1.7; p.47,1.23; p.45,11.6-7; p.46,11.4,23; p.48,1.18; p.49,11.9-10; p.50,1.20; p.51,11.1-2,9-10; p.52,1.19; p.53,11.1-2,8-9,15; p.53,1.24 - p.54,1.1; p.58,1.8; p.59,1.19; p.60,1.10; p.61,1.22; p.63,1.1; p.64,1.7; p.70,11.5-6; p.72,11.24-25; p.73,1.7; p.74,1.21; p.77,1.19; p.78,11.7-8.

¹⁶He preserves the reference to Dacius, p. 26,11.1-3.

¹⁷These five occur p.1,1.1; p.7.1.8; p.9.1.22; p.24,1.27; and p.52,11.9-10. Capgrave's additional references to Augustine's works are: p.2,11.21-22; p.4,11.12-13,23,25-26,29; p.5,11.6,11-12,22-23; p.6,1.31; p.7,11.14,19-20,26; p.11,11.30-31; p.13,1.10; p.15,1.6; p.17,1.22; p.18,1.22; p.26,1.10; p.28,1.25; p.29,1.23; p.30,11.6-8; p.31,11.12,27; p.33,11.4-5,9; p.34,11.17-18; p.36,1.20; p.37,11.4-5,24; p.38,11.12,22-23; p.38,1.33 - p.39,1.2; p.40,11.11-13; p.41,1.12; p.44,11.16,20-21,34-35; p.45,1.10; p.46,11.26-27; p.48,11.10-11; p.49,11.3,12-13.

¹⁸See Vita p.23,11.7-10; p.30,11.10-11; p.34,11.5-6,7-8; p.35,11.18-24; p.45,1.5; p.47,11.1-18; p.53,11.15-24; p.64,11.1-2.

¹⁹See chapter two of this thesis and J.A.F. Thomson, The Later Lollards, 1414-1520 (London, 1965). In addition, the only contemporary reference other than those to his patroness in The Life of St. Augustine is to the immoral behaviour of the Wyclifites, p.31,1.15.

²⁰Most appear in Latin: p.28,1.25; p.29,1.23; p.30,11.7-8; p.37,1.24; p.39,11.1-2; p.40,11.11-12,13; p.41,1.12; p.44,11.2,35; p.46,1.27; p.48,1.11; p.49,1.13. Two have English titles only: p.36,1.20 and p.45,1.10.

²¹See references to De Immortalitate Anime, p.25,11.28-29, De Genesi, p.34,1.32 - p.35,1.1 and De Vera Religione, p.35,11.20-21.

²²Except in the case of his reference to De Ordine (p.23,11.31-32) where his erroneous statement on the contents demonstrates that he was not personally familiar with the work.

²³In the other two instances where English alone appears, p.35, 11.15-19 and p.56,1.8 - p.57,1.2, Jordanus provided the commentary.

²⁴In fact, the De Achademicis and Contra Achademicos he so carefully distinguishes are the same book.

²⁵p.27,11.18-22; p.31,11.25-26; p.42,11.10-11; p.52,1.21 - p.53,1.11.

²⁶See also p.34,11.15-16.

²⁷Vita

hoc mater nesciebat, sed pro illo orabat absens et maiore sollicitudine eum parturiebat spiritu quam carne pepererat, cottidie elemosinam faciens et obsequia sanctis nullo die pretermittens oblacionem. Bis in die mane et vespere ad ecclesiam sine ulla intermissione veniens non ad vanas fabulas, sed ut dominum audiret in suis sermonibus et deus illam in suis oracionibus pro salute filii sui. Recreatus ergo ex illa egritudine cepit sedule agere propter quod venerat ut doceret rome artem rethoricam, et congregabantur ad hospiciu[m] eius multi.

(p.20,11.12-21)

Life

þouz he were absent sche prayed for him deuly þat our Lord schuld send her ioye of hir son, for in þis mater sche had mor sorow for him þan euyr sche had to bryng him forth on-to þe world. Euery day sche offered for him at þe auter; euery day sche gaf elmesse. Twyes on þe day went she to cherch, not for to telle veyn tales, but for to here tydingis of our Lord of heuene in deuoute sermones, or elles for her diuine seruyse that God schuld accept hir prayeres, which wer principali for þe goostly helth of hir son Augustin. Be hir prayeres Austyn is now rered fro his seknesse and hath begunne for to do þing for which he was come, þat is to seye, to tech rethorik; many disciples be gadered on-to his skole, . . .

(p.14,11.9-19)

²⁸See: Middle English Sermons, ed., W.O. Ross, E.E.T.S., O.S., 209 (London, 1949), xliiii-lv.

²⁹Ross, p.151,1.23 - p.154,1.23.

³⁰S.K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Princeton, 1940), p. 35.

³¹Ibid., p. 84.

³²Same.

³³See p.10,11.5-6; p.12,11.26-27; p.13,11.2-4 and p.57,11.13-14 for some obvious examples.

³⁴The awkward construction, p.36,1.34 - p.37,1.2 also comes from the Latin.

³⁵p.11,1.26; p.45,11.7-9 and p.52,11.9-12. The last contains a metaphor studied in Arbesmann's article, "The 'Malleus' Metaphors in Medieval Characterization," Traditio, III (1945), 389-92.

³⁶Thus, Vade . . . secura; impossibile enim est ut filius tantarum pereat lacrimarum (p.18,11.2-3) becomes "Go fro me, woman, go fro me with þis sikyrnesse. It is impossible that a child which hath so many teres wept for him schuld perisch." (p.11,11.19-21). Obviously, many of the other examples discussed in other connections demonstrate this method too. More which are concrete and literal compared to their sources are found: p.15,11.6-8; p.15,1.28 - p.16,1.5; p.20,11.4-7; p.24,11.22-25; p.27,11.5-7; p.35,11.8-10; p.40,11.16-19; p.44,11.3-5; p.50,11.17-18; p.51,11.1-7; p.55,11.19-24.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIFE OF SAINT GILBERT OF SEMPRINGHAM

I

John Capgrave's second prose saint's life is of a far less renowned figure, the founder of the Gilbertine order, St. Gilbert of Sempringham. That Capgrave's life has received virtually no critical attention¹ is a natural result of the neglect of Gilbert himself. Although he was the only founder of a monastic order in England and the first saint for whom a papal canonization and decree of universal veneration have been preserved,² Gilbert was never a saint whose cult was widely observed. He was not martyred like Thomas à Becket; nor were his piety and asceticism so highly regarded as Edward the Confessor's. Moreover, as his order and the celebration of his feast-day never spread outside England--and these indeed were largely restricted to the East Midlands--the dissolution of the monasteries and the abandonment of the saints quickly led to his submergence.

On the other hand, Gilbert's story is not devoid of interest. Born about 1083³ of a Norman father and English mother, Gilbert early proved a disappointment to parents who hoped for a son who would contribute either knightly prowess or intellectual skill, for he was apparently crippled in some way, and he was not particularly able in his studies (Dugdale p. v,11.28-33). Gilbert fled his home to spend several years in France where he finally obtained a master's degree.

On his return, he was reconciled to his father, and after a period of teaching the local children and acting as chaplain in the parishes controlled by his family, he entered the service of the bishop of Lincoln. There his piety was as highly regarded as it had been at home and he became a special penitentiary, what Capgrave calls "a general juge" (p. 66,1.4) after reluctantly accepting the holy orders of which he felt himself unworthy.

Moved to divert his personal wealth to the service of the church and the poor, he established seven of his women followers in a cloister in Sempringham in 1137. Soon the uncloistered lay women who served them also requested a rule and habit, and they were followed by the lay men who tilled the land and cared for the properties belonging to the group. With his order this far expanded almost by chance, Gilbert went to the Cistercian congress at Citeaux in 1147 and attempted to pass the control of his adherents to that order. Since women were involved, his request was refused and at the Pope's suggestion, he was himself appointed master (Dugdale, p. xi,1.31).⁴ Now officially burdened with the governance, Gilbert felt obliged to add lettered clerics to his order, and so the double monasteries began to grow up and the order to expand.⁵

The tradition does not make clear how far Gilbert was regarded as a worker of miracles in his lifetime, and for eleven years after his death in 1189 no action was taken to raise him to the status of a saint. In 1200, however, members of his order brought both his life and his pre-and post-mortem miracles to the attention of Hubert Walter,

Archbishop of Canterbury, who set canonization proceedings into operation. The investigation of Gilbert's life and works was carried out as a full papal inquiry,⁶ and he was canonized and translated in 1202.

In his dedicatory prologue, Capgrave explains his reason for taking the subject in hand:

. . . aftir 3e [Nicholas Reysby, Master of the order of Sempringham] had red þis lyf of Seynt Augustyn 3e sayde to on of my frendes þat 3e desired gretly þe lyf of Seynt Gilbert schuld be translata in þe same forme.

(p. 61, 11.14-16)⁷

He describes his method as

. . . to translate out of Latyn rith as I fynde be-fore me; saue sum addiciones wil I put þertoo which men of þat ordre haue told me, and eke othir þingis þat schul falle to my mynde in þe writyng which be pertinent to þe mater.

(p. 62, 11.26-29)

From these initial statements, it is clear that Capgrave was following closely a specific source; that source is not now known but it has always been mistakenly identified as the standard Latin version preserved in the three extant manuscripts--Cotton Cleopatra B 1, Harleian 468, and Digby 36.⁸

That this identification is an oversimplification can be shown from internal evidence which demonstrates unequivocally that Capgrave was working from a manuscript source that diverged in several striking ways from the extant vitae. Most importantly, instead of being a straightforward narrative account, it was divided into two sections--the first an abridgement of Gilbert's life, about whose contents and development conjectures will be made later; the second standing in closer relationship to the vitae. Although Capgrave's second part is

selective and incomplete and differs in the order in which events are presented, it contains whole sections which are literal translations from the known manuscripts. For this reason, earlier scholars, making only a superficial comparison, have believed that the major difference between the Latin versions and the English lay in Capgrave's omissions. To get closer to the truth, it is necessary to examine the relationship and contents of the vitae, to consider Capgrave's own remarks about his source, and, to trace the probably source for his first part.

The actual relationship of the three Latin manuscripts cannot be regarded as established. The accepted opinion, worked out in detail by the most recent commentator, R. Foreville,⁹ involves the following assumptions: 1) that the "common source" of all three vitae was the book written by a canon of the order and presented to the Archbishop, Hubert Walter, between 1202 and 1205; 2) that this book was an elaboration of the brief life and official testimony of miracles sent to the Pope; 3) that Cotton Cleopatra B 1 is an almost contemporary copy of the original; 4) that Harleian 468 is virtually identical with Cotton Cleopatra B 1; and 5) that the later vita, Digby 36, is only a slightly revised version of these earlier manuscripts.

The neatness of such a chain of descent is attractive,¹⁰ but it has been established only by slighting certain pieces of available evidence. The letters concerning the rebellion of the lay brothers,¹¹ for example, reveals that there are inclusions in the Digby manuscript which do not appear in Cotton and Harleian. Moreover, the treatment of miracles in Digby 36 varies so greatly from the other two manuscripts

that it is difficult to credit the book presented to the Archbishop as the single source for all three. As Knowles points out, the Digby manuscript, though considerably later in date, must represent a tradition that developed contemporaneously with the Cotton and Harleian if the inclusion of materials not found in the other two is to be accounted for.

An evaluation of the relationship between Capgrave's Life and the three manuscripts requires at least a summary account of their contents, which in general are quite similar. Using Cotton Cleopatra B 1 as a base, because it is the only one printed, the order of materials follows a fairly consistent pattern in all three vitae. First, there is a dedicatory letter to Hubert Walter identifying the author as "unus ex minimis fratribus ordinis sancti Gilberti Sempinhamensis",¹² but also as one who was personally acquainted with the saint,¹³ and discussing the grounds on which Gilbert has merited canonization (f. 33-36). Second, there is an account of Gilbert's life which includes the miracles that occurred during it (f. 36-86). Next follows a description of the visions accompanying Gilbert's death, his burial, and the institution of his successor, Roger (f. 86-89). A break in the chronological order occurs at this point with the insertion of some seventeen letters from various correspondents (including the pope, the king, bishops and archbishops of England, and Gilbert) concerning the rebellion of the lay brothers (f. 89v-101).¹⁴ Immediately following this interruption, the text returns to the narrative with the account of the canonization and

translation proceedings, including the visions seen by the Pope and the messengers of the curia (f. 101v-114). Finally, added as appendices, there are thirty-four letters concerning Gilbert's canonization (f. 114v-140) and two collections of miracles. The first group of miracles (f. 140v-156) contains the thirty which were sworn to at the inquest in 1201; the second (f. 156-168) provides twenty-six more which were gathered afterwards. The basic variations in the Digby manuscript lie in the number and arrangement of miracles, the inclusion of some further reports, and a different division of the contents, with considerable additional rubrication.¹⁵

The relatively straightforward ordering of materials in the three known vitae contrasts dramatically with the structure found in Capgrave's Life. Internal evidence suggests that the Latin manuscript which was sent to him for translation, possibly by the master of Sempringham himself, must have contained two recensions of the life of St. Gilbert, both apparently deriving from the standard Latin version, but diverging widely from it. What seems to be the case is that the Sempringham monastery--or wherever Capgrave obtained the manuscript--possessed a brief life which bore considerable resemblance to the readings in the Gilbertine memorial rite, the Seruicium S. Gilleberti,¹⁶ which had been revised late in the fourteenth century by one of the brothers. To this revised life was added, then or later, a second part containing more elaborate descriptions of some of the central episodes in Gilbert's life and reports of the miracles.

Capgrave himself recognizes a juncture in the materials he is using at the point he ends his thirteenth chapter, for he begins the following chapter with the note, "Her is the secund part of Seint Gilbert lyf. . . ." (p. 80, l. 21). Later in the work Capgrave refers to "þe first part of þis lyf" and adds that it belongs to "þe same auctour" (p. 125, ll. 31-32). This last comment need not be taken as authoritative, for while one man may have produced both parts, it seems unlikely that so many specific items would have been repeated if such were the case. Probably Capgrave's words should be taken to indicate that the whole manuscript was in the hand of a single copyist or, at least, that there is no observable break between the two, rather than that they were written by one author.

Beyond these very specific comments, there are other reasons for making an unequivocal statement that Capgrave was not altering the structure of his immediate source. First, the author or authors certainly belonged to the Gilbertine order. Except when Gilbert is referred to as "he," "þis man," or "Seynt Gilbert," his name is generally preceded by "our." Moreover, in the second part at least, Gilbert is specifically designated as "our foundour" (p. 85, l. 11), and the order of nuns is mentioned as "This religion, which we clepe our sistir" (p. 89, ll. 34-35). In this last part, too, the author frequently speaks in the first person plural.

Sum-tyme, whan we supposed he had be a-slepe, his handis wer cured with his mantel, but his eyne sey we lift up to heuene, and euyr softe wordes herd we of his mouth.

(p. 96, ll. 26-28)

and, as was noted above, he was familiar with the service of St. Gilbert.

Second, Capgrave's initial declaration that he would follow the document "before me" (p. 62, l. 26) is confirmed by a series of other references to "myn auctour."¹⁷ Obviously, the most important of these from the point of view of evidence are those in which Capgrave feels himself bound to explain events and terms. In chapter sixteen, for example, the figurative passage of lines 20-24 is elaborated by an exposition of the Latin author's use of the word "neophite" and the meaning of the animal images:

All þis is seid be þe auctour of þis lif which is of þis Seynt, þat he calleth hem neophites þat he newly conuerted to religion; for neophites wer cleped in eld tyme folk newly conuerted to þe feith, and all þese transumpciones folowing rehersith our auctour to þis entent, þat men of religion schuld not haue fair condiciones outward and euel inward, as malys in soule lich a wolf and innocens in wordis lich schepis wolle, and soo may men expounne all þe other transumpciones.

(p. 85, ll. 24-31)

Similarly, in chapter 45, Capgrave discusses the possible meanings of the word subucula as an article of clothing and concludes that it was probably what he called an "awbe" (p. 125, l. 31). This elaboration is particularly important because the preserved Latin versions have only the general word veste (R. Foreville, p. 141), which demonstrates, that whatever the relationship between Capgrave's source and the standard Latin life, he did not himself follow it. Throughout his work, there are many other examples of explanatory digressions which will be discussed later among the characteristics of Capgrave's style. One final piece of supporting circumstantial evidence is that in both

the St. Katherine and the St. Norbert, Capgrave did have two sources, and in each case he identifies the point at which he changes from one to the other.

Part one (chapters 1 to 13) covers all of Gilbert's life and was clearly intended as a unit. Amounting to just under one-quarter of Capgrave's narrative, this relatively short recension may have been intended to be read to the brethren for edification. Alternately, it may have been meant for circulation to a wider audience, as so many other saints' lives were; and this latter possibility is supported by the omission of the specific references to "our" order which are found in the second part.

On first examination, this abbreviated version may seem to be an adaptation of the longer Latin life. There are passages which are translated literally, although these are scattered;¹⁸ the sequence of events is the same, and so are many of the biblical comparisons. Moreover, much of the shortening is accomplished by removing the description of Gilbert's miracles and the detailed process of his canonization; the former have been reduced to two summaries (p. 74,1.18 - p. 75,1.5 and p. 79,11.17-23), the latter to a terse condensation (p. 79,1.23 - p. 80,1.20).

There is, however, an overlooked source in which the tradition of a compact life (not unlike the first redaction sent to Pope Innocent III together with the miracle collection) was maintained. This source is the lectios of the Seruicium S. Gilleberti, with which the author of Capgrave's source would certainly have been familiar; and

it seems likely that rather than the first part being simply an abridgement of the longer life, it is an elaboration of the lectios coupled with material derived from the standard Latin life. The nine readings ordained for the various services of the saint's day total only seventy-six lines:¹⁹ the first deals with Gilbert's birth and education; the second, with his service under the Bishop of Lincoln; the third, with the establishment of his order; the fourth, fifth and sixth, respectively, with his behavior among men, his abstinence, and his magnanimity and constancy; the seventh, with his continued vigour in old age; the eighth, with his approaching death; and the last, with his departure from the world and his merited recognition in Heaven. These divisions in the material are significant because they agree with those in Capgrave's version but not with those in the Latin life.

How much more clearly allied to the service than to the standard Latin life Capgrave's version is can be illustrated by comparing examples from Capgrave's treatment of the life in the first part with that in Cleopatra B 1. Lectios four, five and six, for example, are found much elaborated in Capgrave's chapters five, six and seven. In Cotton Cleopatra B 1, however, the materials of Capgrave's chapter five (corresponding to lectio four) are scattered through the sections Commendatio Ordinis, Qualiter se habuit in Praelatione, and De Asperitate Vitae ejus.²⁰ In contrast, Capgrave's chapters six and seven (equivalent to lectios five and six) correspond with the undivided remainder of De Asperitate Vitae ejus. The other divisions in the service and the first part of The Life of St. Gilbert also agree except

that lectios one and eight have each become two chapters,²¹ and there are no parallels in the service for Capgrave's two final chapters.

Even more specific evidence that the author of Capgrave's source was using the service as his model may be seen in the following instances. First, the comparison of Gilbert to Jacob (which does not appear in the Latin life) is found as

Erat autem sicut Iacob ap[er]tastes puer simplicitate graciosus.
(Woolley, p. 117, 11.14-15)

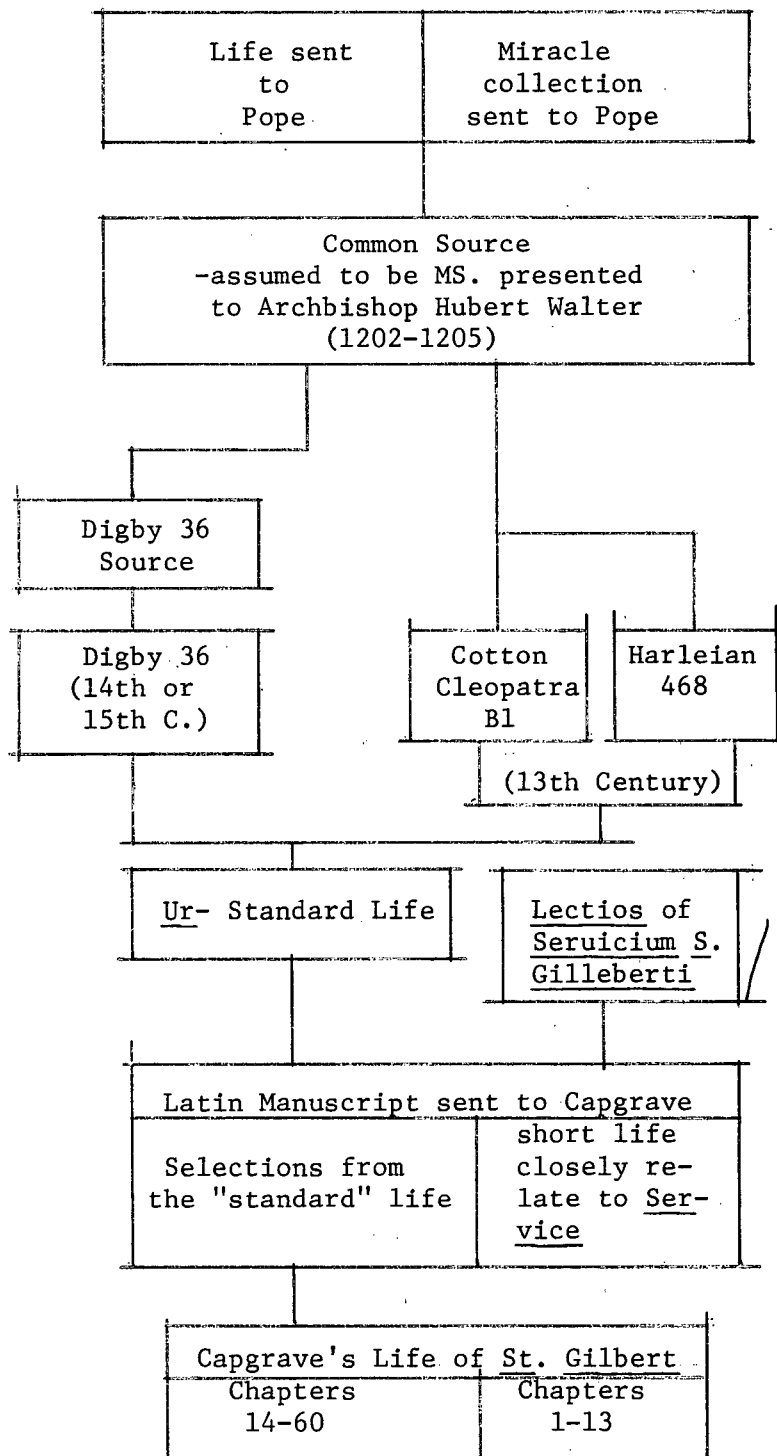
in the service, and translated into English as

He was in his yong age, and in his simpilnesse full gracious lich
on-to Jacob, . . .
(p. 63, 11.21-22)

In addition, there are three passages of the service, succinctly abbreviating details in the known Latin versions, which are carried over literally into Capgrave's work.²² Finally, lectios four, six and eight, although not adopted intact, are found as the structural units of their respective chapters.²³

From these arguments, it is possible to construct a revised manuscript tree leading ultimately to Capgrave's Life. Three qualifications must be recognized however: 1) the branch represented by Digby 36 developed independently from the common source; 2) the source of the second half of Capgrave's life can only be particularized as the "Ur-standard life" because it differs from all the extant vita, but they are not to be regarded as coalescing in this chain; 3) the first part of the manuscript sent to Capgrave was an abridged life, the skēleton for which was the Serucium S. Gilleberti, fleshed out by selections from some manuscript of the vita.

The Manuscript Tree



II

At this point matters of source and style tend to merge.

Clearly, certain of the recorded events diminished in significance as the years passed and as Gilbert became an established saint. Among them are the investigations into Gilbert's holy life and miracles and the trips to and from Rome, both of which are rapidly summarized. His legal battles for control over his inherited livings are totally ignored; and so are his disputes with the lay brothers, except insofar as they may be seen reflected in the passage on his patience:

A-nopir is þat alle þe wrongis which were do to him or his at þat tyme, he bare hem so patiently þat he was neuyr mevid for hem. Be-side all þis vexacion þat he had owtward, þere was a-noper þing which stood nyher his hert, þe grete besinesse in spirith, for þo houses which he had rered, for þe soules which he had gadered, for þe grete fere þat he hadde þat he schuld her no euel tytandis of hem.

(p. 72, 11.28-35)

which is certainly derived from the description of Gilbert's demeanour in the passages De Constantia ejus and Vexatio falsorum Fratrum of the standard life.²⁴ This last incident was, of course, basically an internal dispute and may, therefore, have been considered of no consequence for a general audience. Moreover, such a lapse in discipline is not entirely to Gilbert's credit, and the section may have been passed over on that account, just as the suggestions that Gilbert was neither physically nor mentally adept are muted in chapter one.

Other anecdotes which served to humanize Gilbert in the Latin version have also disappeared in the process of abridgement. The most surprising exclusion is the description of his steadfast support of

St. Thomas à Becket and his persecution for it. There is no possibility that the redactor's source did not contain this portion, because Gilbert's speech when he was tried in London for aiding Becket's flight is retained almost literally as a general comment on his (Gilbert's) character:

. . . he wold sey sumtyme he had leuer chese to be exiled, or elles his þrote to be cutte, þan he schuld suffir in his tyme þe lawes of þe cherch & þe good customes of religion schuld fayle.
(p. 73, 11.3-6)

Elsewhere, the saint becomes more conventional as when the story of his being tempted by his host's daughter when he was a young man is replaced by additional emphasis on his chastity in the abstract.²⁵ Similarly, while both versions make his parishioners paragons of virtue, the Latin includes a brief amusing narrative where Gilbert outwits a recalcitrant farmer in order to obtain his tithes (Dugdale, p. vii, 11.2-9).

These omissions and changes in emphasis are probably the work of Capgrave's predecessor, for they are not the kinds of alterations he was himself likely to make. Moreover, none of the excluded events is mentioned anywhere in the Seruicium S. Gilleberti. On the other hand, the removal or truncation of rhetorical or supernatural passages is typical of Capgrave; and all of the following are represented in the service. The simile comparing Gilbert's appearance in the world to the light of righteousness which opens the Latin version:

Oriens splendor iusticiae, qui illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, et ad agnitionem sui nominis vult venire; orbis occidui partes occiduas, novis lucis suae radiis tempore occiduo illustravit: cujus iubar caelitus immisso, velut infusum sydus

aethereum fulsit, sub noctis nostrae tenebris, vir vitae
 admirabilis, . . .

(Dugdale, p. v, ll. 1-4)

and becomes

Oriens clarissimus luxit occidenti.
 cum hoc lumen ortum est Anglicane genti.
 (Woolley, p. 115, ll. 6-7)

in the vesper psalm is ignored by Capgrave in favour of the prosaic opening: "This man was bore in þat same place cleped Sempingham" (p. 62, l. 31). Equally striking is the elimination of the dream of Gilbert's mother quod quasi descendente a supernis lunam suscepisset in synum (Dugdale, p. v, ll. 10-11), where, as in innumerable medieval tales of folk heroes, the greatness of the man is made known while he is yet in the womb.

If these two examples demonstrate Capgrave's tendency to avoid the non-literal, others show a rejection of lyrical expressions of emotion. One instance occurs when Capgrave introduces, in his characteristic fashion, an exegetical explanation of the suitability of Saturday, the day of rest, for Gilbert's death in place of the deeply personal lament found in Cotton Cleopatra B 1:

Vix aliquid dicere poterant, qui interfuerant: singultus enim et lachrimae adhaerere fecerunt linguas suas faucibus suis; lachrimosa enim illa dies, quae tulit nobis patrem et pastorem nostrum, germanum et amicum; nec qualem patrem habet vel amittunt caeteri in monasteriis subditi; sed qui omnes nos, quotquot fuimus, quotquot fuimus genuit in verbo evangelii, et fovit, unum nutritivum, quemadmodum gallina congregare pullos suos sub alas. Caeterum, quid faciemus, te facto de medio, Domine? Ad quem ibimus? Quem sequemur? Timemus enim te percusso dispergi, sicut oves errantes absque pastore; nam non oportet flere super te, sed super nosmetipsos et super posteros nostros. Sed non est, quod queramus de tempore, nec quod doleamus de casu; quia extunc coepit consolatio nostra, et tibi provenit gloria sempiterna.

(Dugdale, p. xxiii, ll. 24-32)

While there is no doubt that this passage is fitting to a contemporary life and not to a revision made two hundred years later, some expression parallel to the hymn following the ninth lectio (Woolley, p. 121, ll.17-34), where grief is shown transformed to joy by the master's victory in heaven, is expected.

In the case of the additions, the same distinction prevails. Some are plainly the work of a predecessor or at least among those things which Capgrave says were told him by members of the Gilbertine order; others are elaborations characteristic of Capgrave's style throughout his English works. Among the former are the statement that Gilbert's father was born in Normandy and came to England with William the Conqueror and, along with it, the most important piece of evidence for dating and locating the provenance of Capgrave's immediate source-- the commentary on the family history of Lord John Beaumont.²⁶

Many of the supplementary Biblical or patristic passages and comparisons may have been added by the author of Capgrave's source. One which certainly belongs at this level is the allusion to Jacob referred to earlier. The only other which seems definitely attributable to the earlier reviser is the tale of Athanasius baptizing children in play; here, however, the evidence is purely stylistic. As later discussion will show, Capgrave frequently disrupts the narrative flow of his translation for a clarifying interjection, and when this occurs, it is sometimes demonstrable and elsewhere reasonable to assume that the surrounding materials were present in the source. In this case, the comparison begins typically with "Lich on-to þis man was þe

holy Athanas in his 3ong days"; is broken by the additional piece of information, "þat same Athanas whеч mad Quicunque Vult"; and then continues with the anecdote, "We rede of him" (p. 64,1.26 - p. 65,1.9). There are no grounds on which to ascribe other insertions of this kind to either Capgrave or his source, although the temptation to credit Capgrave with the more elaborate ones at least is great.²⁷

In this part of the Life, Capgrave never mentions his author after the prologue, and, consequently, his originality in all of the following examples cannot be asserted definitely. Apart from the identification of biblical quotations,²⁸ three kinds of added material can be distinguished: passages which begin with expressions indicating their parenthetical nature; explanations or elaborations which are not introduced so specifically but which equally suggest the exegete at work; and, finally, passages of elaboration which have no parallel in any known Latin version.

Some of the first group may be categorized simply as clarification of comparisons or figurative language. For example, the long digression on Athanasius just discussed is followed by "Al þis is seid for our Gilberd, þat in so 3ong age had so sad condiciones and so grete 3el to lede soules in heuene" (p. 65,11.9-11). Similarly, the figure, "As a trewe steward . . . he departed his Lordes whete" (p. 65,11.14-15) is explained as "þat is to seyn, þe word of exhortacion was not hid in him, but he delt it oute frely to hem þat wold lerne" (p. 65,11.16-18). Others show definition by specification as, for example, when he lists the liberal sciences "as gramer, retorik,

logik and swech opir" (p. 63,11.31-32) or when Gilbert's duties as the bishop's chaplain are put in contemporary terms, "For he was a general juge, as it semeth, to make remissiones and comminaciones rith as he list" (p. 66,11.4-5).

Capgrave's habitual exegetical explanation of words forms part of the second group, for there is no attempt to conceal their nature as asides. His development of the word Saturday has already been mentioned. He also explains the sin of "touchyng" (p. 64,11.6-8) and the literary meaning of the word "cathaloge" (p. 80,11.1-3). A more interesting example of the same technique is found in the passage where the faults abandoned and virtues adopted by Gilbert's parishoners are exchanged for those regarded as more timely by the later author. Drinking remains a serious vice, but for the commessationibus et impudicitiis . . . spectaculis (Dugdale, p. vi,11.41-42) is inserted "wrastillingis, ber-baytingis" (p. 65,1.22). Similarly, while Capgrave retains tithe-paying as a foremost duty, he adds "to walk a-boute and visite pore men, to spend her good in swech weye as is plesauns of God and coumfort to pore" (p. 65,11.25-27).

Beyond these two groups, there are certain additions which seem to be Capgrave's. The lengthy insertion in chapter one concerning Gilbert's dual heritage demonstrates both the difficulty of separating the various levels of authorship and the method of annotation found everywhere in Capgrave's work. Lines 3-10 on page 63 were doubtless in the source, for the Beaumont referred to was a well-known benefactor of the Gilbertine establishment in Sempringham, and to the early author

probably belongs the summary statement, "Than was þis man medeled with too blodis, Norman of þe fader side, Englisch of þe moderis side."

Lines 12-18, however,

What auctoris write of þese too naciones & what comendacion þei reherse of hem is pertinent to sette her in magnyfyng of þis man. The Normannes, þei sey, þei cam fro Norweye & conqwered þe lond wher þei dwelle, a puple gentyl of condicion, wise and redy in batayle & grete tilleres of corn. The descripcion eke of þis nacion must a-corde her-to, be-cause þei conqwered us and at þis day her succession dwellith with us.

must be assigned to Capgrave, for not only do they intervene between the sentence on the mixture of bloods and its logical extension

So semeth it þat þis man was not bore of no wrecchid nacion, ne of no seruage, but of puple gentil & frēmanly & large, both on þe fadir side and þe moder.

but also their contents are specifically referred to as "pertinent," a clear re-iteration of Capgrave's statement in the Prologue, only fifteen lines earlier, that he would include "þingis . . . pertinent to þe mater" (p. 62, ll. 28-29). Such an amplification is not much different in form from the other examples discussed, but it is far more digressive. If it was Capgrave's original intention to interpret his whole translation in this fashion, he either gave up his plans almost immediately or found that not much had "falle to my mynde" (p. 62, l. 28).

While the manuscript Capgrave used is lost and there is no known parallel to the first part of his Life of St. Gilbert, it is possible to follow his translation in the second part with some exactitude, for it closely linked to the standard Latin life. The evidence adduced at the beginning of this chapter tended to prove that it was not Capgrave,

but his unknown source who chose to amplify the brief life. Before the stylistic qualities of this part are considered, some note should be taken of its general contents.

The parts translated do not include the dedicatory letter or anything of Gilbert's early life until he first established his order with the seven maidens in Sempringham, presumably because the compiler felt the material was adequately handled in the first part. The first twelve pages (p. 80.1:23 - p. 92,1.29) follow the Latin almost literally from the second paragraph of Quantum Sprevit Divitias Seculi to the middle of the passage Separatio Conjunctorum (Dugdale, p. viii,1.46. - p. xii,1.24). The most striking difference here and later between the two versions is that the beginning and ending of chapters seldom accord. The Latin divisions are far more logical throughout; there is no evident reason, for example, why the description of the cloistering of the nuns should be broken between two chapters,²⁹ and it would be equally hard to justify most of the other alterations.³⁰ There is no way of knowing how this particular difference came about, and it is not of great significance except insofar as it provides additional circumstantial proof that Capgrave's source represents a now lost branch of the transmission of the life of St. Gilbert.

Until page 118, with the exceptions that lines 34-36 on page 97 are adapted from materials found on f. 83-83v of the Cotton manuscript and that the two miracles recorded on page 102 are reversed from their manuscript order, what materials are included substantially follow both the sequence and the language of the Latin version. The first

large unit omitted, from the last half of Separatio Coniunctorum to the end of Quod Suscepit Habitum Canonici (Dugdale, p. xii,1.24 - p. xvii,1.24), concerns the regulation and government of the order. In addition, Capgrave's version gives only a summary of the rebellion of the lay brothers (p. 94,1.32 - p. 95,1.29), and deletes both Gilbert's own letter of justification (Dugdale, p. xviii,1.48 - p. xix,1.13) and the letters from the king and bishops supporting him (R. Foreville, pp. 92-109). Finally, the whole section describing Gilbert's death is deleted (Dugdale, p. xxii,1.28 - p. xxiii,1.39). The first two are obvious abridgments for one interested in composing a general life; the last probably came from a recognition that it was included in the first half. None of the other omissions are of so extensive a nature, and they will be dealt with shortly along with the other stylistic considerations.

The abrupt break and subsequent rearrangement of the manuscript order which occurs after the narration of the events leading to Gilbert's canonization and translation and continues to the end of the work is evidently the result of an awkward attempt to bring the post-mortem miracles within the compass of the work rather than leave them, as they are in the known Latin versions, as appendages to the main text. That this is a later revision is indicated by the finality of the conclusion to chapter thirty-eight which clearly shows that it was intended as an end to the life per se:

Our maystir is layd now in his rest; lete us folow þe steppes of his good lyf þat we may be translate fro wrecchidnesse to ioye and þorw his ledyng come to þat cuntr wher we schul haue ioye euyr.
(p. 117,11.28-31)

Furthermore, the opening of the following chapter, with its repeated "Now of our fader Gilbert . . . now wil we telle . . ." (p. 118,11.2-6), makes clear that the recitation of the miracles was meant as a separate entity. Finally, the passage at the end of the collection (p. 135,11.21-35) with its suggestion that further miracles will be added, as they are not, indicates the fragmentary nature of the whole section.

All of the miracles are either from those recorded during Gilbert's lifetime or from the first of the two collections appended to the life, that is, from among those which were sworn to at the papal inquiry at Sempringham before the canonization was ordered. However, the order is completely changed,³¹ and despite Capgrave's claim, "Lich þat inquysicion in sentens and in termes . . . wil we write here" (p. 118,11.9-11), the legalistic formula is not followed. The first person oath, names, and places are all deleted, facts from the attestations of witnesses are included in the narrative, and frequently details not found in the Latin are added.

After the miracles, Capgrave gives the pope's sermon at the time of Gilbert's canonization (p. 136,1.9 - p. 141,1.2). In the Cotton manuscript this sermon appears in a letter to Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury (R. Foreville, pp. 32-36), one of the group of letters preceding the miracle collections. Since its composition was in fact subsequent to the inquiry into the miracles, Capgrave's unknown predecessor has re-established chronological order in his work. Nevertheless, as in the case of the miracles themselves, there is no

assimilation of the sermon to make it an integral part of the composition, largely because the letters in which it is contained are referred to and their contents summarized in chapter thirty-six (p. 113,1.30 - p. 114,1.7), before the narrative passes to the final events of the translation.

Though the sermon is inexplicably broken into five chapters, there is no separation between it and the last portions of the Life. Omitting the Pope's specific commands concerning the translation, Capgrave's "autour" (p. 141,1.3) turns back to the final ceremonies and records the inscription of both the plate of lead which covered the tomb and the charter enclosed with the body (Dugdale, p. xxv,1.20 - p. xxvii,1.27). To these final memorials, Capgrave adds his own translating date and concludes his work.

Many of the omissions in the second half of Capgrave's Life of St. Gilbert are so brief as to be regarded only as examples of the reviser's abbreviation of his longer source. Such is the deletion of one of the many expressions of Gilbert's zealous concern for chastity, quo nemo unquam fortius zelatus est castitatem (Dugdale, p. xii,1.21), from the description of how far apart he set the houses of monks and nuns (p. 92,11.19-29), or the reduction of

. . . quia id tamen in injuriam ecclesiae redundaret, renuit, dicens malle se subire exilium quam tale praestare juramentum. Consideravit enim, quod quamvis rei veritas aliter se haberet quam putabant, et verum jurare non noceat juranti, si compellitur, licet a malo sit exigentis potius quam praestantis, contra fidei tamen et pietatis justiciam agere videretur, si juraret, et pravum posteris praesentibusque relinqueret exemplum, . . .

(Dugdale, p. xvii,11.41-45)

to

But þis refused he, for he saide he had leuer be exiled þan swere,
for he wold not leue a bad exauple to hem þat schuld come aftir
him.

(p. 94,11.6-8)

and there are many other similar phrases reduced or omitted. The major reason for attributing these exclusions to Capgrave's source is that many of the same phrases contain expansions typical of Capgrave.

For examining the nature of the abridgments, the most important omissions occur in chapters twenty-one and twenty-two where the persecution of Gilbert for his aid to Thomas à Becket and in his dispute with the lay brothers are treated. In both cases, material not bearing on the literal account of the event at hand is excised. In the first instance, Capgrave includes all the pertinent details of Gilbert's aid to the fugitive archbishop while he was in hiding in England; indeed, he supplements his narrative with evidence from another "lyf of Seynt Thomas" (p. 93,1.32). On the other hand, all of the essentially digressive description of Gilbert's light-hearted behaviour in London as he waited to face the judges disappears (Dugdale, p. xviii, 11.4-12).

The account from the Vexatio Falsorum Fratrum section of the standard life is considerable reduced in significance by the short space afforded it in Capgrave's version of the revolt. As was noted earlier in the chapter, Gilbert's letter of self-defense vanishes. At the same time the whole opening paragraph abstractly discussing the invidious attempts to discredit Gilbert is omitted (Dugdale, p. xviii, 11.4-12). In the original, this same paragraph also contains one of

the rhetorical passages

Quis non contra eum in hac causa se erigeret? Quis sanctae
religionis subversionem pateretur multam? Quis non justam causam
crederet illum habere, qui in sua causa tam juste vellet procedere?
(Dugdale, p. xviii, ll. 32-33)

which tend to be banished in the process of condensation. Finally, since only Gilbert's letter mentions the specific status of the principals, the lengthy description of Ogger's recalcitrance no longer forms part of the account (Dugdale, p. xix, ll. 28-41).

Elsewhere, similar sacrifices of lyrical passages are apparent. Two of these omissions are the eulogy on Gilbert's clarity of mind and the continuing strength of his limbs, which appears in Qualis erat in Senio (Dugdale, p. xx, ll. 26-36), and the lamentation on his death in the section De Obitu ejus (Dugdale, p. xxiii, ll. 24-33). As far as the first of these is concerned, however, a paraphrase did appear in chapter eight of the first part, and it may be that it was deleted here because of its repetitive contents rather than its encomiastic tone.³²

As the catalogue of stylistic features found in the first part demonstrates, there are several kinds of additions which are typical of Capgrave--especially definitions, elaborations, and explanations which clarify the terms and figurative language used by his source. Some are simply asides or indications of the author's learning by extra illustration; many, however, reveal the basic purpose of the exegetical, scholastic method, for they are attempts to correct errors or to explain the literal content of an anecdote.

In the second part, there are examples of several ways of introducing and using definitions. Those on "a dramme" (p. 82, ll. 6-7), "honest

poverty" (p. 88,11.5-7), and "acrisia" (p. 109,11.10-11), are no more than brief digressions from the narrative. The latter two immediately expound a preceding expression. Since "honest poverty" is a particularly commendable virtue, it merits a separate sentence, while "acrisia", a medical term, is relegated to a "which" clause. On the other hand, the exposition of the "dramme", awkwardly inserted though it is, shows the interesting result of a combination of interlinear annotation with Capgrave's usual attempt to explain abstract references literally.

The definition occurs in the middle of a passage likening the joining of the lay sisters to the nuns to the parable of the finding of the lost piece of silver. If the comparison itself seems somewhat unlikely, it is nevertheless in the Latin life: ad congaudendum de dragma inventa convocavit amicas (Dugdale, p. ix,11.17-18). Capgrave first gives an expanded translation of the passage:

Wommen chase he first for þe similitude which our Lord rehersed in þe gospell of a womman þat had lost a dramme and found it, who sche cleped hir frendes to ioye with hir for hir dramme þat was found.

(p. 82,11.1-5)

Then he explains how this "similitude" is to be applied:

So þese maydenes first chosen were cause þat many oper schuld be cleped aftirward.

(p. 82,11.5-6)

Only at this point does he add "A dramme is a certeyn mony of gold weying þe viij part of an vnce" (p. 82,11.6-7). The whole procedure is reminiscent of the school methods where the reader first interpreted the whole passage and then gave an explanation of it phrase by phrase and word by word if necessary.³³

Capgrave's treatment of the word orarium, however, suggests that he is more concerned to correct a possible error in the tradition than merely to define the term. His phraseology is, purposely or not, ambiguous; but he seems to be casting doubt on the existence of the relic. While he includes the usual passage, "Seynt Bernard gaue him a kerchy, and þerin a certeyn relik," he weakens it first with the tag, "as summe say," and then by adding, "but I undirstond þat þis kerchy was goodly bordred on þe endes, for orarium soundith soo in gramer" (p. 91,11,21-24). On the other hand, when he is adducing evidence to prove that Gilbert's subucula must have been his "awbe" rather than his "schert," Capgrave goes beyond the meanings of the word itself to a quasi-symbolic evaluation of materials presented earlier in the text.

. . . a certeyn cloth of lynend which Seynt Gilbert wered I suppose veryly it was his awbe, for my auctor her setteth a word 'subucula' which is both an awbe and a schert, and in þe first part of þis lyf þe same auctour seith þat þis holy man wered next his skyn non hayer, as for þe hardest, ne lynand, as for þe softest, but he went with wolle, as with þe mene.

(p. 125,1.29 - p. 126.1.1)

There are also examples throughout these chapters which conform to the known Latin version (14-23 and 30-38) of the other groups of additions discussed in reference to the first part. There are many examples where Capgrave explicates figures from the source with or without some introductory phrase, such as "þat is to sey" or "al þis is seyð for."³⁴ Passages where Capgrave elaborates by extra illustration occur: p. 89,1.32; p. 91,1.33 - p. 92,1.3; p. 92,11.29-34; p. 94,11.26-32; p. 107,11.22-25; p. 109,11.12-14; and p. 112,11.18-19. In other cases, as on p. 96,1.16 and p. 112,1.26, Capgrave adds only

by identifying the biblical source of a reference. As a final characteristic change, the noting of two possible translations as "wasch, he seith or ellis, water," (p. 112,1:27) or "preisable, or praysid," (p. 136,1:18) should be observed.

Levels of authorship are less easy to distinguish in the longer of these additions. It is tempting to ascribe those with the most literal content, passages of comparison, for example, to Capgrave and the more abstract ones to his predecessor. The kinds of circumstantial evidence mentioned earlier tend to support this division, but it is by no means conclusive.

The style of the miracles included in this version of The Life of St. Gilbert must be treated separately, for neither the mode of narration nor the specific miracles related accords with either the Cotton or Digby manuscript. Since the Latin is not readily available, the following examples of miracles which are included in Capgrave's life should be examined. The first is one which he transposes only stylistically; he adds considerable detail to the second.

Hugo de Nocketun, laicus, juratus, dixit quod Ailina, uxor fratris sui Henrici, cum aliquamdiu egrotasset, tandem in frenesim incidit aut morbum frenesi similem, quia quasi furibonda aliena loquebatur, fremebat dentibus et conspuebat in faciem hominum; et ita se gerebat quod oportuit eam ligari fere per mensem. Postea, idem Hugo et Agnes, soror ejus, una cum viro ipsius, eam traxerunt usque ad Sempingham, ligatam in quadam biga. Quo cum venissent, detulerunt eam usque ad sepulchrum magistri G[ileberti]; et ibidem, nocte sequenti, convaluit et resedit, gratias agens Deo; et post tres dies, sana ad domum reversa est.

Testis Agnes, soror predicti Hugonis, jurata, satis concordat per omnia cum predicto Hugone. Ipsam enim dicit se interfuisse et vidisse predictam Ailinam ita infirmatam et curatam ad tumbam magistri G[ileberti] sicut Hugo dicit.

Testis Emma, filia predicte Agnetis, jurata, dixit se vidisse predictam Ailinam infirmatam ut dictum est; et dicit eam allatam fuisse ad tumbam magistri G[ileberti] et ibi curatam, sed ipsa nec interfuit, nec hoc vidit, sed post paucos dies, cum Ailina ad propria remeasset, curatam eam vidit.

[Testis] Robertus de Fulebech, laicus, juvenis, juratus, idem dicit per omnia quod Emma filia Agnetis; tempore hujus examinationis facte, mortui erant predicti Henrici et Ailina uxor sua.

(R. Foreville, p. 54)

Alina, monialis de Chikesand, que est domus ordinis de Sempingham, jurata, dixit que per triginta annos bis autem in anno graves solita esset sentire angustias et pressuras circa cor et toto latere sinistro; tandem ita gravata est egritudine illa quod credebatur incontinenti moriture et, vocatis magistro et aliis sacerdotibus, ut ei tanquam moriture in sacramentis extreme necessitas subvenirent, de consilio magistri infusa est ori ejus aqua qua ablutum fuit corpus magistri G[ileberti] defuncti, imposito super eam pelliceo magistri Gileberti; et ipsa quasi de extasi surgens cepit convalescere, et ita plene successu temporis sanitati restituta est, quod numquam postea afflictionem illam sensit.

Testis Sara, monialis de Chikesand, jurata, testatur satis concorditer cum predicta Alina de infirmitate ipsius Aline et modo curationis ejus.

(R. Foreville, p. 47)

What remains after the revision in the first instance is an anecdote purposely rendered vague. The chief means of condensation in Capgrave's eleven-line description of Ailina's miraculous recovery from her spell of madness (p. 131, ll. 2-11) is the deletion of the names of everyone involved and of the testimony of the witnesses. Thus, Ailina becomes "a woman" and her companions on the trip to Gilbert's tomb, idem Hugo et Agnes, soror ejus, una cum viro ipsius, become "hir husband and hir frendis." These excisions are partially responsible for the generalized character which replaces the precise, legalistic tone of the Latin. An

additional cause is the removal of all the formulae: the oath, juratus; the identification of status, as, for example, laicus; and the reiterated dixit.

Another kind of stylistic change which occurs even where the translation is virtually literal is the replacement of the series of court reporter's phrases, marked off with commas and semi-colons, by separate sentences and dependent clauses as when

Quia quasi furibonda aliena loquebatur, fremebat dentibus et conspuebat in faciem hominum; . . .

(italics added)

with its three independent verbs becomes

For as a wod creatur sche spak, gnacching with hir teth, and voydyng hir spatil in opir mennes faces and women.

(p. 131,11.4-5)

There is, in fact, only a single indication that the known version is not the source of this particular passage; in Capgrave's account the watch lasts for not one night but three.

Capgrave's version of the second miracle (p. 127,1.30 - p. 128,1.23) contains similar alterations in favour of a generalization. The names, the nun's residence, and the legalistic format have all disappeared along with the stenographic style. For critics like Foreville, speaking in reference to the Digby manuscript,³⁵ the removal of these elements offers proof of a time lapse and hence of later composition. Here, however, despite any stylistic arguments, there are such a large number of supplementary details that one can only conclude that Capgrave's source ultimately derived from a time close to Gilbert's death.

There is no indication in the Latin, for example, that Ailina "lost hir mynde" (p. 128,11.1-2) as a result of her pain and that her violence was uncontrollable, nor that the master who brought about her cure was Saint Gilbert's successor in the office (p. 128,11.7-8). Other additions which suggest the authority of a first-hand witness include the restoration of order to her dress and her trance-like cry "O moder of mercy,--What schuld we telle long tale?" (p. 128,11.19-20).

The revision of most of the miracles in Capgrave's Life follows one of these patterns. The additions to the narratives concerning the miraculous cures of a clerk's withered leg,³⁶ a maiden's contracted knees,³⁷ and a weaver's paralysed arm³⁸ are just as considerable as those in the one just discussed. Moreover, there are so many other minor variations³⁹ that there can be no doubt that the descriptions found in Capgrave's work were made at a near contemporary period and that their presence confirms a second tradition.

Throughout this portion of the text examples of Capgrave's characteristic revisions also occur. He gives definitions of podagra, ad vinculam, and "dysentery,"⁴⁰ for example, and for the Latin sepulchrum, he supplies "þe graue, or elles þe sepultur" (p. 119,1.3). Similarly, he transposes Latin dates into modern terminology for purposes of clarification,⁴¹ and he provides extra illustrations to verify the visions at the time of Gilbert's death (p. 105,1.36 - p. 106,1.6). The most personal addition is the digression of the probable direction of Gilbert's travels in Capgrave's own part of the country (p. 103,11.17-20); the most pedantic, or, more fairly, most

typically exegetical, is the addition of the names Adam and Christ to the references to "p̄e first man" and "p̄e secunde man" (p. 103,1.1 and 1.3).

Although it is not the purpose of this chapter to provide a thorough examination of Capgrave's skill as a translator in The Life of St. Gilbert, some evaluation must be made. Obviously, an accurate statement can depend only on those parts which are so closely allied to the known Latin versions as to be unquestionably a near literal translation of the common original. The two longest passages available are the Pope's sermon at the end of the work, chapters 56-60, and the account of the growth of the order in chapters 15-18. Since the latter allowed Capgrave more freedom in both additions and phraseology, it provides the better example of his method of composition.

Capgrave's Life is made longer by his own elaborations⁴² and by the less economical structure of English. The absence of cases and the condensation permitted in Latin by the use of verbals frequently require Capgrave to make a lengthy paraphrase, and there is at least one instance where the loss of grammatical gender produces awkwardness.⁴³ Generally, however, Capgrave handles the problem with a high degree of competence.

For example, it is often possible in Latin to summarize a preceding passage with a pronoun and participle, as in quod videns (Dugdale, p. x,1.8). In such cases Capgrave usually adopts a subordinate time-clause; "p̄an whan Seint Gilbert say" (p. 85,11.12-13). Similarly, when the adjectival use of the participle plus noun or

adjective is not permitted in English, as in militans Deo (Dugdale, p. ix,1.28) or aetatem habentes (Dugdale, p. x,1.14), it becomes an adjectival clause; "whech seruyth God" (p. 82,11.30-31) or "as her age grew" (p. 85,1.33). In one of the cases where Capgrave preserves this latter participle, he turns an abstract Latin phrase, circumquaque vagantes (Dugdale, p. x,1.4), into a happily colloquial English one, "rennyng a-boute þe world" (p. 85,11.2-3).

Converting the ablative absolute into idiomatic English is also a frequently encountered difficulty, and with it Capgrave is not always successful. Volente Domino (Dugdale, p. x,1.44) becomes "be þe wil of our Lord God" (p. 87,1.27) and illis viventibus (Dugdale, p. xi,1.7), "as long as þei lyued" (p. 88,11.12-13) easily enough, but habito auxilio et consilio venerabilis Alexandri (Dugdale, p. ix,1.41) is left clumsily dangling at the end of the sentence, "first axid and had þe counsel and þe help of Alexander" (p. 83,1.32).

Although the compass of this survey is short, several general observations may be made on Capgrave's handling of larger units. First, there is seldom any want of dexterity. More importantly, however, Capgrave shows considerable skill in recognizing structures parallel in Latin but not in English, phrases which must be expanded to clauses, and dependent clauses which must either become co-ordinate or totally independent to read fluently.

A single example where Capgrave re-orders a series of Latin accusatives will suffice to show with what ease he could change structures:

. . . praedicavit eis mundi contemptum, et omnis proprietatis abjectionem, suae voluntatis restrictionem et carnis mortificationem; laborem continuum, et quietem raram; vigiliis multas, et somnum tenuem; jejunia prolixa et cibaria vilia; vestem asperam et cultum nullum; claustrum carcerem, ne mala vel prava agerent, et silentii vicem ne eadem dicerent; orationis et meditationis frequentiam, ne illicita cogitarent: . . .

(Dugdale, p. x, ll. 15-19)

To his susteres he prechid þat þei schuld despise þe world & cast fro her hertis all maner of propirte, þat is to seyne, þei schuld þink no-þing was her, but al comoun, as religious folk must doo: he taute hem þe maner who þei schuld chāstise her flesch, to trauayle and to occupye hem fro ydilnesse, and neuyr to sitte qwiete fro labour in prayer or occupacion. He taute hem for to wake & not to slepe mech, to faste longe & not to vse metes oute of tyme. Wrecchid mete, scharp cloth, þis wold he þei schuld haue; no gay aray, but sperd in cloystir as in prison, þat þei schuld do no euele; to kepe silens, þat þei schuld no euele speke, but be occupied with orisones and meditaciones to avoyde euel þoutes.

(p. 86, ll. 1-11)

Obviously, Capgrave's translation is wordier than necessary and not all of the phrases require the restructuring he gives them. On the other hand, while it is possible to preach "contempt of the world," to preach the "casting-down of all property" sounds unnatural. Here and throughout the passage, particularly in the final section claustrum . . . cogitarent, the change to infinitive forms gives a less rigid tone.

There are many examples of the expansion of phrases into clauses. Sometimes the abbreviated Latin passages could be translated literally into correct, if stilted, English, as:

Quid enim prodest lampas ab oleo vacua; quid caro integra mente corrupta, corpus mundum et cor maculatum: . . .

(Dugdale, p. ix, ll. 24-25)

which Capgrave turns into three separate sentences;

What profitith a laumpe þat hat non oyle? What profitith clene flesch whan þe soule is corrupt? What profitith a body clene and a hert defouled?

(p. 82,11.24-26)

Others, however, demand the kind of revision Capgrave makes. Thus, tempore tantum congruo aperiendum (Dugdale, p. ix,1.50) becomes "for it was opened but at certeyn tymes which wer assigned" (p. 84,11.21-22), and ex frequenti hospicii susceptione (Dugdale, p. xi,11.20-21) is replaced by "for often þei come and wer loggid with him" (p. 89,1.19). Finally, there are passages wherein Capgrave changes from a phrase or participle to a clause purely on grounds of an intuitive awareness that the meaning contained is naturally borne by a superior unit in English. Such a response accounts for the alterations in the following set.

Quae omnia vir Domini, cum timore et tremore, et quadam coactione accepit; plurima autem refutans et omnino contemnens, eo quod honestam paupertatem semper diligeret.

(Dugdale, p. xi,11.3-4, italics added)

Our fadir Gilbert receyued þese possessiones with ful gret dred; and summe was he in maner coact to receyue; summe refused he and wold not haue hem, be-cause his desir was fro þe begynnyng of his ordre þat his progenie schuld lyue in honest pouerte.

(p. 88,11.1-4)

Here, a translation of the ablative phrase would have clearly diminished the emphasis on the element of compulsion; and, similarly, the verbs "refused" and "wold not haue" are far stronger than the comparable participles.

Sometimes Capgrave does follow the Latin structure with considerable fidelity, and as a result the tone of his work becomes more formal, even aphoristic. Among the many examples, the following demonstrate

the effect particularly well:

. . . . lich a cherch, and þei a cherch, (p. 84,11.4-5)

for

ad modum ecclesiae, immo ecclesia factae (Dugdale, p. ix,1.43)

. . . whos exercise is hard and mede gret, (p. 87,1.12)

for

quorum est actus difficilis, sed merces multa, (Dugdale, p. x,1.37)

and among the longer ones,

. . . þat Sathanas transfigur not him-self in-to an aungell of lith; þat þe wolf do not on his bak a schepis wolle; þat þe ostrich tak not þe wengis of an hauke; þat þe asse haue not þe leones membris. (p. 85,11.21-24)

for

ne se transfiguret Sathans in angelum lucis, ne pellem ovinam lupus, pennas accipitris strucio, membraque leonis induat asellus agrestis. (Dugdale, p. x,11.12-13)

Each of these does alter the easy, conversational tone of Capgrave's flow, but never awkwardly. On the other hand, there are a few occasions where his attempt to make a literal translation of the Latin clashes with English idiom. The first two, both occurring in the same passage, are examples of the retention of a Latin dative. Examples of this usage are found throughout early English, but by the mid-15th century, they are definitely to be regarded as archaic:

. . . legem sanctimoniae eis dictavit, et docuit, qua coelesti sponso placerent. (Dugdale, p. ix,11.31-32; italics added)

becomes

he mad to hem a lawe of holynesse & tawte hem þat same with which
 þei schuld plese to þe heuenly spouse. . . .
 (p. 83, ll. 12-14, italics added)

However, when he translates

. . . ad majorem sui ruinam, et sanctae religionis subversionem:

(Dugdale, p. x, ll. 11-12)

as

. . . to grete schame of hemself and grete vylony to religion.
 (p. 85, ll. 19-20)

Capgrave is neither idiomatic nor parallel in structure.

In sum, all of the evidence adduced leads to the conclusion that Capgrave's translation is a serviceable, workmanlike effort, filled with evidence of learning, and showing both the establishment of certain principles for revision and a capacity for explanations. However, there is no assimilation, much less artistic re-creation, of the two versions, and it would be wrong to suggest that either Capgrave or his predecessor demonstrates great talent as an adaptor.

Footnotes

* Internal documentation follows these principles. The only printed Latin Vita of St. Gilbert appears partially in: Dugdale, Monasticon, VI (London, 1830), v-xxix, and partially in: R. Foreville, Un procès de canonisation au XIII^e siècle: Le Livre de St. Gilbert (Paris, 1943). The former is cited as e.g., Dugdale, p.x, l.10; the latter, as e.g., R. Foreville, p. 6. Capgrave's Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, ed. J.J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S., 140 (London, 1910), is cited simply by page and line. The Latin Seruicium S. Gilleberti, ed. R.M. Woolley, Henry Bradshaw Society, LIX (London, 1921), 115-126, is cited as e.g., Woolley, p.118, l.2.

¹No separate articles exist; it is not used as a source in either of the two books dealing with Gilbert and his order; and it is mentioned only in passing in treatments of Capgrave himself.

²R. Foreville, p. xxxv.

³Gilbert certainly died in 1189, and he had then passed one hundred. Whether his age is to be read as centesimo sexto or merely senex has been a source of dispute. Ibid., p.ix, n.2.

⁴Dugdale, p.xi, l.31. In this same section, p.xii, ll.2-3, recognition of Gilbert's virtue is strengthened by the Pope's assertion that he would have made Gilbert Archbishop of York had he known him before he filled the vacancy.

⁵For a discussion of the organization and administration of these monasteries, see R. Graham, S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines: A History of the Only English Monastic Order (London, 1901).

⁶The nature of this inquiry forms the basis of R. Foreville's work noted above.

⁷This passage is the most important piece of evidence confirming Capgrave's residence in England in 1451 and some delay between the composition of the St. Augustine and the St. Gilbert.

⁸Munro, Introduction, p. ix; R. Foreville, p. 113; R. Graham, p. v.

⁹R. Foreville, p. xiv-xvii.

¹⁰It is also more probable than, for example, the theory of Gilbert's DNB biographer, T. A. Archer, that the Cotton and Harleian versions derived from that of Digby 36. See DNB, VII (Oxford, 1921-22), 1196, col. 1.

¹¹See: David Knowles, "The Revolt of the Lay Brothers of Sempringham," EHR, L (1935), 465-487.

¹²This characteristic self-dreprecatory topos is also found in Capgrave's own prologue as "I, ffrer I.C., amongis doctouris lest," p.61, l.3.

¹³Tentatively identified by R. Foreville, p. xxi, as one Ralph de Lille, a Gilbertine canon who was sacristan in the church at Sempringham.

¹⁴There are two additional letters in Digby 36, published in Knowles, p. 479 and p. 483.

¹⁵R. Foreville, p. xv. My preliminary investigation of the Digby MS raised severe doubts about the accuracy of Mlle. Foreville's statements. She says, for example,

les Miracula y sont représentés seulement par des extraits pour la plupart d'ailleurs tiré du second recueil, lequel, posterieur au procès de canonisation et dépourvu d'attestations authentiques, ne présente pas le caractère officiel qui fait toute la valeur du premier.

(p. xv)

In fact, of the 28 miracles which Digby 36 gives, 14 are from the first, the official collection, 12 are from the second, and 2 are unparalleled in Cotton Cleopatra B 1. And, despite her categorical denial of "attestations authentiques," virtually all of the reports are accompanied by the legal formula iuratus dixit, and most include the testimony of witnesses who are identified as such.

These factors -- especially the two unparalleled miracles -- and the two letters Knowles pointed out suggest a contemporary basis rather than Foreville's contention that Digby's source was composed at a time quite distant from the canonization proceedings.

I have made a collation of the contents of Digby 36 against both Cotton Cleopatra B 1 and Capgrave. However, the tables would not be appropriate here, since neither the order nor selection of the materials in Digby 36 -- the miracles in particular -- shed any further light on Capgrave's source. Capgrave does not include the two miracles unique to Digby 36: he excludes some of the others as well, and there is certainly no correspondence in the order in which they are reported.

Obviously the evidence is always tenuous in discussing manuscripts no longer extant but which are presumed to have once existed. This particular argument is further complicated by disagreements over the date of Digby 36. While R. Foreville, p.xv, and Archer, DNB, VII, 1196, col. 1, place it in the 15th, Knowles, p. 474 ascribes it to the 14th.

¹⁶ Contained in Digby 36, f.110v-116v. Printed in The Gilbertine Rite, ed. R. M. Woolley, Henry Bradshaw Society, LIX (1921), 115-126.

¹⁷ Capgrave, see: p.80,1.21; p.85,11.24-31; p.125,1.30; p.130,1.4; p.141,1.3.

¹⁸ In the following list of literally translated passages, the many additions and omissions are not accounted for. The references in the left column are to pages and lines in Capgrave's life; in the right to those in Cotton Cleopatra B 1 as printed in Dugdale's Monasticon.

p.63,11.26-27	p.v,11.23-24
p.63,1.32 - p.64,1.1	p.v,11.36-37
p.64,11.3-5	p.v,11.44-45
p.64,11.22-24	p.vi,11.8-9
p.64,11.24-25	p.vi,11.10-11
p.65,11.14-16	p.vi,11.39-40
p.65,11.18-29	p.vi,11.40-45
p.65,11.32-33	p.vi,11.9-10
p.66,11.1-3	p.viii,1.10-11
p.66,11.7-8	p.viii,1.3-4
p.66,11.9-21	p.vii,11.36-42
p.66,11.22-25	p.viii,11.38-40
p.66,11.26-31	p.vii,11.15-19
p.66,1.35 - p.67,1.1	p.ix,11.16-17
p.67,1.28	p.xii,11.34-35
p.67,1.29 - p.68,1.4	p.xiv,11.13-19
p.68,11.6-10	p.xi,11.3-5
p.69,11.5-10	p.xiv,11.10-12
p.69,11.14-18	p.xv,11.29-31
p.69,11.18-19	p.xv,1.32
p.69,1.23 - p.70,1.3	p.xv,11.33-40
p.70,11.5-8	p.xv,11.41-42
p.70,11.8-11	p.xvi,11.1-2
p.70,11.11-19	p.xv,11.46-50
p.70,1.20 - p.71,1.1	p.xvi,11.3-10
p.71,11.3-11	p.xvi,11.10-14
p.71,11.19-21	p.xvi,1.15
p.71,1.23 - p.72,1.13	p.xvi,11.15-27
p.72,1.25	p.xvii,1.6
p.73,11.8-11	p.xx,11.26-29
p.73,11.12-14,15-19	p.xx,1.29-31

p.73,1.27 - p.74,1.13
 p.74,11.18-29
 p.75,11.5-16
 p.75,11.16-31
 p.76,1.2 - p.77,1.13
 p.77,1.15
 p.77,11.18-23
 p.77,1.23 - p.78,1.4
 p.78,1.21 - p.79,1.16

p.xxi,11.22-31
 p.xxii,11.9-12
 p.xxii,11.28-35
 p.xxii,11.38-43
 p.xxii,1.43 - p.xxiii,1.16
 p.xxiii,1.21
 p.xxiii,11.21-24
 p.xxiii,11.33-39
 p.xxiv,1.38 - p.xxv,1.5

¹⁹Ed. R.M. Woolley, p.117,11.11-19,26-35; p.118,11.1-13,25-34;
 p.119,11.1-7,14-20,38 - p.120,1.3; p.120,11.11-16,24-31.

²⁰Those passages which are adopted literally are put forth in
 n.18; the break between Qualiter se Habuit in Praelatione and De
Asperitate Vitae ejus falls mid 1.18 on p. 79 of Capgrave's work.

²¹Lectio one becomes chapters one and two; lectio eight, chap-
 ters nine and ten.

22

Woolley
 p.117,11.31-35
 p.118,11.1-13
 p.120,11.24-31

Capgrave
 p.66,11.21-25
 p.67,11.6-28
 p.77,11.25-32

²³To show how closely literal these passages are, the Latin is
 given in full with the corresponding page and line reference in Cap-
 grave's Life following.

Lectio 4, p.118,11.25-34

Qualiter autem se gesserit in pastorali haut dubium quin toti
 iam innotuerit anglorum regioni (p.68,11.19-21). Erat autem
 homo hillaris et iocundus prudens in verbis et urbane eloquencie
 nec habens in eloquio quicquam reprehensibilitatis admixtum
 (p.69,11.14-16). Exteriori quoque scemate conformis immo forma
 facta subditis (p.69,11.18-19) ens in illis quasi unus ex illis
 (p.69,1.21). Omnia uero que minoribus imperauit in se prius
 quantum decuit ipse seruauit (p.69,11.23-24). Cum comedebat non
 quod sibi sumeret sed quod ceteris tribueret: uoluit apponi
 p.69,11.24-25) Hillaris conuiuia. commensales uultu potius quam
 esu saciabat. Unde et miro affectu tam a suis quam ab alienis
 diligebatur (p.70,11.2-3).

Lectio 6, p.119,11.14-20

Quante fuerit magnanimitatis et constancie. patet non solum in arduis magnorum negociorum que feliciter expleuit agressibus: uerum eciam in multis id liquet iniuriarum quas pie tulit pro iusticia tolleranciis (p.72,11.25-28). Tusticie autem et veritatis in tantum erat emulator. ut diceret malle se subire exilium seu guttur prebere secundum: quam sinere quantum in ipso erat acclesie iura et sancte religionis institua deperire (p.73,11.2-6). (Note also that the phrase seu guttur prebere secundum occurs here and in Capgrave's version, but not in Cotton Cleopatra B 1.)

Lectio 8, p.120,11.11-16

Appropinquante autem tempore uocationis sue cepit plus solito lascescere. pronunciauitque se in hac uita diucius non posse subsistere: quia tocius nature aminiculis destituebature (p. 75,11.8-12) Mox igitur insinuauit per literas omnibus ecclesiis suis sui resolutionem imminere (p.75,11.16-18). postunlans ut oracionibus suis exitum eius munirent (p.75, 11.19-21).

²⁴See, for example, Dugdale, p.xviii,11.2-12 and p.xix, 11.14-16.

²⁵The passage occurs in Dugdale, p.vi,11.25-32.

²⁶Beaumont's will is dated September 8th, 1396; and he was a well-known benefactor of the Sempringham monastery in whose church he was buried.

²⁷Others include, Capgrave, the references to Solomon's moderation, p.68,11.10-12; to Job's seed, p.68,11.24-25; to Solomon's words, p.69,11.21-23; to "be elde faderes lyues of Egipt," p.71,11.12-14; to Christ's words to his apostles, p.71,11.17-19; and the addition of Moses to Caleph in the elaboration of the comparison of the aged Gilbert to biblical figures, p.73,11.18-22.

²⁸Ibid., Job, p.63,1.25 and p.77,1.22; the psalm reference p.74,1.20.

²⁹In Capgrave, in chapters fifteen and sixteen, p.82,1.19 - p.84,1.31. In Dugdale, in the section De Exordio Ordinis de Sempingham et Inclusionem Monialium, p.ix,1.23 - p.x,1.2.

³⁰The following table locates the beginnings of chapters in the second part of Capgrave's Life of St. Gilbert in terms of the printed Latin version, Cotton Cleopatra B 1.

<u>English</u>	<u>Latin</u>
Chapter 14	Second paragraph <u>Quantum Sprevit Divitias Seculi</u> , Dugdale, p.viii,1.46.
Chapter 15	Third line, second paragraph of <u>De Exordio Ordinis de Sempingham et Inclusionem Monialium</u> , <u>Ibid.</u> , p.ix,1.23.
Chapter 16	Third paragraph, same section, same, 1.45.
Chapter 17	Beginning of <u>Conversio laicorum Fratrum</u> , <u>Ibid.</u> , p.x,1.28.
Chapter 18	Beginning of <u>Quod adiit Dominum Papam Eugenium</u> , <u>Ibid.</u> , p.xi,1.11.
Chapter 19	Beginning of <u>Quod comissum est ei a Domino Papa Regimen Ordinis sui</u> , same, 1.31.
Chapter 20	Fourth line of <u>Ordinatio Canonicorum</u> , <u>Ibid.</u> , p.xii,1.11.
Chapter 21	Breaks with literal translation for summary of tribulations.
Chapter 22	Fourth paragraph of <u>De Constantia ejus</u> , <u>Ibid.</u> , p.xviii,1.12.
Chapter 23	Fourth line, second paragraph of <u>Qualis erat in Senio</u> , <u>Ibid.</u> , p.xx,1.46.
Chapters 24-31 Inclusive	Narrative rather than legalistic versions of miracles done during Gilbert's life. In the Latin, they are treated as independent items; in the English they are frequently gathered into single chapters. Moreover, as n.31 shows, their order is not sequential.

<u>English</u>	<u>Latin</u>
Chapter 32	Beginning, <u>Incipit Canonizatio beati Gilberti</u> , Dugdale, p.xxv,l.20.
Chapter 33	Tenth line, second paragraph, same section, same, 1:47.
Chapter 34	Ninth line, third paragraph, same section, <u>Ibid.</u> , p.xxvi,l.11.
Chapter 35	Eleventh line, fourth paragraph, same section, same, 1:37.
Chapter 36	Beginning, sixth paragraph, same section, <u>Ibid.</u> , p.xxvii,l.14.
Chapter 37	Beginning, second paragraph, <u>De Translatione S. Gileberti Confessoris</u> , same, 1:44.
Chapters 38-55 Inclusive	Post-mortem miracles treated in the same way as earlier ones.
Chapter 56	First nine lines not in Latin, then begins with third line Pope Innocent III's letter to Archbishop of Canterbury, Cotton Cleopatra B 1, f.132v, printed R. Foreville, p.32.
Chapter 57	Mid 15th line, first paragraph of letter, f.133, <u>Ibid.</u> , p.33,l.7.
Chapter 58	Beginning third paragraph of letter, f.133v, same, 1:41.
Chapter 59	Beginning fourth paragraph of letter, f.134v, <u>Ibid.</u> , p.34,l.26.
Chapter 60	Thirty-sixth line, fourth paragraph of letter, f.135v, <u>Ibid.</u> , p.35,l.16.

No provision has been made in this chart for the many places in which a single chapter is made up of more than one Latin section or in which whole passages are omitted.

³¹The miracles done by Gilbert's intercession during his life appear in Capgrave's Life from p.98,1.2 - p.104,1.13 and total eleven. The following table gives Capgrave's page and line references on the left; the Cotton Cleopatra B 1 folio references, along with R. Foreville's page numbers, on the right.

1. p. 98,11.2-30	f.75v-76; p.74-75
2. p. 99,11.2-11	f.76; p.75
3. p. 99,11.12-31	f.76-76v; p.75-76
4. p.100,11.2-11	f.76v; p.76
5. p.100,11.12-26	not in Latin
6. p.100,11.27-35	not in Latin
7. p.101,11.2-27	f.79-79v; p.78-79
8. p.101,1.28 - p.102,1.3	not in Latin
9. p.102,11.5-17	f.81v-82; p.81
10. p.102,11.18-32	f.81-81v; p.80
11. p.103,1.2 - p.104,1.13	f.80v-81; p.79-80

In the second group, there are twenty-nine miracles. The tabular arrangement is the same.

1. p.118,1.12 - p.119,1.27	f.140v-142; p.42-43
2. p.119,1.29 - p.121,1.11	f.142-142v; p.43-44
3. p.121,11.13-22	f.144; p.46
4. p.121,1.23 - p.122,1.6	f.153v-154; p.56
5. p.122,11.8-28	f.154v; p.57
6. p.122,1.29 - p.123,1.8	f.142v-143; p.44
7. p.123,1.10 - p.124,1.22	f.149-149v; p.51-52
8. p.124,11.24-34	f.147; p.49
9. p.125,11.1-4	not in Latin
10. p.125,11.5-21	f.148v-149; p.51
11. p.125,1.23 - p.126,1.17	f.146v-147; p.48
12. p.126,11.19-29	f.155v-156; p.58
13. p.126,1.30 - p.127,1.6	f.153; p.55
14. p.127,11.8-28	f.144-145; p.46
15. p.127,1.30 - p.128,1.23	f.145v; p.47
16. p.128,1.24 - p.129,1.3	f.143; p.44
17. p.129,11.5-15	f.143v-144; p.45
18. p.129,11.16-28	f.145-145v; p.47
19. p.129,1.30 - p.130,1.36	f.145v-146v; p.48
20. p.131,11.2-11	f.151v-152; p.54
21. p.131,11.12-15	f.152v; p.55
22. p.131,11.16-27	f.152-152v; p.54
23. p.131,1.29 - p.132,1.7	f.154v-155; p.57-58
24. p.132,11.8-10	f.155-155v; p.58
25. p.132,11.11-14	f.155v; p.58
26. p.132,1.15 - p.133,1.4	f.150-150v; p.52-53
27. p.133,11.6-23	f.153-153v; p.56
28. p.133,1.25 - p.134,1.27	f.147v-149; p.50
29. p.134,1.29 - p.135,1.21	f.151-151v; p.53

³²A passage of similar tone occurs in the dedicatory letter to Archbishop Hubert Walter, Cotton Cleopatra B 1, f.33-33v (de Foreville, p.2,11.10-17). The dedication was not, of course, a part of the version Capgrave worked from.

³³Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1952), p. 94.

³⁴With the tag: p.86,11.2-3; p.87,11.25-26; p.91,1.5; p.93, 11.22-24. Without: p.95,1.3; p.112,11.23-24,1.27,11.29-36; p.114, 1.15; p.138,1.11.

³⁵R. Foreville, p. xv.

³⁶The addition is found p.118,11.21-34. It is also interesting that Capgrave specifically declares that the clerk's name is unknown when it is given as Symon in the Latin version.

³⁷Additions include: p.119,1.30; p.120,11.3-5,4-10,25-26,31-33; p.121,11.1-12.

³⁸Additions are p.130,11.6-17,21,27-29.

³⁹See: the miracle of Gilbert's canon Albyn p. 98; the description of the smith's cup, p.100,11.1-3; details on the London fire, p.102,1.19; the words of the shipmen, p.104,11.3-4; and also, p.122, 11.32-33; p.126,1.3; p.131,11.22-24; p.132,1.36 - p.133,1.4; p.133,11.15-17.

⁴⁰P.99,11.16-17; p.121,1.17; p.128,1.26.

⁴¹P.118,1.20; p.131,1.13.

⁴²Apart from the developments of the terms "neophyte" and "honest pouerte" which have already been discussed, there are explanatory elaborations on p.82,11.20-22; p.83,11.2-5,11.9-11,11. 20-21; p.84,11.9-10,11.26-28; p.85,1.12; p.86,1.26; p.87,1.1; p.88,11.7-10.

⁴³Jam tempus advenit, ut egrederetur dilectus cum dilecta in agrum mundi (Dugdale, p.x,1.41) becomes the very clumsy "Now is the tyme come þat þe welbeloued masculyne with the welbeloued feminine schuld go oute in-to þe feld of þis world, . . ." (Capgrave, p.87, 11.19-21, italics added).

CHAPTER VII

THE SOLACE OF PILGRIMS AND THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND

Between the four saints' lives and Capgrave's last two English works a major distinction must be made; for, despite their often barren style, the lives belong to a recognized literary genre while The Solace of Pilgrims and The Chronicle of England must be classified with non-imaginative literary forms. It is true that history and literature go hand in hand in the early period and that travel books and histories are studied by scholars in both fields. The Beowulf, for example, has been examined alike for its links with the historical past and for its poetic metres, diction, and legendary substance; and without such works as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, King Alfred's Orosius, and the Old English version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, the Old English prose remains would be much abbreviated. Similarly, though the body of literature becomes far larger in Middle English and certain of the writings have considerable literary merit or interest, the two genres continue to occupy a prominent position. The consanguinity of the two fields is nowhere better demonstrated than in the search for the historical genesis of the Arthurian material which was ultimately to grow into the greatest of the literary romance cycles.

But a point comes when critical judgement has to be exercised; and it must be recognized that among the vast output of this period there are many works whose contribution either to the study of beliefs

of medieval men or to the development of a vernacular prose style is insufficient to win them literary status. Such works are important documents, but literature only within the broadest definition. To this category Capgrave's last two English compositions have to be relegated. There are not in either of them many noteworthy descriptive passages. In both the prose style is undistinguished; and there is not even in them the redeeming feature of the author's persona, for Capgrave seems to have taken special pains to efface himself from both works.

Unlike the saints' lives in which he palpably relied on a well-defined source, in both these works Capgrave ranged over the familiar medieval compendia, using (with few exceptions) only the most readily available and best known ones. But more disappointing than the conventionality of the items is the fact that in selecting, arranging, and commenting upon them, Capgrave systematically denies his readers glimpses of his personal experiences and attitudes, except insofar as he, as a scholar, occasionally tries to judge the relative historicity or accuracy of certain reports. Objectivity is not for him a mask hiding ironies or allowing unorthodox views to be introduced, but rather an all-pervasive and dulling mode of the non-involved collector-collator. When he mentions England, he frequently refers to it as "this" or "our" land, but there is no sense of an emerging nationalism; he evinces no partisan pride in its victories or its heroes nor any feeling of defensiveness when he notes its defeats or describes its villains. On another scale, though he perhaps cites in these two works Augustinian foundations and friars more often than those of any other order, his

remarks on them are equally dispassionate.¹ And even when he could introduce personal response to, or memory of, a place or event, he consistently bypasses it in favour of concrete reportage. Both the Solace and the Chronicle share what may be called this anonymous style, which is at once the principal characteristic and the main limitation of the works. That is was intentional is patent; its ultimate effect, however, in this case, is to inhibit even descriptive criticism and to preclude any attempt at literary judgement.

CHAPTER I

THE SOLACE OF PILGRIMS

Capgrave's anonymous style is immediately evident in his account of the sights he saw in Rome that are recorded in his The Solace of Pilgrims. Much of his commentary testifies that he personally visited the shrines described and made enquiries to discover the truth about recorded events and myths, and even sought to find additional information; but he is never emotionally, much less spiritually, moved by the relics he describes or the passions he commemorates.

In absolute terms, Capgrave could have written many of the descriptions by sifting through accounts of shrines in the martyrologies and by reading the standard histories. For example, he need not have seen the woman washing at a certain gate (p. 9) nor the horses carrying salt down from the mountains (p. 11) to say that they did so. And, similarly, the position of the various monuments in relation to each

other and of the altars and chapels within the churches was ascertainable both from books and from maps like the unknown contemporary one that Capgrave informs the reader included the places he describes (p. 2). Once, in fact, Capgrave states that he has not seen the place which is the subject of the chapter:

Archus prici tarquinii is an othir place and in uery suryete I wot not where it standith. The descripcioun of þe place schal I write as I fynde leuyng þe soile for to be soute of hem þat wil walk and take heed more bisily þan I ded.

(p. 45)

But more often a vague phrase, such as "as 3et is sene," "as we goo to," or "stant 3et," or a reference to an inscription he records and translates, or a painting which he discusses in some detail indicates that he was himself there. In some of the largest churches -- St. John Lateran (pp. 71-76) and Santa Croce (pp. 76-79) -- he was apparently a member of a group being given a guided tour, for he registers the important parts of the church in an ordered sequence and moves from one sight or place to another with phrases such as "than go we," "aftir visitacioun of þese places we entre in to," "now go we upward," and "than go we down."

It is rare in the Solace to find a general impression, and the few that are present are unspecific, mere substitutes for more concrete details. Of the church of S. Vitale, he says only,

A ful desolate place it is and al in ruine as þere be many moo.
(p. 112)

before turning to a description of St. Vitalis' martyrdom; and the statement that S. Maria di Palma

. . . is a praty litil cherch & a place annexid þertoo where
is comounly a tavern to the counfort of pilgrimes.
(p. 162)

is only a prelude to his "gessing" about the source of the name and to his recounting of the story of Christ's appearance to Peter in the neighborhood of the church.

Through these and other techniques, Capgrave excludes himself from the scenes depicted in the Solace; he also refuses opportunities to vivify his work by directing it more particularly to the "solace" of his countrymen. His language and his planning make clear that he wrote with a vernacular audience in mind, but he only refers to Englishmen, or to their history and customs, on five occasions. Early in the work, he differentiates between methods of ploughing in Italy and England (p. 6); a few pages later, he reports that amphitheatres were "round swech as we haue in þis lond" (p. 17) in contrast to other, semi-circular theatres. Among his proofs that the adoption of Christianity was not the cause of Rome's downfall, he introduces the British heroes Belinus and Brennus' mythical conquest of Italy (p.20); and he acknowledges that "an englisch frere" described to him the recent translation of St. Susanna (p. 123). The first two of these references are at least intended to strengthen the reader's conception of what the author is describing, but the other two are in their varying ways only incidentals. The fifth and longest reference to England occurs when Capgrave treats the question of the historicity of St. George, but even here he does not elaborate. Having decided in favour of the accuracy of the Church's ancient councils which numbered St. George among the saints,

he poses a second question:

But a mongis studious men is meuyd þis doute. Whi yat þe region of ynglond hath þis seynt in so special reuerens þat þei make him a principal capteyn in her batayles and trost up on him most aftir god.

(pp. 88-89)

Then, without a single example of George's aid to Englishmen or any prayer to his country's patron saint, he drops the issue as unresolved as he found it:

Many þingis haue I herd in þis mater but of non auctorite and þerfor wil I leue it rith as I fynde.

(p. 89)

Capgrave's refusal to make any comment which suggests his own involvement or vivifies his own experience is evident even on the two occasions when he was obviously part of a large crowd at a Lenten station. He mentions that the selling of relics, the celebration of the mass, and the "tariing of þe puple" are all at the church of St. John and St. Paul only to prove that the station is there, and not in the monastery of St. Andrew (p. 89); and "þe prees" (p. 102) at St. Lawrence Panisperna is mentioned only to account for the fact that he was unable to take notes on the "many opir relikes."

Clearly, he selected the stories he would tell concerning the various monuments from a wide range of possibilities, and in his selection he reveals his persistent scholarly and biblical orientation. It is, nevertheless remarkable that the Solace should be almost devoid of local colour that would form a backdrop or frame, or at the very least a context, for his descriptive accounts. The single digression relating a contemporary Roman custom (and it is one Capgrave found distasteful)

stands out for the vividness of its reporting:

Up on þis hill is gret ordinaunce on fasting Sunday for þer be grete cartis with bugles þerin for to drawe hem and þe cartis ful of swyn, alle þis ordinaunce is sette a boue þe hill and þere come þe romanes with armour and swerdis in her best aray for he þat may cacch a mussel of flesch þat day he is a man for euyr. Thus sodeynly þe cartes go down and þe men be redy with speris for to gor þe bestis so what for be grete descence and sodeyn fro þe hill and hurt of þe bestis and cry of þe men þe ger brekith and þe bestis are loos a ful onlikly game me þout³ it was wher þe flesch is hewe with rusty heren [iron] and summe men hurt and summe dede but þis is her elde game wher þei can not leue.

(pp. 50-51)

Notwithstanding this general absence of personality, The Solace of Pilgrims is Capgrave's most deliberately conceived and consciously executed work and the only one for which he himself devised the plan. For this reason it deserves careful examination and analysis. In the first chapter of this study, arguments were presented for dating Capgrave's trip to Rome in 1449, and the internal evidence proving that the Solace could not have been completed later than 1452 was noted. More interesting than the problem of dating, however, is Capgrave's total design and the unified composition of the work; for, almost certainly, he wrote the Solace with the whole composition in mind, from notes which he had taken on his visit to Rome and which he elaborated and organized either during his recuperation or after his return to England.

In his introduction, Capgrave first declares that he regards his work as traditional, and he cites Pictagorus, Plato, Saint Jerome, Marco Polo, and Sir John Mandeville as the illustrious models which he will try to emulate:

Many men in þis world aftyr her pilgrimage haue left memoriales of swech þingis as þei haue herd and seyn þat nowt only here eres schuld bere witnesse but eke her eyne Aftyr all þese grete cryeris of many wonderfull þingis I wyl follow with a smal pyping of swech straunge sitis as I haue seyn and swech straunge þingis as I haue herd.

(p. 1)

Next, he ranks according to their reliability the three kinds of evidence he has:

. . . I schal not write but þat I fynde in auctores & þat is for a principall, or ellis þat I sey with eye and þat is for a secundari, or ellis þat I suppose is soth lete þat be of best auctorite.

(p. 1)

Finally, he delineates his planned divisions:

The first part schal declare the disposicioun of rome fro his first makyng. The secunde part schal declar þe holynesse of þe same place fro his first crystendam.

(p. 2)

Since Capgrave himself entitled his work "solace of pilgrimys" (p. 2), the reader is prepared for the devotional rather than the marvellous limits of the "straunge sitis" and expects that both parts will be directed towards the revelation of "þe spiritual tresor of rome" (p. 60); and this emphasis is indeed confirmed throughout. Capgrave's interest, for example, in the pagan monuments of the first book is not in the gods or in the events they commemorate or even in their ceremonial and judicial functions but in the holy purposes to which they have been turned. This concentration accounts for the statement that prefaces his discussion in chapter eight of twelve archeological remains (most of them temples):

Of opir holy places spoken of in our legendis and martilogis wil we trete now for it is a grete counfort on to our deuocioun

þat whan we rede of hem we may remembr þat we sey him.
(p. 21)

It also explains his choice of the biblically-cited tablet confirming the friendship of the Romans and Jews preserved in the palace of Trajan and Hadrian as the single item worthy of note there (pp. 48-49), and of the subject matter of most of his annotations in the first part. Further, it indicates why Capgrave would regard a description of Caesar's death as "ouyr longe for to telle and eke ouyr fer fro our purpos" (p. 25), while allowing such moral or exegetical digressions as those on Virgil's fore-knowledge of Christ's impending birth (p. 27), the conquest of Rome by the British (p. 28), the philosophy of the Gymnosophists (p. 30), the ability of evil spirits to delude men (p. 38), and the existence of holy people before the coming of Christ (p. 40).³

If his subject matter is limited in this way, it is also true that his use of authorities does not precisely correspond with the order he suggests in his Prologue. Though he apparently regarded written sources as the primary documentation for information and repeatedly refers to the specific text he uses,⁴ he was well aware of the possible conflicts that exist between authorities and of the inevitability of error: "for errour of writeris I can not discern" (p. 16); "Swech contradiccioun is alday in cronciles . . ." (p. 71). When he lists different theories, he variously concludes the arguments, sometimes stating that he believes one is "þe trewer wey" or even constructing additional proofs or attempting to reconcile two different opinions (p. 11 and p. 43); but more often, either refusing to choose at all --

as he does in the cases of the meaning of Septisolium (pp. 44-45), the proper name of the church at S. Lorenzo in Damaso (pp. 128-129), and the identity of the St. Susanna whose translation was described to him by the other English friar (pp. 123-124) -- or leaving the matter entirely to his reader's own judgment:

I leue al þis in þe disposicioun of þe readers.
(p. 10)

Wheþir þis be treuth or nout I make no meyntenaunce.
(p. 36)

. . . all þis leue I to discusse a monges þe rederis of
þis book.
(p. 53)

Thus, despite his heavy reliance on written sources for his elaborations, his "principal" ground was not the basis of his organization. And quite evidently, the "secundari," "þat I sey with eye" -- or, as he often says, "herd" -- giving him material for the notes from which he worked, shaped the essential nature of The Solace of Pilgrims. There is little doubt that his method was to work from notes taken on the spot. One reference to an occasion when he was unable to do so has been mentioned earlier; another occurs on p. 87: "In þis same cherch be many relikes whеч I wrote not." These notes must have taken different forms, and what he saw, discovered for himself, or was told in turn determined the contents of his chapters. Frequently, he copied inscriptions and they, along with their translations, comprise a great part of his entries;⁵ at other times, he seems simply to have listed the relics he was shown and to have sought out verbal or written authorities for the stories of the martyrdoms or the modes of translation at

a later time. It is likely, for example, that his original note on the Church of the twelve apostles was close to the opening statement in his description:

The friday in þe first weke of lenton is þe stacion at a cherch dedicat to þe xii aposteles. Ther is part of the bodies of philippe and iacob but in special þere is schewid þe arme of seint philippe al hool. Ther ly þe bodies eke of þese martires basilides cirini naboris nazarii & celse uictoris & innocencii.
(pp. 103-104)

There are many other catalogues of relics equally as brief or only slightly more detailed. From this base he later composed his chapter. First, obviously requiring no source, he adds the place of the respective martyrdoms of the apostles, Philip and James, and the fact of their translation to Rome. Then, moving to the lesser figures, he found "but litil writyng" for the first three martyrs and could only add that they

. . . were ded for cristis sake in a cyte þei clepe ebrunensis [Embrun] and aftirward in tyme of pees translate to rome.

(p. 104)

Finally, he proceeded to a longer history of Nazarius and Celsus which he found in some martyrology. Similarly, in most other cases, Capgrave elaborates only a single item from the catalogue of relics.⁶ If the church he is discussing is a minor one, dedicated to a little known saint, he usually satisfies himself with recounting the saint's history,⁷ whereas if the saint is a major one whom he has already mentioned several times, he adds some new story.⁸ In those cases for which he cites several different authorities, choosing one as the most reliable, it seems safe to say that he worked after the fact; but when his remarks

concern verbal reports, it is less easy to decide whether he is recollecting or consulting his notes. Having divided his notes, as he says, into those concerning "the disposicioun of rome" and those concerning its "holynesse," he gave each part a kind of chronological arrangment. But, just as Capgrave's intention was not so much to divide pagan from Christian Rome as to separate monuments of temporal events from the spiritual shrines, so the first part has as a frame Roman history itself, from the founding of the city to the deposition of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II in 1245, while the second describes the churches of Rome (after the first seven chapters) according to the order in which they are visited in the yearly cycle of the stations of Lent.

Since Rome had become the centre of the Christian world long before the end of the historical period which Capgrave records, this bipartite organization necessarily involves a certain amount of repetition and overlapping. However, it is important to see that chronology determines only the external shape of the work, and Capgrave's careful planning of the Solace only becomes apparent when it is recognized that the whole operates on a far more complex principle of organization. In Book One, four chapters (1 and 24-26) give a skeletal recitation of the founding and the rulers of Rome; the remaining twenty-two are devoted to the archaeological sites of the city. These in turn can be divided into the eight (Chapters 2-8 and 10) in which the various kinds of remains are grouped (including gates, walls, towers, bridges, palaces, arches, cemeteries, pagan shrines, together with the famed seven hills) and the fourteen devoted to one particular attraction, such as the

Capitol or the Colisseum. Obviously, many of the notices in this part impinge upon the matter of the second book, for usually a pagan shrine is memorable because it stood where an important church now stands, or a gate is important because a martyr whose relics are preserved in one of the churches passed through it on his way to his execution. Similarly, in most cases, the physical position of the churches dealt with in the fifty-four chapters of Book II has been mentioned earlier; and since several of those described initially as the seven major churches of Rome are repeatedly visited during Lent, even more repetition occurs. What is remarkable in this organization is the consistency with which Capgrave observes the repetition and either omits the account, truncates it, or provides a cross-reference.

In the first book, the forward-looking references reserve material till later, sometimes in general terms, as in

. . . of which places we speke now but litil for aftir in our book we wil speke of hem mor largely.

(p. 8)

or

Many oþir places be þer þus chaunged to þe best of which we schul speke more largely in þe secund book whan we schull descryue þe cherchis.⁹

(p. 22)

and sometimes with specific indications of the contents of future discussions, as in

Of þe temple þat stood þerupon and who it is dedicate to seynt steuene we schal trete in þe secund book which schal be of spiritual þingis.

(p. 16)

or

. . . it is not our occupacioun for to telle what it is for
 þat longith to þe secunde book but for to telle what it was.¹⁰
 (p. 39)

Explicit in all these quotations, especially in the last two, is Capgrave's clear division of his material into spiritual and temporal items; and in the single instance in which he violates his division, he justifies it on grounds which offer further proof that his whole design was premeditated:

. . . þe cause we schul not talk þerof in þe secund book for it
 is neythir on of þe uii chercches ne non of þe patriarcal chercis
 which þe clepe staciones þerfor wil I write her þe uers which I
 red þere.
 (p. 41)

The reminders that he is aware of a repetition are usually brief, such as "of which I spake be fore" (p. 12), but often he identifies the earlier chapter by name -- "as we seyde before in the capitule de montibus" (p. 26) or "Before in þe chapitr of gates we seid" (p. 43) -- or by number:

Be fore in þe uiii chapetir spoke we sumwhat in þis mater and
 her schul we fulfille þat was left þere
 (p. 25)

And, on occasion, he summarizes the earlier subject matter:

. . . Of which mater we spoke be fore & eke whi he is called
 qwyrinus in þe first chapetr.
 (p. 14)

These basic varieties of cross-references are exemplified also in Book II except that there is there no instance in which Capgrave declares that something had been rehearsed in the first book because it had no spiritual significance. Thus, he refers back generally --

"of which we spak be fore" (p. 124) -- or specifically:

. . . of which conk [font] we mad a special declaracion in þe first part be fore þe xxiii chapetre.

(p. 71)¹¹

or he offers a précis of his past remarks and anticipates his elaboration:

Of þis grisogonus we spoke sumwhat be for in þe title of seynt anastase. There told we who he counfortid hir with his noble episteles her wil we telle be what tribulacion he went to heuene.¹²

(p. 137)

The problems inherent in his plan are aptly summed up in his own phrase, "as we seid ofte a boue" (p. 115); for before he is far advanced in his second book, he is forced to offer less relevant reasons for the inclusion of certain reports. Having exhausted the major sights of such churches as S. Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran by the end of first or second reference to it, but being still obliged to produce a chapter of roughly the same length for every station, he provides the reader with a series of more literary reasons:

. . . of which place we seid mech þing be fore in þe capitule made of þe same cherch. But here 3et we þink it is resonable to reherse summe þingis perauentur left be for for it schal make þe boke mor perfith and alsoo it schal not acombir þe rederis with no tariing for þe processe schal be succinct.

(p. 94)

. . . of which we spoke of be fore and told all þe writyngis which we found þere. But neuerþelasse for perfeccion of þe book we wil plant in sum notable processe which fel in þis place.

(p. 100)

. . . of which we spoke mech before but sum pety þingis left we for to plant in whanne þe staciounes come for conueniens of þe book.

(p. 104)

. . . of which we spoke be fore but sümme addiciones wil we sette here rith for conformite of þe book.

(p. 130)

The grafting image that he twice uses suggests Capgrave's awareness that certain episodes were of less immediate importance than others. On the other hand, the items introduced after these apologies in no way disturb the texture of the work, for although these and other incidents are highly varied in subject and in amount of detail, Capgrave did not labour under any abstract assumption that parallel parts must balance.

Like the lists of chapter contents that he provides at the beginning of Book One (p. 2) and the end of Book Two (pp. 155-56), his cross-referencing technique may be attributed to the natural organizational tendency of a scholar steeped in the glossing techniques of the medieval theological course. His perpetual concern that every part seem logically necessary is attributable to the same tendency, and especially evident as he expounds the vanity of repetition:

Wednysday in þat weke is þe stacion at seynt mari maior of which place we haue spoke mech for we had a special chapetr þerof whan we spoke of þe uii principal cherchis also on þe wednysday in þe first weke of lenton whan þe stacion was þere. Now for to reherse ony þing þat is seide be fore but if haue sum newe circumstaunce or sum newe addicion is but ueyn. For þis cause I wil reherse here a short chronicle which gregorius turonensis tellith in worchip of oure lady to þis ende þat euery man or woman which is bysi to edifye ony hous or oratorie to hir worchip doth to hir and to hir son ful grete plesauns.

(p. 150)

There are many examples of his planning on a minor scale too, in which, like the lector or preacher setting out the divisions of his text, Capgrave states precisely what he will do and proceeds to do it. One

example occurs in Book One, Chapter Two, where he begins with a general statement of his subject,

Now of þe 3atis of rome wallis and towris schal be our tretyng....
(p. 7)

and then makes general remarks on each of the three,

3atis be þer in rome xii As for þe wallis . . .
As touching þe toures
(p. 7, ll. 24-36)

before he begins to enumerate the separate gates. And he uses the same technique when he wishes to introduce something which is, strictly speaking, irrelevant:

And be cause þat þis man was þe first þat ordeyned cardinales
and before þis man we rede not of þis name þerfor if þe rederes
wil consent I wil declare here þe noumbir of þe cardinales þe
dignite þe office and eke þe titles.
(p. 141)

The argument here is that the very obtrusiveness of Capgrave's references lays bare the process by which he welded his notes together. Many of them may be needlessly inserted, padding rather than direction for the narrative; but they nevertheless show plainly Capgrave's concern for the neatness of his composition.

An interesting modification of his original plan, documentable within the text itself, offers further evidence of Capgrave's careful construction of The Solace of Pilgrims. For some reason, having followed his original conception of the work closely, Capgrave ultimately decided that his second book was too long and that he could best rectify the situation by separating the churches dedicated to Mary into a third division. Since he had at the outset delineated the exact organization

he would follow in the Solace, some explanation for this reversal of plan had to be made, and he accordingly devised a scholastic argument for concluding his work "in a ternarie," citing specifically as models the Trinity, the hierarchy of angels, and the three continents of the creation:

Thus fer haue we brout our entent yat we haue descryued all þoo places where staciones be holde in lenton now wil we telle sum notable þingis of opir cherches in rome swech as be famous. Our purpos was in þe begynnyng of þis werk to a mad but too parties þerof and so it is writyn but þis secund part schuld a be ouyr prolix. Therfor men counceled me of þese opir cherches which schul now come in hand to make a special part be him selue so schal þe werk be concluded in a ternarie for þat noumbir is halowid as we sey in our diuinite be cause our feith prechith on to us thre persones in o godhed. Our lord god also hath made his ministres aungelles and sette in swech perfeccion þat þei be distincte in to iii ierarchies and euey ierarchie distincte in to iii ordres. Eke our lord hath dyuyded al þis world in to iii parties þat is to sey asie europe and affrik. Al þis is said for þe perfeccioun of þis nnumber iii and mech mor þing myth be seid þerof if men wolde. specially if þei wold take counsell of a book which ysidre mad and it is entitiled de more. The orde in þis werk folowyng schal be þis. First wil we speke of all þe cherchis of our lady which wil com to remembrauns and þann of opir cherches which stand in fame and specialy of hem of whom we fynde ony notable wrytyng.

(p. 156)

Another possible justification for grouping together the churches devoted to Mary may be found in the whole issue of the Marian cultus which was being debated fervidly in Capgrave's lifetime. The Feast of the Conception, attributed by St. Bernard to the Canons of Lyon, was transported to England in the 12th century and, though a continuous source of controversy until the Council of Trent, it was confirmed in 1476 by Pope Sixtus IV, who in 1483 interdicted any charge of heresy either to the celebration of the feast or to the general belief in the immaculate conception of Mary. There is no external or internal

evidence, either in the Solace or other writings or in the known facts of Capgrave's life, of any involvement by Capgrave in the controversy over the Marian cultus; but his undoubted familiarity with the writings of the Scottish Franciscan John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who supported Mary's claim against the attacks of Aquinas and Bonaventure, and the prominence he gives to the final grouping of shrines almost certainly reflect Capgrave's own theological bias.

Book Three is, of course, fragmentary, and Capgrave's methods of elaboration do not vary from the earlier pattern, in which he describes the founding of the church or records a miraculous event that took place there. In other words, despite his own explanation (or any possible motivation that may be attributed to him) for demarcating the churches of this section, he does not give them special attention, and the book simply breaks off without reason or preparation. This incompleteness and the disruption of an otherwise carefully constructed work is disappointing, but scarcely surprising, for there is no evidence to suggest that Capgrave had the same concern for the integrity or completeness of his final version that he evinces in overseeing the manuscript.¹⁴

The Solace of Pilgrims, then, finally is important because it reinforces certain generalizations already established about Capgrave's techniques as a writer. Ever scrupulous in his attempt to isolate facts, Capgrave collates his various sources, named or unidentified to avoid misleading his reader as he conducts him through the jumble of heterogeneous matter he has garnered about the various monuments of Rome. Throughout the work may be found additional examples of his

characteristic amplification by translation, etymology, explanation, and definition,¹⁵ and the work contains frequent pauses for pastoral exhortation.¹⁶ Stylistically, however, the Solace shows the inferiority of his English prose style when he is not directly translating or closely adapting from a single source; and its obscurity, whether as a result of unit composition, awkward subordination, intrusion of parenthetical information or ellipsis, reflects the still unsure style of mid-15th-century vernacular prose.

In fact, all of the syntactically unsophisticated traits which S. K. Workman¹⁷ identifies as common in Middle English prose works before about 1460 or 1470 are demonstrable in The Solace of Pilgrims. Abundant examples of Capgrave's essentially paratactic style occur in the passages already cited. Sentences like the following, in which structurally independent units -- either simple or complex -- are combined without even an elementary attempt to coordinate them, are commonplace:

Minuerues temple which is clepid goddesse of wisdom is now turned in to a cherch of our ladi and a couvent of frere prechoures in which stant a conclaue þere many a pope hath be chosen for grete sewirnesse for it stant in þe myddis of þe cyte.

(p. 26)

Summe sey he hith martinus summe sey macrinus summe sey he deyed in inglond summe sey in rome

(p. 53)

Next þat hous is a litil chapel halowid in þe worchip of seynt ion baptist in which no woman entreth and þere as þei sey is plener remissioun tociens quociens of þe graunt of seint silvester woman heue þe same if þei go on pilgrimage and touch þe dore.

(pp. 71-72)

Anothir station is þere on þe tewsdai folowyng at a cherch þei clepe seint balbine it stant on a hille in þe south side of rome munkis þei be as I suppose þat dwelle þere

(p. 107)

Equally frequent are fragmentary structures in which parts logically belonging with the material which precedes or follows are arbitrarily separated:

A grete hors of brasse is þere of ful fayr schap which was sumtyme gilt and a man eke of þe same metall sittyng on his bak with outen sadill. A king boundyn undir þe hors fot and a bird sittyng on þe horses hed.

(p. 31)

Summe men sey þat þis þing was doo in domicianes tyme and þe elde cronycles sey it was doo in the consules tyme. Which begunne to gouerne rome at þe last kyng and cesed whan þe first emperour cam which was julius cesar eke be twix iulius and domician were ix emperoures.

(p. 39)

Further proof that the sentences were not fully pre-conceived comes from the asymmetry in both co-ordinate and subordinate elements. Sometimes the asymmetry is simply the result of the compounding of two clearly distinguishable pieces of information:

Be þis 3ate go men to seynt anneis cherch and to seynt constauce and whi þei calle it numentana auctores say for þat wey goth on to a cuntr which is called so in which cuntr wer many worthi werriouris and continued in many batailles a geyn þe romaynes as men may rede in þe book de gestis romanorum.

(p. 11)

But more often it is compounded by faulty subordination and ellipses of verbs and pronouns:

With inne þis tour was a temple which þei sey as of ricchesse was worth þe þird part of þe world of gold siluyr perle and precious stones in which uirgile mad a meruelous craft þat of euery region of þe world stood an ymage mad all of tre and in his hand a lytil belle, as often as ony of þese regiones was

in purpos to rebelle a geyn þe grete mageste of rome a non þis
ymage þat was assigned to þat regioun schuld knyлле his bell.
(p. 27)

Thanne thus saued he him selue swymmyng with o hand iic passe
and certey letteris in his opir hand which wer neuely brout on
to him.
(p. 24)

Marcelline was put in a derk hous where was neythir mete nor
lith all þe flor strowid with broke glas and he bare leggis and
feet.
(p. 114)

In addition, Capgrave's constructions are often inconsistent even when
they are brief:

. . . and þus had romanes þe feld þis man grete worchip and þe
perell delyuered.
(p. 32)

Than were þei beten with staues clobbid with leed led forth in
to þat place where martires were tormentid and put on to hem
too leones and iiii beres.
(p. 116)

All of these features are characteristic of "unit composition"
where the writer's attention is "habitually concentrated only upon the
part immediately under expression."¹⁸ And they undoubtedly reflect
what Workman calls "unselective insertions," "spontaneous additions,
constructed only according to the relationship between [them] and the
member preceding not between [them] and the sentence or period as a
whole."¹⁹ There are many further instances where Capgrave's primary
subject is obvious, for he puts it down, and then, without regard for
the grammatical sequence, elaborates it. Thus, for example, construc-
tions where the first half states the topic are found:

The cause whi it is cleped porta appia for a grete lord of rome
whch hith appius claudius mad it.
(p. 8)

O þing in þe worchip of seynt laurens will we reherse who he rewardith his seruantis.

(p. 115)

And two other of Capgrave's characteristic constructions also show that his technique was additive. One is his common use of "al þis" to recapitulate the basic sense of a passage which is highly subordinated or modified before proceeding; and the other is the apparently redundant use of "þerfor" following a sequence which began with "þe cause." In fact, both devices are frequently necessary because of the amount of material which has intervened:

I suppose eke þat þei wer of a nacioun which be clepid guynosopistis of whom we rede in þe geestis of grete alisaundre. þat aftir he herd þe fame of hem he wolde algate se hem whom he fond al naked dwellyng in caues in þe erde eyr preising god neyr doing wrong lyuyng with outen stryf with oute debate. Her lyuyng plesed þis king so wel þat he comaunded hem to ask of hym what þei wold haue and he schuld graunte hem. Thei prayed him to 3yue hem immortalite and he answerd þat þing which he had not him self ne not myth haue who schul he 3yue it on to oþir men. Tho þei undirtok of his pride manslauth ouyr rydyng of þe cuntre and mech oþir þing and he passed fro hem gretly meuyd of her innocent lyuyng. All þis sey we for to proue be liklynesse þat þese too men were of þis nacioun.

(p. 30)

But þe cause þat þere is grete errour which heraude ded þis dede for þere were iii þerfor will I schortly write a reule which I fynde in uers þat men may know whan þei regned and what þei ded in her tyme.

(p. 96)

It is certain that there are many long passages in The Solace of Pilgrims which are directly translated from Latin; and some of them may be readily identified by the very ease of their balance and subordination in comparison to the notational style of much of the text.²⁰

After further research precisely identifies Capgrave's sources, it may be possible to make accurate studies of his natural idiom in contrast

to his style when it is governed by a syntax which is more highly developed. However, since the concern of this chapter is to show the nature of Capgrave's original compositions, all of the preceding examples have been drawn from passages where it may be argued with some assurance that Capgrave was himself the composer. And in them his style is unquestionably inferior to that of The Life of St. Augustine and The Life of St. Gilbert, where he seldom erred in his demonstration of his flexibility, ingenuity, and skill in transforming the complexities of a foreign idiom into his own vernacular.

II

THE CHRONICLE OF ENGLAND

A little more than a decade after the composition of The Solace of Pilgrims, Capgrave prepared a presentation copy of the work generally known as The Chronicle of England for the new king, Edward the Fourth. For anyone seeking either a final triumph or even a fitting climax to Capgrave's writings in English, the Chronicle is inevitably a disappointment. Fortunately, this study has had a pragmatic direction, seeking neither to find some master motif nor to outline a gradual development, but rather to reveal Capgrave's works for what they are. In keeping with the evidence, it has demonstrated that for him English composition was strictly an avocation -- albeit an important one -- a practice in which he indulged sporadically and, until these last two works, always with an external motivation. Moreover, the

methods of composition, the contents, and the expressed purpose of the Chronicle belie any single principle guiding its author, or any sense of culmination in the work.

That one of the extant manuscripts (Cambridge University Library MS. Gg. 4.12) has recently been demonstrated to be Capgrave's holograph²¹ and therefore to have been written between Edward's accession in 1461 and Capgrave's death in 1464, means that this was the last English work on which he was engaged. But whether or not it should actually be construed as his last work in terms of conception is arguable. Two apparently contradictory pieces of evidence, one from the Dedication and one which dates from 1438, must be presented and satisfactorily reconciled if the way in which the Chronicle grew is to be understood. In the Dedication, of which the serious and factual tone cannot be denied, Capgrave implies that all the matter of the Chronicle has been gathered in a relatively short period:

Now is age com, and I want ny al that schuld longe to a studier;
yet it plesed me, as for a solace, to gader a schort remembrauns
of elde stories, that whanne I loke upon hem, and have a short
touch of the writing, I can some dilate the circumstaunes.

(p. 1)

Yet, more than twenty years earlier, explaining the several causes why he dedicated his Genesis commentary to Duke Humphrey, Capgrave had noted that the son of an earlier Duke of Gloucester had founded his order in England and said that he had recalled this fact "Annualia mea revolvens."²² And, indeed, he does record Richard of Clare's role in the foundation of the Augustinian order in the Chronicle (pp. 152-153). Like Hingston and Father Roth,²³ Peter Lucas believes that these two

works -- the Annualia and the Chronicle -- must be the same. In addition, Lucas points out that the process of extraction, comparison and correction of sources was a lengthy one, usually taking years, and that the Dedication was clearly added to a hastily finished copy of the work.²⁴

Another interpretation, not necessarily or totally opposed to this view, is possible, however. Capgrave's statement in the Dedication need not be taken to mean that he had only recently begun his entire work; in fact, it would have been most unlikely, for the task would have been as onerous as the exegetical labours which he clearly states he can no longer attempt. His comment may mean that the "schort remembrauns" is an abridgement, possibly even a translation, of materials that he had been gathering at intervals over several years -- the Annualia; and this is certainly a project which he might have undertaken "as for a solace" and which he might have had in hand when the new king acceded. That he ends abruptly in mid-1417 certainly suggests that he was not finished when he decided to prepare a "fair copy" for the king. The chief internal piece of evidence confirming this theory occurs in a late passage in which Capgrave provides a title for his book that better describes its contents than the conventional one of Chronicle; and his personal approbation seems to be indicated by the addition of his personal trefoil in the margin:²⁵

Many convenciones were mad betwix the emperoure and the Kyng, and al her succession dyvyded in XII. Articles, which were ageyn the ordinauns of our Book; for we think that it myte be cleped rather "Abbreviacion of Chronicles" than a book.

(pp. 314-315)

His reference is obviously oblique, but it seems that he knew and probably had before him the "XII. Articles" of the Treaty of Canterbury which Henry V presented to parliament in October 1416. His actual practice is inconsistent, for elsewhere he does copy out precise terms, but grammatical ellipses, the appearance of short notes where he characteristically included explanations in his other works, and comparisons with his sources reveal that he was quite intentionally "abbreviating" throughout.

How comprehensive Capgrave's idea of "elde stories" was is revealed by his choice of the "universal history" as a model; for, despite the fact that the Chronicle is the first one extant in English prose, the form itself marks Capgrave's work as old-fashioned. From the earliest centuries, ecclesiastical historians had tried to synchronize Greek and Roman with Hebrew records in order to provide a complete history of man and to justify Christian theology. Though he had predecessors, it was Eusebius, writing in the middle of the 4th century, who established the bases for medieval chronology with his synoptic tables. The translation and elaboration of his work by St. Jerome made it immediately available and popular, and writers in the Latin west used it as a foundation for dozens of continuations in the succeeding centuries. Yet, while copies of Eusebius and such of his famous successors as Cassiodorus, Isidore, and Orosius continued to be made, and while clerics remained the chief compilers of histories, in the later middle ages, chroniclers turned more and more to local, national, or dynastic history. However biased their accounts, they had begun to

show the qualifications of historians, looking for and stating causes and relationships, seeking to apportion praise and blame, and impressing their works with the stamp of their own personalities.

Thus, interested in the history of their own land, English writers in general began their works either with the coming of Brut, with Caesar's conquest, or with the arrival of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons in 449. They might well adopt mythological sections wholesale from earlier chroniclers, but as they approached their own times, they tended to elaborate their accounts and to make them more factually reliable. The historians at St. Alban's, for example, refashioned, recopied, or merely added to already existing annals, but the parts which have been attributed to Wendover, Paris, Rishanger, Trokelowe, Blanford and Walsingham are densely detailed and highly valuable histories of the late 12th, 13th and 14th centuries.

Capgrave, however, consciously chose to return to the general and encyclopedic form which divided all of human history into six epochs, from the Creation to the present; and in that sense his Chronicle is antiquated.²⁶ Before the details of Capgrave's work are considered, it may be useful to have in mind the conventional divisions of the general histories. For once, Capgrave merely adopts a standard outline, presenting no explanation for the separate eras, though he was certainly familiar with models in which they are not only compared to the ages of men but also elaborated in the most interminable and didactic terms. Bede offers a brief example in his Epistola ad Pleguinam:²⁷

sex . . . aetatibus mundi tempora distinguuntur. Prima aetas ab Adam usque ad Noe continens generationes decem, annos vero mdclvi; quae tota periit diluvio, sicut infantiam mergere solet oblivio. Secunda a Noe usque ad Abraham generationes similiter complexa decem, annos autem ccxcii, quae in lingua inventa est, id est hebraea, a pueritia namque homo incipit nosse loqui post infantiam quae et nomen inde accepit, quia fari, id est loqui, non potest. Tertia ab Abraham usque ad David generationes xiiii, annos vero dccccxlii, continens; et quia ab adolescentia incipit homo posse generare, Mattheus generationum ex Abraham sumsit exordium, qui etiam pater gentium constitutus est. Quarta a David usque ad transmigrationem babylonis generationibus aequa iuxta Mattheum xiiii, annis autem cccclxxiii, porrecta, a qua regum tempore coeperunt, iuvenilis enim dignitas regno est habilis. Quinta deinde usque ad adventum salvatoris in carne generationibus et ipsa xiiii, porro annis quingentis octoginta novem, extenta, in qua, ut gravi senectute fessa, malis crebrioribus plebs hebraea quassatur. Sexta, quae nunc agitur, nulla generationum vel temporum serie certa sed, ut aetas decrepita ipsa, totius saeculi morti finienda.

In his Dedication, Capgrave painstakingly informs the king that there were many years for which no events had been noted, especially during the first age:

Also if 3e merveile that in thoo 3eres fro Adam to the Flood of Noe sumtyme renne a hundred 3ere, or more, where the noumbir stant bare, and no writing therein, this schal be myn excuse; for soth, I coude non fynde, not withstand that I soute with grete diligens. If othir studious men, that have more red than I, or can fynde that I fond not, or have elde bokes which make more expression of thoo stories that fel fro the creacion of Adam onto the general Flod than I have, the velim lith bare, save the noumbir, redy to receyve that thei wille set in.

(p. 2)

In fact, for the 2240 years between the Creation and the Flood there are in Capgrave's Chronicle only twenty-seven entries,²⁸ all of which deal with Old Testament history, fifteen being the records of the births of biblical figures. The style of most of these notices suggests that Capgrave attempted to epitomize a man's whole career when he is first mentioned and tried also to convey the divine disposition

which lies behind the separation of the worldly works of the sons of Cain and the god-fearing activities of the sons of Seth. The terseness of the entries is totally unlike anything else Capgrave wrote in the vernacular. This quality, which is perfectly consistent with a process of abridgement discussed above, is illustrated by his notation for the year 12:

This 3ere Eve bare too childirn at o birth, the man hite Cayn, the woman Calmana, of whch to come Enok, not he that was translate; and Yrad, and Mammael, and Mathusael, and Lamech, that broute in first bigamie; and he killed Cayn.

(p. 5)

Yet he is not always so barrenly concrete; sometimes he adds an etymology or a brief note on the specific importance of his report:

And here may men note that the kynrod of Cayn were evir bisi for to make armoure and wepin, and the kinrod of Seth bysi to plese and praise God.

(p. 11)

Elsewhere, he cannot refrain from arguing about the proper date of Seth's birth (pp. 6-7), questioning the assignment of Enoch's prophecies to the Apocrypha (pp. 12-13), and correcting Jerome's computation of the length of Methusalah's life (pp. 13-14). The longest digression gives six reasons for the longevity of the first generations (pp. 9-10), and Capgrave's only reason for placing his comments at the year 500 seems to have been an initial plan to provide some sort of summary at the commencement of each century. He had discussed Adam's prophecies at "Anno Mundi Centesimo," his penance at "Anno Mundi CC," and the multiplication of men at "Anno Mundi CCC"; but, although he continues to cite particularly the remainder of the centuries, he gives only one

further summary, at the year 1000:

In this first thousand yere was this world occupied with these sex faderis and patriarkes, Adam, Seth, Enos, Caynan, Malaleel, and Jared. These sex and her childryn cam of the stok of Seth, for the kynrod of Cayn was more multiplied than this kynrod. So semeth it that the world had mech puple at that same tyme.
(p. 12)

For the second age, Anno 2241-3283, Capgrave has only nine entries.²⁹ All of them are much longer than those in the first, for in this section he gives his account not just of the origins of mankind from the three sons of Noah -- an account which he specifically describes as an "abbreviacion" (p. 17) -- but also summary histories of the kingdoms of the Scythians, the Egyptians, and the Assyrians. With the exception of the first, each section commences with a "begat," which both gives precedence to Hebraic chronology and provides an umbrella under which a far more general "in this tyme" leads either to a synopsis of hundreds of years of traditional history or to the recording of of some undated event, such as the building of the "Toure of Confusion" (p. 20), the beginning of the worship of idols (pp. 21-22), and the founding of witchcraft by Zoroaster (pp. 25-26).

The emphasis in each of the sections derives more from the sources he employed than from any specific didactic principles. For some kingdoms, he relies on genealogies; for others, on descriptions of the extent of their territory. Similarly, though Hebrew history is the ostensible source of reference, Capgrave only once mentions the actions of an Old Testament figure as a prefigurement of Christianity-- when he praises Abraham as the father of the faith:

. . . for, whan he was redi to offer his child to God, he beleved verili that God schuld reise him ageyn to the lif. He receyved first the feith of the Trinite, where he sey thre ymages and worchiped on.

(p. 25)

But, choosing to elaborate the histories of "Nembrot, Jectan, and Suffene," the three princes responsible for the building of the Tower of Babel, he ignores the implication that the confusion of tongues was a divine punishment; and he chooses Fulgentius' explanation of the origins of idol worship in a rich Egyptian's grief over the death of his son in favour of the four other alternatives he notes.

The method of narration is essentially the same in the account of the third age, though the number of years is further reduced (Anno 3284-4163) and the number of entries, many of them including several widely scattered events, is increased to twenty-three.³⁰ "Begats" continue to be used as introductions, now frequently alternating with notices of deaths. Again, the random and disproportionate nature of the items selected is striking. Abraham, Jacob and Moses receive relatively full treatment in the sense that their historical importance is particularly recognized. But the story of the Ten Commandments is omitted, though perhaps it is meant to be understood in the passage on the discovery of the various alphabets (p. 31); and the exodus of the chosen people is nowhere mentioned except that the story of the promised land is inherent in the account of the death of Moses:

In this 3ere deyed Moises, and no man myte fynde his grave; for, be the comaundment of God, he went up to the hil of Phasga, and there our Lord schewid him all the lond of behest, and saide on to him, "Thou schal se this lond, but thou schal not enter it." So deied he there, and was buried in the vale. He lyved

here a C. 3ere and XX. At his deth his eyne were not dym, ne no toth fall fro his heed.

(p. 31)

On the other hand, Hercules' twelve labours are enumerated (p. 33), and Mercury's invention of the harp is carefully translated from Isidore (p. 34). In this section, too, Britain is mentioned for the first time:

In this same Hely [Eli] tyme, Brute, that was of Eneas, Kyng cam into this lond, and called it Britayn aftir his name. Whan he deyid he departed his kyngdam to his thre sones. The first hite Loegrius; and to him he gaf the lond fro Dovyr onto Humbyr. The secund son hite Albanactus; and to him gave he al Scotland onto Humbir. The third hite Camber; and to him gave he al Walis. The first cuntre was called in thoo dayes Loegria. The secunde Albania. The third Cambria.

(p. 37)

Clearly enough, from "this lond" the author is known to be an Englishman, but Capgrave sounds no patriotic note, and he has given no pre-history of Brute's kin except to say that Eneas' son Ascanius had founded the town which was to become Rome in "the third 3ere aftir Troye was distroyed" (p. 36).

The fourth age is the last reckoned in terms of Hebrew rulers, and virtually all of the twenty-one items³¹ concern the kings. Twice in this part, brief hints of Capgrave himself appear. Describing Asa's destruction of lechery, Capgrave intrudes, revealing a personal distaste for lascivious detail:

He drow his modir fro cursed governauns, for sche was princesse in a ful abhominable place, which they cleped "Sacra Priapi." It is not necessari to declare what it was: but this man distroyed hous and auter, ymage and al

(p. 40, italics added)

And when he mentions the Mons Adventinus, the additional detail,

Whan men go out at Seynt Paule gate, thei go under it, and leve
it on the left hand.

(p. 43)

is a reminder of his own acquaintance with Rome. There is also evident in this section a capacity for restraint and objectivity when he treats people or stories whose contravention of the true faith were naturally repugnant to him. The point is emphasized here because this tone continues throughout the work, and the repeated charges by nineteenth-century critics of Capgrave's bias and bitterness are not only anachronistic but manifest distortions. Of Ahaz, he says simply:

This man was of wikkid gouvernauns, for he forsook God, and
worcheped maumentrie

(p. 44)

And of the tyrannical Manasses:

He ded mech evel and displesauns to oure Lord. He edified
auteres on to fals goddis. He killid prophetes and servauntes
of God, that the stretes of Jerusalem were ful of blood. And
for this erreure God suffered him for to be take, and led into
Babilonie; and aftir grete penauns and weping he was restored
to his regne, and with grete devocion amendid his defautes.

(p. 45)

Similarly, recounting the birth of Romulus and Remus, Capgrave's brief interjection is intended as a correction rather than as a condemnation:

This mayde hite Rea, and so it happed that sche was with childe
be the god Mars, as sche feyned

(p. 43, italics added)

The fifth age lasted only 461 years (Anno Mundi 4737-5198), and Biblical history is temporarily submerged as swift changes from Persian to Egyptian to Roman chronology reflect the shifts in power. As everywhere in the Chronicle, variety is far more apparent in the selection

of material and in the presentation of similar items than any constant or consistent principle. Taking the literary references as but one example, Capgrave mentions Sophocles and Euripides as tragedians, and without naming works he defines instead the genre:

Trajedi is as mech to say as he that writith eld stories, with ditees hevvy and sorowful.

(p. 49)

He cites the four books Plato supposedly named after his masters:

Themeus in on; Phedron a othir; the third, Gorgialis;
the IIII Pitharas.

(p. 50)

and then he comments of Plato's reputation as a man of superhuman wit (p. 50); he refers to none of Aristotle's works and even emphasizes the old rumour that his father was a spirit (p. 52). In the case of Plautus, Capgrave notes only that he wrote eloquently "whanne he had leisure" (p. 53), while he quotes from and translates the verses on Terence's tomb. (p. 56).

With the birth of Christ in Anno 5199, the last era begins, and from this point the entries become increasingly fuller and more numerous. No more than a summary sketch of the form can be given here, but it is important to see the changes which in part shape the treatment. From this event onward, both the Anno Mundi and the year of the Christian era are provided, and many events continue to be grouped within the inclusive dates of the figure first mentioned. Until the crucifixion in 33 A.D., Christ's activities dominate the account, as would be expected; from 42-404 A.D. the notices are entered under the name of the ruling emperor in Rome and include the diverse events which occurred

during his reign; from 419-747 A.D., they are contained under the names of the Eastern emperors; and beginning with Charlemagne in 778 A.D., under the Holy Roman emperors. From 1212, the reigns of the English kings become the point of reference, and Capgrave clearly indicates this new system of annotation:³²

1212-1215. There IIII. 3eres be the last 3eres of the regne of Kyng Jon. And ye schal undirstand that fro this tyme forward oure annotation schal be aftir the regne of the Kyngis of Ynglond: for the empire, in maner sesed here. . . .

(p. 149)

Within this framework, the histories of the popes, often limited to the notation of the lengths of their terms of office, consistently follows the report on the secular ruler and, then, depending on the information available, events or natural prodigies which happened in other countries are given. At the same time, while the entries become more detailed as the time moves closer to Capgrave's own, the range of vision narrows, until, with the exception of ecclesiastical affairs at Rome, everything is seen not just from an English viewpoint but from a vantage point that excludes all matters not relating to England. Moreover, in the early part of Capgrave's Chronicle, where the scope is supposedly "universal," the universality is really Mediteranean and the emphasis theological. Capgrave's sources -- and his sources' sources -- for the early period were preoccupied with the spread of the new faith, the challenges to it by persecutions from without and heresies from within, and the establishment and development of doctrinal matters. Once the initial battle for survival was won, secular history, set within the Christian context, came naturally to the foreground, and was

dominated by internecine struggles for wealth and power. Thus, just as the Gothic and Saracen attacks on Rome and Constantinople are reported without any reference to the pre-history of the invaders when the focus is on the centre of the Christian world, events in other nations which have no bearing on England virtually disappear³³ when the centre of interest moves to England.

With this summary, it is possible to proceed to a discussion of this little known work as a piece of English historical literature. Because Peter Lucas is presently completing a doctoral dissertation on the Chronicle at the University of Leeds,³⁴ any attempt to duplicate the details of his work on the relation of Capgrave's work to its sources and on the stylistic features of the Chronicle would be redundant. For this reason questions of originality and literary merit in terms of both content and style will be treated on a more general level than they have been in preceding chapters.

Historians have known of Capgrave's Chronicle for more than 250 years, but, discovering that the only one scene otherwise unpreserved is Henry IV's death-bed conversion,³⁵ they have virtually ignored it. Apart from various books of the Bible, Capgrave himself identifies Methodius, Fulgentius, Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, Ambrose, Gregory, Hugo of St. Victor, Bede, and Giraldus among his sources; and scholars have pointed out his major reliance on Higden's Polychronicon, Walsingham's Historia Anglicana and Ypodigma Neustrae, and the English prose chronicle known as The Brut of England. The following rather long example will suffice to show just how derivative Capgrave's

Chronicle can be. In the Brut, for the years 1367 and 1368, four dis-connected events are reported: the victory of the Black Prince over Henry of Trastamera at Najera in April, 1367; the appearance of a comet in March, 1368; the marriage of Lionel of Clarence to the daughter of the Duke of Milan in June, 1368; and an uprising of the French.

[I]n þe 3er of our Lord a MCCC.lxxvii, & of King Edward xlii., þe thrid day of Aprill, þer was a strong bataill & a grete, in a large felde yclept Pryazers, fast by þe water of Najers in Spayne, betwene Sir Edward Prynys, & Harry, þe Bastarde of Spayne; but þe victorie fill to Prynys Edwarde, by þe grace of God. & þis same Prins Edward had with hym Sere John, þe Duke of Lancastre, his broþer and worþi ber men of armes, aboute þe noumbre of xxx. M. And þe King of Spayne had on his side men of diuerce nacions, to þe noumbre of a C.M. & passyng.

Wherefore þe sharpnes & þe fersnes of his aduersarye, wiþ his ful boytsus & ful grete strengthe, made & strevyn þe ry3tfull partye abak a gret wey; but þurgh þe grace of Almy3ty God, passyng eny mannys strengthe, thilk hougest ooste was desparbled myghtfully by þe noble Duk of Lancastre and his oste, or þat Prynys Edward come nye hym. And whan Harry þe Bastard sey þat, he turned wiþ his men, wiþ so grete haste and strengthe, to fle, þat an houghe cumpanye of him in þe forseyd flood, & of þe brigge þer-of, fillen down & perished. and þere were take, þe Erl of Dene and Sere Bertram Cleykyn, þat was chefe maker and cause of the werre, and also chyueteyn of þe vauntward of þe bataill, wiþ meny oþer lordes and knightes, to þe noumbre of ij.M; of whom ij^c weren of Fraunce, & meny of Scotlond; & þere were feld in þe felde on our enemys side, of lordes and kny3tes, with oþere mene peple, to þe noumbre of vj M & mo; and of Englissh men but a fewe. And after þis, þat noble Prins Edward restored þe same Piers into his kingdom a3en. þe whiche Piers afterward, þour3 trecherye & falsnes of þe forsaid Bastarde of Spayne as he sate atte þe table, he was strangled and deyde. but after þis victorye, meny noble and hardy men of Engeland, in Spayne, þour3 the fflix & odir diuers sicknesses, toke her dethe.

& in þis same 3er in Marche, was seyn 'Stella Comata' bitwene þe North costes & þe west, whos bemes strecched toward Fraunce. and in þe 3er next sewyng of King Edwardes regne xliij., in Aprill, Sere Leonell, King Edwardes sone, þat was duk of Clarence, went towarde Myleyn, with a chose meyne of þe gentils of Englund, forto wedde Galoys dou3ter, and haue her to wyf, by whom he shold haue half þe Lordship of Myleyn. But after þat þey were solempnly

wedded, the same Duke, about þe Natiuite of our Lady deid. & in þe same 3ere þe Frensshe men breken þe pees & the trewes, ryding on þe Kinges ground and lordship of Englonde, in þe shire & cuntre of Pountyf, & taken & helden castls & townes, & bere þe Englisshe men on hond falsly & sotilly, þat þey were cause of breking of þe traws.

(The Brut, pp. 320-321)

Certain differences in Capgrave's entry suggest that The Brut was not his primary source, unless he found additional details elsewhere; but his account is essentially an abbreviation of The Brut version of the episode, with the same events recounted in the same order:

In the XLI. 3ere was a grevous bataile in Spayn betwix the Prince Edward and Herry the wrong Kyng of Spayn, where the Englischmen had the bettir. This batail was by the town and the watir of Nazer. The Kyng of Spayn fled, for he myte not susteyne the tempest of arowes. VII. thousand men of his were slayn there, and many mo dronchin in the watyr. There were take the erl of Dene, and Bertram Cleykyn, that was his principal counceoure. Aftir this victorie the Kyng Petir was restored to his dignite, and the Prince returned into Gyan. This Kyng, aftir the Prince was go, be fals deceyt of his enmyes, was killid at his mete. The Prince eke in that viage was poisoned, for aftir that tyme he had nevyr helth of body.

In the XLII. 3ere, in the month of March, there appered betwix the north and the west a sterre thei clepe comata, directing his bemes rite onto Frauns.

And in the same 3ere, in the month of April, Sere Leonel, duk of Clarens, with a chose felauchip, took his jornay onto Melan, for to have the duke doutir to his wif, and half the lyflod of that duchy. Aftir the tyme he had weddid that lady he lyved not longe, but deied in that cuntre aboute the Nativite of oure Lady. His body was byried at Pavy, fast by the tounge of Seyn Austin; his hert was broute to the Freres of Clare, and biried, or kept in leed.

In this 3ere the Frenschmen broke the pees, and, ovirridin the Kyngis londes in Pounte, distroyed castellis and townes, and took many prisoneris; putting al the cause upon the Englischmen.

(pp. 225-226)

The bald statement that Capgrave borrowed widely and followed closely does not in itself mean that the Chronicle has not literary, as opposed to historical, merit. In order to demonstrate the absence of literary concern, it remains to show the perfunctoriness of the reporting, the lack of imaginative recreation, and the plain, notational style of the prose. In a sense, all three characteristics are allied, for Capgrave's stated intention to abbreviate, coupled with the great breadth of focus, doubtless led to his fairly consistent omission of colourful descriptions and speeches, which in turn deprives reported incidents of vitality, and to the nondescript and elliptical diction.

It is not necessary here to illustrate the actual ellipses in sentence structure or on the rapid shifts in subject within a single entry or paragraph, qualities which tend to make the Chronicle seem at times a set of private notes rather than a literary work composed for a wider audience. There are so many instances of this tendency in the passages cited in this chapter that even the most cursory examination will immediately reveal them. Equally, there is no need to devote space to proving that Capgrave's work lacks descriptive detail. One need only compare the brevity of his entry on Arthur with those in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Layamon, or any of the later alliterative works, or his seven lines on the Battle of Hastings (p. 129) with a better known account to see how non-literary his "annotaciones" are. What is important is the way in which all these coalesce to produce the kind of reports that are typical of the Chronicle. In accordance with the basic schema of the work, the mythical history of Britain is submerged in and

subordinated to the records of imperial and ecclesiastical achievements. But Capgrave's detached manner precludes emotional involvement, and the entries do not reveal either the patriot's fervour or the antiquarian's pleasure in the events of his country's history. More curiously, there is not even any evidence of the ecclesiast's vehemence in the refutation of lies.

After the coming of Brut (c. Anno 4084), nothing more is said of Britain until Anno 5130, when "this lond" appears in the summary of Julius' Caesar's career:

Here goth the regne of Egipt onto the Romaynes. For Julius Cesar conquered Egipt, and put it undir tribute. And in this same time was this lond conquered be the same Julius, thorw mediacion of a lord thei cleped Androche, which was brothir to the Kyng: his name was Cassebelian.

(p. 57)

The names mentioned here prove that Capgrave had access to some table, or more probably to a developed account, of the pseudo-historical rulers, but he takes no further note of Britain until c. 453 A.D., where, after the inevitable passage on the emperor and the popes, he says:

In these dayes was Arthure Kyng of Bretayn, that with his manhod conquered Flaunders, Frauns, Norway, and Denmark; and, aftir he was gretely wounded, he went into a ylde cleped Avallone, and there deyed. The olde Britones suppose that he is o lyve.³⁶

(p. 87)

In making the leap from Caesar to Arthur, Capgrave not only by-passes such famous figures as Lear and Vortigern, but also, and more curiously, he ignores the historical coming of the Saxons and their supposed twelve battles with the Celts in favour of Arthur's wholly legendary conquest

of Europe. But this passage shows more than the mélange of materials and the absence of detail in the Chronicle. It also reveals the neutrality which flattens the tone throughout. Evidently, Capgrave accepts Arthur's conquests and the place of his death as factual while doubting the Welsh belief that he is "o lyve"; yet the report maintains a placid surface which in no way forces the reader to adopt a specific opinion.

The next entry which mentions the English shows both how rigid the formal organizational plan of the Chronicle is and how memorable anecdotes are excluded and personalities repressed:

Mauricius regned XX. 3ere. He kepte the trewe Cristen wey, and he was ful strong and wis in batayle. He ovyrkam many puples in batail, the Perses, the Armenes, be a noble man that was his werrioure.

In his dayes was Gregorie mad Pope, and he confermed that eleccioune with his imperial letteris.

In the thirtene 3ere of Maurice, Gregori sent Austin and his felaues to the conversion of the Saxones, which were newe come into the lond be strength, and had dryvyn oute be strength the very eyers into Walis.

(p. 93)

There is certainly a logic in the development of the entry, in the sense that the emperor is named, his character and the importance of his career summarized, the new Pope introduced, and the expedition to convert the Saxons ordained. But the conversion is minimized by making Gregory the Great faceless.

The brief history of the Anglo-Saxon heptarchy (which figures in the entry for 701 A.D.) is divided into seven parallel paragraphs, ending in each case with the names of the kings who became Christian and of the bishops who converted them; but it is only a catalogue (pp. 99-

101). And, this skeleton leaves no room either for the continual battles and the resulting shifts in the power centre which interest the historian or for literary pieces.

These English references have been extracted because the reports on which they are based are familiar; and, though England is not central in the early part, the discussion of them has in no way distorted the total effect of the Chronicle. Except in chronology, there is no greater continuity in either the ecclesiastical or the imperial records. The entries are basically uncritical; they do not seem to have been selected for any single purpose, and there is seldom any evidence that Capgrave was concerned with historical causes and effects. For example, while he sometimes does mention family relationships between successive emperors, most often he merely notes the rulers and refuses to judge the problems posed by the elections of emperors and popes, or even to clarify the nature of disputes between rival claimants.

Two examples, one dealing with the reign of the Emperor Justinian, the other with the 9th-century Pope Formosus, will demonstrate even more clearly that Capgrave's sole interest was in outlining past events in a chronological fashion. Justinian begins as a good ruler, but there is no specific condemnation of the Leo who deposed him; the people were apparently happy with Tiberius, who had exiled Leo in turn, and, indeed, they resented Justinian's efforts to regain the throne. Moreover, Justinian's behaviour in exile is tyrannical; and yet, when he is restored, there is no surprise on Capgrave's part at his return to Christian ideals:

Justinianus Secundus regned X. 3ere. He took trews with the Sarasines for X.3ere, both be lond and be se. This man, with his wisdam and largenesse encresed the empire, and broute it to mech worchip. He mad eke many lawes, and ded grete reverens to the Cherch. And in X. 3ere of his empire on Leo Patricius ovyrkam him in batail, put oute his eyne, and cut of his nose, and exiled him onto a place thei clepe Tersone. . . .

Leo the Secund regned III. 3ere. For on Tiberius put him fro the empire, cut off his nose, and exiled him to the same place where Justinian was. . . .

Tiberius regned VII. 3ere. In his time Justiniane was in exile in Tersone, as we said. He noysed himself openly that he schuld be emperoure ageyne. Upon these wordis the puple there ros ageyn him, and, for love of Tiberi, purposed for to kille him. And whanne he had aspied this, he fled to the prince of Turkis, and weddid his sistir; and with that princes socoure he conquered both Leon and Tibery, and killid hem, and recured ageyn the empire. Aftir that he vengid him so uttirly on his enemies that whan any drope of flewme felle fro his nose, anon he comaunded of his enimes on schuld be slayn. . . .

Justinian the Secund regned now ageyn VI. 3ere. He was first preved of his empire; and now, aftir the resumpcion, he regned ageyn VI. 3ere. For aftir the tyme he was so restored he served Crist devoutly, and sent aftir Constantin the Pope to Constantinople, and there was he hosed of his hand.

(pp. 97-99)

Capgrave's refusal to become involved and his indifference to issues is even more difficult to understand in his report of the papal struggle, centring around the Pope Formosus. Since the popes were not secular rulers, they had some theological pretext at issue, and Capgrave the scholar should have been able at least to explain, if not to resolve, the controversy over Formosus' refusal to accept certain aspects of the Eastern rite. Instead, he not only omits the church's ultimate resolution of the dispute in Formosus' favour and refuses to take sides with any of the major popes involved, he does not even identify the source of the "grete altercacion," though he must have been in a position to "sone dilate the circumstaunces," as he promises to do on the first page of the Chronicle. (This episode incidentally provides several

good examples of Capgrave's elliptical style as verbs are omitted and disconnected events are syntactically linked).

In this tyme was Pope Martinus Secundus o 3ere and V. monthis
And than Adrian the Thirde, I. 3ere.

And than Stevene the V., VI. 3ere.

And than Formosus V. 3ere, which was disgraded be Jon the
Pope fro all the ordres of the Cherch onto lay astat; and
aftir that he was restored by Martin the Pope; of which mater
was grete altercacion in the Cherch. . . .

In this tyme were at Rome these Popes, -- Bonefacius the Sexte
XV. dayes.

Stephanus the Sexte o 3ere. He was a grete enmye to the
Pope Formose.

Than was Romanus III. Monthes.

And than Theodorus IX. dayes.

And than Johannes Nonus II. 3ere. He was frend to Formose.
Thane Benedictus Quartus thre monthis.

And than Leo Quintus fourty dayes. For on Cristofer deposed
him, and was Pope aftir him

Cristofer was Pope VII. monthis, and he was eject fro the
Cherch, and mad a munk.

Than was Sergius the Thirde VII. 3ere, monthes foure. In
his tyme the Cherch of Lateranensis fel down, and he mad it
newe. This Sergius was a dekne undir the Pope Formose; and
the Pope Formose put him oute of the Cherche, and he fled to
Frauns; but, aftir, he was mad Pope, and than he comaunded the
body of that same Formose which exiled him to be drawe oute of
the grave, and arayed lich a bischop, & than the hed smet of,
and the body throw into Tiber. But fischeres fond the body,
and brout it ageyn to Seint Petir Cherch; and thei seid cer-
teyn ymages that were there ded worchip to the body.³⁷

(pp. 112-113)

All these passages are drawn from the first half of the work, but as the quotation concerning the years 1367 and 1368 testifies, the later parts differ in the increasing number of events noted for each reign, not in the treatment. Even the few thumbnail character sketches are not more elaborate. Only a small number of persons universally considered good or evil are indicated as such, and usually no concrete examples of their behaviour are provided. Henry I's queen, Maud of

Scotland, is portrayed as the epitome of courtly virtues:

Sone aftir this bataile deied Maute, the good qween, of whos
curtesie and humilite, scilens, and othir good maneris, the
Englisch poetes at tho dayes mad ful notabel vers.

(p. 133)

And at his death, Edward III is described as:

. . . gracious and fortunat is pes; devout onto the cherch;
fortunat in batayle; nevir steyned save that in his age he was
gretly langaged with lechery.

(p. 232)

As an exception, the general judgment that John

. . . was so fals onto him [Richard I], and odious to the puple,
that no man desired him.

(p. 147)

is borne out by the reference to the murder of Prince Arthur and by the
description of his sins:

For this inobediens, and many myschevous dedis which he ded in
manslauth, gloteny and lecchery, and especially robberyng and
spoilynge of monasteries, the Pope cursed the Kyng, and assoiled
alle his lich men fro his obediauns.

(p. 148)

Sometimes a brief condemnation of invaders, rebels or traitors
against the king or kingdom is inserted, but they are normally expres-
sed only in the most generalized terms. For example, Hingwart and
Hubba are "too cursed captaynes" (p. 109); Alice Perrers is "a woman
malepert, and entermenting in every mater" (p. 231); and Wat Tyler is
"a proud knave and a malapert" (p. 237). Praise, too, is apportioned
in unspecific terms: John XXIII is "ful gracious to alle men" (p. 184);
a rejected wife is "a fayre woman, and a good . . ." (p. 245); and the
Duchess of Lancaster is "a woman ful blessed and devoute" (p. 258).³⁸

For the most part, however, Capgrave's non-committal attitude persists, and he does not characterize such dynamic and controversial personalities as William the Conqueror, Stephen, Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II, Richard I, Simon de Montfort, all those actors in the drama of Edward II -- Gaveston, the Despencers, the Mortimers, and Queen Isabella -- the Black Prince, Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V. The passage on William's title to the throne, specifically denying any rights to Harold (pp. 128-129), for example, justifies his accession, but with no particular enthusiasm. Stephen's oath of allegiance to Maud is twice mentioned (pp. 134 and 136), but nothing suggests any wrongdoing on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury who crowned him or the lords who supported him. And this non-interpretive approach, the recognition that the deed has been accomplished whatever the moral issue, is even more apparent in the case of the marriage of Eleanor of Aquitaine and Henry II:

Or that he regned he weddid a woman that was qwen of Frauns, hir name was Helianore. There fel gret strif betwix the King of Fraunce and hir, and therefor the qwen laboured to have a divors betwix hir and hir husband, pretendyng that sche was of his kyn; but hir principal cause was as is seid, for sche desired gretly to be wyf to the Duke of Normande. But in dede the divors was had, and the mariage mad.

(pp. 138-139)

His mention of Eleanor's "principal cause" suggests Capgrave's attitude, but placed as it is, it does not alter the neutrality of the report.³⁹

Similarly, no certain moral or historical viewpoint is adopted in the reports of the events in the time of Edward II. While Gaveston is clearly the centre of the dispute between Edward and his lords during

the first five years of the reign, no reason is given to explain why the favourite had been exiled by Edward I; and the only example of his unpleasant behaviour is the report of a tournament at which the aliens he gathered defeated Englishmen in the jousts (p. 175). Thus, the only apparent cause for displeasure is the unworthy one of wounded pride. Later, in Capgrave's bare records of parliaments, conspiracies, and shifting allegiances, it is equally difficult to support the barons against the Despensers. Capgrave does not seem to doubt that their influence was too great or their ends deserved, but his lack of selectivity leaves passages standing which seem to reflect more to the king's than to the lords' credit without providing any guideposts for counterbalance:

In the same tyme the barnes were gadered at Seynt Albones; and fro thens thei sent onto the Kyng these V. bischoppis, London, Salisbury, Hely, and Herforth, and Chichester, desyring of the Kyng that Hugo Spenser the elder, and Hew the younger, schuld be banchid the rewme, as tretoures; and that al this rysing of the barnes schuld be pardoned because thei ded it for the comon profite. The Kyng answered that these too Spenseris had offered him-self oftentyme to answeere to here accuseris, and to make amendis to ony forfet that myte be seid ageyn hem; and it was no lawe that men schuld be condempned withoute answeere.

(pp. 187-188)

Without belabouring this point any further with examples, it should be clear that Capgrave does not attempt to recreate scenes or to vivify characters in terms of their time either by exercising critical judgment or by anticipating the conclusion of historical events. Thus, the Chronicle is closer to the annal than to a history;⁴⁰ one episode becomes as important as another; and individual entries lack that central focus or nucleus which would accrue from a dramatic or climactic

development of a specific crisis. This disjointed effect is increased by notes on prodigies, miracles, and even the occasional anecdote, whose presence is foreign to the generally shortened form of the entries.

The thirty-five pages devoted to Edward III's fifty-three year reign are in fact chiefly concerned with the wars against the French and the Scots; the births, marriages, and deaths of royal, noble and other important people; parliaments; certain major and minor religious events; and floods, droughts, and plagues whose effects were so widespread that to have omitted them would have been surprising. What is apparent, however, is Capgrave's random method of collecting these events:

In that same 3ere [1338] welowes bore roses, rede and frech;
and that was in Januarie.

(p. 207)

In this 3ere [1359] blod ran owte of the toumbe of Thomas duk
of Lancastir at Pounfret.

(p. 219)

The relevant and the irrelevant are juxtaposed in the entries, without any sense of control or shaping on the part of the compiler. The longer series of "merveyles in dyvers londes" (p. 221) are doubtless included for their strangeness, but Capgrave leaves it for others to discern the economic causes or the importance of such entries as:

In that same tyme was gret derth of yrun, led, and bras and
othir metalle.

(p. 215)

or

This 3ere [1362] a pound of wax was worth XVIII. d.

(p. 221)

and

This 3ere [1363] a quarter whete was sold for XV. s.
(p. 223)

Finally, while the stories of Jewet Metles (p. 205) and of the bishop of Lincoln's post-mortem restoration of lands he had stolen in a vision (pp. 210-211) are interesting because they reflect popular current events, that both are as long as the report on the Black Death demonstrates that few principles of proportion or relevance operate in the organization of the material in the Chronicle.

The impersonal quality of the Chronicle is seen at its greatest in those few notices which remind the reader of Capgrave's own history. That his tone remains so detached even in the note on his own birth seems inconsistent in the face of his inclusion of it among the significant events of history:

In this 3ere [1393], in the XXI. day of Aprile, was that Frere bore wechch mad these Annotaciones.
(p. 259)

Nor do the three events which he records for Lynn during his youth have about any of the excitement which they must have generated when they occurred.

In that same 3ere [1400] the schippis of Lennes, which fischid at Aberden, took certeyn schippis of Scotlond, with her amyrel, Ser Robert Logon, knyte, and broute hem to Lennes.
(pp. 276-277)

In this 3ere [1404] were sent embassiatouris fro the Kyng of Denmark for to have the Kyngis doutir Philip to be joyned in wedlok to her Kyng. The Kyng broute hir to Lenne, for to take schip there. And in that towne he lay nyne daies, the too qwenes, thre sones of the Kyng, Herri, Thomas and Umfrey; and many othir lordes and ladies.

(p. 259)

In the same yere [1416] III. beggeres stole III. childyr at Lenne, and of on thei put oute his eyne, the othir thei broke his bak, and the thirde thei cut of his handis and his feet, that men schuld of pite gyve hem good. Long aftir, the fadir of on of hem, whch was a marchaund, cam to London, and the child knew him, and cryed loude, "This is my fadir." The fadir tok his child fro the beggeris, and mad hem to be arested. The childirn told alle the processe, and the beggeris were hangen, ful wel worthy.⁴¹

(p. 316)

However, if there is little personal quality or any central principle of relevance, Capgrave still shows that he consciously selected both his material and the shape of his book. And when he does enter into the Chronicle, he invariably shows more of his method than of his personality. Reference has been made earlier to his sources, to his intention to abbreviate, and to points at which he argues the accuracy of a date or of an event. And occasionally he provides etymologies or singles out the most important item in an entry. Such intrusions are essentially the same as the exegetical digressions evident in the saints' lives. Of greater interest are those remarks which bear on the techniques employed in the composition of the Chronicle itself.

In the early part of the Chronicle, he frequently states that the brevity of his entry reflects the paucity of information. Later on, the nature of his own notes is sometimes revealed. When he mentions the six earls Edward III created in 1336, for example, Capgrave was either working from memory or copying from ill-prepared notes, for he lists five and then says "the sext is not now in mende." (p. 204). He sometimes reminds the reader that he knows more than he is recording

and his words suggest something which he might have inserted for his own use. For example, the compliments of the Anglo-Norman poets to Henry I's second wife are recalled in:

Sche hite, as thei se, Adelida. Of hir beute was mech spech and mech wryting.

(p. 133, italics added)

And, the famous exploits of the son of an Essex tanner are obliquely referred to in:

. . . and Ser Jon Haukwood, a mervelous man of armes, which led it Itale a grete cumpany clepit "The White Felauchip." His dedis wold ask a special tretys.

(p. 226, italics added)

Finally, he shows his concern either to be correct himself or to have his work copied correctly in the future when he says:

Than went he be the hillis of Alverne, (not Malverne). . . .

(p. 229, italics added)

Thus, despite the random surface of the Chronicle, it is possible to extract from it, as from all his other English works, evidence of the way Capgrave worked. In fact, because its entries are so often notational, leaving its skeleton open to view, the Chronicle casts his characteristic traits into greater relief than the others. Coupled with The Solace of Pilgrims as an "original" work, it demonstrates that Capgrave had the capacity to design a work as well as to execute the research and to add to his material from his own resources.

The two also show how tenuous the frame holding together amorphous and eclectic material could be in Middle English works and how foreign criteria of relevance to a dominant theme or of proportion in the selection and development were to many writers. Because they do

not have the kind of central focus that the main character gives to the four saints' lives, the Solace and the Chronicle reveal these aesthetic issues more clearly than the lives do and provide further evidence that those elements which might be regarded as digressive or disruptive in the earlier works are to be regarded as part of the fabric rather than as stains.

Footnotes

* The internal references are to the printed editions: Ye Solace of Pilgrimes, ed. C.A. Mills (London, 1911), and The Chronicle of England, ed. F.C. Hingston (London, 1858). Occasionally the editor of the first has printed a "y" for what should clearly be a "p".

¹The single exception in which he refers to the Augustinians as "our ordre" and "us" occurs on pp. 92-93 of The Solace of Pilgrims. Perhaps some pride may be attached to the statement that one of them is always "sexten on to þe pope," but if so it is very muted indeed.

²As the editor points out, at least part of Capgrave's statement is erroneous in both instances. In the face of these and many other inaccuracies noted in The Solace, it is surprising that Mills should praise Capgrave's care so highly in his Introduction (p. viii).

³In the second part he makes similar digressions on why Rome is the centre of Christianity (pp. 60-61); on the correspondence in the qualities of oil and mercy (pp. 111-112); on whether or not it was God's will that Peter should escape from his prison (p. 118); and on whether Christ himself appeared after his ascension or whether he was represented by angels (p. 163).

⁴Apart from vague references to "cronycles" and "auctores," Capgrave specifically mentions: Solinus (pp. 3, 4, 14), Varro (pp. 4, 13, 14, 15), Virgil (pp. 4, 14, 15, 27), Lucan (pp. 11, 43), Gervase (pp. 12, 43, 64, 65), Dominicus de Arcio (pp. 13, 43, 45, 49), Ovid (pp. 13, 14), Titus Livius (p. 14), Suetonius (p. 25), Proba (p. 27), St. Ambrose (pp. 13, 29, 55), Godfrey of Viterbo (p. 28), Trogus Pompeius (p. 29), Isidor of Seville (pp. 29, 55, 156), Juvenal (pp. 34, 35), Papias (p. 34), St. Augustine (pp. 40, 57, 60, 80, 105, 147, 154), Gelasius (p. 69), Osbert (p. 83), Martinus Polonus (pp. 45, 55, 70, 115, 141), St. Prosper (p. 57), St. Jerome (pp. 85, 129, 144), St. Gregory (pp. 55, 100, 129), St. Clement (p. 106), Theodulphus (p. 147), Gregory of Tours (p. 150), St. Bonaventura (p. 152), Strabus (p. 158), Fulgentius (p. 159), The Bible (pp. 38, 48, 64, 65, 73, 96, 111, 118, 130, 153, 161), his dictionary, Catholicon, (pp. 34, 43), the Biblical Gloss (p. 129), anonymous books: de gestis romanorum, historia antiochena (p. 89), lives of Alexander (pp. 30, 31), St. Anastasia (p. 99), St. Grisogonus (p. 99), St. Lawrence (p. 102), St. Helena (p. 152), St. Marcial (p. 152), St. Gregory (p. 155), St. Silvester (p. 166), St. Augustine (p. 167), and a martyrology he knew as Passionarum (p. 102).

⁵Inscriptions in marble or on "tables" in churches are recorded: pp. 23, 41, 65 (in translation only), 66 (in translation only), 68, 72 (in translation only), 75 (in translation only), 81-82, 87, 122, 123, 136-137, 159, 160.

In addition he refers to the writing but does not give the text pp. 109-110, 157.

⁶For St. Peter's the two relics used as a basis for elaboration are the vernacle (pp. 63-64) and the pillar on which Christ leaned (pp. 65-66); for St. John Lateran, an image of Mary (p. 72) and the Chapel of the Saviour (p. 75); for "seint cruce," the Jerusalem Chapel (pp. 77-79); for "seint triphonis," the relics of St. Monica (pp. 92-93) and of saints Triphon and Respicius (pp. 93-94); for "seint clement," his relics (pp. 106-107); for "seint cecile," hers (pp. 110-111); at the church dedicated to them, the bodies of Cosmo and Damian (pp. 121-122); at the "cherch of seynt susanne," her newly translated body (pp. 123-124); at "quator coronatorum," the relics of the four "grauouris of ymagery" (pp. 127-128); at the station at Saint Paul's, a cloth given to him at his martyrdom (pp. 130-131); at "nicholaus in carcere," the saint's arm (pp. 134-135); and at St. Prisca's, the virgin martyr's relics (pp. 149-150).

Sometimes only a single relic is mentioned and a digression from it provides the matter for the chapter: Chapters 13, 19, 51, 52.

Exceptions where several relics receive approximately the same treatment are: The churches of St. Paul (pp. 66-67), St. Sebastian (pp. 67-70), St. Mary Major (p. 85) and St. Praxed (pp. 147-148).

In certain other instances some story not concerned with the relics -- such as the foundation of the church -- is the centre.

⁷This list and the one above obviously overlap, for churches dedicated to specific martyrs usually contain some of their important relics. The chapters of Book II chiefly concerned with a single saint -- or two in conjunction -- are: 6, 8, 9, 10, 14, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44.

⁸Chapters 12, 15, 18, 26, 33, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.

⁹See also pp.12,11.23-24; 13,1.1; 14,1.28; 26,11.23-25.

¹⁰See also pp.10,11.1-3; 14,11.6-7; 15,11.14-15; 16,11.8-9; 20,11.12-14; 39,11.5-6; 55,11.34-35.

¹¹Other cross-references of these backward-looking varieties occur pp.12,11.15-16; 28,1.8; 48,11.7-8; 52,11.2-3; 152,1.8-53,1.1.

¹²Other of these cross-references occur: pp.65,1.30; 71,1.18; 76,11.7-8; 86,11.5-6; 97,1.12; 99,11.19-20; 109,1.5; 117,1.5; 123,11.8-9; 152,11.21-22.

¹³See also pp.110,11.8-9; 135,11.11-12; 146,11.28-29; 151,11.21-23.

¹⁴Peter J. Lucas, "John Capgrave, O.S.A. (1393-1464), Scribe and 'Publisher'," Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, V Part 1 (1969), 1-35.

¹⁵In fact the three methods often combine when he treats Latin words and phrases; hence no distinction is made in the following list: p.5,11.8-13; p.6,11.2-5; p.7,11.10-12,15-21; p.8,11.4-8; p.9,11.17-21,22-27; p.10,11.3-4,7-10,12-16; p.11,11.10-11; p.12,11.3-4,18-21,27-28; p.13,11.1-2,2-3,6,7-8,22-23; p.14,11.1-6,8-16,20-22,23-26,32-33; p.15,11.8-14,16-17; p.17,1.31 - p.18,1.1; p.19,11.10-11; p.20,11.8-9; p.21,1.22 - p.22,1.1; p.23,1.6 - p.24,1.5; p.25,11.20-24; p.26,11.29-33; p.27,1.29 - p.28,1.4; p.32,11.10-11; p.34,11.9-15; p.35,11.16-20; p.40,11.20-22; p.41,11.14-20; p.42,1.13 - p.43,1.4; p.43,1.21 - p.44,1.2; p.44,11.8-9; p.45,11.18-19; p.46,1.11 - p.47,1.1; p.47,11.16-17; p.53,11.13-14; p.61,1.25 - p.62,1.1; p.65,1.36 - p.66,1.1; p.66,11.3-5; p.67,1.13; p.68,11.11-15; p.69,11.18-25,29-30; p.70,11.3-5; p.72,11.3-4; p.76,1.10; p.81,1.34 - p.82,1.12; p.83,11.20-21; p.85,11.23-25; p.87,11.14-21; p.88,11.6-8,31-33; p.95,11.3-8; p.97,11.1-4; p.99,1.37; p.101,11.10-16; p.104,11.7-8; p.105,11.5-6; p.109,1.3; p.111,11.3-4; p.114,11.21-23,23-25; p.122,11.3-8; p.123,1.26 - p.124,1.1; p.130,11.2-15,15-19; p.131,11.13-14; p.134,11.13-14; p.136,1.8 - p.137,1.2; p.137,11.20-25; p.140,11.6-7; p.141,11.2-3; p.144,11.9-10; p.145,11.16-18; p.147,11.6-11; p.152,11.17-20; p.157,11.4-11,11-14,21-22; p.159,11.3-8; p.160,1.17 - p.161,1.3; p.161,11.6-9,22-24; p.162,11.13-20; p.165,1.27 - p.166,1.4; p.168,11.1-7,11; p.169,1.4; p.170,11.2-3.

¹⁶These include the digressions referred to earlier in the text and in note three and p.26,11.7-9; p.74,11.19-20; p.111,1.13 - p.112,1.6; p.151,11.16-18, as well as numerous instances where he appeals to the audience with "3e are to undirstand" or "to knowe."

¹⁷Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Princeton, 1940), p. 35.

¹⁸Same.

¹⁹Workman, p. 48.

²⁰Most of these are in the narrations of legends. For a few examples where Capgrave's abbreviation is relatively slight see: p.65, 11.15-29; p.118,1.34 - p.120,1.17; and p.170,11.3-23.

²¹Lucas, p. 25.

²²Capgrave's Dedication to his Genesis Commentary, reprinted in De Illustribus Henricis, ed. F.C. Hingston (London, 1858), pp. 230-231.

²³Hingston, De Illustribus Henricis, p. 226. Francis Roth, The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538, (New York, 1966), pp. 415-416.

²⁴Lucas, p. 24.

²⁵Lucas believes the trefoil (a mark made by combining the initials J.C.) to be Capgrave's personal sign, and he discusses the significance of the events in the Chronicle it draws attention to. See Lucas, pp. 20-23.

²⁶There were various methods of arrangement, but basically the "universal" histories of Christian writers followed the outline developed by Africanus, Eusebius, and Jerome. According to Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 250) in his Chronographia, creation occurred 5499 years before Christ's birth. About 303 A.D., Eusebius of Caesarea completed his Chronicle and in the chronological tables he established the six ages of the world: 1) from Creation to the birth of Abraham; 2) from the birth of Abraham in 2016 B.C. to the capture of Troy; 3) from the capture of Troy to the first Olympiad; 4) from the first Olympiad to the second year of Darius' reign; 5) from the second year of Darius' reign to the death of Christ; 6) from the death of Christ to the twentieth year of the reign of the Emperor Constantine (the world was to end at the year 6000). (adapted from H.E. Barnes, A History of Historical Writing, rev. ed. (New York, 1962), p. 47. In his translation, Jerome revised the dates somewhat, but otherwise he retained the outline.

As reference to the quotation which follows this passage in the text shows, Capgrave's version accords more closely with the divisions chosen by Bede, but his chronology follows Eusebius. The chief chronological difference is that he places the creation in 5199 B.C. rather than 5499. Like Bede, he begins the second age with the Flood rather than with the birth of Abraham; his third, with the birth of Abraham's son Isaac; the fourth, with the death of David; the fifth, with the reign of Xerxes, Darius' successor; and the sixth, with the birth of Christ.

²⁷Bede, Opera de Temporibus, ed. C.W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 308.

²⁸In the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 169 (which dates c. 1500 and contains none of Capgrave's handwriting) there are two additional Latin entries (pp. 15, 16).

²⁹There is one additional Latin entry in the printed version (p. 20).

³⁰A Latin addition is printed p. 35.

³¹A Latin addition is printed p. 47.

³²This is the last of Capgrave's notes on his chronological system. In the introduction he explained the dual method of annotation and the point at which he alters the system in the pre-Christian era:

Whan the tyme of Crist is come, than renne to noumberes togidir; the black servith for the age of the world, the rede servith for the annotacion of Crist. Ther is also anothis thing for to note, that the 3eres of the Juges of Israel and of the Kingis of Juda, and of the Kingis of Perse, onto the tyme of Grete Alisaundre, evir that 3ere where the King is first sette is the last 3ere of his regne, for swech is the computacion of Ysidir, and fro gret Alisaunder forth that 3ere where the King is sette first is the first 3ere of his regne. For the newe Cronicules use that forme. These reules had in mynde, the reder schal more parfityly undirstand this book

p. 2

And later he reminds the reader of this change.

And here leve we the manere of countyng used befor, where we sette evyr the regner in his last 3ere fro this tyme forward we will set hem in her first 3ere.

p. 52

³³Most of the exceptions concern French affairs (pp. 155, 166-167, 177, 180, 190, 235-236, 254, 260) and those dealing with the French monarch often had relevance for the English. Others concern battles between Christians and pagans (pp. 223, 224, 277, 298); and even the apparently extraneous reference to Austria (p. 242) concerns the Duke's mistreatment of pilgrims bound for Rome.

³⁴In a letter to me Mr. Lucas says, "In my study of the Chronicle I am particularly interested in Capgrave's use of his sources -- from a stylistic point of view." I assume that he will have made far more precise identification of these sources than the historians have.

³⁵Capgrave is not likely to have been the originator of this story. As C.L. Kingsford says in English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1913), p. 39, the report was probably current and it is only accident that Capgrave's alone survives.

³⁶Arthur is mentioned on three more occasions: pp. 141, 172, and 211. Merlin's prophecies are also cited (p. 165), although he had not been mentioned earlier.

³⁷Another much more nearly contemporary instance is the mixed attitude shown towards Pope Urban in the entries on pp. 241, 254. Though some of Urban's actions were questionable, he was the Roman pope during the Schism and as such he was supported by the English among other nations and by the Augustinians above all religious orders.

³⁸There are countless other instances where a single work or a brief phrase expresses a moral judgment on a person or event. But the judgment implied in the assertion is seldom verified by evidence.

³⁹Like this passage is the one describing the payment of Richard I's ransom (p. 146). The pope may well excommunicate the Duke of Austria, "but for al that, the mony was payed."

⁴⁰This distinction is frequently made. The name Chronicle here as in the case of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is deceptive if it is taken to mean any more than annal, a straight-line development.

⁴¹Similarly, he does not indicate that he is an Augustinian friar either in the references to his order or in those to St. Augustine. (pp. 82-83, 83, 84, 144, 152, 153, 181).

CONCLUSION

The amount of writing John Capgrave did in English is extensive; but it is not the larger part of his canon. It occupied him for only a short period in his life, and it certainly was not the basis of the reputation he earned in his own time. Clearly, the Latin theological commentaries that he wrote during the 1430's and 1450's established his reputation for learning; and it may well be that his public role was greater than remaining documents demonstrate. Thus, in one sense, the five English works written between 1440 and 1452 and the Chronicle whose material was gathered over many years are interruptions in Capgrave's otherwise scholastic literary career. But, if the studies in the preceding chapters cannot, therefore, lead to a final assessment of Capgrave's total career, they do make it possible to draw conclusions about Capgrave as a writer of English prose and poetry and to suggest that the qualities of his works are probably more characteristic of the English literature of the later middle ages than the exceptional pieces which have been subjected to so much scrutiny.

Works in the romance tradition, Chaucer, and poems by his imitators were certainly well-known in Capgrave's time; and there are many fifteenth-century lyrics, as well as The Kingis Quair, and the works of Henryson, Dunbar, and Malory reflecting both skill in composition and interest in secular themes. Still, manuals of behaviour and religious instruction, collections of sermons and saints' lives had at least as receptive and probably a wider audience. That the subject of

the drama was exclusively religious and moralistic and that it was produced by lay men not members of the clergy further demonstrates the genuine popularity of its material. And, so, given the contents of the vast majority of surviving works, including titles in extant catalogues of private libraries, it is evident that Capgrave's English writings reflect that large portion of the reading public's taste which was for didactic literature. This being the case, their style and narrative techniques suggest that there has been an over-emphasis on the "aureate" diction, complicated image patterns, and allegories of a few works, many of which were designed for a closed circle of readers.

Apart from the Chronicle, which he claims to have compiled for his own "solace," all of Capgrave's works are devotional. His purpose was to honour his subjects and to edify his readers rather than to entertain them or to arouse their emotions. As a result, his narratives are straightforward and uninvolved; and his poetry and prose alike are more notable for their plain expository style than for artistic embellishment. Capgrave's techniques of expansion, digression, explication, and translation have been explained and illustrated in the earlier chapters. The process of isolating Capgrave's own traits by close comparison of his works with their sources in itself reinforced the theory that most medieval works were conceived and executed in small units--as the sentences were--rather than as unified wholes in which each part was necessary. In addition, the search for the genesis of the technique and the possibility that the academic sermon provided

the model serves as a reminder that this kind of literature is openly exhortatory, that it is intended to inform and instruct.

Because Capgrave was more concerned with effectively teaching his audience than with developing his materials aesthetically, his characterization is flat. The general chapter on the saints' lives showed how common the stereotype had become and how long the tradition within which Capgrave worked was. He did not need or intend to present his characters by indirection or in depth, for their virtue had been established by their beatification.

The narrative viewpoint in Capgrave's works is also characteristic of the vernacular literature of the fifteenth century. Since his chief concern is to present accepted facts in a clear and detailed manner, the narrator, like the speaker in the sermons of the period, assumes an objective and authoritative role, a voice which is indistinguishable from the author himself. There is no artistic tension such as derives from the narrator's personal involvement with the hero or the theme, for Capgrave tends to keep himself aloof except insofar as he enters as the scholar-exegete to correct or elaborate some passage.

The most important aspect to emphasize about the expository tone and the point of view is not that Capgrave is different but that he is representative. Another critical premise about the medieval reader, however, that he was continually aware of and able to perceive narratives according to the four-fold method of exegetical interpretation, a theory that has lately been under attack from many quarters,

is also seriously questioned by the evidence of Capgrave's English works. Of all the writers of the period, Capgrave would seem to have had the best preparation to use the most abstract and complex symbols; and yet he not only does not, he clearly assumes that his readers would not understand if he did. According to his dedication to the Genesis commentary, he employed only a tri-partite method even in his Latin works; first the literal; second, the allegorical; and, finally, where it was appropriate, the moral. It is these three alone, with the last two greatly reduced in significance, which are found in all Capgrave's English works. In the poems especially, there are frequent examples of his pauses to explain the "mystic" meaning of figurative language, a sure indication that he did not feel even the clerical audience for which they were intended would necessarily be able to interpret them. The moral notes tend to be reduced to exhortations to prayer and honest deeds, using the saint as an example to the readers.

In these ways, like Lydgate, Bokenham, and the anonymous authors of the many other saints' lives and sermon collections, Capgrave lies in the mainstream of the devotional literature which was to be popular for centuries to come. Drawing attention to his large corpus serves as a reminder of the importance of the genre, especially in proportional terms. Because he wrote both poetry and prose and composed original passages as well as translations, he is also an important example for the study of poetics and language. In the dissertation the fluctuation between the older four-stress line and the newer iambic pentameter in his poetry was pointed out and so were examples of his greater

assurance and skill in prose when he is translating. In both these areas as well as in his language itself, much remains to be done. When full and careful analyses have been carried out and his use of the various sources he mentions in The Solace of Pilgrims and The Chronicle of England are evaluated, it will be possible to make a more precise assessment of his literary position. For the moment, however, it is certain that while his English works did not influence the development of prose or poetry, they are important examples of the language as Middle English became modern and of the genres they represent.

Bibliography

A. Bibliography of John Capgrave

1. Bibliography
2. Primary Materials
 - a. MSS.
 - b. Editions
3. Secondary Materials

B. Selected General Bibliography

1. Primary Materials
 - a. MSS.
 - b. Printed
2. Secondary Materials
 - a. Books
 - b. Articles and Chapters in Books

Note: The bibliography of Capgrave refers to vernacular works only, except for De Illustribus Henricis, the single Latin work printed. The secondary materials do not include any of the many general literary and historical works covering the period, nor any of the episcopal registers and British government publications which provided background but did not contribute directly.

A. Bibliography of John Capgrave

1. Bibliography

de Meijer, A. "John Capgrave, O.E.S.A. (1393-1464): Bibliography," Augustiniana, VII (1957), 118-148, 531-574.

Part one contains a bibliography of Capgrave's biographers and a list of secondary references. De Meijer annotates the biographers in chronological order, gives lengthy selections from their works, and points out their errors and obvious indebtedness to one another. In matters of fact, lists of works, or comments on Capgrave's character and learning--which uniformly call for the highest of praise--few of these biographies have anything to add to the earliest ones by Leland and Bale. Indeed, many of the items de Meijer includes are valueless; giving only the barest outline of Capgrave's history or repeating the old errors. Essentially the same judgment must be rendered on the not inconsiderable list of encyclopedias, reference books, and literary histories which are noted, for in many of them Capgrave is only cited in a catalogue of historians or hagiographers without any individual commentary.

The second half of this bibliography is a census of Capgrave's extant and lost works, unhappily not so divided at the outset. Approximate dates, manuscript details, incipits, and secondary materials which mention the particular work are all included.

Many secondary items (most of them insignificant) were overlooked by Father de Meijer, and a few have appeared since the publication of his work. In this bibliography, the Latin biographies listed by de Meijer are not cited again; nor are other books and articles unless they are of major importance; and new or omitted works referring specifically to Capgrave are marked with an asterisk [*]. It should be noted that these additions to de Meijer are all also regarded as significant and that no attempt has been made to list all the literary histories--such as the CHEL and those by Morley, Ryland, Jusserand, Wyatt, Garrett, Brooke, Moulton, Cousin, Adams, Schofield, or Baugh--general histories, and religious works which make passing reference to Capgrave.

2. Primary Materials

a. Manuscripts

The Life of St. Norbert, handwritten edition by W.H. Clawson from Capgrave's holograph in the Huntington Library (HM 55). A new edition is being prepared for publication by C. L. Smetana of York University.

Other extant holograph manuscripts of Capgrave's vernacular works are:

BM. Add. MS. 36704 containing The Life of St. Augustine, The Life of St. Gilbert, and A Sermon.

Bodley MS. 423, The Solace of Pilgrims.

Cambridge University Library, MS. Gg. 4. 12.

b. Editions

De Illustribus Henricis, ed. F. C. Hingston. London, 1858.

The Chronicle of England, ed. F. C. Hingston. London, 1858.

The Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham and a Sermon, ed. J. J. Munro, E.E.T.S., O.S. 140. London, 1910.

The Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria, ed. C. Horstmann, E.E.T.S., O.S. 100. London, 1893.

Ye Solace of Pilgrimes, ed. C. A. Mills. Oxford, 1911.

3. Secondary

- Arbesmann, R. "Jordanus of Saxony's Vita S. Augustini, the Source for John Capgrave's Life of St. Augustine," Traditio, I (1943), 341-354.
- . "The 'Malleus' Metaphor in Medieval Characterization," Traditio, III (1945), 389-392.
- Brimson, D. "John Capgrave, O.S.A.," Tagastan, IX (1946), 17-23.
- de Meijer, A. "John Capgrave, O.E.S.A. (1393-1464)," Augustiniana, V (1955), 400-440.
- Dibelius, W. "John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache," Anglia, XXIII (1900), 153-194, 323-375, 429-472; XXIV (1901), 211-263, 269-308.
- * Lucas, P. J. "John Capgrave, O.S.A.; (1393-1464), Scribe and 'Publisher'," Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, V. Pt. 1 (1969), 1-35.
- * Kurvinen, A. "The Source of Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LXI (1960), 268-324.
- Sanderlin, G. "John Capgrave Speaks up for the Hermits," Speculum, XVIII (1943), 358-362.
- * Toner, N. "Augustinian Spiritual Writers of the English Province in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," Sanctus Augustinus, II, 492-523. Rome, 1959.

B. General Bibliography

1. Primary Materials

a. Unpublished

Anonymous. Vita Sancti Gilleberti. Bodley MS. Digby 36.

Jordanus of Saxony. Vita Sancti Augustini. Typescript edition of the holograph manuscript (Codex 251 de L'Arsenal, Paris) by C. L. Smetana, M. A. Thesis, Fordham University, 1948.

b. Printed

Aelfric. Catholic Homilies, ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols. London, 1844, 1846.

———. Lives of the Saints, ed. W. W. Skeat. E.E.T.S., O.S. 76, 82. London, 1881-1900.

Anonymous. Andreas, ed. G. P. Krapp, in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, II, 3-51. New York, 1932.

———. Anglesächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, ed. B. Assman. Darmstadt, 1964.

———. The Blickling Homilies, ed. R. Morris. E.E.T.S., E.S. 58, 63, 73. London, 1880.

———. Elene, ed. G. P. Krapp, in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, II, 66-102. New York, 1932.

———. Guthlac, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. Dobbie, in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, III, 113-133. New York, 1936.

———. Joseph of Arimathie, ed. W. W. Skeat. E.E.T.S., O.S. 44. London, 1871.

———. Juliana, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. Dobbie, in The Anglo-Poetic Records, III, 49-88. New York, 1936.

- Anonymous. The Life of Saint Chad, ed. R. Vleeskruyer. Amsterdam, 1953.
- . Menologium, ed. E. Dobbie, in The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, VI, 49-55. New York, 1942.
- . The Metrical Life of St. Robert of Knaresborough, ed. J. Bazire. E.E.T.S., O.S. 228. London, 1953.
- . Middle English Sermons, ed. W. O. Ross. E.E.T.S., O.S. 209. London, 1940.
- . The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne, ed. R. E. Parker. E.E.T.S., O.S. 174. London, 1928.
- . An Old English Martyrology, ed. G. Herzfeld. E.E.T.S., O.S. 116. London, 1900.
- . Seinte Iulienne, ed. S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne. E.E.T.S., O.S. 248. London, 1961.
- . Seinte Marherete, ed. F. M. Mack. E.E.T.S., O.S. 193. London, 1934.
- . The South English Legendary, ed. C. d'Evelyn and A. J. Mill. E.E.T.S., O.S. 235. London, 1956.
- . Speculum Sacerdotale, E.H. Weatherly. E.E.T.S., O.S. 200. London, 1936.
- . Vita Sancti Norberti
 A, ed. R. Wilmans. Monumenta Historia Germanica : Scriptorum, XII, 670-703. Hanover, 1856.
 B, ed. J. P. Migne. Patrologiae Latina, CLXX, cols. 1258-1344. Paris, 1894.
- . Vita Sancti Gilleberti (BM. MS. Cotton Cleopatra B 1)
 ed. W. Dugdale. Monasticon, VI, Pt. 2, v-xxix, intercalated between pp. 946 and 947. London, 1849.
 ed. R. Foreville. Un procès de canonisation au xiii^e siècle : Le Livre de St. Gilbert. Paris, 1943.
- . Seruicium S. Gilleberti, ed. R. M. Woolley. Henry Bradshaw Society, LIX, 115-126. London, 1921.
- Barclay, A. The Life of St. George, ed. W. Nelson. E.E.T.S., O.S. 230. London, 1955.
- Bede. The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, ed. T. Miller. E.E.T.S., O.S. 95,96. London, 1890-1891.

- Bede. Opera de Temporibus, ed. C. W. Jones. Cambridge, Mass., 1943.
- Bokenham, O. Legendys of Hooly Wumman, ed. M. Serjeantson. E.E.T.S., O.S. 206. London, 1938.
- Bradshaw, H. The Life of Saint Werburge of Chester, ed. C. Horstmann. E.E.T.S., O.S. 88. London, 1887.
- John of Tynemouth. Nova Legenda Anglie: as collected by John of Tynmouth, John Capgrave, and others, and first printed by Wynkyn de Worde, ed. C. Horstmann. 2 vols. Oxford, 1901.
- Lydgate, J. The Life of Our Lady, ed. J. A. Lauritis. Pittsburgh, 1961.
- . Minor Poems, ed. H. N. McCracken. E.E.T.S., E.S. 107. London, 1911.
- Mirk, J. Festial, ed. T. Erbe. E.E.T.S., O.S. 96. London, 1905.
- Robinson, T. Mary Magdalene, ed. H. O. Sommer. E.E.T.S., E.S. 78. London, 1899.

2. Secondary Materials

a. Books

- Abram, A. English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages. London, 1913.
- Ackerman, R. W. Backgrounds to Medieval English Literature. New York, 1966.
- Aigrain, R. L'Hagiographie: Ses Sources, Ses Méthodes, Son Histoire. Paris, 1953.
- Aston, M. Thomas Arundel. Oxford, 1967.
- Atkins, J. W. H. English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase. London, 1952.
- Barker, E. The Dominican Order and Convocation. Oxford, 1913.
- Bennett, H. S. Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century. Oxford, 1947.
- Besant, W. Medieval London. London, 1906.
- ten Brink, B. A History of English Literature, ed. A. Brandl. Vol. III, trans. L. D. Schmidt. London, 1896.
- Butler, P. Legenda Aurea--Légende Dorée--Golden Legend: A Study of Caxton's Golden Legend with Special Reference to its Relations to the Earlier English Prose Translation. Baltimore, 1899.
- Cambridge Medieval History, ed. H. M. Gratkin and J. P. Whitney. Vol. VIII. Cambridge, 1964.
- Carus-Wilson, E. M. Medieval Merchant Venturers. London, 1954.
- Chambers, E. K. English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages. Oxford, 1945.

- * Chambers, R. W. On the Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More. London, 1932.
- Chrimes, S. B. Lancastrians, Yorkists and Henry VII. London, 1964.
- Clarke, W. G. Norfolk and Suffolk. London, 1921.
- Colvin, H. M. The White Canons in England. Oxford, 1951.
- Coulton, G. G. Ten Medieval Studies. Boston, 1906.
- Critical Approaches to Medieval Literature: Selected English Institute Papers, 1958-1959, ed. D. Bethurum. New York, 1960.
- Curtius, E. R. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. W. R. Trask. London, 1953.
- Dahmus, J. William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury 1381-1396. University Park, Pa., 1966.
- Delehaye, H. The Legends of the Saints, trans. D. Attwater. London, 1962.
- . Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres littéraires. Bruxelles, 1966.
- Duckett, E. S. Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars. New York, 1948.
- * Emden, A. B. A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500. Cambridge, 1963.
- . A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500. 3 vols. Oxford, 1957-1959.
- The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, ed. C. H. Lawrence. New York, 1965.
- * Gerrould, G. H. Saints' Legends. Boston, 1916.
- Graham, R. English Ecclesiastical Studies. London, 1929.
- . S. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines: A History of the Only English Monastic Order. London, 1901.
- Günter, H. Legenden Studien. Köln, 1906.
- Gwynn, A. The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif. London, 1940.

- Hall, D. L. English Medieval Pilgrimages. London, 1965.
- Hanning, R. W. The Vision of History in Early Britain. New York, 1966.
- Hillen, H. J. A History of the Borough of King's Lynn. Norwich, 1907.
- Historical Manuscripts Commission: Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part III: The Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn. London, 1887.
- Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, ed. R. H. Robbins. New York, 1959.
- * Holzknacht, K. J. Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages. Philadelphia, 1923.
- Home, G. Medieval London. London, 1927.
- Humphreys, K. W. The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars, 1215-1400. Amsterdam, 1964.
- Hutchison, H. F. Henry V. London, 1967.
- Hutton, E. The Franciscans in England, 1224-1538. London, 1926.
- Jacob, E. F. The Fifteenth Century. Oxford, 1961.
- Jenkins, C. The Monastic Chronicler and The Early School of St. Albans. London, 1922.
- Jones, C. W. Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England. Ithaca, 1947.
- Kendall, P. M. The Yorkist Age. New York, 1962.
- Ker, N. R. Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. London, 1964.
- Keynes, F. A. By-ways of Cambridge History. Cambridge, 1947.
- Kingsford, C. L. English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century. Oxford, 1913.
- . Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England. London, 1925.
- * Knowles, D. Great Historical Enterprises. London, 1963.
- . The Religious Orders in England. Vols. I and II. Cambridge, 1955 and 1957.

- Knowles, D. Saints and Scholars. Cambridge, 1962.
- and R. N. Hadcock. Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales. London, 1953.
- Krapp, G. P. The Rise of English Literary Prose. New York, 1915.
- Laurie, S. S. The Rise and Constitution of the Universities. New York, 1903.
- Madelaine, G. Histoire de Saint Norbert. Lille, 1886.
- Mallet, C. E. A History of the University of Oxford. Vol. I. London, 1924.
- Mitchell, J. Thomas Hoccleve. Urbana, 1968.
- Moore, A. K. The Secular Lyric in Middle English. Lexington, 1951.
- Mullinger, J. B. The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Royal Injunction of 1535. Cambridge, 1873.
- Oakden, J. P. The Poetry of the Alliterative Revival. Manchester, 1937.
- Owst, G. R. Preaching in Medieval England. Cambridge, 1926.
- Pantin, W. A. The English Church in the Fourteenth Century. Cambridge, 1955.
- Papal Registers, Papal Letters. Vols. VII-XI, ed. J. A. Twenlow. London, 1906-1921.
- Parks, G. B. The English Traveler to Italy. Vol. I. Stanford, 1954.
- Pendrill, C. Wanderings in Medieval London. New York, 1928.
- Petit, F. D. La Spiritualité des prémontrés au xii^e et xiii^e siècles. Paris, 1947.
- Poole, A. L. Medieval England. 2 vols. Oxford, 1958.
- Quentin, H. Les Martyrologes Historiques du Moyen Age. Paris, 1908.
- Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: The City of Cambridge. London, 1959. London. Volume IV. The City. London, 1929.

- Rashdall, H. The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. Vol. III. Oxford, 1936.
- The Register of Bishop Chichele, ed. E. F. Jacob. 4 vols. Oxford, 1938-1947.
- Renoir, A. The Poetry of John Lydgate. London, 1967.
- Rosenthal, C. The Vitae Patrum in Old and Middle English Literature. Philadelphia, 1936.
- * Roth, F. The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538. Vols. I and II. New York, 1966 and 1961.
- Russell, J. C. British Medieval Population. Albuquerque, 1948.
- Saintyves, P. En Marge de La Légende Dorée. Paris, 1930.
- Salter, H. E. Medieval Archives of the University of Oxford. 2 vols. Oxford, 1921.
- Schaar, C. The Golden Mirror. Lund, 1955.
- Schachner, L. Medieval Universities. London, 1959.
- Schirmer, W. F. John Lydgate, trans. A. E. Keep. Berkeley, 1961.
- Schlauch, M. English Medieval Literature and its Social Foundations. Warsaw, 1956.
- Smalley, B. English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century. New York, 1960.
- . The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Oxford, 1952.
- Snell, F. J. The Age of Transition. 2 vols. London, 1905.
- Storey, R. L. The End of the House of Lancaster. London, 1966.
- . Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham, 1406-1437. London, 1961.
- Stubbs, C. W. The Story of Cambridge. London, 1922.
- Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century, ed. E. Power and M. M. Postan. London, 1933.
- Tait, J. The Medieval English Borough. Manchester, 1936.

- Taylor, H. O. The Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages. New York, 1957.
- . The Medieval Mind. Cambridge, Mass., 1959.
- Thompson, A. H. The English Clergy and their Organization in the Later Middle Ages. Oxford, 1947.
- Thompson, J. W. The Medieval Library. Reprint with supplement by B. B. Boyes. New York, 1965.
- and B. J. Holm. A History of Historical Writing. New York, 1942.
- Thomson, J. A. F. The Later Lollards, 1414-1520. London, 1965.
- Thrupp, S. L. The Merchant Class of Medieval London. Chicago, 1948.
- Trevelyan, G. M. England in the Age of Wycliffe. London, 1946.
- Valentini, R. and G. Zucchetti. Historia della Citta di Roma. Vol. IV. Rome, 1953.
- Vickers, K. H. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. London, 1907.
- Victoria County Histories:
Cambridge. Oxford, 1938-1960.
Lincoln. London, 1906.
Norfolk. Westminster, 1906.
Northampton. Westminster, 1902.
Oxford. Oxford, 1907.
- Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln, Vol. III, Record of Visitations held by William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln, ed. A. H. Thompson. Oxford, 1927.
- Weiss, R. Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century. Oxford, 1957.
- White, C. L. Aelfric. Yale Studies in English. Vol. II. Boston, 1898.
- Williams, G. A. Medieval London: From Commune to Capital. London, 1963.
- Wilson, R. M. The Lost Literature of Medieval England. London, 1952.

- * Wolpers, T. Die englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters.
Tubingen, 1964.
- Workman, H. B. John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church. 2 vols. Oxford, 1926.
- * Workman, S. K. Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose. Princeton, 1940.

b. Articles and Chapters in Books.

- Bennett, H. S. "The Author and His Public in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," Essays and Studies, XXIII (1937), 7-24.
- Bethurum, D. "The Form of Aelfric's Lives of the Saints," Studies in Philology, XXIX (1932), 515-533.
- Bonaventura, Brother. "The Teaching of Latin in Later Medieval England," Medieval Studies, XXIII (1961), 1-20.
- Bulwer, J. "Notice of a Manuscript Volume among the Records of the Corporation of Lynn," Norfolk Archaeology, VI (1864), 217-251.
- Cater, W. "The Priory of the Austin Friars, London," Journal of the British Archaeological Society, n.s. 18 (1912), pp. 25-44, 57-82.
- Colgrave, B. "The Earliest Saints' Lives Written in England," Proceedings of the British Academy, XLIV (1958), 35-60.
- Davis, N. "Styles in English Prose of the Late Middle and Early Modern Period," Actes du VIII^e Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des langues modernes (Paris, 1961), 165-184.
- Field, P. J. C. "Description and Narration in Malory," Speculum, XLIII (1968), 476-486.
- Ford, D. J. M. "The Saint's Life in the Vernacular Literature of the Middle Ages," Catholic Historical Review, XVII (1931), 268-277.
- Griffiths, R. A. "Local Rivalries and National Politics: The Percies, the Nevilles, and the Duke of Exeter, 1452-1455," Speculum, XLIII (1968), 589-563.

- Hackett, B. "The Spiritual Life of the English Austin Friars of the Fourteenth Century," St. Augustinus Spirituales Vitae Magister, II (Rome, 1959), 473-492.
- Hay, D. "History and Historians in England and France during the Fifteenth Century," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXXV (1962), 111-127.
- Hinton, N. "Anagogue and Archetype: The Phenomenology of Medieval Literature," Annuaire Medievale, VII (1966), 57-73.
- Jacob, E. F. "Christian Humanism," in Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield, B. Smalley (Evanston, 1965), 437-465.
- . "Founders and Foundations in the Later Middle Ages," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, XXXV (1962), 29-46.
- James, M. R. "The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York," in Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus (Cambridge, 1909), 2-96.
- . "Lives of St. Walstan," Norfolk Archaeology, XIX (1917), 238-267.
- Jeremy, Sister Mary. "Caxton's Golden Legend and Varagine's Legenda Aurea," Speculum, XXI (1946), 211-221.
- Kerling, N. J. M. "Aliens in the County of Norfolk, 1436-1485," Norfolk Archaeology, XXXIII (1962), 200-212.
- Knowles, D. "The Revolt of the Lay Brothers of Sempringham," English Historical Review, L (1935), 465-487.
- Kurtz, E. P. "From St. Antony to St. Guthlac. A Study of Biography," University of California Publications in Modern Philology, XII (Berkeley, 1926).
- Little, A. G. and E. Stone, "Corrodies of the Carmelite Friary of Lynn," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, IX (1958), 8-29.
- * Moore, S. "Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450," PMLA, XXVII (1912), 188-207; XXVIII (1913), 79-105.
- Russell, J.C. "The Clerical Population in Medieval England," Traditio, II (1944), 72-212.

- Seymour, M. C. "A Fifteenth Century East Anglian Scribe," Medium Aevum, XXXVII (1968), 166-173.
- Weisheipl, J. A. "Curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Oxford in the Early Fourteenth Century," Medieval Studies, XXVI (1964), 143-185.
- Williams, A. "Relations Between the Mendicant Friars and the Secular Clergy in England in the Later Fourteenth Century," Annale Medievale, I (1960), 22-93.
- Wilson, R. M. "Three Medieval Mystics," Essays and Studies, n.s. IX (1956), 87-112.
- Woolf, R. "Saints' Lives," in Continuations and Beginnings, ed. E. G. Stanley (London, 1966), pp. 37-66.
- Ypma, E. "Le Mare Magnum, un code médiévale du couvent augustinien de Paris," Augustiniana, VI (1956), 275-321.