WAS GROSSETESTE THE FATHER OF ENGLISH LITERATURE?

Andrew Taylor
University of Ottawa

ABSTRACT

As far as we know Grosseteste never wrote in English (although he did preach in it). But it does suggest a more serious claim: that Grosseteste's use of Anglo-Norman poetry as a form of pastoral instruction laid part of the groundwork for the growth of Middle English literature a century later. In particular, Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'amour* might fairly be called a medieval best-seller. It is one of a number of Anglo-Norman texts that were widely and rapidly disseminated in the mid-thirteenth century and appear to have been the work of professional scriveners, such as those in Catte Street in Oxford. It was not just a popular work, in other words, but a commercial one, closely tied to new conditions of literary production. By examining thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman miscellanies, I hope to offer some indication of Grosseteste's works circulated and his authority helped foster this new literary movement.

KEY WORDS: Grosseteste, *Chasteau d'amour*, pastoral instruction, confession, commercial book trade.

RESUMEN

Por lo que sabemos, Grosseteste nunca escribió (aunque sí que predicó) en inglés. Pero esto supone una opción más significativa: que el uso que Grosseteste da a la poesía anglonormanda como forma de instrucción pastoral ha contribuido a poner los cimientos de lo que sería la literatura en el inglés medio un siglo más tarde. En concreto, el *Chasteau d'amour* de Grosseteste bien podría considerarse uno de los *best-sellers* medievales. Es uno de entre tantos otros textos anglonormandos de amplia y rápida diseminación a mediados del siglo XIII y que parece haber sido obra de escribas profesionales, como los de la Catte Street de Oxford. En otras palabras, no es sólo una obra popular sino comercial, muy vinculada a las nuevas condiciones de producción literaria. Mediante el examen de las misceláneas anglonormandas del siglo XIII, espero ofrecer alguna indicación sobre la circulación de las obras de Grosseteste y de cómo su autoridad ayudó a animar este nuevo movimiento literario.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Grossesteste, *Chasteau d'amour*, educación pastoral, confesión, mercado de libros.

My title, of course, is ironic. Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to1253, advisor to the Oxford Franciscans, translator of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, theologian and philosopher, and author of the treatise *De luce*, which argues that light is the basis of all matter, was a formidable scholar and bishop, tenacious in his efforts to assure basic religious instruction for lay people, but he scarcely figures among the luminaries of English literature.[1] In fact, to the best of our knowledge, he never wrote a word in the language. It was his mother tongue and the one he would have used when he preached to the laity in his diocese, which he did frequently (Paris 256-257; ch.5).[2] Like several of his thirteenth-century country men, Grosseteste might even be called an English nationalist.[3] His resistance to the appointment of foreigners to Lincoln churches was based not just on the general inadequacies of some of the men proposed but more specifically on their inability to speak English. He rejected the papal legate's clerk

Master Atto, for example, as a southern plant that might not bear fruit in a northern clime (*Epistolae* 241-43, discussion in Boyle "Grosseteste," 17-18). Addressing the Lords and Commons and citizens of London of 1252 he went further, claiming that the mother church of England was being impoverished and its wealth squandered "for the use of aliens and those from abroad" (*usibus alienorum et extranorum*):

> These inhabitants of remote parts are not just strangers, they are chief enemies. They strive to tear off the fleece and do not even know the faces of the sheep; they do not understand the language (*linguam non intelligunt*), neglect the cure of the souls, and nonetheless gather and carry off money so as to bring the kingdom into great poverty. (*Epistolae* 131, 443 and discussion in Iglesias-Rábade 104).

Still, there is no reason to suppose Grosseteste saw any particular need for himself or any of his priests to *write* in English. Nor, for that matter, is the quest for a great progenitor, a single father for English literature, likely to appeal to modern readers. But my title does suggest a more serious claim: that Grosseteste's use of Anglo-Norman poetry as a form of pastoral instruction laid part of the groundwork for the development of Middle English literature a century later.

---

[1] For biography of Grosseteste, see the Electronic Grosseteste and Boyle, McEvoy, Seymour, and Southern. The recent study by Schulman, which provides persuasive evidence that during his years in Paris Grosseteste was married, helps clarify several puzzling aspects of his career, such as his slow promotion, and confirms the impression of Grosseteste as an intellectual on the margins (344).

[2] Grosseteste's English might have combined elements of the Suffolk dialect of his birthplace with those of Lincoln and Hereford, where he first worked. His origins were relatively modest. According to Matthew Paris, for example, his canons objected to having a man "of such humble birth" (*de tam humili*) placed over them (3: 528 and Southern 62, n 1).

[3] On the political insecurity that fostered such attitudes in thirteenth-century England, see Turville-Petre 1-10.

Grosseteste's pastoral work was part of a medieval drive to educate the laity in the rudiments of their faith, a drive that saw the establishment of the preaching orders of the Franciscans and the Dominicans and culminated in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, most notably the requirement that all adults, both men and women, confess their sins at least once a year. According to a widely accepted account, this educational and preaching movement was a response to the social energy of an increasingly urban society. Norman Cohn, for example, notes that "wandering preachers, practising poverty and every kind of self-abnegation, won the devotion of the urban masses" and concludes that "[b]y sanctioning the Mendicant Orders the Church was able for a time to control and use the emotional energies which had been threatening its security" (158). While the list of seventy decrees promulgated by the council is staggering in its scope and constitutes one of the most ambitious efforts at social policy in human history, it was a reaction to calls for reform as much as an effort to impose it. Just as Franciscan and Dominican preachers adopted the techniques of their heretical counterparts, such as the dynamic and ascetic Cathar preachers, so the Church's drive to educate the laity might be seen as an adoption of a pre-existing lay movement.

The social energy that the church was endeavouring to control was not just the result of urbanization and a rising standard of living; it owed much to the increase in lay exposure to written texts. By the late twelfth century, whether they could read themselves, lay people increasingly moved in a world defined by written documents and were receptive to reformers who appealed to written texts rather than oral custom, as Brian Stock has so powerfully demonstrated in *The Implications of Literacy*. Drawing on Stock's analysis, R.I. Moore notes that "if active literacy was a condition of the making of heresy... so-called passive literacy was equally a condition of popular receptivity to the active dissemination of heretical teaching" (33).

The heart of the pastoral program of Lateran IV is Canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, which stipulated that all Christians of both sexes were to confess at least once a year (text in Schroeder 259 and Halsall). Since hearing confessions is a perilous undertaking, one that raises difficult questions of human motivation and the reconciliation of spiritual and social needs, the new policy soon gave rise to a massive drive to educate the parish clergy by providing them with simple manuals explaining basic doctrine, the nature of the deadly sins, and the appropriate forms of penance.[4] The consequences of this movement can scarcely be underestimated, but are highly disputed. For some, such as Leonard Boyle, the Lateran council marks a redefinition of the church's mission in terms of the spiritual condition of its poorest members: "[I]t was the Fourth Lateran Council which gave both... parochial priests and the *cura animarum* or parishioners an identity and self-awareness, and an

[4] See the essays collected in Boyle *Pastoral Care*, Rusconi, Shaw, and Goering 58-83 on the impact of Lateran IV. Arnould surveys the development of Anglo-Norman pastoralia (1-59) and Pantin does the same for Middle English (189-243).

honorable, recognized place in the church at large" ("Grosseteste" 31). This effort to ensure the laity understood the basic tenants of the faith by providing systematic and regular instruction for humble parish priests might be seen as the beginning of a sustained effort to educate the population at large that culminates in modern efforts to achieve universal literacy. Others, following Michel Foucault's account in his *History of Sexuality* see the penitential movement as decisive in the formation of a guilt culture centered on self-surveillance (20-21, 60-61). This penitential self-scrutiny can in turn be read more or less harshly. Jacqueline Murray, for example, argues that "Confessors, in the process of trying to control behaviour and beliefs, helped the laity to develop skills of self-analysis and self-knowledge, skills that would allow them to understand themselves, think for themselves, and perhaps even reach their own conclusions. Confession... developed ethical actors who learned how to place themselves in a mutable and ambiguous world" (after note 29). Those lay people who wished to participate fully in such self-analysis and self-positioning would find oral confession insufficient. They wanted books of their own. So Lateran IV, a response to rising literacy, fostered first a wave of Latin manuals for parish clergy and then a wave of vernacular adaptations and translations.

Grosseteste participated in the movement in a number of ways. He was, first and foremost, as bishop, the chief pastor of his diocese, and thus responsible for the quality of the parish priests. Boyle finds the key to understanding Grosseteste's often tortuous and vexed relations with the papacy in his absolute conviction that as bishop he was "personally responsible to God for each and very soul in his diocese" ("Grosseteste" 14). He fought hard against pluralism, blocked illiterate or unsuitable candidates, and urged scholars to return from their studies to their less glamorous but more urgent parish duties. Grosseteste's sense of responsibility also spurred him to literary efforts, most notably the *Templum Dei*, a manual that sets out "what a priest needs to know if he is to interrogate understandingly and counsel effectively those penitents who come to him" (Boyle *Pastoral Care*, 10). In pursuing this goal, Grosseteste demonstrated a strong interest in new forms of textual presentation. Although its contents are straightforward enough, the *Templum Dei* is distinguished by its novel format: it consists in large part of charts, lists, and diagrams. As its editors, Joseph Goering and F.A.C. Mantello, note, this organization facilitates reference, and while "the format never achieved the general acceptance accorded to other innovations" (such as the table of contents or the subject index, both developed at this time), it did "enjoy a considerable vogue in England for several decades" (7-8). The *Templum* survives in over ninety manuscripts, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, the majority from England, France, or Germany (Goering and Mantello 8).

Grosseteste also wrote works for the laity in Anglo-Norman, several of which survive. These include the version of his household ordinances that he prepared for the countess of Lincoln and the lively allegory *Le Mariage des neuf filles du diable*. This poem lists the nine daughters, each of whom is associated with a particular estate or profession: Simony (prelates), Hypocrisy (monks); Plundering (knights); Usury (burghers); Trickery (merchants); Sacrilege (lay people); False Service (provosts and bailiffs), Pride (ladies and maidens), and Lechery, which is common to all

(Meyer 54-72). While *Le Mariage* shows no great literary sophistication or dramatic power, the poem covers the ground of a standard *sermo ad status* clearly and succinctly. The poem was intended "Pur ceux que ne sevent guere / De la force de clergye" (lines 16-17), that is for those who did not read Latin.

These works of vernacular instruction were probably but a few of a much larger number (McEvoy 146). It was Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'amour*, however, that circulated most widely.[5] Running to nearly 1800 lines in octosyllabic couplets, it centres on two extended allegories, that of the debate between the Four Daughters of God (Truth, Justice, Peace and Mercy), which can only be resolved by Christ's sacrifice, thus fulfilling the prophecy of Psalm 84: 10 "Mercy and truth are met together; justice and peace have kissed each other." The second part concentrates on the Virgin and the doctrine of Incarnation. The Castle of Love is the Virgin's pure body, into which Christ descends, and it is besieged by the Devil, the World, and the Flesh. Christ is also presented as a lawyer who argues against the devil for his right to free humanity. The poem shows a considerable understanding of the technicalities of the law and it does not shy away from nice theological points, such as the way in which Nature (*Natura naturata*) is beautified when joined to God (*Natura naturans*) (Southern 227-228). It survives in eighteen manuscripts.

The exact audience remains disputed. Richard Southern believed that it was composed for the sons of Simon de Montfort, but had difficulty accounting for its theological complexity, which he attributed, rather desperately, to Grosseteste's difficulty in separating "the various parts of his mind" (228). Evelyn Mackie has argued that the work was designed for Franciscan lay brothers, *illiterati* who nonetheless might be expected to follow technical theology (51-52). In either case, Grosseteste chose the vernacular to reach out to those who could not read Latin:

> En romanz commence ma reson
> pour ceus ke ne sevent mie
> ne lettrure ne clergie (26-28)

Many others invokeed this simple and enduring justification of the vernacular, but Grosseteste was one of the first in England to give it episcopal authority.

Grosseteste was by no means the only bishop to encourage the development of vernacular pastoralia. Nearly a century earlier, Maurice Sully, bishop of Sens, delivered sermons in French that were subsequently gathered together and circulated widely (Robson). Nor were Grosseteste's decrees on the instruction of the laity exceptional in his day. Similar episcopal statutes were promulgated across the land (Rusconi 71-74). But two bishops in particular seem to have gone much further than the others in exploring vernacular writing, Grosseteste and Walter

[5] Mackie has come across references to thirty-one manuscripts all told, including the eighteen extant and one that survived in Metz until World War II. Grosseteste's authorship but is persuasively argued by Thomson, *Writings* 152.

Gray. Gray, who was archbishop of York from 1216 to 1255, an astonishing two score years, had in his employ, as a traveling justice and then as seneschal, a knight called William of Waddington, and someone of that name was widely credited with being the author of one of the most popular pieces of Anglo-Norman vernacular pastoralia, the *Manuel des pechiez*.[6] The *Manuel* is a general summa of basic doctrine that would help anyone who wanted to make a confession. Running to nearly 12,000 lines, it covers such matters as the Twelve Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, and the Seven Sacraments, all illustrated by numerous lively exempla, such as the story of the sacrilegious carollers forced to dance for a year after they disturbed the Mass or the story of how Saint Benedict fought off the temptations of lust by throwing himself naked into the thorns and nettles. The *Manuel* survives in twenty-eight manuscripts (Sullivan "The Author," Dean 349-51).

About Walter Gray we are, unfortunately, ill informed. He was chancellor of England for King John from 1205 to 1214, and regent during Henry III's absence in France in 1242/43, all of which, taken with his long tenure as archbishop, suggests administrative competence. But in the eye of posterity he backed the wrong man. William Hunt, in the entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, describes Gray as "an obsequious instrument of King John's will," stating flatly "that John liked and trusted him is sufficient to prove he was at that time base and time-serving" (211b). Hunt characterizes Gray as an avaricious man of little learning (208b) and repeats the claim of the canons of York that he was illiterate (209), but even Hunt allows that in his diocesan work Gray was "wise and active" (211a).

For cultural historians, however, what is perhaps most important about Gray and Waddington is the extent of their collaboration, for the *Manuel* appears to have been officially disseminated or at least disseminated with episcopal encouragement. Matthew Sullivan argues, "the speed with which the Manuel was circulated, starting from Waddington's base at York, and spreading north to Durham, south all the way to the Isle of Man, east to Bury, and west perhaps as far as Ludlow, is evidence that medieval official publications... did not necessarily circulate haphazardly" ("Readers" 241-42).[7] Quite what degree of official encouragement Gray offered is probably not something we will ever be able to determine, but the wide and rapid circulation of the text does suggest that he offered some, and that Waddington probably wrote at his behest. In this case, Gray should be ranked along with Grosseteste as an important early promoter of vernacular writing. Nor is that quite all. It is even possible that Gray established a tradition in his diocese. A

---

[6] Sullivan makes a persuasive case that the Waddington who was the archbishop's seneschal was the same Waddington who composed the *Manuel*, or at least copied or compiled a large part of it.

[7] See also SULLIVAN "A Brief Textual History." There is still no satisfactory modern edition of the *Manuel.* Furnivall reproduces a transcription of the complete text in his Roxburghe edition of *Handlyng Synne* and some sections of it in his edition for the Early English Text Society. Arnould provides a textual discussion and edits the prologue and epilogue.

century later it was once again the archbishop of York, this time John Thoresby, who led the country in the use of the vernacular for religious instruction when he ordered his episcopal injunctions translated into English verse by the Benedictine monk John of Gaytryge. The resulting short text, now known as *The Lay Folk's Catechism*, circulated widely.[8] This time there is no doubt of the archbishop's direct involvement. As Nicholas Watson notes, "Unusually, not only do many manuscripts of this brief work give Gaytryge's name, but Thoresby's register... contains a full copy of the English text; a letter survives from Thoresby to Gaytryge telling him to work quickly, and the register even indicates that the two men met to discuss the matter" (336). Thoresby's efforts were a response to the problems of his own day, especially the decline in the quality of the clergy in the wake of the Black death (Hughes 136-42). But the success of Waddington's *Manuel* may have helped to prepare the way.

So far I have been suggesting that Grosseteste was one of a number of far-sighted and energetic bishops, who recognized the value of Anglo-Norman verse for pastoral instruction. In other words, I have suggested that Grosseteste deliberately promoted vernacular verse as episcopal policy. Of course, the evidence is too scanty to allow us to determine Grosseteste's intentions, let alone those of Walter Gray, but it is their intentions that I have pursued. There is, however, another way to approach the question, one which would look on Grosseteste not so much as a conscious agent but as a legendary figure and an authorizing symbol.

Within his own time, Grosseteste acquired a formidable and somewhat sensational reputation. The epithet "fat head" was presumably a tribute to his intellectual accomplishment (Schulmann 337, n 37). He knew Greek and was thought to know Hebrew, being "*in triplici lingua eruditus,*" according to the early cataloguer of his works, Boston of Bury (fl. 1400) (Thomson, *Writings* 4).[9] Much of his knowledge was in obscure fields such as mathematics.[10] It is not entirely surprising that he developed a reputation as a magician and was credited as the author of a grimoire, *De necromancia et goëcia* (Thomson, *Writings* 271). For many historians, these legends may seem merely deceptive accretions. James McEvoy, for example, suggests that "These overlaid meanings can be peeled off again, one by one, by the application of the historian's tools" (62). For literary history, however, Grosseteste's reputation may ultimately prove more important than his policy, his legend more important than his life, and his role as a father figure in the eyes of others more important than his own literary work.

Two references suggest that by the late fourteenth century, at least, Grosseteste had become a legendary figure. The more melodramatic one is in Gower's

[8] See Swanson, Hughes 149-52, and discussion by Nicholas Watson in Wogan-Browne, 335-36.

[9] Thompson argues Grosseteste's Hebrew was probably rudimentary (*Writings* 38-39).

[10] Bodleian Library, Savile MS 21, sections of which are in Grosseteste's hand, testifies to a considerable knowledge of Arabic mathematics (Thompson, *Writings* 38-39).

Confessio Amantis, which tells us that Grosseteste laboured for seven years to build a head of brass, only to lose all his efforts for a minute's laziness:

> For of the grete Clerc Grosseteste
> I rede how besy that he was
> Upon clergie an Hed of bras
> To forge, and make it forto telle
> Of suche thinges as befelle.
> And sevene yeres besinesse
> He leyde, bot for the lachesse
> Of half a Minut of an houre,
> Fro ferst that he began laboure
> He loste all that he hadde do. (4: 234-43)

Unlike later versions of the tale or its analogues, which make it clear that the great magician missed the head speaking when he dozed off, Gower fails to specify exactly what this moment of "lachesse" was, although this is a crucial point.[11] One possible explanation is that the story was in such wide circulation that Gower could assume his readers would be familiar with it.

In *Handlyng Synne*, the Middle English translation of the *Manuel des pechiez*, Grosseteste is mentioned for his love of the harp:

> He louued moche to here þe harpe,
> For mannys wytte hyt makeþ sharpe;
> Next hys chambre, besyde hys stody,
> Hys harpers chaumbre was fast þerby.
> Many tymes, be nyhtes and deyys
> He hade solace of notes and layys (1: 4743-48)

Here Grosseteste is cast as the defender of secular music ("notes") and vernacular poetry ("lays"), sanctioning both as a legitimate form of solace. It is a fitting tribute to a man who was renowned for his humanity —once instructing an overzealous monk who came to him for confession to drink a cup of wine as his penance— and had shown himself willing "to use every medium at the disposal of his talents to inculcate faith and encourage piety" (McEvoy 153). Taken together, the two references suggest that the affection Grosseteste inspired and his esoteric intellectual interests had combined into a powerful but slightly discordant legend of a humane but dangerously learned scholar/bishop.

But is there any evidence that this legend was in circulation in the thirteenth century? Here there are three possible lines of inquiry: the efforts to canonize Grosseteste; the inclusion of portraits of Grosseteste to introduce his vernacular

---

[11] The legend of the brazen head is told in a fuller form in the sixteenth-century metrical life by Robert of Bardney (Wharton 1, 33).

texts; and the large number of copies of his *Chasteau d'Amour* that appear to have been commercially copied for the growing lay market. In each case the evidence is limited, but together they suggest that Grosseteste played at least some a role in fostering the development of the thirteenth-century vernacular book trade.

The first of these lines of inquiry might not seem terribly promising. After all, the effort to canonize him failed, and it failed, or so Eric Kemp suggests, not just because of Grosseteste's "unfailing criticism of the papal Curia" but also because there was "a comparative lack of interest in his sanctity outside Lincolnshire" (245-46). Kemp notes in particular that the collection of letters assembled in support of Grosseteste's canonization in 1286 was not on the whole very impressive. True, there are some striking absences: there are no letters from Archbishop Pecham or from the authorities of Oxford and only one letter from the Franciscans (oddly enough from those of London). Nor are the laymen who submitted letters among the greatest lords of the land. Among them, however, is Robert de Tatersale, baron of Tatershal, a family for whom Grosseteste provided spiritual counsel. Robert's wife Joan owned an elegant spiritual miscellany, Princeton Library MS Taylor1, which contained copies of both the *Manuel des pechiez* and the *Chasteau d'amour*, and in this manuscript Grosseteste is granted the status the church denied him and designated "seint robert" (fol.172 v, discussion in Bennett 167). It would seem that Grosseteste had developed a following in the Tatershal family. They may even have looked to him for personal guidance, as Simon de Montfort and the Countess of Lincoln did. The Tatersales were anxious to promote his reputation, believed in his sanctity, and provided a readership for his works.

The Taylor manuscript also contains a picture of Grosseteste, and this brings us to the second source of evidence, the author portraits. Portraits of late fourteenth-century vernacular writers such as Chaucer and Gower are considered marks of their assumption of authorial status, their status as *auctors* rather than mere rhymers (Wright). One might wonder whether the portraits of Grosseteste played a similar role. There are four of them (Thomson, "Two Early Portraits" and Bennet 173). One, dating from the mid fourteenth century, in British Library MS Royal VI. E. V, is at the beginning of Grosseteste's Latin *Dicta* and shows him seated in full episcopal regalia (fol. 6r). The other three head copies of his *Chasteau d'amour*. Two of these manuscripts date from about 1300, while the Princeton manuscript might be as early as 1280 (Bennett 167). One of these portraits, in Lambeth MS 522, a large Anglo-Norman religious miscellany, shows Grosseteste preaching out of doors to a small gathering of lay people, both men and women, who listen and raise their hands in joy (fol. 1r). The second, Harley 3860, shows Grosseteste enthroned with mitre and crozier, staring straight ahead. This portrait is not merely a standardized picture of any bishop, since it gives Grosseteste an unusually large head. Most suggestive of all is the miniature that marks the beginning of the *Chasteau d'amour* in the Princeton manuscript. Here Grosseteste is standing and in conversation with a woman whose heraldic garments identify her as Joan de Tatersale. The two look directly at each other, as if in spiritual discourse, and Joan (who appears elsewhere in the manuscript commanding her scribe to write) is almost as large as the bishop. The decorated initial reminds us of the complexities of patronage. Just as with the

author-portrait of Grosseteste that appears in Harley 3860, we can only wonder who was directing whom. Was the commanding baroness Tatershal merely a recipient of Grosseteste's spiritual guidance? To what extent, if any, did she, her husband, or others like them steer Grosseteste towards his work as an Anglo-Norman writer? How far did their efforts to have him canonized contribute to his exotic posthumous reputation? Do the portraits reflect Grosseteste's sense of authorial presence, or is his name being invoked by others?

The third possible line of inquiry is Grosseteste's association with the commercial scriveners of Oxford, clustered along Catte Street (Donovan 9-17). Here it is his *Chasteau d'amour* that is the crucial link, a work that might fairly be called a medieval best-seller. The evidence for this rather sweeping claim is admittedly tentative. Even a century later the small percentage of texts that survives makes it hard to assess the state of the book trade. But the *Chasteau d'amour* does appear in a number of manuscripts whose style and level of decoration, quality of hand, and preparation of parchment all suggest that they were copied by professionals for sale, rather than by monks or the clerks and chaplains of great households for in-house use. The *Chasteau d'amour* also appears on numerous occasions with a limited number of other works highly popular works, above all Waddington's *Manuel,* which is found along with it in four apparently unrelated manuscripts. In other words, although the survival rate of thirteenth-century manuscripts is very low and the patterns of book circulation largely effaced, a certain number of texts turn up so often in each other's company that they would seem to have been recognized and sought after by the same broad group of readers. Finally, many of the copies of both the *Chasteau d'amour* and Waddington's *Manuel*, as well as other popular texts such as the works of Marie de France, consist of small, independent booklets of a kind that would have allowed a moderately prosperous reader to assemble quickly and cheaply a personal collection that reflected his or her diverse interests. A good example of such a volume is a collection of independent booklets that once belonged to an anonymous lawyer (now Bodleian MSS Douce 137 and 132). In addition to some copies of writs, articles, and other legal texts in Latin, this collection includes a number of popular works in Anglo-Norman: the *Chasteau d'amour*, Glanville's treatise on English law, Walter of Henley's treatise on estate management, the *Fables* of Marie de France, the romance *Horn*, and Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiare divin*, a moral allegory teaching one how to win salvation (Robinson 56-57, 64-67). These were among the texts a scrivener could be sure to sell.

Waddington's *Manuel*, one of the most popular of them all, is actually attributed to Grosseteste in two copies of Robert Mannyng's Middle English translation, *Handlyng Synne*. The attribution is now generally agreed to be entirely false and might appear to be just one more of the numerous spurious attributions to Grosseteste, but it may be based on something other than pure fancy. Hope Emily Allen went so far as to suggest that "a work like the *Manuel*, which follows fairly closely the subjects laid down for the instruction of the people in [Grosseteste's] ordinances, might easily owe its connection with him to its having become part of a campaign which he had furthered" (448). Idelle Sullens suggests, slightly more cautiously, "That Grosseteste's 'Constitutions' provided an early stimulus for the

penitential literature is reflected in the many attributions, long after his death, of works for which he was certainly not responsible" (Mannyng XLI, n 11). At the very least, the attribution is a reflection of the popularity of the power of Grosseteste's name among the circle of readers of the *Manuel*.

There are other signs of cross-fertilization between Grosseteste and the Oxford book trade. The post-Lateran pastoral movement encouraged technical innovation in book design, including experimentation with schematized charts and diagrams, alphabetized arrangements, headings and sub-headings, and indices, all to facilitate the memorization and retrieval of information. Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* is but one of the more radical examples. Grosseteste was attuned to the way in which new forms of book production could serve his pastoral mission. The scriveners, for their part, stood to benefit from his interest and from any closer ties that might result. The scriveners depended on the university. It not only supplied them with a large concentration of customers but, better still, ensured that these customers had to follow compulsory reading lists (a crucial part of the university's self-regulation). This stable demand encouraged various forms of rapid and collaborative copying and the growth of a small professional quarter, where scribes could assist each other. The trade in romances, law texts, and religious self-help manuals that grew up in Oxford in the mid thirteenth century piggy-backed on the initial demand for university textbooks. In doing so, the book trade followed the same lines of outreach traced by Grosseteste. Neither the scriveners nor the bishop could afford to ignore the large potential readership of prosperous lay people. They were among Grosseteste's most influential charges, enthusiastic but also demanding. Even if Grosseteste did not initially write the *Chasteu d'amour* for lay readers, the work was for the most part well suited for them. The sometime chancellor of Oxford and the scriveners of Catte Street were reaching out to the same group.

In the new and volatile field of vernacular literature, the scriveners needed something of the stability of the textbook trade: they needed titles and authors that would have been recognized by potential readers. Grosseteste provided them with both. The commercial appearance of so many copies of his most ambitious vernacular work is no coincidence. But his role went beyond that. Surveying the extensive field of spurious Grosseteste, sixty-five items in all, S. Harrison Thomson concluded, "A personality so commanding as Grosseteste becomes, in the course of time, a magnet for attributions of many works which are found, on closer examination, to be falsely so ascribed" (*Writings* 240). This commanding personality provided the book trade with what something else they desperately needed, a vernacular author, that is, someone who had the prestige and cultural authority of a great cleric but had chosen to employ the more marketable and more vulgar tongue, Anglo-Norman. Ultimately the exchange would seem to have gone both ways. Grosseteste collaborated with enthusiastic lay readers and members of the nascent lay book market while at the same time these lay readers and professional scriveners adopted "Grosseteste" as an authorizing father figure.

WORKS CITED

Allen, Hope Emily. "The *Manuel des Pechiez* and Its Scholastic Prologue." *Romanic Review* 8 (1917): 434-62.

Arnould, E.J. *Le Manuel des péchés: étude de la littérature religeuse anglo-normande (xiii siècle)*. Paris: Droz, 1940.

Boyle, Leonard. "Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care." *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1979): 3- 51.

—— *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200-1400*. London: Variorum, 1981.

Callus, Daniel Angelo Philip, ed. *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1969.

Cohn, Norman. *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and the Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970.

Dean, Ruth J. with the collaboration of Maureen B.M. Boulton. *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, Anglo Norman Text Society, Occasional Publications Series 3. London: Anglo Norman Text Society, 1999.

Donovan, Claire. *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford*. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991.

—— The Electronic Grosseteste, <http://www.grosseteste.com>

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon, 1978.

Furnivall, F.J. ed. *Robert of Brunne's Handling Synne: William of Waddington's "Manuel des Pechiez."* Early English Text Society, Original Series 119, 123. London: Trübner, 1901-1903.

—— ed. *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne*. London: Roxburghe Club, 1862.

Goering, Joseph. "The Literature of Pastoral Care." *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992. 58-83.

Grosseteste, Robert. *Templum Dei, Edited from MS. 27 of Emmanuel College, Cambridge*. Ed. Joseph Goering & F.A.C. Mantello. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984.

—— *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae*. Ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 25. London: Longman, 1861.

Halsall, Paul. *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*: Lateran iv: Select Canons, 1215. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/lat4-select.html>

Hughes, Jonathan. *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1988.

Iglesias-Rábade, Luis. “Norman England: A Historical Sociolinguistic Approach.” *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 15 (1987): 101-112.

Legge, M. Dominica. *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.

Macaulay, M.C. ed. *The English Works of John Gower*; Early English Text Society, Extra Series 81. London: Trübner, 1900.

Mackie, Evelyn. “Robert Grosseteste’s *Chasteu d’amur*: A Text in Context.” Diss. U of Toronto, 2001.

Mannyng, Robert, of Brunne. *Handlyng synne*. Ed. Idelle Sullens. Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1983.

McEvoy, James. *Robert Grosseteste*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.

Meyer, Paul. “Notice du MS. Rawlinson Poetry 241 (Oxford).” *Romania* 29 (1900): 61-72.

Moore, R.I. “Literacy and the Making of Heresy.” *Heresy and Literacy, 1000-1500.* Ed. Peter Biller & Anne Hudson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. 19-37.

Murray, J., ed. *Le Château d’Amour de Robert Grosseteste, évèque de Lincoln*. Trans. J. Murray. Paris: Champion, 1918.

Murray, Jacqueline. “Cultural Studies/Sexual Anxiety: Confessions of a Medieval(ist).” Cultural Studies, Medieval Studies, and Disciplinary Debate. The U of Saskatchewan, March 13-14, 1998. <http://www.usask.ca/english/colloqu>

Oschinsky, Dorothea, ed. *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1971.

Pantin, W.A. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1955.

Paris, Matthew. *Chronica majora*. Ed. Henry Richards Luard. London: H.M. Stationery Office/ Wiesbaden: Kraus, 1964.

Richardson, Oliver H. *The National Movement in the Reign of Henry III*. New York: Macmillan, 1897.

Robinson, Pamela. “The Booklet: A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts.” *Codicologica* 3 (1980): 46-69.

Robson, C.A. *Maurice of Sully and the Medieval Vernacular Homily: With the Text of Maurice’s French Homilies, from a Sens Cathedral Chapter Ms.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1952.

Sajavaara, Kari, ed. *The Middle English Translations of Robert Grosseteste’s Château d’Amour*. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1967.

Schalby, John de. *The Book of John de Schalby, Canon of Lincoln 1299-1333: Concerning the Bishops of Lincoln and Their Acts*. Trans. J.H. Srawley. Lincoln, Lincolnshire: Friends of Lincoln Cathedral, 1966.

Schroeder, H.J. *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils: Text, Translations, and Commentary*. St. Louis, Missouri: Herder, 1937.

Schulman, N.M. “Husband, Father, Bishop? Grosseteste in Paris.” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 330-46.

Shaw, Judith. “The Influence of Canonical and Episcopal Reform on Popular Books of Instructions.” *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*. Ed. Thomas J. Heffernan. Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1985. 44-59.

SOUTHERN, R.W. *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe*. Rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.

STEVENSON, Francis Seymour. *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln: A Contribution to the Religious, Political and Intellectual History of the Thirteenth Century*. Dubuque, Iowa: Brown Reprint Library, 1962.

STOCK, Brian. *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1983.

SULLIVAN, Matthew. "The Author of the *Manuel des péchés*." *Notes and Queries* 236 (1991): 155-57.

—— "A Brief Textual History of the *Manuel des péchés*." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 93 (1992): 337-46.

—— "Readers of the *Manuel des péchés*." *Romania* 113 (1992-95): 233-42.

SWANSON, R.N. "The Origins of *The Lay Folk's Catechism*." *Medium Ævum*, 60 (1991): 92-100.

TAYLOR, Andrew. "From Manual to Miscellany: Stages in the Commercial Copying of Vernacular Literature in England." *Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003).

THOMPSON, S. Harrison. *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, 1235-1253*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1940.

—— "Two Early Portraits of Robert Grosseteste." *Medievalia et Humanistica* 8 (1954): 21-22.

TURVILLE-PETRE, Thorlac. *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

WATSON, Nicholas. "The Politics of Writing in Middle English." *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*. Ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor & Ruth Evans. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1999. 331-52.

WHARTON, Henry. *Anglia sacra, sive, Collectio historiarum partim antiquitus, partim recenter scriptarum, de archiepiscopis & episcopis Angliæ, a prima fidei Christianæ susceptione ad annum* MDXL. London: Richard Chiswel, 1691. MRT Microfilm AC 4. E22 300:10.

WOGAN-BROWNE, Jocelyn, Nicholas WATSON, Andrew TAYLOR & Ruth EVANS, eds. *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1999.

WRIGHT, Sylvia. "The Author Portraits in the Bedford Psalter-Hours: Gower, Chaucer and Hoccleve." *British Library Journal* 18 (1992): 190-201.