

The dissemination of visions of the otherworld in England and northern France c.1150-c.1321

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I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Abstract

This thesis examines the dissemination of visions of the otherworld in the long thirteenth century (c.1150-1321) by analysing the work of one enthusiast for such visions, Helinand of Froidmont, and studying the later transmission of three, contrasting accounts: the vision of the monk of Eynsham (c.1196), the vision of St. Fursa (c.656) and the vision of Gunthelm (s.xii^{ex}). It relies on a close reading and comparison of different versions of these visions as they appear in *exempla* collections, religious miscellanies, history chronicles and sermons. In considering the process of redaction, it corrects two imbalances in the recent scholarship: a focus on searching for, then discussing 'authorial' versions of the narratives and a tendency among students of literature to treat visions of the otherworld as an independent sub-genre, prefiguring Dante's later masterpiece.

Instead, by looking at the different responses of a number of authors and compilers to visions of the otherworld, this thesis shows how they interacted with other elements of religious culture. On one hand it reveals how all medieval editors altered the narratives that they inherited to fit the needs and rules of genre. These rules had an important influence on how visions were spread and received by different audiences. On the other, it explains how individual authors demonstrated personal or communal theological and political motivation for altering visions. In doing so, it notes a divergence in the way that older monastic communities and travelling preachers responded to the stories. By explaining these variations, this study uncovers a range of complex reactions to trends in thirteenth-century eschatology (particularly the development of the doctrine of Purgatory) and how they interacted with wider religious concerns such as pastoral care. Finally, it shows how an examination of the pattern of a vision's dissemination can lead to a re-consideration of the earlier texts themselves and the religious milieu from which they emerged.

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Abbreviations and Short Titles

AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 1- (Brussels, 1882-).
ActaSS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , eds. J. Bolland and G. Henschen (Antwerp, 1643-).
A(HS)	‘A’ text of the VEME as edited in <i>The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham</i> , ed. H.E. Salter, 2 vols., Oxford Historical Society 49, 51 (1907-8), II, pp. 257-231.
B(HT)	‘B’ text, ‘Visio monachi de Eynsham’, ed. Herbert Thurston, <i>AB</i> 22 (1903), 225-319.
BL	British Library, London.
BN	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout, 1971-).
<i>Chronicon</i>	Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Helinandi Frigidimontis Monachi Chronicon</i> , PL 212, cols. 771-1082.
<i>Collectaneum</i>	<i>Collectaneum Exemplorum et Visionum Clarevallense</i> , ed. Olivier Legendre, CCCM 208 (Turnhout, 2005).
C(RE)	‘C’ text, <i>The Revelation of the monk of Eynsham</i> , ed. Robert Easting, EETS 318 (Oxford, 2002).
E	London, BL MS Royal 7.D.i.
EETS	Early English Text Society, Original Series 1- (London, 1864-); Extra Series, 1-126 (London, 1867-1935); Supplementary Series 1- (London, 1970-).
<i>Eleven Visions</i>	‘Eleven visions connected with the Cistercian monastery of Stratford Langthorne’ ed. Christopher J. Holdsworth, <i>Citeaux Commentarii Cistercienses</i> 13 (1962), 185-204.
<i>Exempla</i>	Jacques de Vitry, <i>The Exempla or Illustrative Stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry</i> , ed. Thomas F. Crane, Folklore Soc. (New York, 1890).
HE	Bede, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, <i>Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> (Oxford, 1969).
HS	Robert Mannyng of Brunne, <i>Robert of Brunne’s Handlyng Synne</i> , ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS 119, 123 (London, 1901, 1903; rpt. Oxford, 2002).
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab a. c. 500 usque a a. 1500</i> , ed. G. H. Pertz et al. (Hannover 1826-).
SRM	<i>Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum</i> (1937-).
SS	<i>Scriptores</i> (1826-).
MVSH	Adam of Eynsham, <i>Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis</i> , 2 vols., eds. and trans. Decima L. Douie and Hugh Farmer (London, 1961).
P-F	Helinand of Froidmont, ‘Édition des titres des chapitres et des notations marginales d’après le ms. du Vatican, Reg. lat. 535’, ed. M. Paulmier-Foucart, <i>Spicae</i> 4 (1986), 81-254.

PL	Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. J. -P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864).
Reg. Lat.	Rome, Vatican Library Reginensis Latini.
ROT	Bede, <i>The Reckoning of Time</i> , trans. Faith Wallis (Liverpool, 1999; 2nd edition, 2004).
RS	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series), 99 vols. (London, 1858-1911, 1964).
SC	Source Chr�tiennes 1- (Paris, 1942-).
SCH	Studies in Church History (London/Oxford/Woodbridge, 1964-).
<i>Sermones</i>	Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Helinandi Frigidimontis Monachi Sermones</i> , PL 212, cols.481-534.
TEMA	Thesaurus Exemplorum Medii Aevi, www.gahom.ehess.fr/thema/index .
VEME	Visio monachi de Eynsham.
VG	Visio Gunthelmi.
(A)	‘A’ text as edited in ‘The vision of Gunthelm and other visiones attributed to Peter the Venerable’, ed. Giles Constable, <i>Revue b�n�dictine</i> 66 (1956), 92-114.
(H)	in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , cols.1060C- 1063D.
(V)	in Vincent of Beauvais, <i>Speculum Historiale</i> , 29.6-10.
VT	<i>Visio Tnugdali</i> , ed. Albrecht Wagner (Erlangen, 1882; rpt. Hildesheim, 1989).
<i>Visions</i>	‘Le visioni di S. Fursa’, ed. M. Ciccarese, <i>Romanobarbarica</i> 8 (1984-5), 231-303.
<i>Vita</i>	<i>Vita virtutesque Fursei Abbatis Latinacensis Passiones</i> , ed. Bruno Krusch MGH SRM IV (Hanover, 1902), 423-440.
W	Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.15.36.

Introduction

Ideas about death and the afterlife have been at the centre of religious life, ritual and thinking for millennia. In contrast, scholarly interest in responses to death and dying has been more uneven. Much of the contemporary interest in the subject and its recognition as a mainstream topic of historical research can be traced back to publication of Phillip Ariès survey of attitudes to death in the late 1970s.¹ The subject matter for such studies is rich and crosses many traditional disciplinary boundaries. For the medievalist, surviving wall paintings, theological tracts, wills, tombs, poems and pastoral manuals all provide evidence for understanding how medieval societies interpreted Christian teachings about the after-life and death. This study will take one relatively narrow genre and use it towards that end: visions of the otherworld. These accounts record a 'supernatural' encounter when a monk (or sometimes a lay person or knight) is seriously ill, often on his death bed.² The soul of the individual is taken out of his body – in the central Middle Ages it was invariably a male – and given a tour of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory (collectively I will refer to these areas as the otherworld).³ This tour was usually conducted by a Saint or a named angel and involved meeting human souls who found themselves in various states of punishment or bliss.

Despite the considerable literature concerning specific accounts of the otherworld and some work on the genre as a whole, nothing has been written about how the visions were actually disseminated and edited by medieval writers and compilers. My thesis will focus on this process in the long thirteenth century with a view to discovering how and why medieval authors edited and altered the texts. As with any aspect of religious teaching, the otherworld was prone to change, re-interpretation and manipulation by

¹ Philip Ariès, *L'homme devant de la Mort* (Paris, 1977), translated as: Philip Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (Oxford 1991). For a useful introduction into the study of the subject in England, see: Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings eds., *Death in England - An illustrated history* (Manchester, 1999). The introduction to Jay Winter's book on communal reactions to death after World War I details the range of sources that can be drawn upon by cultural historians of all periods, as well as showing how responses to death interacted with wider trends: Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.1-13.

² For a discussion of the phenomena of 'near-death' experiences over a wide period, see: Carol Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys: Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Modern Times* (Oxford, 1987). For interesting comment on the comparison between modern visions of the other world and medieval ones, see: Yelena Mazour-Matusevich, 'On Concepts, History and Autobiography, An interview with Aron Gurevich', *The Medieval History Journal* 7 (2004), 194-195.

³ For a discussion of the way in which a variety of different types of dreams and visions were categorised in the Middle Ages, see: Stephen F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992).

authors responding to the texts that they had inherited. These changes are important, because in the hands of different compilers, in the mouths of different preachers and in the eyes and ears of different audiences and readers, they had worldly consequences. At their most extreme, ideas about the otherworld could (and still can) spur action by fear of punishment or promise of reward. More often, they informed decisions about morality, sin and forgiveness. Rather than seeking to define 'authoritative' versions of the earliest surviving copies of the vision, my work will seek to identify changes to the narrative by the close reading of various redactions to ascertain the motivation for some of the alterations. In particular, I will analyse how the authors, compilers and editors were influenced by personal or communal theology (monastic or political) and the genre of the redaction. This will contribute to an understanding of how ideas about the afterlife were spread, how they were understood and changed over time and how they interacted with other aspects of medieval life and culture.

There is a comprehensive literature on the medieval visions of the otherworld in general. Two large surveys of the genre by Claude Carozzi and Peter Dinzelbacher remain the best introductions to the various visions and their associated literature. Carozzi's large study of visions tracks the development of the Latin genre chronologically, starting in the fifth century and finishing half way through the thirteenth century.⁴ It comprehensively analyses individual visions and links them together in a single chronological narrative arguing that from the fifth until the seventh century little interest was shown in these 'journeys of the soul'. From the late seventh to the twelfth there was a rise then peak in interest in the genre. Into the thirteenth century the veracity and usefulness of the journeys were increasingly challenged by ecclesiastical authorities and interest essentially dried up. In particular, Carozzi's volume traces the influence of Augustine and the *Visio Sancti Pauli* on the genre, the latter of which he discusses elsewhere.⁵ Valerie Flint, critical of many features of Carozzi's volume, nonetheless describes it as "an invitation to investigate ever more critically and carefully the part such accounts played in the many conflicting medieval means of discipline" rather than the last word on the topic.⁶

⁴ Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme dans 'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (Ve-XIIIe siècle)* (Rome, 1994).

⁵ Claude Carozzi, *Eschatologie et au-delà: Recherches sur l'Apocalypse de Paul* (Aix-en-Provence, 1994).

⁶ Valerie Flint, 'Review of Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme dans au-dela d'apres la litterature latine (Ve-XIIIe siècle)*', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997), 331-333 at 333.

Dinzelbacher's survey discusses a wide variety of methodological approaches to the literature (including passages on the influence of psychology and medicine).⁷ Like Carozzi, he identifies a turning point in the twelfth century but focuses on a change in the *type* of visionary experience. In his model, before the twelfth century visions of the otherworld were unexpected transportations that altered the course of the visionary's life. In the later period, visions were shorter, the visionary was often primed for their journey beforehand and there is an increasingly intense interest in the infernal side of the otherworld. Much of this thesis complicates these broad patterns by tracing the dissemination of the visions that Carozzi and Dinzelbacher discuss. In doing so it follows up Andreas Bihrer's recent criticism of the generalisations in the various models.⁸

Eileen Gardiner's translation of some of the visions into modern English should have been a helpful complement to these books.⁹ There are, however, several problems with the text. For example, the translation of the 'vision of the monk of Evesham' (the monk was actually from the Benedictine monastery at Eynsham, outside Oxford) is actually taken from Roger of Wendover's abridged thirteenth-century version of the vision already in translation, not the twelfth-century texts which have been used as the basis for several editions.¹⁰ Gardiner's other work on visions of the otherworld focuses on the considerable modern scholarship on journeys to the otherworld and goes through each of sixty-two visions individually.¹¹ It suffers from some of the same problems as her translations, including the misattribution of the vision of the monk of Eynsham,

⁷ Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision and Visionliteratur in Mittelalter*, (Stuttgart, 1981). In addition, Dinzelbacher has also written a broader introduction to 'revelations' and a more focused work on the relationship between visions and 'folk' beliefs: Peter Dinzelbacher, *Revelationes*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental 57 (Turnhout, 1991) and Peter Dinzelbacher, 'The way to the Other World in Medieval Literature and Art', *Folklore* 97 (1986), 70-87.

⁸ Andreas Bihrer, 'Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionliteratur. Eine spätmittelalterliche Redaktion der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham' in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.91-112 at p.107. It is notable that Bihrer's criticisms revolve around the percentage of visions devoted to particular parts of the otherworld: 'Die Feststellung Dinzelbachers, daß alle Redaktoren der *Visio Pauli* diese bei Paradieschilderung kürzen, die Höllendarstellungen aber bewahren, ja noch erweitern würden, läßt sich anhand der oben erwähnten Edition widerlegen', *ibid.*, p.107.

⁹ Eileen Gardiner ed., *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* (New York, 1989).

¹⁰ Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of history: comprising the history of England from the descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235*, trans. J.A. Giles, 2 vols. (London, 1849), II, pp.148-164.

¹¹ Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York, 1993).

but remains the most comprehensive list of the secondary literature concerned with the Latin visions. As part of his annotated guide to the secondary literature concerning Middle English visions of the otherworld, Robert Easting writes a shorter and more precise piece on the modern scholarship of the Latin visions and includes a comprehensive list of the general and vast secondary literature on the subject.¹²

Easting's other articles on several individual visions, including the introductions to his excellent editions, have shown what a valuable contribution tightly focused studies can make to the wider field. His introduction to a parallel edition of the Latin and Middle English versions of the vision of the monk of Eynsham is an example of how visions can be used to highlight both general religious behaviours and the very local concerns of a specific monastery.¹³ His work on the various redactions of the vision of Owein at St. Patrick's Purgatory is similarly useful, particularly in analysing the impact of translation on the narrative.¹⁴ Although his work has focussed on later medieval visions he has also written about a large manuscript containing many visions, known as the *Liber Revelationum* compiled in 1200 by Peter of Cornwall, including the visions of Ailsi and his sons.¹⁵ He is currently furthering this interest by editing part of the manuscript with Richard Sharpe.

In contrast to the work of Easting, other literary scholars have tended to treat medieval visions of the otherworld in the light of the appearance of the pinnacle of the genre, Dante's *Divine Comedy* (c.1308-1321). In terms of recent scholarship, Alison Morgan deliberately set out to focus on the relationship between Dante and the medieval visions that pre-dated the *Inferno*, *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*.¹⁶ Although the focus on Dante precludes a deep study into the theology and culture that spawned the earlier visions, Morgan's work is helpful for the location of common motifs and patterns that

¹² Robert Easting, *Visions of the Other World in Middle English*, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English, vol III. (Cambridge, 1997), pp.13-16 and pp.19-28.

¹³ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, EETS 318 (Oxford, 2002), pp.lxxviii-xcviii.

¹⁴ Robert Easting, *St Patrick's Purgatory: Two Versions of Owayne Miles and The Vision of William of Stranton together with the long text of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, EETS 298 (Oxford, 1991); Robert Easting, 'Peter of Cornwall's Account of St. Patrick's Purgatory', *AB* 97 (1979), 397-416; Robert Easting, 'The South English Legendary 'St Patrick' as Translation', *Leeds Studies in English*, 21 (1990), 119-140.

¹⁵ Robert Easting, 'Peter of Cornwall. The Visions of Ailsi and his sons', *Mediaevistik: Internationale Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Mittelalterforschung* 1 (1988), 207-262.

¹⁶ Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Otherworld* (Cambridge, 1990).

are widespread in the genre of visions of the otherworld as a whole.¹⁷ Nonetheless, Morgan's study is, in the words of one reviewer, explicitly concerned with the process of "de-ghettoizing Dante" rather than placing the visions in their actual medieval context.¹⁸ This approach to medieval visions has considerable historical pedigree, dating back to half way through the nineteenth century.¹⁹ To a certain extent then, the poetic achievement of the *Divine Comedy* makes it inevitable that medieval visions of the otherworld will remain somewhat in the shadow of Dante's mountain, and my thesis takes the poet's death as its approximate chronological end-point (c.1321).²⁰

For historians in the early twentieth century, visions of the otherworld tended to be hidden by another shadow, one that cast much of medieval religious experience as 'superstition'. However, a new approach to medieval religion spearheaded in Britain by historians such as Eamon Duffy, brought visions of the otherworld out of these dark realms into the bright light of mainstream debate about medieval theology and culture.²¹ Carl Watkins and Robert Bartlett have both shown how the recording of supernatural occurrences can illuminate numerous aspects of medieval Britain.²² Both have tended to draw upon appearances of the supernatural in the 'historical' work of

¹⁷ In this search for common motifs this strand of literature on visions of the otherworld has many parallels with the attempts of folklorists to categorise stories. Journeys to the otherworld are generally categorised as marvels in the Stith Thompson volumes, whereas individual *exempla* deriving from visions can be identified in Frederick Tubach's useful guide: Stith Thompson ed., *Motif-index of folk-literature: a classification of narrative elements in folk-tales, ballads, myths fables, medieval romances, exempla fabliaux, jest-books, and local legends*, 6 vols. (Copenhagen, 1955-1958); F. C. Tubach ed., 'Index Exemplorum: A handbook of religious tales', *FF Communications* 204 (1969), 1-529.

¹⁸ T. Barolina, 'Review of Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Otherworld*', *Speculum* 67 (1992), 728-729, at 729.

¹⁹ For example, M. A. F. Ozanam, *Dante et la philosophie catholique au treizième siècle* (Fonteyn, 1847); Marcus Dods, *Forerunners of Dante: An account of some of the more important visions of the unseen world, from earliest times* (Edinburgh, 1903); U. Cosmo, 'Una nuova fonte dantesca', *Studi medievali* 1 (1904-5), 77-93; C. S. Boswell, *An Irish precursor of Dante. A study on the Vision of Heaven and Hell ascribed to the eighth-century Irish Saint Adamnán* (London, 1908); Cesare Segre, 'L'itinerarium anime nel Duecento e Dante', *Lettture Classensi* 13 (1984), 9-32; Jean Michel-Picard, 'Dante and Irish Vision Literature' in John C. Barnes and Jennifer Petrie eds., *Dante and his Literary Precursors* (Dublin, 2007), pp.51-68.

²⁰ Stephen Greenblatt takes another great work of vernacular literature, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and the famous ghost as his starting point for an exploration of medieval and early-modern Purgatory. He discusses the impact of medieval visions in the second chapter: Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton, 2002).

²¹ For a survey of developments, see: Peter Biller, 'Popular Religion in the Central and Later Middle Ages' in Michael Bentley ed., *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), pp.221-246.

²² Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007); Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1255* (Oxford, 2000), esp. pp.442-476; pp.591-615; pp.686-692; Robert Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2008).

middle ages, mainly chronicles and in the case of Bartlett, the work of Gerald of Wales.²³ Watkins' work has had a particular influence on the shape of this thesis. Just as he took a broad category of records and stories (the 'supernatural') and discussed their redaction into a single genre (history) I want to take a more focused category (visions of the otherworld) and chart their redaction across a larger range of genres (history, *exempla*, sermons, didactic poetry, Marian miracle etc.).

Visions themselves have also attracted study from historians concerned with wider trends in medieval theology and religion. Jacques Le Goff's work on the emergence of the doctrine of Purgatory has had the most influence on the analysis of medieval visions.²⁴ Le Goff argues that a 'third-place' in the otherworld was formed in Paris by a group of theologians in the mid-to-late twelfth century and gradually filtered to the laity through the preaching of the friars and the Cistercians.²⁵ He regards the period between 1150 and 1200 as crucial to the development of the doctrine, pre-dating official acceptance of the idea at the First and Second Councils of Lyons in 1245 and 1274 respectively. More specifically, he sets a date for the doctrine's emergence linking it to the appearance of the noun *purgatorium* in the work of Peter Comester, sometime before 1170.²⁶ He links the emergence of Purgatory with the "second feudal revolution" and the development of towns – arguing that although "Purgatory was not a product of this system, [it was] an element in it."²⁷ These arguments have proved controversial and there has been criticism of many different aspects of Le Goff's research.²⁸

²³ Elisabeth Freeman has also contributed to this genre with a discussion of the use of the supernatural in Cistercian modern scholarship: Elisabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order: Cistercian Historical Writing in England, 1150-1220*, Medieval Church Studies 2 (Turnhout, 2002). See also: Elisabeth A. Freeman, 'Wonders, Prodigies and Marvels: Unusual Bodies and the Fear of Heresy in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000), 127-43. These works provide interesting background to the study to the redactions of visions contained in the *Chronicon* of the Cistercian monk, Helinand of Froidmont in chapter 4.

²⁴ Jacques Le Goff, *La Naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris, 1981) translated. as *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1994). I will use the translation unless otherwise indicated.

²⁵ Recent works have put new groups at the centre of the doctrine's developments, arguing that, for example, the role of widows has been overlooked: Katherine Clark, 'Purgatory, Punishment and the Discourse of Holy Widowhood in the High and Later Middle Ages', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16 (2007), 169-203.

²⁶ This dating was supported by other scholars. See: Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago, 1998), p.4.

²⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago, 1994), pp.226-227.

²⁸ G. R. Edwards, 'Purgatory: 'Birth' or 'Evolution'?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1985), 634-646; Richard W. Southern, 'Between Heaven and Hell', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 18 June 1982, 651-2.

Some of his critics, particularly those concerned with the 'elite/popular religion' divide that the book accepted, deployed evidence from visions of the otherworld in their arguments, arguing that Le Goff had attached little significance to the evidence of visionary literature in the original work. Aron Gurevich, a historical anthropologist, was especially critical of Le Goff's argument that Purgatory was a doctrine forged by 'elite' scholastics. He insisted that it was pressure from below, from what he called the 'popular culture' of the day, which led to the formation of Purgatory.²⁹ In one article he specifically draws on two visions of the otherworld, those of the English peasant Thurkill (1206) and the German peasant Gottschalk (1188), to argue that "Purgatory for a long period was an integral element of faith and popular culture, and only much later became a problem for theologians."³⁰ He argues that it had existed in the 'folklore' of the Christian west before Le Goff's dating. Le Goff responded to some of these criticisms, writing an article that outlined his own interpretation of the evidence from visions of the otherworld.³¹ In this article he tried to unpick the 'folkloric' and 'scholarly' parts of several accounts, concluding that although there was some 'folklorisation' of scholarly culture, the reverse tended to be more common. In this re-analysis, the visions recorded in the thirteenth century was marked "learned culture's counter-attack" on the folklore that had been previously responsible for spreading some visions widely.³²

Carl Watkins has also discussed two different otherworldly accounts in the light of this elite/popular dichotomy. He argued that evidence from the visions of Owein (1154) and Tundale (1149) suggests that "Purgatory, if born lacked parents; it was a test-tube doctrine evolved in an interplay of conservative theological debate and popular

²⁹ Aron J. Gurevich, 'Popular and scholarly medieval culture traditions: notes in the margin of Jacques Le Goff's book', *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 71-90. Gurevich's body of work is remarkable because he had no access to western European manuscript resources before *perestroika* and spent sixteen years of his career in a provincial Russian university under the constant threat of unemployment due to his work being declared Anti-Marxist.

³⁰ Aron J. Gurevich 'Oral and Written Culture of the Middle Ages: Two 'Peasant Visions' of the late twelfth – early thirteenth centuries', trans. Ann Shukman, in: *New Literary History* 16 (1984), 51-66. See also: Aron J. Gurevich, 'Perceptions of the individual and the hereafter in the Middle Ages', trans. S. C. Rowell, in: Aron J. Gurevich, *Historical Anthropology of the Middle Ages*, ed. Jana Howlett (Cambridge, 1992), 65-89. For the vision of Gottschalk, see: *Godeschalchus und Visio Godeschalci*, ed. Erwin Assmann (Neumünster, 1979).

³¹ Jacques Le Goff, 'The Learned and Popular Dimensions of Journeys to the Otherworld in the Middle Ages' trans. Victor Aboulaffia in Steven L. Kaplan ed., *Understanding Popular Culture* (New York, 1984), pp.19-37.

³² *ibid.*, p.34.

religious belief.”³³ In his later work, Watkins argued that the ‘elite/popular’ premise was itself unhelpful, particularly as it by-passed the crucial role of the parish priest.³⁴ In an insightful article he combines the evidence of ghost stories with that of the visions of Walchelin (1091), Orm (1125) and Ailsi (1200), to discuss the emergence of Purgatory in the context of changing ideas about penance.³⁵ He argues that new ideas about the afterlife were predominantly formulated in a monastic environment. The laity may have been introduced to some of the ideas by hermits or through the work of churchmen in ‘precocious’ dioceses like Lincoln, but before the preaching agenda of the thirteenth century it was the ‘Doom’ painted in parish churches that remained the overriding piece of eschatological guidance for the laity.

Watkins’ work, taken in total, offers a nuanced understanding of the interaction between theology, politics and visions.³⁶ Crucially, he argues that there might be a difference between the way in which the doctrine of Purgatory was initially outlined in these visionary accounts and the way in which they were received by the laity. He stops short, however, of considering how the visions were actually disseminated. Similarly, Gurevich and Le Goff treated the visions of the otherworld as static texts, useful for a study of the period of time they were initially recorded. Gurevich, for example, was concerned almost exclusively with the relationship between the visionary and the author. Yet these works were popular and widely copied in varying recensions and genres and the relationship between the author and the visionary is only one of many relationships which shaped the way in which visions were spread and understood. My discussion of visions is less concerned with this one relationship and more interested in the process of the transmission of the narratives: where and how they were redacted, who redacted them and the reasons behind their subsequent mutation. This requires a close reading of the various redactions of visions in question

³³ Carl Watkins, ‘Doctrine, Politics and Purgation: The vision of Tnuthgal and the vision of Owein at St. Patrick’s Purgatory’, *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 225-236 at 236.

³⁴ Carl Watkins, ‘Folklore’ and ‘Popular Religion’ in Britain in the Middle Ages’, *Folklore* 115 (2004). For more general contributions to the debate see the articles in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory eds., *Elite and Popular Religion*, SCH 42 (Woodbridge, 2007).

³⁵ Carl Watkins, ‘Sin, Penance and Purgatory in the Anglo-Norman Realm: The evidence of visions and ghost stories’, *Past and Present* 175 (2002), 3-33.

³⁶ For further work on the relationship between politics and visionary imagination see: Paul E. Dutton, *The Politics of Dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln, 1994).

and a familiarity with the unstable nature of medieval texts.³⁷ In the words of Bernard Cerquiglini: “medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance”.³⁸ In this sense the chapters that follow are indirectly influenced by an interest in the *Überlieferungsgeschichte* that characterized the work of several scholars in Germany, especially in the 1980s.³⁹

Another result of Le Goff's work and the proceeding debate has been a tendency on the part of historians (rather than the literary scholars described above) to view the visions purely in terms of otherworldly geography, and almost exclusively in terms of the emergence of a distinctive ‘third space’ which becomes Purgatory. This trend has drawn criticism from Robert Swanson in his recent work on indulgences in late-medieval England.⁴⁰ It is a product both of Le Goff's argument that the division of space in the afterlife somehow reflected developing divisions in medieval society and differing interpretations of Augustine's four-fold division of the otherworld. These concerns have sometimes led to the identification of clear-cut but essentially artificial divisions in medieval visionary literature. It has also led to a belief, forwarded by early-modernists working on the sixteenth century, that the central Middle Ages were a period in which the fate of individual souls is forgotten in the vastness of the otherworldly landscape.⁴¹ In truth, many of the visionary accounts are opaque or ambiguous about the shape of the otherworld and any discussion of geography is usually secondary to other meanings and didactic messages. Gurevich and Le Goff are particularly prone to discussing whether the system presented in visions was ‘binary’,

³⁷ For interesting comments on this, see: Siegfried Wenzel, ‘Reflections on (New) Philology’, *Speculum* 65 (1990), 11-18.

³⁸ ‘L'écriture medieval ne produit pas de variants elle est variance’, Bernard Cerquiglini, *Eloge de la Variante: Histoire Critique de la Philologie* (Paris, 1989), p.111.

³⁹ For a summary of the methodological approach of these scholars, see: Kurt Ruh, ‘Überlieferungsgeschichte mittelalterlicher Texte als methodischer Ansatz zu einer erweiterten Konzeption von Literaturgeschichte’ in Kurt Ruh ed., *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Prosaforschung. Beiträge der Würzburger Forschergruppe* (Tübingen, 1985), pp.262-272. See also, K. Kunze, J. Mayer und B. Schnell eds., *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Editionen und Studien zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Kurt Ruh, Texte und Textgeschichte, Bd. 31* (Tübingen, 1989). For an example of these methods put into practice, with a sample text of a late-thirteenth century High German sermon edited on the basis of the principles, see: Hans-Jochen Schiewer, ‘Die Schwarzwälder Predigten’: *Entstehungs und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonntags- und Heiligenpredigten: mit einer Musteredition* (Tübingen, 1996).

⁴⁰ Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), p.19.

⁴¹ See, for example: Peter Marshall, ‘“The Map of God's Word”: Geographies of the Afterlife in Tudor and Early Stuart England’, in B. Gordon and Peter Marshall eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.110-130 at p.112

‘tertiary’ or even ‘symmetrical’, when the reality was usually considerably messier and some of the boundaries surprisingly porous. This study of the dissemination of visions of the otherworld will correct some of these imbalances. The shorter redactions of the visions, particularly in didactic material, often either miss out detailed descriptions of the otherworld or edit it in a way which aids clarity and reveals other more important trends in eschatological teaching.

Nonetheless, the chapters that follow do not simply skip over any discussion of the geography of the otherworld. By deleting or editing information about the shape of things-to-come, later redactors sometimes revealed that the issue was current or important. The dissemination of visions of the otherworld clearly played a role in, and was influenced by the development of the doctrine of Purgatory and this influence sometimes had a spatial dimension. In this way the dissemination of visions of the otherworld played a small role in the theological underpinning of medieval indulgences, one of the great areas of contention at the Reformation.⁴² So when the thirteenth-century redactors of visions of the otherworld seem to make an issue of the geography themselves, it will be discussed in the context of wider eschatological beliefs, rather than by the imposition of a simplified model of spatial development. The doctrine’s influence can be detected on a range of areas – penance, death-bed repentance, confession and *post-mortem* assistance – that are equally valid for the study of the dissemination of visions of the otherworld. Indeed, eschatological developments were only one part of the theological landscape on either side of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 that could shape and mould visions. In addition, this thesis will not assume that the progress of the doctrine of Purgatory was inevitable; it will try and detect the rare, hidden and often quiet voices of dissent.

In addition to the discussion about the source of new thinking about Purgatory, the firmness of Le Goff’s dating of the ‘birth’ of a third place in the otherworld, tying it to the use of the noun *purgatorium* at the end of the twelfth century, has had a further influence on a number of accents in the secondary literature. Several historians have looked back to early medieval visions to see if they revealed the existence of forms of

⁴² In his recent introduction to the Reformation, Diarmaid MacCulloch outlined the centrality of Purgatory and indulgences to the theological debates: Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided* (London, 2002), pp.10-16.

post-mortem purgation. Gurevich noted that the noun *purgatorium* had already been used in Otloh of Emmerman's *Liber Visionum* in the eleventh century.⁴³ Recent articles by Marilyn Dunn and Sarah Foot have discussed the visions of Fursa (from a *Vita* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*) and Drythelm (from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*) in this context.⁴⁴ At the other end of the period, the vernacular visions of the later Middle Ages, both new and translated, have also attracted considerable interest, particularly from scholars of English literature concerned with the more allegorical productions of the fourteenth century and beyond.⁴⁵ Recently, Gwenfair Walter Adams has been critical of the depth of study into Middle English visions of the otherworld at the expense of numerous other types of visionary experience – an imbalance that her study into vernacular visionary experiences attempts to redress.⁴⁶ All of this means that Latin visions of the otherworld in the long thirteenth century have not played a significant role in the scholarship. There is a predominant and good reason for such a gap; the thirteenth century does not see the recording of many *new* visions of the otherworld and none which are as long or complex as those produced at the end of the twelfth century. Yet the creation of new visions is not the only barometer of the genre's popularity. Many of the twelfth century visions, and those produced in earlier periods,

⁴³ Aron J. Gurevich, 'Popular and scholarly medieval culture traditions: notes in the margin of Jacques Le Goff's book', *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 71-90 at 79.

⁴⁴ Marilyn Dunn, 'Gregory the Great, the vision of Fursa and the origins of Purgatory' *Peritia* 14 (2000), 238-254; Sarah Foot, 'Anglo Saxon 'Purgatory'' in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon eds., *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of Souls*, SCH 45 (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.87-96.

⁴⁵ Arnold Barel Van Os, *Religious Visions: The Development of Eschatological Elements in Medieval English Religious Literature* (Paris, 1932); Mabel A. Stanford, 'The Sumner's Tale and Saint Patrick's Purgatory', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 19 (1920), 377-81; George R. Keiser, 'The Progress of Purgatory: Visions of the Afterlife in Later Middle English Literature' in James Hogg ed., *Zeit, Tod und Ewigkeit in der Renaissance Literatur*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 117 (Salzburg, 1987), pp.72-100; Elizabeth Willson, *The Middle English Legends of Visits to the Other World and their Relation to the Metrical Romances* (London, 1917); Robert Easting, 'The South English Legendary 'St Patrick' as Translation', *Leeds Studies in English* 21 (1990), 119-140; Robert Easting, 'Middle English Translations of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*' in Roger Ellis ed., *The Medieval Translator II* (London, 1991), pp.151-174.

⁴⁶ Gwenfair Walters Adams, *Visions in Late Medieval England: Lay spirituality and sacred glimpses of the hidden world of faith* (Leiden, 2007). Adams book is a useful introduction into vernacular visions in late medieval England. While there are clearly far more Latin visions (the focus of this work) than there are Middle English, Adams draws too firm a distinction between the different types of visions, which in the process of redaction and dissemination could get confused. Adams' own work demonstrates this problem by identifying the vision of Drythelm as an account which is never translated into Middle English before promptly citing John Mirk's translation of the vision on the next page. In general, the work seems to approach visions as 'sacred glimpses' into the genuine faith of medieval individuals, rather than seeing them as didactic tools (pp.38-39). The imbalance is also partially addressed for Latin visions in an article by Franz Neiske who looks at visions (in the wider sense of genre) in the context of commemoration of the dead: Franz Neiske, 'Vision und Totengedenken', *Frihmittelalterliche Studien* 20 (1986), 137-85.

were re-written and disseminated widely in the long thirteenth century. In fact, in some respects their influence is likely to have been more pronounced in the long thirteenth century than it was in the twelfth. Despite this, no attempt has been made to explain the disparity between the lack of new visions and the popularity of older ones. It is one of several questions this thesis will consider when it attempts to plug this chronological gap.

So, in short, this thesis abandons the search to find the earliest surviving 'authoritative' versions of the visions and instead focus on how they were redacted and disseminated. This does not mean that I am not concerned with the contexts in which the visions were initially produced. In fact, the way in which the visions were produced can have a huge impact on the narrative's subsequent dissemination and, in turn, by looking at the way in which a vision is spread, it is possible to reconsider the earlier versions of the texts in question. This may seem like a common approach in the study of medieval texts, but for visions of the otherworld the historiographical emphasis has nearly always been on the similarities within the genre – common motifs, common landscapes – in an attempt to establish a firm set of ideas about the shape of the medieval otherworld. In contrast, this thesis will be an examination of difference: identifying texts where visions were not simply copied and asking what was deleted, added and maintained and what led to the alterations.

With this in mind, a further area of consideration, alongside theology and eschatology, will be introduced: the role of genre. An increasing amount of work has been undertaken into unpicking the way in which the rules of genre could shape the production of medieval texts. Anthony Bale's recent work on the way in which Jewish stereotypes crossed genre boundaries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has provided a useful methodological touch-stone for this investigation.⁴⁷ In each chapter of his work Bale looks at how a different genre, divided into component sub-genres, had an effect on a particular narrative concerning the Jewish stereotype (history, miracle, cult and Passion). The chapters on the so-called 'miracle of the boy singer' and the Jew of Tewkesbury are particularly useful as they broadly coincide with the two

⁴⁷ Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500* (Cambridge, 2007).

genres – history and *exempla* – which this thesis repeatedly returns to.⁴⁸ In these chapters, Bale looks at stories that are “incidental” to the documents as a whole and he shows how they were shaped by the explicit and implicit rules of genre as applied by particular editors and redactors.⁴⁹ In doing so he reveals how the authors imagined the stories interacting with the other material in a particular text. To do this Bale relies on a close reading of the inherited and edited texts and observes how they were summarised, amended and manipulated, as well as how they were placed in the manuscripts and on specific pages.⁵⁰ Several historians have used similar methods to consider the reception and potential audience of a text. This is not a ‘reception study’ and it does not provide the associated apparatus of text collations and manuscript groupings (partly because the texts and manuscripts are not suitable for such an analysis, as will be demonstrated). Nonetheless, there are several features of the more formal reception studies that will be drawn upon in the chapters that follow, not least consideration of a vision’s context within a manuscript and the significance of the genre of a given manuscript. In this way the work of Julia Crick on the variants of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* and Anke Holdenreid on the transmission of the *Sibylla Tiburtina* have been influential.⁵¹

The final component of my study involves a preliminary discussion of the concerns of individual redactors and authors who include visionary material in their writings.

⁴⁸ For an introduction to the range of *exempla*, the problems associated with their interpretation and the ‘rules’ of the genre, see: Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmidt, *L'Exemplum*, Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental 40 (Turnhout, 1982).

⁴⁹ Nina Caputo, ‘Review of Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500*’, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 39 (2008), 108–109, at 108. This does not mean the texts themselves are incidental; Bale discusses Chaucer’s *Prioress’s Tale* for example, alongside unique versions of stories in manuscripts that have received virtually no attention at all.

⁵⁰ The criticism that Bale’s work does not assert the role of the ‘real’ medieval Jew does not seem fair (see, for example: Jeffrey J. Cohen, ‘Review of Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350–1500*’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 30 (2008), 340–343, at 342). Bale sets his stall out from the title of his work which highlights the textuality of his approach, and continues to highlight the focus on the ‘imaginary’ Jew throughout. Even the most strident historicist must concede that the ‘imaginary’ Jew had a considerable impact on medieval Christian thinking. With the work that follows I would hardly expect to be criticised for not asserting the role of the ‘real’ otherworld. Nonetheless, these texts and manuscripts were used and interpreted by medieval people, and I hope to give continued consideration to how the after-life as it was presented and disseminated in visions of the otherworld was received and interpreted by ‘real’ people.

⁵¹ *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 1985–1991), esp. IV: Julia C. Crick, *Dissemination and Reception in the Later Medieval Ages* (Cambridge, 1991); Anke Holdenreid, *The Sibylla and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050–1500* (Aldershot, 2006).

Although a considerable amount has been written about the psychology of the actual visionary (particularly in the work of Dinzelbacher) and some historians have considered the relationship between the visionary and the monk who actually recorded the account (this is a particular concern of Gurevich and Watkins), there has been little written about the approach of the individuals who edited the vision in a later period. These compilers often provide as great an insight into the way medieval people thought about death and the after-life. In a purely quantitative sense, their work often reached a far wider audience than the initial recording of the vision was ever likely to. Consider, for example, the amount of work done on the vision of the Monk of Eynsham as it is contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 95 compared to the lack of research done into the four *exempla* extracted from the vision and circulated in the work of Stephen of Bourbon and subsequent collections. I will explore whether, in these vast compilations shaped by theological trends and the rules of genre, it is possible to detect a personal approach behind editorial strategies. It will consider the location of, in the words of Ralph Hanna, that “certain point [where] ‘rolling revision’ becomes indistinguishable from two very different procedures, scribal transmission and authorial composition.”⁵² Even small ‘editorial’ alterations should not necessarily escape the attention of scholars. It is worth quoting Stephen G. Nichols’ observation on this matter in full:

“The apparently straightforward act of copying manuscripts is not free from mimetic intervention, either. In the act of copying a text, the scribe supplants the original poet, often changing words or narrative order, suppressing or shortening some sections, while interpolating new material in others ... The scribal reworkings may be the result of changing aesthetic tastes in the period between the original text production and the copying. Even in such cases, however, the scribes ‘improvements’ imply a sense of superior judgment *vis-à-vis* the original poet.”⁵³

This holds true for non-poetic texts as well. The process of identifying consistent patterns is easier in the work of medieval editors whose surviving texts are relatively copious. It helps when the given author’s work straddles several genres and, for this study, combines a general interest in eschatology and a specific interest in visions of the otherworld. These conditions are all met in the voluminous work of Helinand of

⁵² Ralph Hanna III, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and their Texts* (Stanford, 1996), p.113.

⁵³ Stephen G. Nichols, ‘Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture’, *Speculum* 65 (1990), 1-10 at 8.

Froidmont who is discussed in the fourth and final chapter of the thesis. This chapter is a tentative examination of a range of influences that shaped the redaction of visions of the otherworld as they appear in his *Chronicon* but it also involves cross-referencing these visions with other eschatological texts in his *Chronicon*, his sermons and poetry. The result is a study into how Helinand conceived his *Chronicon* and how his personal background, in particular his decision to join the Cistercian order, had a profound effect on the way in which he redacted visions of the otherworld. It also shows how he placed these redacted visions into a wider framework that reflected both his eschatology and his understanding of the genre of 'history'.

There are, of course, numerous methodological difficulties in undertaking such a detailed analysis. Foremost is establishing which version or versions of a particular vision a given redactor would have had access to. On many occasions it is difficult or impossible to be precise about when and by whom amendments to visions were made. Authors, including Helinand, were capable of citing authorities when they didn't have access to the texts in question and were, in fact, re-citing work from elsewhere. Sometimes authors had access to two or more versions of the same texts and chose to prefer one version over another. This explains, in part, why an examination of an individual author forms the last part of this thesis. It allows me to analyse the wider dissemination of some of the visions that Helinand redacts before looking at his individual approach. One of these visions, that of the Cistercian novice Gunthelm, is discussed in chapter three. Compared to many other visions of the otherworld this account was relatively unpopular in the long thirteenth century and as such it was possible to establish relatively firm relationships between the different versions of the vision. Because of this, the chapter will look at the vision's dissemination in the light of work already completed on the spread of Cistercian stories and consider how the order developed its own eschatology. It also enables me to consider the arguments for a more local context for the setting of the earliest surviving text of the vision.

In contrast, the vision of Fursa, because it is recorded in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, becomes part of a Europe-wide store of stories that defies its origin as the muddled account of an obscure Irish Saint who lived in East Anglia and died in northern France. Rather than try and deal with direct lines of influence and inheritance, chapter two will try and identify some trends which seemed to shape the dissemination of the vision in

the thirteenth century, some explicitly connected to eschatological issues, others less so. I have chosen to focus on the large number of redactions concerned with educating the laity. This allows me to focus on the broader influences: the nature of different sub-genres (from 'Romance' narrative to *exempla*), the impact of translation into the vernacular, the role of the Fourth Lateran Council and the emergence of Purgatory over a period of time. It also allows me to consider how much the theological landscape had changed from the seventh century, why the vision became particularly popular again in the long thirteenth century and how these factors influenced the actual shape of the redacted narrative.

The study will start, however, with a vision recorded at the end of the twelfth century in England, which picks up on many of the themes I develop in later chapters. The vision in question – the vision of the monk of Eynsham – was moderately popular and appeared in both longer redactions and short annalistic chronicle entries and equally short *exempla*. My analysis of the vision's dissemination allows for a reconsideration of how visions of the otherworld interacted with other 'religious' stories in the thirteenth century, in turn showing that visions were not simple and stable reflections of a concrete otherworld, but fluid and contested narratives that were profoundly influenced by the theological, pastoral and literary environment in which they were recorded and distributed. Recent work on medieval visions of the otherworld has contributed both to the 'de-ghettoization' of Dante and to an understanding of how longer, authorial visionary narratives reflected thinking about geography in the afterlife. In the process, however, visions of the otherworld have themselves become ghettoized and treated as a distinct genre to be mined for common motifs, tropes and descriptions. By studying the pattern of their dissemination and focusing on the differences between the selected visions and versions of visions this thesis will demonstrate a number of different ways in which visions of the otherworld reflected the whims of individual editors, eschatological trends and the rules of genre in the long thirteenth century.

Chapter 1

Theology, genre and monasticism in the dissemination of the vision of the monk of Eynsham

In the first three chapters of this thesis, the dissemination of three different visions of the otherworld will be tracked and discussed. The decision to start with the vision of the monk of Eynsham was relatively simple. Primarily, the existence of several versions of the vision in different genres (in stand-alone copies in miscellanies, monastic chronicles, attached to sermons, theological studies and exempla collections) meant that many initial observations about the account's dissemination form the starting point for more focused discussions in later chapters. Most of these redactions have never been analysed before, some have never been edited and none have been translated into modern English. Given the vision's appearance in monastic collections and those used outside the cloister, this chapter will also be the first of many examinations into the difference in approach to visions of the otherworld demonstrated by distinct groups of 'religious' people in the central Middle Ages. In this chapter we will encounter the redactions of Benedictine monks, look at the compilations of Franciscan and Dominican Friars and consider the Carthusian influence on the earlier versions of the vision.

In analysing these differences, the methodological scaffolding used in the following chapters will be laid out. This will involve the necessary, although inevitably artificial, attempt to unpick and categorise the motivation for certain editorial decisions; theological, institutional and literary. The boundaries between such distinctions are clearly blurred and they are not treated here as firm categories but they do allow for a more thorough examination of the impact of wider trends on visions of the otherworld. These trends include, but are not limited to, a discussion of the development of the doctrine of Purgatory in the long thirteenth century. In fact, as in many of the chapters that follow, it will be suggested that a focus on the shape and geography of the otherworld only tells part of the story; visions of the otherworld were affected by other trends, both practical and theological, as well. They were not, for example, immune from the pastoral developments that marked out the period building up to, and beyond, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Finally, this chapter will show how studying the dissemination of visions of the otherworld can open up new ways of

thinking about the longer ‘authorial’ versions of the texts in question, so often the central focus of existing studies.

1.1. The vision of the monk of Eynsham

1.1.1. The vision

In 1196 at the Benedictine monastery of Eynsham outside Oxford, a monk named Edmund, having suffered from a long illness, was granted a vision of the otherworld. His testimony, the *Visio Edmundi Monachi de Eynsham* (VEME) was recorded by another monk named Adam (possibly his fraternal brother) who, it is thought, was encouraged to document the vision at the behest of Hugh, the Carthusian monk turned Bishop of Lincoln. It is possible that part of the vision was recorded by Adam when he became Hugh’s chaplain in 1197. Adam’s account of Edmund’s journey is one of the less well-known visions of the otherworld, despite its comparative length (c.22,000 words). It does not have the medieval popularity of the earlier visions of Drichtelm, Fursa or Tundale, nor the same prominent role in the modern scholarship as the vision of Thurkill or the account of Saint Patrick’s Purgatory at Lough Derg.

Jacques Le Goff was particularly damning in his assessment of the vision’s relevance to his discussion of the ‘birth’ of Purgatory, arguing that it was “too close to the ‘Vision of Drythelm’” to merit further study.¹ In particular, he noted that the topography of the vision is “extremely fragmentary”. This is surely too cursory an assessment of the VEME, considering it is some fourteen times longer than Bede’s account of the vision of Drythelm. Other scholars have criticised the “plodding” and “less exciting” literary quality of the VEME.² Recently, however, the VEME has received more balanced scholarly attention in a collection of articles edited by Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein.³ Although the focus of their work was on the later continental transmission of the vision (they were initially attracted by the vision’s translation into High German), several articles in the volume contending with issues as diverse as the

¹ Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.374.

² Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘Purgatory, the Communion of Saints, and Medieval Change’, *Viator* 20 (1989), 61-84 at 80.

³ Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998).

vision's popularity among the Carthusian order, biblical citation in the authorial versions of the vision and the vision's handling of sodomy will be referenced below. Robert Easting has further contributed to the scholarship through his thorough introduction, notes and appendix to a parallel Latin and Middle English version of the vision.⁴ In addition, the vision is briefly considered in the works of Carozzi, Dinzelbacher, Morgan, McGuire and Gardiner.⁵

The surviving texts of the VEME are usually clustered into three authorial versions as identified by Herbert Salter.⁶ Easting provides the most up to date list of the surviving manuscripts in these three categories.⁷ The A text, presumed to be the first draft of the vision, only survives in one manuscript which Salter uses for the first part of his edition.⁸ It ends with a promise to complete the narrative at a later date. The B text includes this promise and adds the concluding parts of the vision. Easting lists twelve surviving manuscripts of the B text, eight of which survive from the thirteenth century (there are also three lost manuscripts that included the vision).⁹ It is likely that this text is the basis for many of the earlier redactions of the vision. Huber and Thurston both produce their editions based on the B text.¹⁰

⁴ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham* EETS (London, 2002).

⁵ Claude Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (Ve-XIIIe siècle)*; Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1981), pp.563-567; Peter Dinzelbacher, 'The beginnings of Mysticism experienced in twelfth century England', in M. Glascoe ed., *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England* (Cambridge, 1987), pp.111-131 at pp.112-116; Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World* (Cambridge, 1990) p.223 (see also, in particular: pp.123-124, pp.184-186); Brian Patrick McGuire, 'Purgatory and the Communion of Saints and Medieval Change', *Viator* 20 (1989), 61-84 at 80-81; Eileen Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* (New York, 1984) pp.197-218 [described as the monk of Evesham. It follows Roger of Wendover's redaction of the vision and not the A B or C versions]; Eileen Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook*, Garland Medieval Bibliographies 11 (New York, 1993) pp.137-138. See comments in the introduction for concerns regarding features of Gardiner's work.

⁶ See: Herbert E. Salter, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham* 2 vols., Oxford Historical Society 49, 51 (Oxford, 1907-8), II, pp.257-283.

⁷ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.xxi-xxv.

⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 34, ff.100r-126v; Herbert E. Salter, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham*, II, pp.285-371 [Henceforth: A(HS)].

⁹ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.xxi-xxii.

¹⁰ Michael P. Huber, *Beitrag zur Visionliteratur und Siebenschläferlegende des Mittelalters. Eine literargeschichtliche Untersuchung*, I Teil: Texte (1902/3); Michael P. Huber, 'Visio Monachi de Eynsham', *Romanische Forschungen* 16 (1904), 641-733 ; Herbert Thurston, 'Visio monachi de Eynsham', *AB* 22 (1903), 225-319 [Henceforth: B(HT)]. See also: Michael P. Huber, *Beitrag zur Visionliteratur und Siebenschläferlegende des Mittelalters. Eine literargeschichtliche Untersuchung*, I Teil: Texte (1902/3); Michael P. Huber, 'Visio Monachi de Eynsham', *Romanische Forschungen* 16 (1904), 641-733; B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1890-3; repr. Farnborough, 1967), I, pp.126-37.

The C text, Salter argues, was the final authorial version of the VEME. In the later Middle Ages it was translated into High German and Middle English.¹¹ The latter translation, known as *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham* (c.1483), was edited by Easting, who places it in parallel to a C text version of the narrative.¹² The C text removes the already unnecessary promise to complete the vision at a later date and updates the narrative, particularly in the earlier parts of the vision (thus, the B and C texts diverge at the opening of the vision, but are nearly identical in the later parts). This led Salter to conclude that Adam had realised that the first part of the B text (the parts that made up the original A text) “needed further polishing in text C, whereas that which had been composed at leisure for text B satisfied him”.¹³ Easting lists eight surviving manuscripts of the C version, the earliest of which dates from the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁴ There is no full, modern-English translation of any of these Latin texts. Although the exact circumstances surrounding the authorship of the vision are not central to the arguments outlined below it is worth noting that, following Kerstin Losert, the following assumptions have been made: Adam of Eynsham was the author of the VEME and *The Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln*.¹⁵ He recorded the experience of a monk named Edmund who was probably his blood brother.¹⁶ In order to explain how the vision was redacted and disseminated, the description of the events as they appear in the ‘authorial’ versions will now be summarised:

¹¹ Paul Gerhard Schmidt was supervising the editing of the High German vision alongside a combined B and C text. This project was interrupted in 2010 following Schmidt’s death and the proposed volume is no longer on the list of CCCM titles in preparation:

www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/cccm_preparation.html (Last accessed 23rd May, 2011).

¹² Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.1-171 [Henceforth, C(RE)].

¹³ Herbert E. Salter, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham* 2 vols., Oxford Historical Society 49, 51 (Oxford, 1907-8), II, p.282.

¹⁴ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.xxiii-xxiv.

¹⁵ Kerstin Losert outlines the evidence for identifying the visionary and author in: Kerstin Losert, ‘Adam von Eynsham – Erstredaktor der ‘Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham’?’ in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.3-30.

¹⁶ That Edmund was the clerk known for his visions described by Adam in in the fifth book of the *The Life of Saint Hugh of Lincoln* seems likely, but is by no means conclusive. See: *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, 5.3; Translations from the MVSH will be taken from: *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and Hugh Farmer (London, 1961) [Henceforth: MVSH].

Before Edmund is taken to the otherworld a confusing succession of events take place in the monastery at Eynsham.¹⁷ Adam records events leading up to the vision which take place in the build up to Easter. Following a long illness during which he prayed to be granted a vision of the future fate of souls, Edmund starts to recover and begins to gain strength. He then starts to become delusional. On early Maundy Thursday he imagines that he encounters two of his brethren. He then gives a 'real' confession and returns to his cell. Edmund then awakes for matins on Good Friday and, following another imaginary meeting with monks outside the monastery's chapter house makes his way to the altar of St. Lawrence in the abbey where he proceeds to worship a crucifix. According to Edmund (and the monks who eventually find it) the cross begins to bleed from Christ's right side and his foot. Edmund tastes and swallows this blood. He then goes back to the chapter house where he has another imaginary encounter with two monks to whom he gives confession and receives penance. He lies prostrate in front of the abbot's seat where he is found unconscious by his brothers several hours later on Good Friday. Despite some interesting attempts to rouse him, Edmund remains unconscious until Easter Saturday. In the meantime his soul was taken on a journey of the otherworld guided by St. Nicholas. Edmund wakes up and recovers in time to make it to the choir for matins (for the first time since the beginning of his long illness) on Easter Sunday. He eventually tells the two brothers to whom he had given his 'real' confession on Maundy Thursday the details of his otherworldly encounter.

The otherworldly part of the encounter starts when St. Nicholas takes Edmund's soul from his body as it lay prostrate in the chapter house of the monastery of Eynsham. In the three authorial versions, Edmund describes three areas of punishment that are not part of Hell. Edmund describes his encounter with the souls residing in all three areas, before going back to the first two areas of punishment to discuss the fate of some more souls. Unlike later descriptions of Purgatory, not all the souls are guaranteed eventual reception into Heaven. Edmund is then taken to the place of rest, which Easting calls the Earthly Paradise. In this place of bliss the souls are granted repeated visions of Christ's passion. They then come to a crystal wall which the visionary and guide pass through. Edmund is denied the sight of God until his real death. As he hears the

¹⁷ In the introduction to his edition of the C text and *The Revelation*, Easting provides a helpful and more detailed chronology of these events: Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.lxxv-lxxviii.

ringing of bells, the monk comes round. He initially thinks he has awoken on Good Friday morning, but he is told that it is the evening before Easter.

As well as the more general topographical introductions to each otherworldly area, Edmund describes his encounters with a number of souls with which he has had varying levels of acquaintance in their worldly lives. Although there has been some attempt to link these souls to real individuals, a summary of their professions, sins and suffering will suffice here.¹⁸ In the first and lightest area of punishment, Edmund meets a rector of a religious house, who has not sufficiently cared for his monastery and some of the brothers have turned to sodomy. He also meets a bishop, a godly woman who suffers very lightly, a wife who is punished for her harsh tongue and two knights, one who broke his vow to go to the holy land and the other who was a keen hawker. In the second place, Edmund meets an alcoholic goldsmith (the single largest encounter in the vision), a prostitute whose sins are lessened by her devotion to Saint Margaret, four different bishops, an archbishop of Canterbury, helped by his devotion to Thomas Becket, a king dressed in burning armour and an abbess who had cared for two lepers. In the third place, he meets a homosexual lawyer.¹⁹

1.1.2. The dissemination of the vision

Although not as popular as the visions of the otherworld contained in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* or the visions associated with particular political or monastic movements like the vision of Tundale and the account of Owein at St. Patrick's Purgatory, the VEME enjoyed considerable dissemination in Europe throughout the Middle Ages. By the fifteenth century the vision had been translated into Middle English and High German and there were several Latin redactions of the vision in circulation.²⁰ One of these Latin versions, particularly popular in the houses of German Carthusian monks, has been the subject of an illuminating study by Andreas Bihrer.²¹

¹⁸ For references to individual characters see the the appendix and notes to particular chapters in: Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.173-216.

¹⁹ The exact order of these encounters, as they appear in the authorial versions of the vision, can be followed by reference to the C text *tituli* as reproduced in the first appendix to this thesis.

²⁰ Robert Easting provides a list of these redactions but does not provide any analysis of their content. See: Robert Easting, *Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.xxiv-xxv.

²¹ Andreas Bihrer, 'Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionliteratur. Eine spätmittelalterliche Redaktion der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham' in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds.,

Thirteenth-century redactions can be found in libraries as far afield as Brussels and Barcelona.²² This chapter, however, will concern itself with the redactions and summaries of the VEME that were created or used in England. Only one manuscript that falls into this category, containing a unique version of the vision (re-translated into Latin from French), has received any scholarly attention.²³ Of the remainder, this chapter will focus on two longer redactions and several short edited extracts.²⁴ Of the two longer redactions, one is a 'stand-alone' version found in a Cambridge manuscript (W) which has received no thorough attention.²⁵ The second is the version found in Roger of Wendover's chronicle the *Flores Historiarum*.²⁶ This version was later copied into Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora*. In addition to these redactions the vision appears in numerous shorter forms, edited in didactic collections and chronicles. These will form the basis of the study found in part 1.3 of this chapter. Short summaries of the VEME can be found in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum* and Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum*.²⁷ The appearance of the vision in short *exempla* form in the didactic tradition will also be considered. This will involve the study of a number of compilations produced by Stephen Bourbon, Odo of Cheriton and Humbert of Romans among others.

Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur (Tübingen, 1998), pp.91-112.

²² These will form part of a later study: Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, MS Ripoll 41, ff.3^r (col. II)-34^v (col.II); Brussels Bibliothèque Royale, MS 1960-62, ff.37^r-47^r; Madrid, Bibliotheca Nacional MS 9783 (Ee 103), ff.108^r(col. II)-109^v(col.II); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 3338, ff.178^v(col. II)-192^v (col. II); Saint Omer, Bibliothèque municipale MS 307, ff.129^r(col. II)-130^v(col.II) [Fragment].

²³ London British Library, MS Cotton Caligula A v.iii, ff.192^r-209^v; Elisabeth Stein, "de Gallica edicione rithmice composita in Latinam transtuli". Eine Rückübersetzung der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham', in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.113-33. Stein is in the process of preparing an edition of this version and, as such, it will play a small role in my consideration below.

²⁴ A third, longer redaction, more closely related to the B text can be found in the *Liber Revelationum* of Peter of Cornwall. This will be drawn upon where relevant but is not part of the current study: London, Lambeth Palace, MS 51, ff.32^v-56^v.

²⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.15.36, ff.42^v(col. II)-52^v(col.I) [Henceforth: W].

²⁶ Roger of Wendover, *Chronica, sive Flores historiarum* ed. H. Coxe, 4 vols., EHS 12 (London, 1841; rpt. Vaduz, 1964), III, pp.97-117; Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of history: comprising the history of England from the descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235*, trans. J.A. Giles 2 vols. (London, 1849), II, pp.148-164 [Henceforth: *Flowers*].

²⁷ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875, repr. Wiesbaden, 1965), pp.71-72; Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Frederic Madden, 3 vols., RS 44 (London, 1866-9), II, p.60.

1.2. Understanding the longer redactions

1.2.1. Textual mechanics

This section will provide a close analysis of the work of two authors who produced the long redactions of the VEME in England in the early thirteenth century. This part of the thesis will argue that there are interesting similarities in the way these two redactors approach the text. Although W, the longer, unedited account will be the primary vehicle for discussing the dissemination of extended versions of the VEME, the comparison with Roger of Wendover's version will allow for a consideration of several, wider questions about the pattern of redaction and the authors' responses to the theology and eschatology presented in the earlier versions of the narrative. This section will also consider how theological or doctrinal motivation for summarising visionary narratives might be identified alongside the more general concern of redactors for clarity and brevity.

Nothing is known of the redactor of the version of the VEME that can be found in W. The manuscript was part of a donation made by Thomas Neville when he became master of the college in 1593. It was one of 126 manuscripts that he gave to the college of which, according to M. R. James' analysis, the largest number came from Christ Church, Canterbury.²⁸ James did not believe that this particular manuscript was among the Christ Church collection (or, at least, does not find enough evidence to confidently place it with the other manuscripts from the collection) and its exact provenance remains uncertain. The redaction that will be the focus of this study is the last item in the manuscript. The first part of the manuscript, written in the first of the two hands that composed the work, contains two works of Bernard of Clairvaux; a copy of *De Consideratione* and his letter to Hugh of St. Victor.²⁹ Unfortunately these texts are too common to say anything much about the manuscript's provenance. A second, smaller and less formal hand composed the second part of the manuscript which, along with the redaction of the VEME, contains a short tract on the history of Ireland.³⁰

²⁸ M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1900), I: pp.504-505. Note that the catalogue is predominantly organised by another series of MSS. numbers, this one is 371 in that series.

²⁹ W., I: ff.1r-33v; II: 33v-40r.

³⁰ 'Iuxta antiquissimas hiberniensium hystorias cesara neptis noe audiens diluuium in proximo futurum', W, ff.41v-42v.

In contrast, far more is known about the compiler of the second redaction, Roger of Wendover. He was a monk at the abbey at St. Albans where he was eventually promoted to precentor before becoming a prior at one of the monastery's cells, Belvoir. According to Matthew Paris he was deposed from this role in 1219, returned to St. Albans and died on 6th May 1236. It is likely that it was during this second spell at the monastery that Roger composed the *Flores Historiarum*, a work which owed a considerable amount to the tradition of chronicle writing at the monastery.³¹ Roger's chronicle is a history of the world from creation to 1235, the year before the author's death. It seems likely that, like many monastic chronicles, the *Flores* is a combination of Roger's own work, a copy of an existing chronicle and the redaction of sources that the author had access to. There have been several attempts to unpick the way in which Roger put his narrative together. Although none are conclusive, all unsurprisingly agree that Roger composes most of the material towards the end of the chronicle himself. This, it is argued, makes the later sections of the chronicle "most valuable".³² The exact point at which Roger is composing or editing material himself rather than simply copying an existing chronicle is unclear as no earlier history survives.³³ The dating of the VEME at the turn of the thirteenth century places it at around the point at which several historians believe Roger took control of the text. As a result Roger could have edited it himself (this seems possible, given the author's general interest in visionary literature demonstrated by his later redaction of the *Visio Thurkilli* into the

³¹ Although it seems likely that his return to St. Albans prompted Roger to begin the *Flores Historiarum*, he could have started it earlier.

³² David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: The Penguin History of Britain 1066-1284* (London, 2004), p.547. The way in which historians divide up the sections vary hugely; Corner's second section begins roughly where Giles' ends. Nonetheless, the trend is the same; the chronicle is increasingly Roger's own work.

³³ The theory that the St. Albans abbot John of Wallingford (also known as De Cella) compiled a chronicle that ran up to 1188 and was subsequently used by Roger of Wendover has long been dismissed. However, the striking parallels between Roger's own work and the anonymous chronicle, previously attributed to John of Wallingford (De Cella) by Edith Rickert, found in London, British Library Cotton MS Julius D. vii ff.10-30, dealing with the period from Brutus to Cnut, suggests that an earlier shared historical source circulating in St. Albans may have existed. Some details, including information about the burial of Offa are only found in this manuscript and Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, although there are significant differences as well. These similarities and differences could simply be explained by the fact that the two historians were working in the same library in roughly the same period. The matter is slightly confused by the existence of another John of Wallingford whose chronicle was redacted from Matthew Paris' and can be found in the same manuscript. This John was responsible for placing the older chronicle in the manuscript at some point between 1247 and 1257. See: *The Chronicle Attributed to John of Wallingford*, Richard Vaughan ed., Camden Miscellany 21 (Cambridge, 1958).

same text) or he could have copied the redaction from an earlier chronicle in the St. Albans monastery. Another possibility is that Roger further redacted an existing redaction from an earlier chronicle. Whatever the exact nature of his relationship with the VEME, at the very least Roger selected a version of it for inclusion in his *Flores Historiarum*, from where it went on to become part of the St. Albans historiographical tradition.³⁴ Given this, and for ease of reference, the redaction will be referred to as Roger's in the following analysis.

W does not appear in a critical edition or transcription, so a more detailed discussion of the textual mechanics of the redaction is required. The following paragraphs will outline the way in which the vision is laid out in the first Appendix to this thesis (pp.265-274), which lists the differences (usually omissions) between B and W. This will be succeeded by a discussion of the style of the redaction and an attempt to identify the source text. The conclusions are tentative, but should help contextualise the more analytical approach to the alterations that follow. The appendix is a comprehensive attempt to show where W varies from the B text. It contains a list of all the significant sections that the redactor of W omits from B(HT) and his few additions. Some judgement had to be shown in listing the variations. They are complete sentences or asides, rather than individual words or alterations of grammar. This clearly falls short of a full critical edition but, given the closeness of the texts, it is questionable whether one is needed. Nonetheless, the appendix provides a complete overview of the structural and narrative alterations. There are several features of the appendix that are designed to aid cross referencing, but need a brief explanation:

(1) To aid with the clarity of the analysis of W, the *tituli* that Thurston introduced into B(HT) from the C text and the *chapter numbers* that first appeared in the Middle English translation have been included below in the text and the appendix (these are both repeated in C(RE)).³⁵ It should be stressed that neither the titles, nor the chapter numbers appear in the manuscripts of the B texts or the W redaction. Having said this,

³⁴ As mentioned above, Roger's version appears in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Majora* and a shorter version appears in his other work of history, the *Historia Anglorum*. This shorter redaction of the vision will be discussed in section 1.3.1.

³⁵ The modern editors all opt for the *tituli* that appear in the C text of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 66, ff. 1^r - 42^r.

the W redaction does include gaps at the end of most of the C text chapters, so the *division* between the sections is very similar. The beginnings of several chapters are also marked with the introduction of a space for a large initial (although only one of these was actually illuminated). When this is not the case and the W redaction (usually following from the B text) has merged chapters, then this has been indicated in the appendix. If this has any significance for the structure of the vision it is discussed below.

(2) In addition to referencing the comparable passages in W and the B text, references to C text as it appears in C(RE) have also been included. There are several reasons for including the C text references. First, the wide availability of the C text through the EETS edition (C(RE)) may be helpful for those wanting to follow the narrative. Second, the commentary on the VEME provided by Easting in his appendix, chapter by chapter, is useful in setting out the wider context of the vision and remains the best guide to the various theories about the specific individuals described by Edmund and Adam. Third, the addition of line references in the edition makes the identification of the position of exact omissions (and the location of the few additions) considerably easier and quicker. Finally, the Middle English parallel translation (*The Revelation*), which is the focus of Easting's edition, provides a glimpse of how the vision evolved in the later middle ages.³⁶ However, some caution should be used when referring to the C(RE) references. The assumption in the discussion below is that the omissions remain the same in both editions and that the words that flank the omissions from the B(HT) version are the same as in the C(RE) version. If this is not the case, or using the C(RE) is misleading for any other reason, the reader has been alerted in the appendix (see references to N/A in the appendix).

(3) When discussing the differences between the W version of the vision and the B(HT) version, allowance has been made for any mistakes that Thurston has made in his transcription. The reader has been alerted on the (very) rare occasion that this is the case. If these mis-transcriptions have an influence on the accuracy of the analysis

³⁶ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, pp.lxiii-lxxiv.

presented below, a thirteenth-century manuscript of the B text has been consulted (London, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra C.xi, ff. 49r-69v).³⁷

The only historian to comment on the relationship between the B text and W is Easting who describes the latter as being “abbreviated from B or an early version?”³⁸ My study of the redaction suggests that the former of these two conjectures is the most likely. The discussion below will first show that W is not *copied* from an authorial version of the text that was composed between the A and B redactions (no surviving manuscript of such a version exists). It will then go on to show that despite some similarities with the C redaction, it is not copied or redacted from that tradition either. This section will further highlight the close relationship between the B and W versions. Finally it will be suggested that it is unlikely that W is *redacted* from an authorial version of the text that was composed between the A and B redactions on the basis that the Latin structure of W suggests that material was removed (and that B does not seem to have text added). Furthermore the deployment of didactic passages in A and B, the most notable difference in W, remains consistent, showing that creation of a fourth and stylistically (very) different authorial version is unlikely. Finally, it is almost certain, given the position of the omissions in W (see the appendix) that the redactor of W did not have access to a partially completed version of the B text. In these circumstances, it is likely that W was redacted from a B text manuscript and the discussion of the omissions below is based on that assumption.

Only one comment in the various existing versions of the VEME provides a clue to the timing of its composition. At the end of the description of the torment of a certain clerk, Adam’s voice intervenes in the narrative to inform the reader that there will be a break in his writing and that he would return to the vision after the “present disturbances” and “storms of opposition” subside.³⁹ Both Salter and Easting argue that this is likely to be a reference to the continuing struggle between Hugh of Lincoln and Richard I over the right to elect the abbot at Eynsham. Easting posits that the narrative

³⁷ This manuscript forms the basis for B(HT) but Thurston also introduces variants in his footnotes from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS. Digby 34 (A), Bodley 44 (B), Selden Supra 66 (C), Bodley 363 (C) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 43 (B).

³⁸ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, p.xxiv.

³⁹ ‘post hec cum superne intuitu miserationis quietem nobis immodice peccatis nostris exigentibus ad presens turbatam seranatis immo sedatis crucietatum procellis quibus infestamur restituerit’, B(HT), 307.

that follows this intervention was composed at a later date, “possibly even after Adam became Hugh’s chaplain in November 1197”.⁴⁰ After this reference to the events in the monastery, Adam records a short religious formula which formally brings the narrative to a close:

“Dignum quippe et omnino iustum est, ut, qui post tot non marinorum fluctuum sed amara tormentorum discrimina Stellam Maris pagine nostre illuxisse vidimus portumque salutis tandem, scilicet miserorum refugium et beatorum gaudium, Matrem misericordie [sic] stilo applicant, tetigimus, denuo in istius lumine, in huius quiete ambulantes maneamus, et manentes ambulemus, ambulantes quoque et manentes gaudemus; prestante Domino nostro Ihesu Christo, beatissime eiusdem Virginis Creatore et Filio qui cum Deo Patre coeterno et consubstantiali Spiritu Paraclito vivit et gloriatur unus deus in secula seculorum”.⁴¹

This is clearly designed as an ending to this part of the vision, which the author hopes to complete at a later date. The sentence of explanation and this doxology make for a clear pause in the narrative and both appear in the B text despite the fact that the vision subsequently continues. They are a sign that the B text is the earliest surviving full version of the VEME. Tellingly, they are both omitted in the C text. This is presumably because the later compilers know that the vision does continue and are less interested in the disturbances that affected the monastery. Interestingly, W makes the same decision with respect to the doxology and the explanatory sentence as can be seen below. The redacted versions only indicate the end of the narration about the area of punishment, because in the following chapter the vision goes on to describe the ante-room to paradise. The following table compares the three versions of this small section:

⁴⁰ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, p.211. This appears in Easting’s note to chapter 50 referring back to the previous chapter, for which he gives no notes.

⁴¹ B(HT), 307.

<p>“hic de penis et in eis positis animabus narrationem interim concludimus. Post hec cum superne intuitu miserationis quietem nobis immodice peccatis nostris exigentibus ad presens turbatum, serenatis immo sedatis crucietatum procellis quibus infestamur, restituerit, de gaudio de exultacione beatorum in sede amena et iocunda feliciter quiescentium, aliqua que vidimus exprimere prout Dominus ipse dederit attemptabimus”.</p> <p>[Followed by hymn, see above].</p>	<p>“hic de penis vel in eis positis animabus narrationem interim concludimus</p> <p style="text-align: center;">et de gaudio et</p> <p>exultacione beatorum in sede amena et iocunda feliciter quiescentium aliqua que vidimus exprimere prout Dominus dederit temptabimus”.</p> <p>[All that remains of the hymn: “dignum seculorum”]</p>	<p>“hic de penis vel in eis positis animabus narracionem interim terminamus. Post hec</p> <p style="text-align: center;">de gaudio</p> <p>& exultacione bonorum in sede amena & iocunda feliciter quiescentium aliqua que vidimus exprimere prout Dominus dederit temptabimus”.</p> <p>[Hymn completely omitted].</p>
B(HT), 307.	W, f.50 ^r (col.II).	C(RE), p.146.

This is a clear indication that the W redaction was not *copied* from a version of the VEME that dates from before the B text. However, it does not preclude the possibility that W was *redacted* from an earlier version and during the process of summary lost this section of the narrative.

The pattern in the table above shows a relationship between W and, to a certain extent, both B and C. However, W is certainly not a redaction of an early and missing manuscript of C. As we shall see below, it follows the B text very closely. In fact, the relationship between W and B is so close that it seems unlikely that W is a redaction of an earlier version of the vision. There is no surviving evidence of another version of the VEME and the relative popularity of the B text in the thirteenth century (even the early thirteenth century) is well attested to. It is also known that the B text of the vision must have been in relatively wide circulation by 1200 as it appears copied into the famous collection of visions compiled by the Augustinian canon Peter of Cornwall, the *Liber Revelationum* which can be precisely dated.⁴² It has been surmised that the other

⁴² London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 51, ff.32^v-56^v.

visions in this collection were sourced from travelling Cistercian monks.⁴³ The relationship between B and W will be illustrated below, in order to show the textual similarities between the two versions and contrasted with C to show that W is not redacted from an anomalous earlier version of that text.

The following examples, although not exhaustive, indicate how the scribe of W followed the B text. In the section concerning the prince (chapter XLI following the C text *tituli*), the scribe clearly copies “*ita in comparatione visorum inania potius quam levia reputo que stilus degessit*” from the B text.⁴⁴ In the C text this passage is recorded slightly differently: “*ita inania potius quam levia reputo in comparacione visorum ea que digesta sunt*”.⁴⁵ A similar decision is made in the following chapter where “*grauiter deliquerat*” appears in the B text and the W, but “*offenderat*” appears in the C text. This close relationship suggests that W and the B text are very closely related and that it is unlikely that W is redacted from an earlier version, and, even if it was, this earlier text would have resembled the B text very strongly.

It is also worth considering, in light of Bihrer’s observations about the transmission of the vision in Germany, whether the W redaction is ‘linear’; whether it was undertaken with a full knowledge of the text or simply a summary produced as the redactor read the text for the first time.⁴⁶ This is important because if the redactor’s approach was ‘linear’ and he did not read or understand the full vision before embarking on his version, or contradictory, it can only tell us a limited amount about the theology or politics behind the author’s decisions. On the other hand, if W was clearly thought through it has the potential to tell us considerably more. Furthermore, a close analysis of the textual mechanics of the redactor’s approach will help establish whether many of the decisions were ‘editorial’ (avoidance of repetition, stylistic alterations), rather than political or theological. During the course of this discussion, I will be alert to the possibility and likelihood that medieval authors did not only edit on the basis of theological motivation. Often the decisions of the redactor of W will be linked to the

⁴³ See: Robert Easting, Peter of Cornwall's Account of St. Patrick's Purgatory, *AB* 97 (1979), 397-416.

⁴⁴ B(HT), 296; W, f.49r.

⁴⁵ C(RE), p.120.

⁴⁶ Andreas Bihrer, ‘Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionsliteratur’, pp.97-99. He notes that ‘Die einzelnen Kürzungen des Bearbeiters lassen sich strukturell-intentional begründen: Zusammenfassungen, Wiederholungen sowie Doppelformulierungen werden sehr häufig weggelassen’, p.97.

desire for *brevitas*. First, however, it will be demonstrated that the redactor of W had a deep knowledge of the full narrative of the vision before he started editing the text. In deleting sub-plots that appear over several different chapters in the B text he demonstrates knowledge of the text as a whole and a considered understanding of how it is organised and put together.

One particular sub-plot altered consistently by the redactor of W, and notable for its complexity and continuation over several chapters, concerns Edmund's combination of real and imaginary confession, penance and discipline before he is granted the vision. This was summarised in chronological order in section 1.1.1 but much of the intricacy comes from the order of events as they were actually presented in the B text. The first part of the text (the first eight chapters following the C text *tituli*) describes what his fellow monks saw of Edmund's movements (obviously unaware of his internal visions) before going on to recount the visionary's own analysis and description of events (chapters IX – XIII).

In the B text, the reader is introduced to the first hallucinatory penance in the opening paragraphs, but the reference is so ambiguous that the significance is completely unclear. Two monks recall acting as confessors to Edmund on the morning of Maundy Thursday. In the course of their dialogue, after a question about his health, Edmund replies that when he had met the brothers the previous night he had been overcome with such "great sweetness and gladness, that this alone would sustain me".⁴⁷ The brother who hears this part of Edmund's story is (understandably, as we find out later) baffled and puts the statement down to his illness and frailty and so does not question him further. However, there is no indication at this stage of the narrative as to why Edmund's confessor finds the statement incongruous; the text does not inform us that the confessor has no recollection of giving penance the previous evening (confusingly, as it turns out, Edmund happens to be giving confession to the same two brothers as he imagined he had seen several hours earlier).

⁴⁷ "Sciatis' inquiens 'domine, quod nocte transacta tantam in capitulo, ubi simul fuimus, cordis suavitatem et exultationem percepi spiritus, quod vix me ipsum capere pre gaudii magnitudine aut ferre valeo", B(HT), 239.

It is only later in the text (chapter IX, following the C text *tituli*) that the story starts to be fully fleshed out. In this section, Edmund's own recollection of the events is revealed and he describes his disciplining in the chapter house in some detail. He notes that he was flagellated by both brothers (in the C text it is recorded that he is flagellated six times by each) and then five times more for missing his penance on Palm Sunday - *pro transactis sextis feriis quadregesime* - which he had been unable to endure because of his illness.⁴⁸ He notes that the memory of this penance was sweet enough that it provoked him to cry when he gives his 'real' confession to the same brothers.⁴⁹ Yet, at this stage, without revealing that the monks were not, in fact, in the chapter house, the sub-plot remains decidedly hazy. Edmund's recollection of these events continues when, in chapter XII, he takes discipline from one of the (same) brothers in the chapter house.⁵⁰ He was flagellated by the brother many times.⁵¹ This, in Edmund's mind at least, is the third time in so many days that he has encountered one or other of the same two brothers and it is the last action that takes place before Edmund is taken to the otherworld by St. Nicholas.

The fact that these two occasions of penance were imaginary is not actually revealed until further on still, when Edmund's confessors deal with the issue directly (chapter XIII). One of the confessors asks the visionary if he still thought that he and his brother had given him penance in the chapter house as he recalled because he knew they had not. In fact, the confessor reveals, it was contradictory to the rules of the order to give penance in the chapter house.⁵² This questioning is followed by Edmund's conclusion that he must have seen an 'appearance' (*speciem*) of the brothers.⁵³

In W, the redactor changes the nature of this introduction completely, deleting all of the references to the hallucinatory penances and making the second penance real rather than imaginary ensuring that Edmund was genuinely fully confessed and absolved before his vision. To make these changes would have required a deep enough

⁴⁸ B(HT), 247.

⁴⁹ 'Unde et die sequenti iugiter flere dulcissimum habui', B(HT), 247.

⁵⁰ 'Quo perveniens audivi mox sonitum longiuscule retro me factum a fratre scilicet illo a quo disciplinas expectabam suscipere', B(HT), 250.

⁵¹ 'et pluries disciplinari', B(HT), 250.

⁵² 'Cumque audiret ab inquirente hoc omnino nec se fecisse nec ordine contradicente facere ullatenus potuisse', B(HT), 250.

⁵³ B(HT), 251.

knowledge of the vision if they had appeared in chronological order as just described. However, as we have seen, in the authorial versions of the text, Edmund's description of events comes later and the reader is not made aware of the fact that some of the events were imaginary until the monks explain that they had never encountered the visionary later in the text. The changes made by the redactor of W reveal that he had decided that the passages were irrelevant, understood that the sub-plot was only revealed over the course of several separate passages at relatively large intervals and that associated asides elsewhere in the text would also need to be deleted. These changes can be summarised as follows:

(1) The references to Edmund's first hallucination are all removed from the W redaction.⁵⁴ (2) This part of the sub-plot is also briefly mentioned in an aside (as part of chapter X) when Edmund notes that the monk he met in the church porch was "one of those from whom I took discipline from *the night before* [my italics]."⁵⁵ This sentence is missing through W's wholesale deletion of the chapter.⁵⁶ (3) The situation is even more complicated when it comes to the second penance: The redactor keeps the main details of the encounter in, noting both the benediction and the disciplining.⁵⁷ Indeed, in a rare example of the redactor's shifting of text, he uses some of the details from the 'first' penance, to enhance the description, including the back-dated disciplining for earlier, missed, penance.⁵⁸ (4) The redactor of W account of chapter XII also omits any indication that this is the second time the penance has occurred; the fact that he receives penance from the same older monk and the fact that the actions were repeated (*repetere*).⁵⁹ (5) Finally, the hallucinatory nature of both penances is removed by the editing of the post-vision conversation between Edmund and his confessors. The redactor of W removes the material concerning the order's prohibition of penance and discipline in the chapter house, the confessor's insistence that neither he nor his brother were there on either occasion (necessary, in part, because there is only one penance in the new version) and Edmund's tentative explanation for the hallucination.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Appendix, I (4); IX (6); XIII (1).

⁵⁵ 'qui unus est eorum a quibus *nocte precedente* disciplinas sumpsimus', B(HT), 248.

⁵⁶ Appendix, X.

⁵⁷ W, 'In nomine patre et filii et spiritum sancti amen' [in the margin], f.43^v, col.I.

⁵⁸ Appendix, XII.

⁵⁹ Appendix, XII (2).

⁶⁰ Appendix, XIII (1).

It would have been impossible to understand this sub-plot by encountering its first ambiguous appearance. The redactor must have had a good working knowledge of the narrative, stretching from the opening until the start of the vision at least. In short, it demonstrates a skilful and detailed attention to the inherited narrative. The potential motivation for such decisions will be discussed in section 1.2.4 but for now it contributes to establishing the following assumptions this chapter will make regarding the redactor of W, namely that he had an extremely good working knowledge of the B text of the VEME. In preparing his redaction he was capable of deploying an editorial strategy that encompassed the whole text. Thus, while not every omission has historical significance, an attempt to identify and analyse patterns is a worthwhile investigation. The following discussion will attempt to isolate elements of redactor's strategy and compare them to the version of the VEME found in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*.

1.2.2. Deleting the didactic

The clearest editorial pattern, apparent in both Roger of Wendover's redaction and that found in W, is the deletion of didactic material. Many deletions occur at exactly the point in the narrative when Adam tries to broaden out Edmund's description of the otherworld to include a wider lesson. In this section, the general removal of didactic material from the authorial versions will be discussed and its impact on one area of the text – biblical references – will be explored in more depth. To a certain extent, this a question of cause and effect; if the bible is missing from W is it because it features in the didactic passages which were being deleted anyway, or are these didactic passages deleted *because* they contained the biblical passages?

It is clear that it will not be conclusively possible to overcome all of these problems, but before beginning the analysis of some of these patterns it is worth bearing a number of things in mind: First, by looking at the reasons why some of the deleted features were present in the version of the text that the redactor was working from there is a good chance of finding clues about why they were edited out. In the discussion below, after providing evidence for the pattern of redaction of Edmund's emotional reactions to his experience, the investigation will turn to why they were described in the B text in the

first place. Second, understanding the redactor's motivation is only one part of understanding the dissemination of a particular text. It is equally important to consider how readers would have encountered the 'new' version of the VEME if they came across it without having seen the authorial versions.

Near the beginning of the vision, Edmund struggles to find the words to describe the suffering of those whom he first encounters in the otherworld, concluding that the "sorrow and anguish, bitterness and distress exceeded measure and size".⁶¹ In the B text the narrative goes on to directly address the reader (*nos viderimus ... deberemus*) and uses the vision to encourage a range of good behaviours, including the importance of keeping the commandments (*mandatorum Dei*) and undertaking good works (*bonorum exercitationibus operum*).⁶² In the W redaction this didactic passage is completely removed and the narrative is only re-joined when Edmund is, again, describing the size of the otherworld.⁶³ This is a particularly telling deletion because it shows that it is the 'voice' that was crucial in the decision by the redactor of W to delete the passage. The sentiments expressed in this didactic aside are nearly exactly the same as those brought up by the visionary himself. Earlier in the account, for example, the visionary describes how each of the souls that he encountered had been helped through their sufferings by a combination of the merits they had gained in their own lives and by the good works being done for them by their colleagues who were still alive.⁶⁴ As part of the passage described above, a nearly identical message is given a more didactic spin (presumably by Adam). In the B text readers were urged to consider how their families and friends would be delivered from punishment sooner as a result of their good deeds.⁶⁵ This is deleted in W.⁶⁶ The implication is that the redactor had no theological problem with the efficacy of good deeds on behalf of the dead (an issue which could have the potential to cause high-level doctrinal disputes throughout the

⁶¹ 'doloris et angustie, amaritudinis et miserie, mensuram excedunt et modum', W, f.43^v (col.II).

⁶² B(HT), 257.

⁶³ 'Erat sane huius prout videbatur palestre impermeabilis longitudo', B(HT), 257.

⁶⁴ 'quem ad modum vel suis pristinis iuvabantur vel impediabantur meritis, et presentibus carorum suorum amminiculabantur pro se exhibitis beneficiis', W, f. 44^r (col.I).

⁶⁵ 'pietatis et misericordie exhibitionibus pro redemptione sua devote a nobis inpensis inde citius eruerentur', B(HT), 257.

⁶⁶ Appendix I, XVI (1).

Middle Ages), but was opposed to the manner of the message's delivery by the editor rather than the visionary.⁶⁷

This deletion of didactic passages, then, seems to have more to do with tone and genre than it does with theology. It is notable that the following examples are deleted from both the W redaction and Roger of Wendover's redaction. This is not to say that all of the omissions from W that seem to fall under this general 'didactic' umbrella came when the B text addressed the audience directly. Often the passage that is deleted by the redactor of W or Roger appears in the B text when the visionary is introducing a new character or area and attempts to broaden out the relevance of the encounter. So, before Edmund describes his meeting with a reformed prostitute he notes that it might be a lesson (*documentum*) to the whole world to hold "God and his male and female saints in veneration."⁶⁸ This introduction is deleted in W and in the *Flores Historiarum* and in the former the narrative is re-joined straight after the broader lesson is invoked.⁶⁹ There are examples of the redactor deleting passages at the end of encounters and of didactic passages being deleted as part of longer redactions.⁷⁰ The deletion of didactic passages from the centre of encounters, or in the middle of chapters, are more telling on two grounds. They suggest that the redactor was not engaged in a formulaic summary which involved the removal of passages at the end of each chapter. The deletion of didactic passages from the middle of the chapters also adds further evidence that W was a summary of the B text and not a copy of another – now missing – authorial version between the A and B text which lacked the didactic amendments at the end of each chapter (the most convincing alternative explanation for the shape of W). These deletions occur relatively frequently but a particularly clear example comes from when Edmund encounters three bishops in torment. One of the bishops took up the habit of a monk from which he profited greatly in completing satisfaction for his sins.⁷¹ In the next sentence, the benefit is widened out to all who will do likewise, because the saints of the order will especially help them by their merits

⁶⁷ See: Robert W. Shaftern, 'Learned Discussions of Indulgences for the Dead in the Middle Ages', *Church History* 61 (1992), 367-381.

⁶⁸ 'et toti semper mundo egregium esse valeat pie in Deum et sanctos et sanctas eius venerationis documentum', B(HT), 259.

⁶⁹ Appendix I, XVIII (1).

⁷⁰ Appendix I, XXVI (6); XXIII.

⁷¹ 'Profuit ei multum inter alia satisfactionis bona quod calcato prelacionis ambitu humilem monachorum ante finem suum corde contrito suscepit habitum', B(HT), 289.

and interventions.⁷² This is deleted in the W redaction and likewise does not appear in Roger's redaction.⁷³

General patterns can have more specific consequences. The fate of the multiple biblical references that pass and don't pass from the B text into W is an indication of this process. Analysing this pattern provides an interesting window into two areas of interest. First, it gives an insight into the motivation of redactor W, providing clues as to why he summarised, deleted and amended the B text in the way he did. Second, it allows for a consideration of the impact of this editorial process on the surviving text, indicating how a reader of W might have experienced the 'new' VEME. It is difficult to be precise about the number of references that were deliberately removed by the redactor of W because biblical language, phrases and sentiments were – and still are – used unconsciously. In order to get an impression of whether references to the bible had a direct impact on the way in which the redactor of W approached the VEME, it is important to try and isolate the references where he would have been conscious of the biblical source. There is no exact science to discounting ambiguous references apart from exclusively dealing with passages where the bible, or book of the bible, is mentioned specifically (for the purpose of the discussion, this type of reference will be called a 'citation'). This is not an ideal method as it ignores a number of references where the redactor was almost certainly aware of the biblical context, but the source was not explicitly acknowledged in the B text of the VEME. In addition, there are also a number of examples where modern scholars have identified relatively opaque echoes of biblical texts in the VEME which may not have been recognised by the redactor, or even Adam and Edmund. For the purpose of the discussion below, references where no biblical source is acknowledged but a biblical root has been identified will be called 'allusions'.

Table I is an approximate attempt to resolve some of these issues. It lists 63 biblical citations and allusions found in B and indicates whether or not they were copied into W. The list is a compilation of the biblical allusions and citations that Easting identifies

⁷² 'Hoc etiam quibusque facientibus plurimum confert, quia et sanctorum meritis et interventu, qui hoc habitu usi sunt, specialius iuvantur et in ordine eorum resuscitandi noscuntur qui mundum pro Domino funditus reliquerent, si vel in extremis ipsi mundo scematis sacri perceptione renunciaverint', B(HT), 289.

⁷³ Appendix I, XXXV (1).

in his edition and, in addition, the specific mention of the Psalms and the bible at the end of the section detailing the fate of a Prior. Although the list amounts to a less comprehensive inventory of the biblical references than one can find in Dengler's article, it gives a more realistic impression of the scriptural material of which the redactor of W would have been consciously aware that he was copying or deleting.⁷⁴ Even given this conservative approach it is possible that the redactor of W was not familiar with some of the allusions listed in Table I. The most ambiguous allusions on the list have been marked with a question mark. When the bible is cited alongside the passage, this has been marked in a separate column. Using this list it is possible to come up with three figures for biblical references in W. If one takes all of the citations and allusions on the list, redactor W deletes 71% of them.⁷⁵ If you make the same calculation but remove the seven most opaque allusions, the figure is 78%.⁷⁶ Neither of these figures can provide anything other than a rough estimate. The 'purest' figure can be calculated using the citations alone. The deletion rate here is 90%.⁷⁷ All of these figures should be compared to the percentage of the B text that is removed by the redactor overall, which is approximately 30%.⁷⁸ Using any of these calculations, it is clear that the redactor of W removes a disproportionate amount of biblical material from the B text of VEME and the more obvious the biblical material is, the more likely the redactor of W is to remove it. In analysing these figures, two questions are immediately prominent. The first concerns motivation; is the redactor of W *deliberately* deleting biblical citations, or is it a 'side-effect' of the general pattern of the deletion of didactic material discussed above? The second concerns impact; how does the removal of biblical citations and allusions affect the shape of the surviving text? It is possible that these two questions are linked; is the redactor of W removing the biblical passages to shape the genre of the 'new' version? In order to explore these questions in more depth, some examples of the removal of biblical passages will be discussed in detail.

⁷⁴ Mark Dengler, "In speculo et enigmatē". Zur Auswahl und Funktion biblischer Zitate in der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham', in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.59-71 at p.71.

⁷⁵ See table I.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

⁷⁸ *ibid.*

One example occurs during Edmund's description of a prostitute who is eventually saved by the extraordinary intervention of Saint Margaret. Like many of the passages in *W*, the pre-amble found in *B* is deleted.⁷⁹ This pattern is particularly clear when the introductory statement claims that the encounter that follows will provide a lesson for the reader. As discussed above, before Edmund has even met her, the reader of *B* is informed that the story will provide a powerful lesson, but no such advice is given to the reader of *W*.⁸⁰ However, an additional deletion later on in the passage in a more descriptive section is less typical. This deletion occurs when Edmund compares the prostitute's worldly life to her position in the afterlife, where she is suffering under the fear of eternal torment.⁸¹ In the following, very short passage in *B*, there is one biblical allusion and three citations, describing the woman's fate through scripture. It is a rare moment of clarity concerning the eventual fate of souls, in a vision that stresses the uncertainty of the final destination of many individuals. The allusion from Psalm 108 describes how the woman, who had worked as a prostitute, was now "covered with the double cloak of shame and guilty conscience".⁸² The first citation comes from a Psalm 54: "Where it is sung in the Psalm: Where it let death come upon them, and let them go alive into Hell".⁸³ The second citation comes from Job and deals with the same subject: "And this from holy Job: They spend their days in prosperity and in a moment they go to Hell".⁸⁴ The final citation comes from the book of Judith: "Or again we can read that: the reward of sin is fire and worms".⁸⁵ All four of these references are removed by the redactor of *W*. Their deletion seems to be part of a deliberate process, because, as can be seen below, the removal of the material begins at the point in which the vocabulary is shared between the vision and the Bible. The narrative from *B* is only re-joined when the reference to scripture has ended:

⁷⁹ Appendix I, XVIII(1).

⁸⁰ 'Hic iam referre libet perpulcrum quoddam magne pietatis opus, quod tunc quidem meroris pariter et gratulationis michi prestitit insigne spectaculum, et toti semper mundo egregium esse valeat pie in Deum et sanctos et sanctas eius venerationis documentum', *B*(HT), 259.

⁸¹ "Ita igitur infelix anima presentium dolore et eternorum metu angebatur dolorum", *B*(HT), 260.

⁸² Psalms 108:29.

⁸³ Psalms 54:16.

⁸⁴ Job 21:13.

⁸⁵ Judith 16:21.

XVIII. Qualiter beata Margareta quandam meretricem liberauit a demonibus		
<p>“Pridem libenter reiecerat honestatis clamidem fuerat enim meretricium opus eius in seculo [non]⁸⁶ <u>confusionis operta diploide</u> quam scilicet conscientie pudibunde attestatio et insultantium urgebat insolens exprobratio. In libro discebat experientie quid illud quod semper quasi leve contempserat, amari habeat ponderis; <u>unde in psalmo canitur [sic]: ‘veniat mors super illos et descendant in infernum viventes’</u> et illud beati Iob: ‘Ducunt in bonis dies suos, et in puncto ad inferno descendant’. Vel quod iterum legimus: ‘<u>Merces criminis⁸⁷ ignis et vermis</u>’. Dum itaque quasi triumphalibus hostium pompis infelix ob carnis in illecebras agitur in gehennam”.</p>	<p>Psalms 108:29</p> <p>Psalms 54:16</p> <p>Job 21:13</p> <p>Judith 16:21</p>	<p>“Pridem libenter reiecerat honestatis clamidem fuerat enim meretricium opus eius in seculo</p> <p>dum itaque quasi triumphalibus hostium pompis infelix ob carnis in illecebras agitur in gehennam”.</p>
B(HT), 260.	Vulgate Reference.	W, 44 ^v (Col. II).

Indeed, this passage seems to add further evidence to the assertion made above concerning the composition of W. The *dum* that marks W’s return to the narrative makes little sense without the preceeding biblical references. It is clearly the product of a deletion of material, rather than a later addition.

This passage suggests a very precise removal of biblical material. The examples listed in Table I are usually less clear cut; the biblical passages are usually removed alongside other material which is similar in style or content. In many cases, when you look at the

⁸⁶ This is incorrectly transcribed as ‘nunc’ in B(HT), 260.

⁸⁷ In B(HT), 260n28 the variation reads *carnis*, which ties it more directly into the vulgate book of Judith.

passages removed by redactor W, it seems like the biblical passage in the B text introduces the material that follows, and thus is integral to the deleted section.

In considering the motivation of the redactor and the impact of their decisions, it is clearly important to understand why the biblical citations and allusions were included in VEME in the first place. Dengler's analysis of the original text is instructive.⁸⁸ He argues that the pattern of biblical citation and allusion is a deliberate reflection of the political environment in which the vision was recorded. In particular, Dengler believes that the use of biblical passages that reference good leadership and kinship are a comment on the battle between Hugh of Lincoln and Richard I over the right to appoint abbots at the monastery of Eynsham.⁸⁹ It is easy to see how this specific context may not have been of interest to redactors not intimately familiar with the arguments. But even if this analysis is accepted, it does not necessarily contribute to a better understanding of the motivation behind the redactor's decisions. There are clearly a number of overlapping reasons that could have led him to discard these biblical citations and the associated political context – no matter how prominent – may not have played a role. Nonetheless, this angle is worth considering, because the removal of these passages clearly affects the shape of the W version. A medieval reader of W would have been deprived of this juxtaposition of political and scriptural commentary.

1.2.3. Patterns of redaction⁹⁰

It is unclear whether or not the deletion of biblical passages from W was part of a strategy on the part of the redactor, or just the unintended consequence of the deletion of didactic material. Either way, the deletion of explicit moralisations when supernatural stories are transferred into historical works is a noted, if by no means consistent, feature of the transmission of such material. There are, however, other patterns that can be identified in the W and *Flores* redactions of the VEME. Two will be explored in this section. First, the removal of material that dealt with the complex lives

⁸⁸ Mark Dengler, 'In speculo et enigmatē'. Zur Auswahl und Funktion biblischer Zitate', pp.59-71.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp.69-70.

⁹⁰ This is a particularly long section, so it has been further divided into sub-sections to aid navigation and cross-referencing.

of individual souls and their hope of salvation in the otherworld and second, the deletion of passages dealing with Edmund's emotional and physical reaction to his experiences. In neither case, and in neither redaction, is this material completely removed, but compared with the authors' general approach to the VEME, the omissions are disproportionate. There is another reason why these two patterns are worthy of further investigation: the A, B and C texts' focus on the individual and their description of Edmund's emotional and physical piety have both been identified in some recent scholarship as features of the VEME that vary from the traditional pattern of otherworldly visions. As a result, this section will also examine the reasons why this 'novel' material appeared in the authorial versions in order to better understand the decisions of our two redactors and the impact of their editing on the resultant narratives. This section will start by examining the transmission of interest in individual souls and its association with otherworldly geography and eschatology in both redactions (1.2.3.1-1.2.3.4), before considering the W redactor's response to the visionary's emotional and physical spirituality (1.2.3.5).

1.2.3.1. *The Fate of Individual Souls: Background*

In the surveys of the genre of visions of the otherworld, the VEME's focus on the fate of individual souls has been identified as a feature that makes it stand out from the other narratives. In her brief comments on the vision, for example, Morgan asserts that of all of the visions recorded in the Middle Ages, the VEME "concentrates most fully on the individual".⁹¹ In a thesis which deals explicitly with 'real' visionary accounts, Kim Dian Gainer makes similar observations in her more detailed discussion of the VEME.⁹² She argues its unique contribution to the genre of visions of the otherworld is its concern with individual 'real' sinners, rather than the deployment of allegorical characters representing particular sins or crimes: "Even when the visionary is describing the various torments – the kind of material we expect to find in journeys to the otherworld", she argues, Adam "shifts his treatment toward the individual".⁹³

⁹¹ Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World*, p.155.

⁹² Kim Dian Gainer, 'Prolegomenon to Piers Plowman: Latin Visions of the Otherworld from the Beginnings to the Thirteenth Century', Ohio State University PhD Thesis (1987), pp.178-188. I would like to thank both Kim Dian Gainer and the Inter Library Loans Department at the University of Exeter for helping me access this dissertation.

⁹³ *ibid.*, 191. Gainer also argues that the VEME adopts this 'interior' approach to punishment in the otherworld, which is permitted 'to assault the mind as well as the body', *ibid.*, 192.

Certainly, in Edmund's numerous conversations with souls in the otherworld, the reader is introduced to extensive biographical details and vivid descriptions of the internal spiritual life of the sinners. This marks the VEME out from many of the other visions, even the longer accounts, in circulation in the thirteenth century. Many of these visions are driven by descriptions of collective or generalised punishment with sinners grouped together according to their crimes. In the vision of Tundale, for example, the area of torment is divided into different areas for different sins.⁹⁴ In some cases the souls undergo the same punishment, often in a repeated cycle, before they progress, such as the souls described in the vision of Drythelm, popularised in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.⁹⁵ In the particularly famous account of Owein's experience of St. Patrick's Purgatory, the souls are punished in great open plains. Occasionally, 'stock' characters were picked out and their punishment described in more depth, but rarely did the narrative consider the exact relationship between the individual's sacramentary life and his precise position in the otherworld.⁹⁶ In the majority of medieval visions the fate of individual souls is made apparent by the area of torment in which they find themselves in and their eventual position in the otherworldly schema is often unambiguous. The characters found around Judas in the vision of Gunthelm are clearly destined for Hell, for example.⁹⁷ As we shall see in chapters three and four, some monastic visions (particularly those recorded in Cistercian houses in the later twelfth century) made a virtue of 'collective' fate, recalling how whole monasteries or even whole orders were punished or saved together.

The VEME does not lack all of these features, but the emphasis is different. Descriptions of each otherworldly area, for example, can be found before the more detailed discussion of the individuals (at one stage Edmund, perhaps tellingly, complains to Adam that his report of the broad punishments is not vivid enough). At times, echoes of the trends just described are clear: there are cyclical torments of fire

⁹⁴ *Visio Tnugdali*, ed. Albrecht Wagner (Erlangen, 1882; rpt. Hildesheim, 1989).

⁹⁵ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 5.2, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), pp.488-498 [Henceforth: *HE*].

⁹⁶ The *Visio Thurkilli*, to which the VEME is often compared, shows a vague interest in similar themes, but its focus on the individual and intentionality is neither as intense nor, due to its incredibly limited dissemination, as significant.

⁹⁷ See section 3.1.2.

and cold, souls are sometimes grouped by occupation or crime, there are mountains and valleys, and there is a gradation of torment (brought out more clearly in the C text by the introduction of chapter headings).⁹⁸ Nonetheless, proportionally, these descriptions were a small part of the A, B and C texts of the VEME. The main focus of the vision is on individual fate as expressed by the complex, mixed and unpredictable fortunes of the souls in the otherworld. Indeed, as well as witnessing the 'external' punishment of the souls, Edmund was able to see "into the hidden" (*in occultis*) thoughts of the characters, both good and bad.⁹⁹ There is a degree of uncertainty about these souls' eventual fate that is worth highlighting. Irrespective of the area where Edmund discovers them, their fate sometimes hinged on eccentric or unique decisions taken in life. Occasionally this means that the VEME presents a hopeful account of the otherworld for lay sinners. For example, a prostitute is saved from eternal damnation (despite a profound lack of attention to the sacraments) by her decision to place candles before St. Margaret's altar every Saturday.¹⁰⁰ This type of story, where a sinner is saved by a single act of devotion, becomes popular in later *exempla* collections and in the miracles of the Virgin, but is not generally a feature of visions of the otherworld.

Another, similar, area in which the vision differs from contemporary visions of the otherworld is how much of a soul's salvation could be secured after death. In attempting to find predecessors of the doctrine of Purgatory some scholars have argued that these themes are implicit in earlier visions (like that of Fursa, described in the following chapter) but most would agree that the level and nature of post-mortem purgation in these accounts is ambiguous.¹⁰¹ In the A, B and C texts of the VEME, however, it is explicit and much could be achieved after death. The way in which these eschatological details are presented also contributes to this emphasis on individual circumstances. Edmund has lengthy dialogues with the individual souls who reveal their particular circumstances. These components are all represented in the description

⁹⁸ For the cycle of torment, see: B(HT), 258-259. For the general grouping of souls, see, for example, the priests: B(HT), 292. For the topography, see, for example, B(HT), 258. For the gradation of torment cf. B(HT), 254 with B(HT), 258, for example.

⁹⁹ 'Neque enim, ut carnalium oculorum natura consuevit, eorum superficiem tantummodo qui videbantur perstringebat obtuitus, sed que in occultis bona vel mala sentiebant qui afficiebantur letis aut tristibus', B(HT), 260.

¹⁰⁰ "omni die sabbati coram altari tuo [St. Margaret] luminaria de meo exhibui", B(HT), 261.

¹⁰¹ The literature about the vision of Fursa, discussed in chapter 2, is a good example of how these issues are seemingly ambiguous. See: section 2.1.1.

of a certain knight who had died ten years before the vision. He explained that he had sinned, living luxuriously in his youth and had been drawn into many crimes.¹⁰² He had never given up hawking, for example, because he was unaware it was a sin.¹⁰³ Moreover, his engagement with the customs of his friends had prevented him from atoning for these sins in the world.¹⁰⁴ Instead, he was punished in the otherworld but had moved swiftly towards the place of rest.¹⁰⁵ So, in the VEME's otherworld, an individual could be told about a sin (which they did not know they had committed in life), reflect on it, repent and complete their penance with a good chance of post-Doomsday salvation and reaching a blissful place of rest beforehand. The resulting self-knowledge could then be relayed to Edmund in the form of a detailed discussion, bordering on the confessional.

This is a crucial component of Gainer's argument that the VEME's interest in individual souls can be traced to literary developments linked to the increased circulation of pastoral manuals in the build-up to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.¹⁰⁶ In her argument, the VEME's "intense interest in the interior of the sinner" is described using the language of confession:

"The visionary, in fact, gains insight into the mental states of the sinners in three ways: through ... visionary empathy, listening to 'confessions' made to others and ... 'confessions' made directly in response to his own questions".¹⁰⁷

There are elements of this argument that are appealing and will be further unpicked below, but it does not tell the whole story. How, for example, would Adam have

¹⁰² 'presertim in pueritia et iuventute cum delicatius [sic.] nutriretur, et tum a sodalibus tum fervore indiscrete etatis ad noxia multipliciter traheretur', B(HT), 288.

¹⁰³ 'Quod genus delinquendi nec in senio reliquerit vel flevit; quia hoc in peccatum deputari neciisset', B(HT), 288.

¹⁰⁴ 'que videlicet in conversatione seculari, ubi mundialibus conviventium moribus morigerandum fuisset, et vanitatibus non in paucis, ad plenum nequiverit expiare', B(HT), 288.

¹⁰⁵ 'ad gaudia tamen migraverat', B(HT), 287.

¹⁰⁶ For a general study of these trends see: Mary Flowers Braswell, *The Medieval Sinner: Characterization and Confession in the English Literature of the Middle Ages* (New Jersey, 1983).

¹⁰⁷ Kim Dian Gainer, 'Prolegomenon to Piers Plowman', 179, 181. This argument is also presented bSee also: Robert Penkett (now Pachomios), 'Sinners and the Community of Saints: Aspects of Repentance in a Late Twelfth-Century Visio', Lambeth Palace MA Thesis (1996). I am able to draw on this work thanks to its appearance in Robert Easting's excellent bibliography and I would like to thank the staff at Lambeth Palace Library, London and Pusey House Library, Oxford for helping me access this dissertation.

interacted with such pastoral manuals? To what extent can this argument explain the other eccentricities of the VEME? In particular, does it fully explain the eschatological trends in VEME's description of the otherworld? One way of approaching these questions from a new angle is by considering the fate of these areas of comparable novelty in our two longer redactions.

1.2.3.2. *The Fate of Individual Souls and the Geography of the Otherworld*

In both W and the *Flores* redactions there is a dilution (and sometimes radical removal) of the complexity of individual circumstance and the hopefulness with which it seems linked. In Roger's redaction, these omissions are most acute and they alter the texture of the vision considerably. At precisely the moments at which Gainer detects the most pastoral novelty in the authorial VEME – the 'confessional' dialogue between the visionary and the punished souls – Roger chooses to make his most radical summaries and omissions. In fact, despite the plethora of characters present in the B text, Roger only talks about two individuals in any depth, a goldsmith and a lawyer, and mentions in a single sentence that Edmund recognized an abbess, a prior and a priest in the area of bliss.¹⁰⁸

In sharp contrast, Roger's editorial pen is stayed when it comes to the broad, topographical introductions to each area of the otherworld. These often deal with the collective rather than individual souls. In the first place of torment, for example, Roger reports that there "was a great crowd of both the sexes", a "multitude of men, or spirits, that no one could count", "judges", "prelates".¹⁰⁹ This pattern is repeated in the descriptions of the other areas. The second place was introduced with a description of a "mountain almost touching the clouds" and a very "dark valley".¹¹⁰ The table below shows how closely Roger followed the B text:

¹⁰⁸ As we shall see later, Roger does not leave these encounters intact either. See, section 1.2.3.4. It is also worth noting that out of the five individuals mentioned it is two members of the laity that are described in the second and third place of punishment. There are no members of the regular clergy in these areas and the three people that Roger does describe in bliss are, as was revealed above, an abbess, a priest and a prior. The decision to mention these individuals seem to be made with a desire to protect the collective honour of monks.

¹⁰⁹ *Flowers*, II, pp.154-155.

¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.155.

<p>“Post hunc igitur ad alium quoque tormentorum devenimus locum. Mons vero nubibus ipsis celsitudine sui pene contiguus locum disternabat utrumque. Huius nos iuga tam facili quam veloci gressu subegimus.</p> <p>Erat itaque sub remota ipsius montis latere vallis profundissima et tenebrosa, altrinsecus iugis rupium eminentissimis cincta, cuius longitudinem nullius perstringeret* aspectus.”</p>	<p>“Post hunc igitur ad alternum tormentorum devenimus locum. Mons enim nubibus ipsis celsitudine sua paene contiguus locum disternabat utrumque, cuius nos juga tam facili gressu transeimus quam veloci.</p> <p>Erat itaque sub remota ipsius montis latere vallis profundissima et tenebrosa, altrinsecus rupium iugis eminentissimis cincta, cuius latitudinem nullius superaret aspectus.”</p>	<p>“After this then we arrived at another place of torment; the two places were separated by a mountain almost touching the clouds, over the top of which we passed easily and quickly.</p> <p>Under the farther side of this mountain was a very deep and dark valley, girt round on either side by ridges of lofty rocks over which the sight could not extend.”</p>
<p>B(HT), 258. * in variations: superaret.</p>	<p>Roger of Wendover, <i>Flores Historiarum</i>, p.105.</p>	<p>Roger of Wendover, <i>Flowers of History</i>, II, p.155.</p>

It is worth noting that this area has much in common with Bede’s description of the otherworld in the vision of Drythelm that appears elsewhere in the *Flores Historiarum*.¹¹¹ Again, the focus is on the collective; there were crowds “as numerous as bees at the time of swarming”.¹¹² This pattern of closeness between the B text and Roger’s redaction in the description of mass punishment and otherworldly geography continues in each area of torment. The third place of punishment “was covered by a great and horrible chaos” where worms “lacerated the crowds of wretched beings with a veracity not to be escaped from”.¹¹³

Roger’s decision to maintain these sections should be compared with his total deletion of the conversations between the visionary and a reformed prostitute, a prior, an anchoress, a bishop, a poor man’s wife, two knights, three further bishops, an archbishop, a king of England, another bishop, an abbot, another abbess, another

¹¹¹ *ibid.*, I, p.120.

¹¹² *ibid.*, II, p.156.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, II, pp.157-158.

knight, a young monk and a priest in the various areas of punishment and another monk in the area of bliss. Roger is clearly more concerned with the topography of the otherworld than he is with discussing the complex lives of the various individuals as they feature in the authorial versions of the VEME.¹¹⁴ In addition, he is satisfied that the topography described in the B text needs little, or no, alteration. These deletions cannot be explained by arguing that Roger is only interested in otherworldly geography, however, because he goes into considerable detail regarding the pre-vision context of Edmund's experience, something that will be given further consideration in section 1.2.4.¹¹⁵

Although the W redaction is longer and more of the material about individual souls is included, the redactor, like Roger, tends to copy material about otherworldly geography in full and make his deletions from the sections where the visionary encounters individual souls. A brief glance at the appendix shows this to be the case – chapters XV (*Qualiter venit in primum locum tormentorum*) and XVII (*De secundo loco tormentorum*) make it into the W redaction in their entirety; chapter XXIV (*De tertio loco tormentorum*) has only the 'inexpressibility trope' deleted.¹¹⁶ Most of the material describing the geography of heaven's ante-room is kept as well; the only sentence missing from chapter LVI (*Qualiter monachus egressus est ianuam paradisi*) is the explicitly didactic passage which, in line with the pattern described above contains a biblical reference.¹¹⁷

These decisions are encapsulated by the scribe of W's approach to the priest Edmund encountered in the fields outside Paradise. The cleric was described in the depth with which readers of the authorial versions of the narrative would have become familiar. This priest had the "zeal of righteousness" combined with the "gift of preaching" and a

¹¹⁴ Interestingly, Andreas Bihrer has noted similar tendencies in the later Latin redactions circulating in Germany in a later period, although as these changes can also be observed in Roger's work (and to a certain extent in W), his conclusion that the changing nature of the audience in the fourteenth and fifteenth century explains the alterations can be complicated. See: Andreas Bihrer, 'Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionsliteratur', p.99. In contrast to some of the conclusions drawn in section 1.2.2 above, Bihrer also argues that there is a tightening of the didactic messages in these German redactions.

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, II, pp.148-153.

¹¹⁶ Appendix, XV, XVII, XXIV (1).

¹¹⁷ Deuteronomy 11:1, see table I.

life worthy of example.¹¹⁸ Moreover, his preaching saved the souls of those “not only in his own parish” but “innumerable multitudes of people from other churches”.¹¹⁹ This description was completely deleted in W.¹²⁰ The B text narrative is only rejoined when the visionary starts describing in very general terms the “joyful place” he encountered, with its “clear light, sweet odour” and “white” inhabitants.¹²¹ The collective fate of the souls and their residence in the “celestial Jerusalem”, was also maintained in W.¹²² In addition, by merging chapters LIII and LIV together (there is no gap in the W version) but maintaining the gap between LII and LIII, which now starts with the broad description just outlined, the redactor created a separate ‘geographic’ section, much like the introduction to the areas of torments included earlier in the text.¹²³ So, although material pertaining to the fate of individual souls is less radically deleted in W than it was in Roger’s redaction, the pattern of omission reduces the complexity of the individuals’ experiences, reduces the role of the visionary and emphasises collective fate in large topographical areas. Arguably, these decisions may have been taken with theology in mind, but they certainly had an impact on the eschatology as it was presented in the new versions of the vision.

1.2.3.3. *The Fate of Individual Souls: Eschatology, Penance and Hope in W*

As we have seen in both Roger of Wendover’s redaction and in W, the personal relationships that Edmund had with the souls he encountered are disproportionately omitted from the VEME. However, if we unpick these accounts in more detail, more systematic deletions seem to become apparent. The interaction that Edmund had with the souls’ families and friends when he had been returned to his body seems to be one area where this is the case. This is more apparent in W, where enough of the dialogue between the visionary and the soul is maintained for this pattern to be identified. The wholesale removal of this material from Roger’s redaction makes detecting any deeper

¹¹⁸ ‘Zelo siquidem rectitudinis cum vite exemplis ita predicationis gratiam habebat coniunctam’, B(HT), 312.

¹¹⁹ ‘ut non modo in parochiis quas regebat, sed ... ecclesiarum populus innumeras multitudines’, B(HT), 312.

¹²⁰ Appendix, LIII (1).

¹²¹ ‘Hinc ad interiora predictae amenitatis accedentibus nobis maior semper et lucis claritas et odoris suavitas et ibidem degentium candor et iocunditas arridebat’, B(HT), 312.

¹²² ‘superne Ierusalem’, B(HT), 312.

¹²³ For the first place of torment: W, f.43v. For the second place of torment: W, f.44r. For the third place of torment: W, f.46r.

patterns unreliable if not impossible. In fact, Roger actually maintains the detail that Edmund, after he was returned to his body at the end of the vision, had a conversation with a priest who had acted as a confessor to one of the souls.¹²⁴ In contrast, in *W*, this detail, which served as evidence for the vision itself, was deleted.¹²⁵ Similar deletions can be found throughout *W*:

(1) The goldsmith instructs Edmund to tell his family to pray for his soul.¹²⁶ (2) The third day after the vision, Edmund meets a neighbour of the anchoress he meets in the first place of punishment – this convinces the visionary that what he had seen was true.¹²⁷ (3) In a later part of the vision Edmund reveals that the same neighbour and the cousin of a bishop suffering in the first place of punishment, tell him of the bishop's death sometime after the vision.¹²⁸ (4) The details of a number of *post-mortem* miracles performed by another bishop that Edmund encountered in the otherworld.¹²⁹ (5) The description of a knight who had committed simony appearing in a vision to a priest after his death (and after the end of Edmund's encounter).¹³⁰ This knight told the priest the names of five monks to say masses for him and Edmund insists that these names were utterly unknown to the knight in his life.¹³¹

The temptation might be to link these deletions with the thirteenth-century eschatological disputes regarding the efficacy of prayers for the dead that bubbled away in the monasteries and universities. Yet, there are examples of prayers for the dead helping a number of souls in *W*; it is just Edmund's behaviour on his return that is missing. This hints at a more mundane reason for these omissions that will be observed elsewhere in this thesis: sections used to demonstrate the veracity of the accounts in the authorial versions of visions of the otherworld are sometimes

¹²⁴ 'Afterwards when I had returned to the body, that priest, to whom the lawyer had confessed only his light offences, came to me', Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, p.160.

¹²⁵ 'Deum testans quia hec verissima esse certissime sciret', B(HT), 278; Appendix I, XXVI (6).

¹²⁶ Appendix I, XXIII (3).

¹²⁷ 'Obstupui, fateor, vehementius, et verum fuisse quod de ille conspexeram tunc primo vel ipse credere cepi', B(HT), 283; Appendix I, XXVIII (1).

¹²⁸ Appendix I, XXIX (1).

¹²⁹ Appendix I, XLII (3,4).

¹³⁰ Appendix I, XLVI (4).

¹³¹ 'quorum persone, nomina et mansionum loca, que singula diligenter expressit, tam sibi dum in corpore vivebat, quam clerico quo mediante hec uxori sue relicte nuntiata sunt, quam eidem etiam mulieri fuerunt incognita', B(HT), 304.

subsequently removed by redactors, particularly when placing longer redactions of visions into chronicles.¹³²

More complex, however, is the decision in W to remove intimate details of monastic life in all its factionalism. These details are apparent when, for example, Edmund had a discussion with a prior in the first area of punishment who was not punished for his own crimes, which he had largely atoned for in life by frequent penance, confession and prayer (this remains in the W redaction), but for the sins of those in his care.¹³³ In making these deletions, the redactor of W, knowingly or unknowingly, reduces the stain of sin that had led to the prior's punishment. In terms of his own behaviour, the prior in W is simply responsible for a lack of care towards the members of one of the factions in his monastery. In contrast, in the B text, the prior actively encouraged a rival group who were disposed to evil in order to protect his own leadership.¹³⁴ Similarly, the B text notes that the prior blocked several monks from promotion, despite their purity and honour, so as not to fall under their scrutiny.¹³⁵ These details are all absent from W. In addition, the exact detail of the crimes of the living monks, the abominable sin of homosexuality that "ought not to be named" are also missing.¹³⁶ This is a particularly neat redaction that leaves the reader of W under the impression that the monks were committing more general offences.¹³⁷ It seems unlikely that these redactions are due to prudishness (W maintains descriptions of sexual 'sins', including homosexuality, elsewhere), nor out of a desire to protect monks over the other otherworldly inhabitants (religious persons are scattered throughout the otherworld in W as in the B text).¹³⁸ The clue to these redactions may lie in the prior's location in the

¹³² See, esp.: part 4.2.

¹³³ 'Hec enim confessione crebra disciplinarum perceptione assidua, orationibus frequentissimis et aliis pluribus modis redimere et castigare consueveram', B(HT), 279.

¹³⁴ Appendix I, XXVII (2).

¹³⁵ Appendix I, XXVII (4).

¹³⁶ Appendix I, XXVII (3). For a discussion of why homosexuality might not have been named or discussed in pastoral literature, see: Joseph Goering, 'The Summa of Master Serlo and Thirteenth-Century Penitential Literature', *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978), 290–311 at 308 and Catherine Rider, 'Sciendum Est Autem Sacerdotibus (penitens accedens ad confessionem): A short thirteenth-century treatise on hearing confessions', *Medieval Studies* 73 (forthcoming).

¹³⁷ 'Quoties enim dampnabile aliquid perpetrarunt quos superstites post me reliqui ...', B(HT), 281.

¹³⁸ Interestingly, the redactor of W draws the line at lesbianism. He deletes the following line from the B text: 'et si casu perependissem tantam impudentiam temporibus christianis a sexu naturaliter pupibundo potuisse presume nullatenus credidissem', B(HT), 274; Appendix, XXV (1). The Middle English translator of the *VEME* has no such problems, this sentence is one of the few he chooses to elaborate on, adding "I

first place of punishment, near the place of rest. The de-sinning of the prior and his colleagues seems to be part of another pattern of omission, one which has theological consequences for the resultant narrative. Indeed, if one looks at the specific reaction of the W redactor to souls located in the various parts of the VEME, the prior is not the only character to have the stain of his sin partially removed. As with all of these patterns, there is a risk of reading authorial intent into decisions which may have been made with a number of different factors in mind. Nonetheless, whether it was a deliberate strategy on behalf of the redactor or not, the standards for achieving salvation, even making it into the softer areas of punishment, are raised in the W version of the VEME.

This analysis will start by turning our attention to the most hopeful passage in the B text which occurs at the end of a passage describing the fate of a poor man's wife. She had lived a pious life with one flaw, she was known to scold (*conviciari*) and to interrupt (*obloqui*) those who disagreed with her.¹³⁹ Despite this sin, Edmund "gladly observed" her soul "briskly hurrying towards the peak of the immeasurable celestial glory" through light pains.¹⁴⁰ He noted that this woman had lived "in the spirit of fervent devotion and prayer, alms giving, hospitality".¹⁴¹ Before she had died she had been cleansed by a long illness in the same way as gold was in a furnace.¹⁴² This description seems to set quite a high standard for salvation through punishment in the otherworld but Edmund notes that it is rare to find such "pure simplicity and innocence".¹⁴³ In fact, for most people the "sin and uncleanness" that cling on to their souls will have to be cleansed after their death.¹⁴⁴ This is the first time in the vision where Edmund explicitly states that, as a general rule, penance for light sins, even if they were not repented or confessed in life, could be completed *post-mortem*.¹⁴⁵ From

neuyr herde before nether hadde any suspycyon hethirto that the kynde of wemwn hadde be deptrauyd and defoyled by suche a foule synne", C(RE), p.81. For Easting's brief comments on this addition, see: Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, p.lxix.

¹³⁹ B(HT), 285.

¹⁴⁰ 'ad immensum celestis glorie fastigium alacriter properantem gratulabundus admodum conspexi', B(HT), 285.

¹⁴¹ 'Fuerat enim in devotione et orationis studio ferventissima; elemosinis hospitalitate', B(HT), 285.

¹⁴² 'ut fornacis aurum examinata', B(HT), 285.

¹⁴³ 'simplicitate et innocentia', B(HT), 285.

¹⁴⁴ 'Quam ob causam quicquid spiritibus de hoc mundo migrantium munditie equitatie contrarium inheserit, in illo seculo purgari necesse habet', B(HT), 285.

¹⁴⁵ 'in illo seculo purgari necesse habet', *ibid.*

his observations, the penance for greater sins could also be completed after death as long as these severe sins had been confessed.¹⁴⁶ Thus, in the most positive statement in the whole VEME, the “entrance to heaven and everlasting bliss” would be “opened” to those souls.¹⁴⁷

At this point, it is worth contextualising the eschatology of the VEME in the theological developments that were taking place around the time it was first composed. The statement just described comes close to articulating the doctrine of Purgatory as it was increasingly being conceptualised by early thirteenth-century Parisian theologians. In this sense, in a late-twelfth century English context, it seems somewhat precocious. It particularly chimes with the work of William of Auvergne (c.1180-1249), one of the “first theorists” of the doctrine, who, as Bishop and theologian, was concerned with how these ideas were to be preached.¹⁴⁸ William’s theology was developed later in the century by Alexander of Hales (c.1185-1245) and Bonaventure (1221-1274) who, it has been argued, were responsible for the later ‘scholastic systemization’ of the doctrine of Purgatory.¹⁴⁹ William’s ideas clearly did not have a direct influence on the composition of the VEME but the context in which he was working, the questions he was asking and the answers he proposed provide a backdrop to some of the eschatological accents

¹⁴⁶ ‘vel sui qualitas in mali pondere levis, vel penitentie satisfactio et confessionis’, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ ‘introitus reseretur glorie celestis’, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Lesley J. Smith, ‘William of Auvergne’, in William W. Kibler ed., *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia* (New York, 1995), pp.976-977 at 976. Discussions about how William’s role as a pastor influenced his theology on the afterlife and the supernatural can be found in: Alan E. Bernstein, ‘Esoteric Theology: William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory’, *Speculum* 57 (1982), 509-53; Alan E. Bernstein, ‘Theology between Heresy and Folklore: William of Auvergne on punishment after death’, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 new ser. (1982), 5-44; Thomas B. de Mayo, *The Demonology of William of Auvergne: By Fire and Sword* (New York, 2008).

¹⁴⁹ Assessments of William’s exact role in the theology of the early thirteenth century vary. Miri Rubin describes him as a “brilliant theologian and preacher” in the mould of Stephen Langton (Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), p.56.). In the introduction to his translation of *The Universe of Creatures*, Roland J. Teske calls William ‘one of the first of the great philosopher-theologians of the thirteenth century’; an assessment which Bernstein seems to support (William of Auvergne, *The Universe of Creatures* ed. and trans. Roland J. Teske, Mediaeval Philosophical Texts in Translation 35 (Milwaukee 1998), p.13). Jacques Le Goff is more circumspect, arguing that William was ‘old-fashioned’ and as a former pastor ‘remained closer to the concerns and mental habits of his flock than the new academic intellectuals’ (Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.241-242). He draws a hard line between William’s philosophy and that of Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure who, as far as Le Goff is concerned, were the real innovators in terms of Purgatory. There are probably fewer steps between William’s conception of purgatorial punishment and those who followed him than Le Goff suggests. In many ways William is strikingly novel in his attempt to grapple with some of the trickier questions he encountered in his pastoral duties.

that mark out the vision. As we shall see in section 1.2.4, given that Adam is likely to have composed at least some of the vision under the guidance of Hugh of Lincoln and the cultural exchange between Lincoln and Paris towards the end of the twelfth century, this may not be surprising.¹⁵⁰ Of particular relevance to the study of the VEME, is William's deep thinking about the relationship between *post-mortem* purgation and worldly penance, something which seems to be so central to the authorial versions of the vision. Bernstein characterizes William's theory as follows:

“Unlike the torments of Hell, the pains of purgatory will end with the complete expiation of those sins not fully atoned for in life. Thus the pains of purgatory have their beginnings in the anguish of penance, which, if it is not completed in life, is perfected in purgatory”.¹⁵¹

Interestingly the passages in the VEME that reflect this precocious thinking do not fare well in the W redaction. In a reversal of some of the observations described above the details about the pious though scolding wife, for example, are maintained, whereas the hopeful description of the fate of souls just described (often the type of material which escapes censorship) is deleted.¹⁵² It is worth contrasting this statement to a passage, similar in style if not content, which occurs a little earlier in the narrative but survives unabridged into W. Here readers are informed that Edmund has seen the condition of all souls and “if they had rendered no satisfaction to God, whereby their sinful examples might have been forgiven them *before their death* [my italics], or if they had sinned so grievously that they deserved everlasting damnation; they began to go from bitter pains to worse and every new day was more bitter than the last”.¹⁵³

In parallel to this there seems to be a move on behalf of the redactor of W to hide the lack of earthly sacramental and spiritual commitment shown by those souls who were

¹⁵⁰ For the background of the Lincoln-Paris connection see: Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Turnhout, 1992), esp. pp.42-44.

¹⁵¹ Alan E. Bernstein, ‘Esoteric Theology: William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory’, *Speculum* 57 (1982), 509-53 at 510-511. It is worth noting that Le Goff had a number of concerns with this article, particularly with the distinction between the importance of disseminating the belief that fire in the otherworld was corporeal and the theologian's knowledge that it was imagined. In addition, Le Goff believes that Bernstein overestimates the extent to which this theology was a reaction to Catharism. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.244-25; p.407n.7.

¹⁵² Appendix I, XXX (1).

¹⁵³ ‘dum ante mortem satisfactionis munere non obtinuissent ... incipiebant quidem a penis gravissimis, que successu graviorum ... et fiebat eis omnis dies sequens precedente amarior’, W, f. 47^v.

hopeful of salvation. These deletions could be small and insignificant in terms of the word count, but had a considerable impact on the description of the piety of the individual concerned. This seems to be the case with the knight who was in the first and lightest place of torment and had failed to fulfil his vow to go to the Holy Land. At first glance this seems to be a relatively common medieval trope. Many *exempla* describe how a pilgrimage or crusade to the Holy Land is waylaid or partially completed and the individual fails to complete the journey before they die. The story in the VEME is fleshed out, however, by the revelation that the knight had never actually intended to take up the Cross (making him particularly sinful) and the idea had been part of a strategy to impress his Lord. Not so in W, where this telling but brief detail was extracted:

<p>“Verum inde crucior precipue quod crucem reieci quam sumpseram in voto Ierusalem adeundi, quamquam non instinctu devotionis sed inanis glorie obtuitu quam a domino cui militabam captare satagi illam susceperim. Omni vero nocte iter illud quanta valeo profectione consummare laboro.”</p>	<p>“Verum inde crucior precipue quod crucem reieci quam sumpseram in voto Ierusalem adeundi,</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Omni vero</p> <p>nocte iter illud quanta valeo profectione consummare laboro.”</p>
<p>B(HT), 286-287.</p>	<p>W., f.48^r.</p>

This was the only deletion in an otherwise completely copied encounter. Like elsewhere in W, the sins were removed but the punishment remained identical.

In the description of a different knight, briefly introduced above, the pattern is repeated. This knight is punished for the crime of hawking and enjoying the comparative luxury of his youth.¹⁵⁴ Most damagingly, he had not had an opportunity to complete penance for these sins during his life because of the “secular customs of those he lived with”.¹⁵⁵ Nonetheless, there is much in his favour and he had lived in

¹⁵⁴ ‘et tum a sodalibus tum fervore indiscrete etatis ad noxia multipliciter traheretur’, B(HT), 288.

¹⁵⁵ ‘que videlicet in conversatione seculari ubi mandalibus conviventiu, moribus morigerandum fuisset, et vanitatibus non in paucis ad plenum nequiverit expiare’, *ibid*.

castitate maritali for the thirty years after his wife died.¹⁵⁶ Edmund wonders why this most honest man (*vir honestissime*) had not made it to the region of rest already.¹⁵⁷ As it is, he is suffering lightly and approaching the place of bliss where souls seem to rest before the Last Judgement.¹⁵⁸ The redactor of W maintains the knight's good works, but carefully removes the revelation of the knight's excuse for not completing his penance.¹⁵⁹ The precise nature of this deletion seems to suggest that the redactor of W may have been concerned that the knight, as he was presented in the B text, had reached a relatively exalted position in the otherworld without having fully atoned for his sins before his death.

What of those in the second area of punishment? Unsurprisingly the standards are not as high in this area in either W or the authorial versions of the VEME. Nonetheless some of the same issues still attract censorship, if not in exactly the same way. Edmund's encounter with the drunken goldsmith is telling. The goldsmith is "confident" of his eventual salvation thanks to his commitment to a saint, this time Saint Nicholas.¹⁶⁰ His various sacramental activities are assiduously recorded and repeated in the W redaction. Edmund notes that, along with full confession, the goldsmith received penance from his parish priest bi-annually, before Christmas and Easter.¹⁶¹ In addition to twice-yearly confession and penance, yearly communion at Christmas and his maintenance of Saint Nicholas' chapel, the goldsmith fasted through Advent and Lent and for an additional forty-six days before Advent.¹⁶² The one flaw in this solid sacramental picture was that owing to his sudden death he didn't receive the last rites. This is mentioned twice in the B text, but the second, more explicit mention, when the reader is informed that his death was so quick that his wife didn't have time

¹⁵⁶ B(HT), 287; W, f. 48r (col. I).

¹⁵⁷ B(HT), 287; W, f. 48r (col. I).

¹⁵⁸ B(HT), 'omnes quidem penas evicerat graviores, sed prius in eis multipliciter estuaverat', 287; W, f. 48r (col. I).

¹⁵⁹ Appendix I, XXXIII (1).

¹⁶⁰ 'Adhuc autem etiam quietem et gaudium sempiternum per ipsum dominum meum quandoque percepturum certissime confido', W, 45v (col.II) – 46r (col. I).

¹⁶¹ 'Bis in anno scilicet ante Natale Domini et ante Pascha, purissimam, prout sciebam, peccatorum meorum sacerdoti faciebam confessionem', W, 45v (col. I).

¹⁶² 'Dies dominico aduentui solempniter in ecclesia dicatos ex mandato sacerdotis cum abstinentia quadragesimali transigebam, quibus sponte mea tot de prioribus adiciebam dies quot numerum explerent quadragenarium', W, 45v (col. I).

to call the priest, is deleted when the story is retold in W.¹⁶³ Furthermore, like the knight described above, the two extracts which reveal the attitude of the goldsmith towards his vows and confessions and the carelessness (*negligenter*) with which he undertook the sacraments are deleted by the redactor of W.¹⁶⁴ Finally, the most hopeful message that the goldsmith conveys to Edmund is deleted in W. The goldsmith says that he has learned that those sinners who die suddenly but express a desire on their death bed to amend their faults and have time to repent – even if they do not receive the last rites – have their “swift death” (*celeritate exitus*) and their “most bitter death” (*mors acerbissima*) counted as a cleansing of sins, for which they would have suffered after their death.¹⁶⁵

This last passage seems to represent a theological position that contrition at the point of death was seen as enough for securing a passage into Purgatory and through purgation potential salvation. The message in the B text seems to be in line with Le Goff’s characterization of the way in which this escape route from *post-mortem* hell-fire (even when other sacramental activity or good works had been less forthcoming) was being disseminated by preachers in the early thirteenth century:

“The best way to do this, apart from leading a holy life was penance – preceded, increasingly, by confession – but there was still hope of escaping Hell *in extremis* and reducing one’s risk to mere Purgatory if one had at least begun to repent. Final contrition increasingly became the last resort for those who wanted to take advantage of Purgatory. Life’s final moments accordingly took on a new intensity.”¹⁶⁶

Le Goff notes that Jacques de Vitry makes this point explicitly in one of his sermons *Ad conjugatos*:

¹⁶³ ‘antequam vel ipsa coniux nostra adverteret meum incommodum vel ad sacerdotum evocandum mitteret’, B(HT), 269; Appendix I, XXII (2).

¹⁶⁴ Appendix I, XXI (1), (5).

¹⁶⁵ Appendix, XXII (1); ‘qui tamen sicut de isto, eo ipso exponente, cognovimus, in ipsa mortis amaritudine positi, culpas suas corrigere et deserere cupientes et proponentes si daretur eis locus penitencie, Dei et sanctorum eius auxilium et misericordiam in celeritate exitus sui enixius requisierunt. Quamobrem mors ipsa acerbissima ex miseratione omnipotentis Dei reputata est eis in expiationem non modicam commisorum, quam plenissime in penalibus postmodum locis consequiebantur’, B(HT), 269.

¹⁶⁶ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.292.

“Contrition changes the punishment of Hell into the punishment of Purgatory, confession into temporal punishment, appropriate satisfaction into nothingness. In contrition sin dies, in confession it is removed from the house, in satisfaction, it is buried”.¹⁶⁷

The redactor of W is not trying to hide the importance of death-bed contrition but does become more circumspect when it threatens to undermine the sacraments described in the first half of Le Goff’s equation: earthly penance preceded by confession.

These alterations could have an effect on passages that were copied into W. The suffering of a prostitute further illustrates this point. In the A, B and C texts, this character was all but condemned to Hell by a “triumphant retinue” of devils on account of her lust.¹⁶⁸ She admits to a whole range of crimes and confesses that she had not loved God or any of the saints apart from St. Margaret, for whom she purchased candles every Saturday to furnish her altar.¹⁶⁹ As was noted above, it is this detail which saves her – the saint appears in a group of maidens dressed in clothes “white as snow and glittering and sparkling with gold and pearls”.¹⁷⁰ Having listened to the woman’s sorry tale, the saint instructed her entourage to pray for her and eventually the devils were scattered. St. Margaret then informs the sinner that she “will have to fulfil the penance which you should have completed in life”.¹⁷¹ An initial glance at this passage, copied from the B text into W, suggests that it implies the same close parallel between otherworldly and worldly penance that the redactor of W deletes elsewhere (albeit that this incident takes place in the harsher part of the otherworld where some souls are not guaranteed salvation). In fact, the picture is more nuanced. This direct replacement of penance is presented as an exceptional break from the normal passage of souls. In W, however, without the passage later in the text suggesting the wide availability of the replacement of worldly penance with otherworldly penance this encounter seems to break with a more general pattern.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.298.

¹⁶⁸ ‘Dum itaque quasi triumphalibus hostium pompis infelix ob carnis illcebras agitur in gehennam’, W, f. 44^v (col. II); B(HT), 260.

¹⁶⁹ ‘omni die sabbati coram altari tua luminaria de meo exhibui’, W, f. 44^v (col. II); B(HT), 261.

¹⁷⁰ ‘cum luce vero premissa multitudo descendit virginum niveis vestibis auro et margaritis intermicantibus refulgentium’, W, f. 44^v (col. II); B(HT), 260.

¹⁷¹ ‘hic penitentiam quam peragere dissimulasti in seculo consummare necesse habes’, W, f. 44^v (col. II); B(HT), 262.

A closer look at the passage actually reveals that the redactor of W brings out the aberrational nature of the event even more. In the B text, the prostitute tells St. Margaret that she believed her worldly confession (as part of a wider transformation) had washed her sins away.¹⁷² In fact, it turned out that her confession had not been satisfactory because it had not been preceded by sufficient contrition nor supported (*subsequentes*) by penance and satisfaction for her baseness.¹⁷³ In the W redaction the sinner's confession is revealed but her lack of proper contrition and earthly penance is removed.¹⁷⁴ This is particularly telling as it is the mid-sentence deletion of a sub-clause starting with a conjunction, which the redactor of W had to carefully remove from the (otherwise copied-verbatim) sections of text either side of the omission.

<p>" ... confessionis lavacro totius vite mee flagitia diluisse credidi, sed hanc, heu pro dolor, nec precedens contritionis fervor, nec subsequentes penitencie et satisfactionis digne fructus congruam reddiderunt ad tot et tantas tamque inveteratas diluendas sordes. Adherent igitur, heu michi, non remisse iniquitates mee, quia neglexi illas dignis actionibus tegere [sic.]. Siccine ergo domina et dulcedo unica mea, peribunt michi devotionis mee munia fideliter impensa tibi? ... "</p>	<p>" ... confessionis lavacro totius vite mee flagitia diluisse credidi.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Siccine ergo domina et dulcedo unica mea, peribunt michi devotionis mee munia fideliter impensa tibi? ..."</p>
<p>B(HT), 261.</p>	<p>W., f.44^v (col.II).</p>

The overall effect is to maintain the help of St. Margaret, and the exceptional circumstances in which it was offered, but to hide the revelation that the sinner had not done any genuine earthly penance or confession. As such, it is a further example of the redactor of W's special interest in earthly penance, which contributes to a toughening

¹⁷² 'confessionis lavacro totius vite mee flagitia diluisse credidi', B(HT), 261.

¹⁷³ 'sed hanc, heu pro dolor, nec precedens contritionis fervor, nec subsequentes penitencie et satisfactionis digne fructus congruam reddiderunt ad tot et tantas tamque inveteratas diluendas sordes', B(HT), 261.

¹⁷⁴ Appendix, XVIII (4).

of the criteria for getting into the purgatorial areas of the otherworld and, just as in the case of the other characters described above, the removal of the detailed and complex material which nuanced the VEME's rich individual portraits.¹⁷⁵

This process of removing sin does not seem to apply to those in the deepest area of punishment, the third area of torment, where the souls will not achieve 'rest' before Doomsday. Their fate is uncertain. This highlights two features of the VEME and its redaction. First, it serves as a reminder that in neither the authorial versions of the VEME, nor in the two redactions discussed here, was the reader exposed to a purgatorial model whereby all the souls in the 'third place' eventually end up being saved. Indeed, in both the B text and the W redaction, some souls were sure of their salvation, some were uncertain of their future and some were sure of their eventual damnation. As we have seen, even if a soul was convinced of their eventual damnation, the intervention of a saint at a late stage of the process could change the soul's eventual destination. Second, the fact that this 'de-sinning' was not general throughout the W redaction as a whole, suggests that there may have been some theological reasoning behind the specific cases just described.

One way of trying to establish this theological reasoning is to consider what survives the redaction as well as what is deleted. The issue of penance, as discussed in the context of deletion, is central again. The various examples of completed and satisfactory earthly penance overwhelmingly survive. There are two reasons why the redactor's decision to maintain passages that discuss the centrality of earthly penance for the fate of the soul in the otherworld is particularly striking. First, it seems to work against some of the editorial trends described in sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, where it was noted that the redactor of W tended to delete material that was very detailed, repetitious or didactic. Second, as we have just seen, on several occasions when the importance of earthly penance seems to be underemphasised in the B text, the redactor of W deletes the 'offending' passages. The overall effect of this pattern of retention and deletion in W is to make earthly penance the pre-eminent factor in pushing souls into the more lenient areas of punishment and to make more ambiguous the direct

¹⁷⁵ As an additional aside, the visionary's own excuse for not taking discipline on Palm Sunday is also removed, although this is as likely to be part of the redactor's removal of the information surrounding Edmund's first hallucinatory penance. Appendix, IX (6). See above, 1.2.1.

exchange between otherworldly and earthly penance which seems to be drawn so clearly in the B text.¹⁷⁶

In W, the importance of 'earthly' penance is established before Edmund even embarks on his otherworldly voyage. Despite the redactor's careful deletion of the hallucinatory penance that takes place on the Wednesday before Maundy Thursday (as outlined in section 1.2.1) he retains the details of the penance that Edmund undertook before he was guided by Saint Nicholas out of his body. Indeed, after deleting large sections of chapter IX and all of chapters X and XI the redactor only re-joins the narrative at the point (about half way through chapter XII) that Edmund's penance in the chapter house was described. As was noted above, this is one of the rare points in the narrative when the redactor of W chooses to move material from another part of the vision, combined with his own words, to enhance a particular scene. A similar editorial pattern can be observed if one returns to the case of the prior in the first place of punishment.¹⁷⁷ In the middle of his largest deletion in this section, the redactor chooses to keep a message from the prior to four specific brothers, whom he named.¹⁷⁸ This message is clear; earthly penance must be completed if the four brothers are to escape eternal damnation.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ It is worth stressing that the interest in earthly penance is present in both the B text and W it is just stressed in the latter by its disproportionate survival. Indeed, when the visionary comes to the area where punishment is most severe – namely the third place – Edmund only picks out one direct phrase among the souls' cries and lamentations: 'Ah! Ah! Why did I sin? Why did I not go on to do penance for my sins?', 'Ve! Ve! quare peccauit? quare penitendo peccata non correxit?', B(HT), 274; W, f. 46^v (col. I); The visionary thought that the cry 'would be heard in the whole world', 'ut putares hunc in toto mundo audiri', B(HT), 274; W, f. 46^v (col. I).

¹⁷⁷ 'nunc ad ea, que omisimus de penis et meritis quorundam quos pridem in seculo videram et in locis superius ... inveneram', W, f. 47^r (col. I).

¹⁷⁸ 'illis vero quatuor et nominatim expressit', W, f. 47^r (col. II).

¹⁷⁹ 'dicere poteris verbis meis quia eterna eos et ineffabilia manent in gehenne baratro supplicia nisi celerius dignam Deo de malis factis suis vel consiliis quibus tam se quam sibi acquiescentes perdiderint satisfactionem obtulerint', W, f. 47^r (col. II). In the B text 'supplicia' above reads 'supplicior' in the second variation and 'tormenta' in the main B(HT) text, 282.

<p>“... Ve! Cur tales in sublime extuli, per quos adeo in divine maiestatis incurri offensam, dum campum eis laxavi quecumque vellent per se suosque complices inique operandi? Illis vero’, quatuor et nominatim expressit vocabula eorum ‘dicere poteris verbis meis quia eterna eos et ineffabilia manent in gehenne baratro tormenta, nisi celerius dignam Deo de malis factis suis vel consiliis, quibus tam se quam sibi acquiescentes perdiderint satisfactionem [sic.] obtulerint. Et revera si usque ad supremum iudicii diem in satisfaciendo quantumvis laborarent, modicum omnino eis videri debuisset in compensatione et expiatione tam magne ...”</p>	<p>“Illis vero quatuor et nominatim expressit vocabula eorum dicere poteris verbis meis quia eterna eos et ineffabilia manent in gehenne baratro supplicia nisi celerius dignam Deo et malis factis suis vel consiliis, quibus tam se quam sibi acquiescentes perdiderint satisfacionem obtulerint.”</p>
B(HT), 282.	W., f.47r.

In W, then, the stress placed on worldly penance is part of a package that seems to reduce the amount of work towards salvation an individual soul can achieve after their death. In the B text, readers were introduced to complex individuals who had a chequered spiritual past but seemed to have hope of salvation. The redactor’s changes reduced this complexity and the level of sin but rarely summarised the details of torture and punishment.

1.2.3.4 The Fate of Individual Souls: Roger of Wendover’s Goldsmith

At this stage it is important to make a distinction between the way in which the W redaction deals with pastoral care and the vision as it appears in Roger of Wendover’s *Flores Historiarum*. This is at its clearest when Roger redacts the story of the goldsmith into the chronicle. A first glance at Roger’s decisions in regard to the encounter suggest that the St. Alban’s monk is motivated by the implied desire, discussed in relation to W, to reduce the level of sin of the goldsmith to explain how he had gone so “quickly through the cruel torments”.¹⁸⁰ Remarkably, Roger’s redaction is missing the central sin that colours the authorial versions (and, for that matter, the W redaction):

¹⁸⁰ Flowers, p.157.

drunkenness. It is important to stress how significant the deletion of this sin is by briefly outlining its centrality to the authorial versions of the vision. It is the reason for the goldsmith's sudden death but also a sin he has engaged in for many years. The description of his life is mediated through a general discussion of the sin and the reader is introduced to the phrase: "drunkenness excuses no vice".¹⁸¹ However, in the authorial versions of the VEME, the goldsmith's drunkenness is not simply a didactic tool, it is central to the narrative. The reader is told how the goldsmith made repeated attempts to reform himself but that company and lust for drink always made him return to his old habits.¹⁸² Nonetheless, no matter how much he "gave way to drunkenness" he still managed to make it to matins, sometimes before the parish priest.¹⁸³ His story, however, is one of triumph closely followed by disaster. He received the sacrament on one Christmas morning only to fall into drunkenness in the afternoon.¹⁸⁴ He continues on his binge for three days despite attempts to desist, eventually returning home, collapsing in his bed (still fully clothed) and dies.¹⁸⁵ Drunkenness continues to be a theme even after his untimely death. His body remained unburied for several days because it was still warm due to the drink.¹⁸⁶ Meanwhile, the goldsmith contended with a devil that had entered into his mouth which, according to the dead sinner, "[he] had wickedly opened to drink".¹⁸⁷ A reader of any of the authorial version of the VEME, including the B text, could not have missed the goldsmith's relationship with drink. It is difficult to quantify the prominence of the theme but, in the chapters where the goldsmith's life is being discussed, words explicitly associated with drunkenness appear no less than 22 times.¹⁸⁸ In contrast, the goldsmith's secondary crime of fraudulently cheating at his trade is only mentioned in one sentence.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸¹ 'Ebrietas enim, ut quidam ait, nullum vitium excusat', B(HT), 263.

¹⁸² B(HT), 265.

¹⁸³ 'Quantumlibet sero ebrietati indulsissem, matutinas de nocte nullatenus pretermittere consuevi, sed mox pulsante signo ipso frequenter capellano ocior accurrebam', B(HT), 265.

¹⁸⁴ B(HT), 266.

¹⁸⁵ B(HT), 267.

¹⁸⁶ B(HT), 269.

¹⁸⁷ 'sensi eum instar buffonis, os meum quod totiens male patulum bibendo laxaveram ingressum, mox per gule fistulam ad cordis abdita prosperpere', B(HT), 267.

¹⁸⁸ From B(HT) 264-266. This excludes references to the goldsmith returning to his 'old ways', 'former sin' etc. The breakdown is as follows. Words deriving from *ingurgito* x 1; *ebrietas* x 9; *bibo* x 5; *vinum* x 2; *poto* x 3; *sobrietas* x 2.

¹⁸⁹ B(HT), 268.

It is surprising, then, that this secondary crime is the sin that Roger focuses on in his redaction. This is not simply because Roger jumps to the description of the goldsmith's artisanal crimes and his associated punishment because he extracts material from either side of the encounter. He notes, for example, that St. Nicholas initially urged Edmund to talk to the sinner: "If you know him, speak to him".¹⁹⁰ He also records the goldsmith's way of avoiding a sudden death: "If men were daily to write with the finger on their foreheads and on the parts near their heart 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews' those of the faith would doubtlessly be preserved harmless".¹⁹¹ This seems to be fit into the pattern of 'de-sinning' inhabitants of the second place of torment that was observed in W above (1.2.3.3).

However, something more complicated appears to be going on. Unlike the redactor of W, Roger does not seem concerned about the level of sacramental obedience that the goldsmith has shown during his life. All of the information about his attendance at church, his confessions, penance and fasting was deleted alongside the goldsmith's drunkenness. In fact, if anything, Roger ignores the text in order to suggest that the goldsmith had not received the benefits of any sacramental aid whatsoever. In a rare and fascinating addition to the text, Roger names two sacraments in particular:

"Ad quem ego: 'Revera', inquam, 'ut asseris nimium omnes amici tui repentina clade, qua te preventum doluimus, animo consternati sumus, existimantes profecto te iudicium subiisse remota misericordia, cui vidimus ante mortis periculum omnia christianitatis abnegate remedia'."	"'Tu,' inquit, 'carissime, et omnes noti mei in seculo, cui ante mortem meam temporalem vidistis omnia fidei Christinae denegata subsidia, velut confessionem et viaticum, pro perduto me habuistis'."	"'You my friend', said he, 'and all my acquaintances, who during my life, saw that all the supports of the Christian faith were denied me, such as the confession and the <i>viaticum</i> , considered me a lost man'."
B(HT), 264.	Roger of Wendover, <i>Flores Historiarum</i> , p.107.	Roger of Wendover, <i>Flowers of History</i> , p.157.

¹⁹⁰ *Flowers*, II, p.156.

¹⁹¹ *Flowers*, II, p.157.

It is difficult to unpick why Roger seems keen to widen the goldsmith's lack of sacramental support to include confession and communion (from the simple absence of the last rites in the B text), when both are explicitly mentioned as benefitting the sinner. If anything, given that Roger compiled the *Flores Historiarum* after the twenty-first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council had urged parishioners to confess at least once a year, the emphasis on this sacrament in the literature had grown along with lay understanding of its importance.¹⁹² The decision seems particularly peculiar when it is compared to the redactor of W's apparent desire to buttress this aspect of the goldsmith's life. This peculiarity compounded by the fact that there was something important or relevant enough in the earlier version of the goldsmith story that Roger wanted to transfer into his chronicle, something worthwhile enough to maintain, even if it meant fundamentally altering the narrative. After all, he could have deleted the whole account, like he did with many of the other individuals described in the authorial versions of the VEME.

Two options are worth pursuing in trying to explain Roger's response to the goldsmith. First, in deleting the sacramental features of the goldsmith's life was Roger reflecting the pastoral trend toward hopefulness that seemed to be gaining traction in the thirteenth century? A number of features caution against this reading of Roger's editorial decisions. Roger deletes the passage in which this message seems to come across most profoundly, when the goldsmith cries out the name of St Nicholas *in extremis* and when the author of the VEME widens this message out to include all of those who repent on their death bed.¹⁹³ Although Roger does copy the passage that

¹⁹² See, Catherine Rider, 'Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England: the Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals', *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), 327-340; Alexander Murray, 'Confession as a historical source in the thirteenth century', in R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace-Hadrill eds., *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1981), 275-322. If, as Gainer suggests, one can detect the influence of the late-twelfth century *pastoralia* in the style of the authorial versions and that confession, in particular, was the "second main organising principle of the vision", it is particularly surprising that Roger, writing after the Fourth Lateran Council would undermine the importance of that specific sacrament: Kim Dian Gainer, 'Prolegomenon to Piers Plowman', p.180.

¹⁹³ 'Extemplo inimici agnovi presenciam, nec immemor tamen miserationum domini vel miseriarum mearum, fixo iam proposito Domino in mente vovi quod puram, fidelem et integram de omnibus peccatis meis facerem confessionem et ebrietatis vitium omnimodis in eternum abdicarem', B(HT), 267; 'qui tamen sicut de isto, eo ipso exponente, cognovimus, in ipsa mortis amaritudine positi, culpas suas corrigere et deserere cupientes et proponentes si daretur eis locus penitencie, Dei et sanctorum eius auxilium et misericordiam in celeritate exitus sui enixius requisierunt. Quamobrem mors ipsa acerbissima ex

reveals that the goldsmith has been rescued from eternal damnation by St. Nicholas, the sinner's belief that he will make it to "everlasting joy" is removed.¹⁹⁴ In Roger's redaction, the post-Last Judgement fate of the goldsmith remains up for grabs.¹⁹⁵ In addition, we have already noted that Roger's redaction is punctuated with conservative responses to the fate of individual souls and topography (see section 1.2.3.2).¹⁹⁶ Finally, if Roger's aim was eschatological hopefulness, his decision to remove the goldsmith's drunkenness is singularly odd.

Another possibility becomes apparent when one closely examines the new version of the encounter as it appears in *Flores Historiarum* rather than looking at the omitted sections. Roger's re-wording may reveal something of his intention when he notes that the goldsmith had been "denied" (*denegata*) the help of the sacraments and the Christian faith more generally. It is not, as in so many medieval *exempla*, that the goldsmith had failed to go to confession, slept through mass or failed to complete his penance. Is it possible that this phrase suggests that the goldsmith had tried to receive the sacraments but was refused? If this is the case, in Roger's version some blame seems to be shifted from the no-longer drunk goldsmith to his parish priest. In the B text this priest was deeply involved in the pastoral care of the goldsmith, hearing his confession, commanding him to do penance and suggesting the terms of his fast. All of these details are deleted by Roger.

There is certainly evidence elsewhere in the chronicle to suggest that Roger and the monks of St. Albans have a low opinion of the competence of the secular clergy.¹⁹⁷

miseratione omnipotentis Dei reputata est eis in expiationem non modicum commissorum, quam plenissime in penalibus postmodum locis consequerantur', B(HT), 269.

¹⁹⁴ 'Adhuc autem etiam quietem et gaudium sempiternum per ipsum dominum meum quandoque percepturum certissime confido', B(HT), 268.

¹⁹⁵ This is part of a wider deletion of passages that suggest 'eternal' joy is available before the Last Judgement, see section 1.3.1.

¹⁹⁶ David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1948), I, p.294. Roger's historiographical heir is memorably described as "a typical conservative of the age" with "a love of old custom and a fear of being dragooned into the unfamiliar; an instinctive dislike of foreign ways". The pastoral conservatism that the monks show in this regard must be distinguished from the constitutional conservatism with which they used to be regularly linked. Antonia Gransden is right to call this "anachronistic": *Historical Writing in England, c.500-c.1307* (London, 1974), p.371.

¹⁹⁷ Whether this is an accurate picture or not and whether the attempt of thirteenth century bishops to improve the quality of the parish priest was necessary or successful is the subject of considerable debate. For introductions, see: Eamon Duffy, 'Religious Belief' in Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod ed. *A*

This was famously built upon and widened to include the mendicant orders in the work of Matthew Paris. In the *Flores Historiarum*, when secular priests are not impotent or passive bystanders, they are variously introducing levity into monasteries, sleeping with concubines before performing the mass, paying the pope to allow them to continue sleeping with concubines or engaging in necromancy.¹⁹⁸ It is notable that the chronicle points out that Thomas Beckett is somehow exceptional; he is “not a common priest but the chief and father of all the priests in England.”¹⁹⁹ At one point the limits of the sacramental role of a particular secular cleric is also referenced: “It was also provided that the chapel aforesaid should not have the privilege of baptism or burial, nor the administering of any sacred rites, except such as could be discharged by one secular priest”.²⁰⁰

Higher profile secular clergy are also admonished: Peter of Rievaulx and Stephen de Segrave become priests to escape the king’s justice, the latter “concealed himself in the church of St. Mary at Leicester, and thus he, who formerly fled from his clerkship to take up arms, now returned to his clerical duties”.²⁰¹ Some serious accusations are also levelled at priests who lived during Roger’s own lifetime: One carelessly handles a miraculous image of the virgin, administered by nuns. He dies within three days.²⁰² He records the story of a foolish priest who, on the advice of some angry villagers, incorrectly excommunicates some poorer neighbours accused of the “pious theft” of ears of corn, despite being “adjured in the name of Almighty God” by a “religious and pious” townsmen. His excommunication backfires and a great storm destroys the crops.²⁰³ Roger also devotes considerable space in the chronicle to the story of a Yorkshire priest who was avaricious and who admitted in 1234 that he “did homage to the devil ... in order that [he] might obtain earthly honour and temporal wealth”.²⁰⁴

Social History of England, 1200-1500 (Cambridge, 2006) 293-339 at 304-306 and R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.52-54.

¹⁹⁸ *Flowers*, I, p.259; pp.308-309; pp.478-479; pp.316-317; II, pp.16-17, pp.112-113. For a discussion of these passages in a completely different context, see: Chris Wilson, ‘The Medieval Church in Early Methodism and anti-Methodism’, in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen eds., *The Church on its Past*, SCH 49 (Woodbridge, forthcoming, 2013).

¹⁹⁹ *Flowers*, II, p.19.

²⁰⁰ *ibid.*, p.85.

²⁰¹ *ibid.*, pp.594-595.

²⁰² *ibid.*, p.212.

²⁰³ *ibid.*, p.600.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p.599.

Most tellingly, the role of the secular clergy is also a feature of Roger's redaction of another vision of the otherworld, that of the peasant Thurkill.²⁰⁵ This vision was first recorded in 1206, probably by Ralph of Coggeshall, a Cistercian monk. As with the VEME, Roger keeps some parts of the vision intact, edits some sections and deletes others. One incident that Roger chooses to maintain from the earlier version of the *Visio Thurkilli* seems to build on the anti-clerical strain presented in his work. Thurkill is taken to an amphitheatre where various souls are tortured.²⁰⁶ One of the tortured souls is a certain priest who had "not given [his parishioners] the support of prayers and masses", nor provided "an example of good works".²⁰⁷ Roger goes on to delete the sacramental activities that a local priest actually does perform (in this instance to the visionary himself). When Thurkill's wife returned home from mass (*post missam* – presumably conducted by the local priest) to find her husband lifeless, she immediately cried out and a panic ensued in the local village.²⁰⁸ The local deacon came to the visionary's bed-side and tried "to make him receive the *viaticum*, lest he should die without it."²⁰⁹ The next day, "being Sunday, the parish priest exhorted his congregation to pray fervently for the man, that he might have time for confession."²¹⁰ All of these features, along with Thurkill's public confession that he had tithed his harvest unfairly and the priest's resultant demand that he perform penance before absolution for the sin, are removed from Roger's redaction.²¹¹

Roger's decision to extract and highlight parallel material from visions of the otherworld has now been noted in relation to two aspects of the VEME, one broad and

²⁰⁵ *Visio Thurkilli relatore, ut videtur, Radulpho de Coggeshall*, ed. Paul Gerard Schmidt (Leipzig, 1978) [Henceforth: *Visio Thurkilli*].

²⁰⁶ This theatre has itself become the topic of some historiographical debate, see: R. S. Loomis, 'Were there theatres in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?' *Speculum* 20 (1945), 92-98 and D. Bigongiari, 'Were there theatres in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?' *Romanic Review* 37 (1946), 201-224.

²⁰⁷ *Flowers*, II, p.229.

²⁰⁸ *Visio Thurkilli*, p.7.

²⁰⁹ 'affuit et diaconus parrochialis ecclesie diligenter explorans, utrum viaticum dominici corporis, antequam ex toto expirasset', *ibid.*

²¹⁰ 'nam presbiter eiusdem ecclesie dominica subsequenti parrochianos admonere curavit, ut pro incolumitate viri decumbentis sic preces effunderunt, quatinus divina pietas eidem largiri dignaretur tempus confitendi, et ut exitum suum vivifico sacramento dominici corporis secundum morem universalis ecclesie posset munire', *ibid.*

²¹¹ 'confessus est etiam coram omni populo reatum suum, quem contraxerat de iniusta decimatione messis sue, et quam teterrimum putorem pro hac transgressione sustinuerit, pro qua absolutionem a sacerdote verberatus expetiit, quia et hoc in mandato a sancto acceperat', *ibid.*, p.9.

one narrow: the maintenance of typical topographic descriptions of the otherworld (see 1.2.3.2) and criticism of the secular clergy. This may well be part of a strategy by which Roger hoped to authenticate the visions by standardising them, a practice observed elsewhere.²¹² There is a third decision that seems to fit into this pattern. It may explain why the goldsmith's secondary crime, his professional malpractice, is observed when the far more central sin of drunkenness is removed. Here, the decision is linked to the precise punishment that the goldsmith endured. He was:

“frequently thrown into a heap of burning money, and most intolerably scorched; being often compelled to swallow with gaping mouth those very coins which consume my internal parts; and moreover, am often obliged to count these coins and feel my hands and fingers consumed and burned by them”.²¹³

This is a popular medieval trope and features in many doom paintings in chancel portals, Helinand of Froidmont's description of the vision of the boy William, Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*, and countless other medieval texts.²¹⁴ A famous English wall-painting (c.1200) on the west wall of the parish church of St. Peter and Paul in Chaldon, Surrey, depicts a man with a bag of money tied around his neck forced into position above a fire by two pincers held by demons, seemingly counting the coins that pour from his mouth.²¹⁵ Roger's redaction of the *Visio Thurkilli* is, again, revealing. Here he records a similar punishment, this time inflicted on a justiciary. Like the goldsmith, this man had cheated his clients out of money, accepting gifts from both sides of a dispute. He was “burned ... in a pitiable manner, and he was forced to put in his mouth the pieces of money, burning as they were, and afterwards to swallow them”.²¹⁶ This may provide one clue as to why Roger chooses to maintain the goldsmith story even though he seemed to think it needed radical altering: it

²¹² Considering the later redactions of the VEME, Bihrer notes ‘durch eine Angleichung an die standardisierte Jenseitstopographie soll auch in der spätmittelalterlichen Redaktion die Authentizität der Vision verstärkt werden’, Andreas Bihrer, ‘Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionsliteratur’, p.99.

²¹³ *Flowers*, II, p.157.

²¹⁴ For Helinand of Froidmont, see below, Chapter 4. For some Italian doom paintings on a similar theme, see Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Other World* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.25-26.

²¹⁵ Images of this wall painting and many other medieval English parish church dooms can be found at www.paintedchurch.org (last accessed, 14th July 2011 at 10:16). This useful catalogue is compiled by Anne Marshall. See also: K. F. N. Flynn, ‘The Mural Painting in the Church of Saints Peter and Paul, Chaldon, Surrey’, *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 72 (1980), 127-156.

²¹⁶ *Flowers*, II, p.230.

supported a popular and well-known description of the otherworld, that he is familiar with from elsewhere in his own chronicle.

1.2.3.5. *Physical and Emotional Spirituality in the W redaction*

It is harder to contextualise W. Unlike the *Flores Historiarum* it is impossible to comment on the monastic background of the redaction, nor compare it to other work composed by the same scribe. There is, however, another pattern of redaction in W which helps nuance and develop a picture of the redactor. It is apparent in respect to Edmund's emotional reaction to his otherworldly experiences. Building on the discussion of eschatological hopefulness and individuality described above, this subsection will explore one particular area that seems to attract the redactor's attention: Edmund's personal reaction to the vision and the events which led up to it. Interestingly, this is another area of the VEME, like the focus on the complex fate of individual souls, which has been identified as theologically novel in the recent scholarship. Although it is an area which has attracted less attention Dinzelbacher has argued that Edmund's emotional and physical reaction to the events that he witnesses and his behaviour before the vision reflects an early manifestation of 'mystical' behaviour that would become more common in the late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as practiced by the Beguines, Julian of Norwich (1342-c.1416) or even Margery Kempe (c.1373-c.1438).²¹⁷

Two features in particular stand out in this regard. The first is Edmund's repeated weeping, a form of the so-called 'gift of tears', often linked to an internal and emotional reaction to the events he is witnessing. These tears are scattered throughout the vision and far exceed the reaction of other medieval visionaries to similar stimuli. The second is the visionary's contemplation of the passion and a focus on the symbol of the cross, the part of the mystic tradition which Robert Swanson describes as 'Christocentric'.²¹⁸ On two occasions in his account, Edmund seems to engage with the physical reality of the passion. Before the vision even takes place a voice instructs him to worship an

²¹⁷ See: Peter Dinzelbacher, 'The beginnings of mysticism experienced in twelfth-century England', in Marion Glasscoe ed., *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England*, Papers read at the Exeter Symposium IV (Cambridge, 1987), pp.111-131.

²¹⁸ Robert Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515* (Cambridge, 1995), p.178.

image of Christ redeeming the world through his death.²¹⁹ When he did find the cross, which seems to have been lowered down behind an altar in a side chapel, he knelt in devotion to it, lay prostrate near it and eventually kissed the feet of Christ, watering the crucifix with his tears. When his eyes had become sore with weeping he lifted them up towards Christ's body which began to bleed from the wound on his right side. He then collected the blood and dabbed it around his eyes, ears and nose before putting it in his mouth and, through "the great desire of his heart", swallowed it.²²⁰ Edmund also sees the passion in the place where souls were resting in bliss before the last judgement. He describes how Christ's body was injured and black from repeated beatings and that purple blood ran down from his feet. The visionary tries to describe the range of emotions (devotion, sorrow, disgust, happiness) that seeing the crucifixion invokes. He asks who would not have compassion on witnessing Christ's punishments by the wicked. In doing so, he deploys vocabulary and rhetorical devices that would become associated with the rise of the Christocentric meditations on the crucifixion:

"Hec michi altius recolenti dolor nescio an devotio, compassio an congratulatio animum distrahunt infelicem; fauces et lumina singultus et lacrimae indesinenter fatigant. Stupor vero et admiratio me funditis alienum et quodammodo michimet absentem reddunt. Quis enim non immanissime doleat tam venusti decoris pulcritudinem tam fedis subactam fuisse iniuriis et penis? Quis non compatiatur nimio affectu tante pietati tam impiis exagitate suppliciis et opprobriis?"²²¹

In a more general way, Dinzelbacher identifies these events with the "marked liveliness" of early English mysticism, arguing that the authorial version of the VEME can be seen as a "pre-mystical experience" and an example of a "modern" spirituality.²²² Edmund's tears represent a shift from the "similes of religious language" to "experience" and that his devotion at both crucifixes is part of the "new

²¹⁹ 'et retro ipsam aram invenies crucem cui Redemptoris ymaginem sua morte vitam mundi comparantis affixam videbis', B(HT), 248.

²²⁰ 'ex nimio cordis desiderio etiam glutivi', B(HT), 249; Appendix I, XI.

²²¹ B(HT), 313.

²²² Peter Dinzelbacher, 'The beginnings of mysticism', p.111, p.113, p.114.

passion spirituality.”²²³ Sandra J. McEntire characterizes the increasing spiritual importance of the ‘gift of tears’ and its relationship to the passion as follows:

“When we move out of the twelfth century into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we find ... that the doctrine is being affected by the influx of new teachings and emphases. The element of imaginatively stimulated affective meditation finds its logical fulfilment in the widely increasing devotion to the sufferings of Christ whereby the individual actively participates ... the[re is a] preoccupation with the passion of Christ [and] his bodily sufferings ... served to shift the focus ... to the individual’s increasing sense of personal sinfulness and unworthiness.”²²⁴

The events that Edmund describes fit into this model and into four out of the five of the more prescriptive criteria that Dinzelbacher proposes as characteristic of later mysticism; the “turning of the individual to its own interior”; the “loving relation to Jesus”; the “emotional reaction of the devout at contact with the divine”; the “taste of spiritual [and] at the same moment bodily sweetness” (the only missing characteristic is “ecstasies”).²²⁵ It is clear then the other areas identified as novel above, in particular the focus on the individual and intentionality, cannot be divorced from this form of mysticism. This point is made by Barbara Newman in respect of one of late medieval mysticism’s early female forerunners, Hildegard of Bingen.²²⁶ It is telling, then, that with all of his experience with visions of the otherworld, that Dinzelbacher draws his other examples of “early English mysticism” from late-twelfth century saints’ lives. In doing so he reveals that Edmund’s devotional behaviour marks the VEME out from contemporary visionary accounts, a sentiment that seems accurate when you consider the authorial versions of the text alone.

Yet a medieval reader of W would have come across a markedly different description of Edmund’s behaviour than one who had come across the VEME as it is presented in the B text. In W, the devotional texture of the VEME seems to be radically dissolved. Edmund’s reaction to the myriad of features he encountered in the otherworld seems calm and measured, a far cry from the passionate and emotional response detailed in the B text. That this difference is a consistent feature of W seems to have been part of a

²²³ *ibid.*, p.115, p.118.

²²⁴ Sandra J. McEntire, *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears* (New York, 1990), p.115.

²²⁵ Peter Dinzelbacher, ‘The beginnings of mysticism’, p.120 (x2), p.123, p.124, p.125.

²²⁶ Barbara Newman, ‘Hildegard of Bingen and the ‘Birth of Purgatory’’, *Mystics Quarterly* 19 (1993), 90-97.

deliberate strategy on the part of the redactor. It is most notable when the redactor deals with Edmund's repeated resort to tears which are disproportionately removed from the redaction. Time and again, phrases from the B text that describe Edmund's weeping are removed: his tears, his "immoderate fasting and weeping", how he was "dissolved in tears of devotion" all disappear.²²⁷ One of his fellow monks even asks Edmund why he "wept and sorrowed so immoderately".²²⁸ These tears were not just deleted from the introductory pre-amble of the vision because the description of his meditation after the event which involved continual weeping and tears is also absent: "Again let them consider his continual weeping and tears, which lasted many days after he came out his trance".²²⁹ The redactor also deletes the reference to Edmund "often" crying after the event.²³⁰ Some references survive the cull: Edmund's tears on Easter morning can still be found in the W redaction as can his weeping on telling his confessors his story for the first time.²³¹ Yet even in these examples the sheer scale of Edmund's weeping is reduced by a deletion of the repetition.²³² Is it possible these tears and lamentations paint a picture of the visionary's immoderation that the redactor of W finds unappealing?

Similar emotional immoderation can be located elsewhere in the B text. Edmund's trance-like devotions in front of the cross are also removed by redactor of W and in his manuscript the event does not take place at all. Nor does Edmund anoint himself with the blood of the bleeding crucifix or swallow it.²³³ Given that these particular references are clustered together near the beginning of the vision it might be tempting to suggest that the redactor, more or less unthinkingly, removes the whole 'chapter' (presuming he had a copy which divided the texts along similar lines as the B and C texts) in order to quickly summarise the account and focus on the otherworld.²³⁴ Yet material from elsewhere in the B text pertaining to the incident is also deleted: No longer does

²²⁷ Appendix I, I (4); X.

²²⁸ 'quid sibi tam immoderati fletus et luctus occasionem dedisset', B(HT), 239.

²²⁹ 'Lacrimas etiam postmodum per multas fere dies indesinentes irrideant', B(HT), 318; Appendix I, LVIII.

²³⁰ Appendix I, IX (6).

²³¹ 'et demum quidam humor more lacrimarum in genas leniter defluebat', W, 43^r (col. I); 'singulis eorum separatim que inferius digesta sunt, interfluentibus iugiter lacrimis, et gemitu crebrius vocem absorbente narravit', W, 43^r (col. II) – 43^v (col. I).

²³² Appendix I, IV (5); XVIII (1).

²³³ *ibid.*

²³⁴ Similar accusations could be levelled at Roger of Wendover and although he regularly deletes Edmund's emotional outpourings, he maintains his worship of the bleeding cross: *Flowers*, II, p.152.

Edmund wash the feet of the crucifix with his tears.²³⁵ No longer does Edmund bow to the cross, thirty times or more, crying so much that he had to cease his praying.²³⁶ In a section which is not so radically removed before Edmund actually encounters the cross himself, the story of the monks finding the cross was also deleted by the redactor:

“figure of the Lord’s body, fixed to the cross, which was devoutly kissed and worshipped yearly in the convent in remembrance of our Lord’s passion – was recently bleeding blood around the wound on the side and the right foot.”²³⁷

The monks’ behaviour on encountering such a miraculous sight (they lay prostrate and weeping) is removed alongside the description of the cross itself.²³⁸ Later in the B text, another story about a bleeding crucifix providing a cure for the monks is deleted as well.²³⁹ Finally, when Edmund returns to his body and attempts to explain his vision he refers back to the worshipping of the cross.²⁴⁰ This is also deleted.²⁴¹ Readers of the B text would have encountered a related otherworldly Passion in the ante-room to Heaven: Edmund’s reaction to the sight of the suffering Christ is replicated above. The description of the Passion remains intact, but Edmund’s lamentations, his rhetorical questions and his imagination of the suffering are all deleted by the redactor of W.²⁴²

The decision cannot be linked to a desire on behalf of the redactor to remove details about the visionary in order to concentrate on the afterlife. One such deletion occurs in relation to a devout prior that Edmund encounters resting in the place of bliss. Salter identifies this individual as Bartholomew of Eynsham, prior of the monastery in 1189. He is roundly praised in both the B text and W for his piety, purity and holiness.²⁴³

²³⁵ Appendix I, X.

²³⁶ Appendix I, V. This is part of an omission which also takes in Edmund’s repeated tears and devotions; B(HT), 243-244.

²³⁷ Appendix I, III (1). ‘Corporis enim dominici figuram, lingo in cruces modum adfixam que a convent annis singulis adorari ipsa die devotissime et in venerationem passionis Christi deosculari consueverat, sanguine recenti circa vulneris locum in latere et pede dextro cruentatem’, B(HT), 241.

²³⁸ Appendix I, III (1).

²³⁹ Appendix, XIII[a], see Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, p.lxiii.

²⁴⁰ “putabam me in ecclesia coram altari esse, ubi crucem dominicam primitus adoravi”, B(HT), 317.

Appendix I, LVII (1).

²⁴¹ Appendix I, LVII (1).

²⁴² Appendix I, LIV (1).

²⁴³ Herbert E. Salter, *The Cartulary of the Abbey of Eynsham* 2 vols., Oxford Historical Society 49, 51 (Oxford, 1907-8), II. p.362.

Both describe his illness, feebleness and disease culminating in the loss of sight in one of his eyes. Despite the closeness of the texts here, the detail of the prior's behaviour on his deathbed, which has many parallels with Edmund's behaviour in front of the cross, is removed. Before he dies, the prior has a vision of Jesus and Mary who compassionately beckon him to follow them. The prior's exhortations and prayers were not his own but those of the Holy Spirit who talked through him. This information is missing from the W redaction:

<p>"Statimque accitis ad se fratribus visionem exposuit, et se in crastinum migraturum a seculo corde letissimo predixit. Quod et factum est. Longum foret si universa percurrerem que ante exitum suum postea dixit, cum omnia verba eius et orationes, quibus et se et filios suos Domino commendabat, non tam verba fuerunt hominis, quam Spiritus sancti qui loquebatur in eo. Circa tertiam itaque sequentis diei horam ..."</p>	<p>Statimque accitis ad se fratribus visionem exposuit, et se in crastinum migraturum a seculo corde letissimo predixit. Quod et factum est.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Circa tertiam diei horam"</p>
<p>B(HT), 311.</p>	<p>W, f.51^r (col.I).²⁴⁴</p>

The redactor of W seems to be making a concerted effort to reduce the emotional and physical spirituality of the B text which gave the VEME much of its novel texture. The effect on the W redaction is considerable: by moving the account away from the visionary's own emotional response to the sights of the otherworld and separating it from the extensive pre-vision devotion that prepared Edmund for his journey, the tone is significantly altered.

Taken together it is possible to say that, in different ways, the redactor of W and Roger of Wendover become more censorial when the VEME turns its attention to matters of comparative theological novelty and descriptions of the inhabitants of the otherworld that diverge from other visions of the otherworld in circulation. Roger and, to a lesser extent, the scribe of W, both reduce the complexity and hopefulness contained in the

²⁴⁴ Interestingly in another omission that follows this extract the redactor of W also removes the prior's last activities: his listening of the passion from the evangelists and his kissing of the cross: Appendix, LI (4).

stories of individual souls. In Roger's version of the VEME this can be contextualised by looking at the other material he redacts into the *Flores Historiarum* and by considering the historiographical tradition to which he was heir. In W, there seems to be a desire to re-emphasise the importance of earthly penance and a concern with its direct and equal replacement by penance completed *post-mortem*, an idea which was gaining traction in scholarly circles. In addition, W dilutes the devotional texture of the vision by omitting sections regarding the visionary's emotional and physical reactions to the otherworld.

Given this reaction to novelty in the authorial versions of the VEME it is worth re-evaluating the source of these features. A growing interest in pastoral care in the build-up to the Fourth Lateran Council, suggested by Gainer, may account for some of the features in regard to the VEME's interest in individuality, intentionality and confession. It may even have contributed to some of the more precocious aspects of eschatology. Yet it falls short of explaining the redactors' hostility to some of these features and does not explain the 'mystical' qualities that Dinzelbacher observes. Similarly, seeing the vision as an early manifestation of a new type of spiritual encounter (an early form of English mysticism) can only take one so far in unpicking the VEME's concern with the sacraments and the minutiae of individual piety. Without undermining either theory concerning the vision's novelty, the following section will argue that there is a common thread which links these two areas of novelty together: the author's relationship with the former Carthusian monk and Bishop of Lincoln, Hugh Avalon. To explore this further, the following section will go back to the authorial versions of the vision and back to the author, Adam of Eynsham.²⁴⁵

1.2.4. Back to Adam

Adam of Eynsham's relationship with Hugh of Lincoln is reasonably well documented, as is the bishop's background as a Carthusian monk.²⁴⁶ Adam was appointed as

²⁴⁵ Some of these ideas were first sketched out as part of my MPhil research completed under the supervision of Carl Watkins. The broad conclusions of that research, conducted in 2005-6 are briefly outlined in Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), p.189.

²⁴⁶ For introductions to Hugh of Lincoln as a Carthusian, see: David Hugh Farmer, 'Hugh of Lincoln, Carthusian Saint', in M. Sargent ed., *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge, 1989), pp.9-15; in the same volume: H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Hugh of Avalon, Carthusian and Bishop', pp.41-57; Henrietta Leyser, 'Hugh the Carthusian' in Henry Mayr-Harting ed.,

Hugh's chaplain in November 1197 and served in this role until the bishop's death in 1200. It seems likely that Adam composed or recomposed part of the VEME while he was serving this role, but Adam's relationship with Hugh pre-dated this appointment anyway as he had held the role of sub-prior (and possibly prior) at the monastery of Eynsham during the period of its vacant abbacy as a result of the conflict regarding election rights between Richard I and Hugh.²⁴⁷ In either of these roles, Adam was probably involved in the protracted negotiations that surrounded the conflict which was eventually resolved in Hugh's favour in 1197. It is possible that the cartulary of Eynsham monastery, clearly designed to support Hugh's position, was compiled by Adam and that his eventual appointment as chaplain was Hugh's way of thanking the monk for his efforts in resolving the argument in Lincoln's favour. Indeed, Easting argues that it very likely that the VEME itself was composed with active support from Hugh.²⁴⁸ Contemporaries of Hugh and Adam made this connection as well. Ralph of Coggeshall, in his introduction to the *Visio Thurkilli*, notes that the VEME was completed while Adam was acting as Hugh's chaplain and cites this relationship as one of the reasons for trusting the validity of the account.²⁴⁹

Adam was also the author of Hugh's life, the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* (MVSH), composed in the first decades of the thirteenth century (not long after he recorded the VEME). His knowledge of the bishop's miracles was drawn upon by Honorius III's investigation into Hugh's potential canonisation in 1219, where Adam would have faced a formidable committee led by Stephen of Langton (c.1150-1228), still the Archbishop of Canterbury on his return from exile abroad, John of Fountains (d.1225) and the Bishop of Coventry, William de Cornhill (d.1223).

As we saw above, some scholars have identified aspects of the VEME, including the biblical citations, which are linked to the conflict over the vacant see in Eynsham.²⁵⁰ It

Hugh of Lincoln: Lectures Delivered at Oxford and Lincoln to Celebrate the Eighth Centenary of St Hugh's Consecration as Bishop of Lincoln (Oxford, 1987), pp.1-18.

²⁴⁷ 'The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln vol. I', C. W. Foster ed., *The Lincoln Record Society* 27 (1931), 85 (no.135), ll. 5-11.

²⁴⁸ Robert Easting, *The Revelation of the Monk of Eynsham*, p.xxxvi.

²⁴⁹ *Visio Thurkilli*, p.4.

²⁵⁰ Salter, Easting and Dengler all comment on this. Dengler goes the furthest, arguing that the selection of biblical citations and allusions peppered through the VEME reflect a focus on good kingship that stems from this conflict. See above, section 1.2.3.

is, however, also worth considering if Adam's relationship to Hugh may have shaped other parts of the vision, particularly those unique aspects described in the previous section. There are several possible lines of enquiry, but the most fruitful seems to stem from the feature that marks Hugh out from all English bishops before and after his episcopacy: his membership of the Carthusian order. A Carthusian interest in the vision is apparent from the pattern of surviving manuscripts, which demonstrates the order's interest in the vision in the later Middle Ages and after the VEME was translated into vernacular German and English (more than half the late medieval and early modern manuscripts of the VEME originate in German Carthusian abbeys).²⁵¹ This does not necessarily demonstrate that there was a late medieval interest in the spiritual nature of Edmund's journey (although Mangei believes it does) because the vision was often bound with Hugh's *Vita* and a simple interest in the order's only English bishop and saint may have been enough to drive interest.

Nonetheless, it seems possible that Adam's devotion to Hugh and his possible composition of the VEME in Lincoln may be related to the novel aspects of the vision that our two thirteenth-century redactors subsequently omit. It is unlikely that Adam would have been unaware of Hugh's monastic heritage when he was composing the

²⁵¹ For a discussion of the VEME's later dissemination in German Carthusian houses see: Johannes Mangei, 'Die Bedeutung der Kartäuser für die Überlieferung der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham'' in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein ed., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.135-161. Many medieval copies of the VEME were housed in the libraries of Carthusian monasteries (See Mangei, p.139). There were two copies of the vision, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, at Chartres (both destroyed in WWII), a fourteenth-century version, bound with a copy of the MVSH at Marienfloss (Metz MS Lat.651), a fifteenth century copy at Trier (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8763) and an unstudied, shortened version from Dijon (Washington, Library of Congress, MS 73). A further medieval copy was mentioned in the records of at Parc (near Le Mans). Several copies of the later, sixteenth-century redaction were also found in German Carthusian monasteries and two other records of the vision can be found in the work of Denis the Carthusian: Denis the Carthusian, *Doctoris ecclastici D. Dionysii Carthusiansi Opera Omnia*, ed. the monks of the Carthusian order, 42 vols. (Tournai, 1896-1935), vol. 41 [*Opera Minora*, vol. 9] (Tournai, 1912): *De particulari iudicio in Obitu Singulorum Dialogus*, pp.450-460; *De Quatuor Hominis Novissimis*, pp.558-561. Mangei notes that Denis used the C text: Johannes Mangei, 'Die Bedeutung der Kartäuser für die Überlieferung der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham'', p.151. For the wider and later context of the relationship between the Carthusian order and visions see also: Johannes Mangei, 'Kartäuserorden und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit' in S. Lorenz ed., *Bücher, Bibliotheken und Schriftkultur der Kartäuser, Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Edward Potkowski* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp.289-316; Dennis D. Martin, 'Carthusians as Advocates of Women Visionary Reformers', in Julian M. Luxford, ed., *Studies in Carthusian Monasticism in the Late Middle Ages*, *Medieval Church Studies* 14 (Turnhout, 2008), pp.127-153.

VEME.²⁵² Henrietta Leyser notes that Adam was “constantly at pains” in the *MVSH* to stress areas of mutual respect between the Carthusian order and the Benedictine order (‘Cluniac’ in Adam’s words), while implicitly criticising the Cistercians.²⁵³ The differences and similarities between the various medieval monastic orders were clearly important to Adam. Unsurprisingly, then, Carthusian themes feature heavily in the *MVSH*, where the author draws upon the staple texts of the order’s literature including Guigo the Carthusian’s *Life of Hugh of Grenoble* which highlighted the features of the order which made them stand out. The *MVSH* is dedicated to Prior Robert of Witham and it seems likely that before he composed the text he would have interviewed several Carthusian monks in order to flesh out the details of Hugh’s early life.

One feature which would have stood out to any scholar who came in contact with the Carthusians was the importance of individual contemplation to the order. This was not only reflected in the work of its own monks. It permeated all discussions concerning the Carthusians from the order’s first foundation in England (Witham, 1178) onwards. The monks’ interest in individuality was not only seen in their behaviour and writing but in the architecture and design of their houses.²⁵⁴ In the *MVSH*, Adam notes that when the Carthusian monastery of Witham, where Hugh had been based, was built the unfree tenants living near the site were evicted “lest the deep silence of monks solitude be disturbed by any noise or by people going to and fro”.²⁵⁵ It is worth observing that this concern with individuality was not always regarded as a strength by outsiders. Richard of Devizes (who, like Adam, was a Benedictine writing in the 1190s) composed a particularly sarcastic attack on the Carthusian ability to keep up with gossip when

²⁵² Henry Mayr-Harting has recently concluded that Adam ‘was essentially a knowledgeable and trustworthy witness to Hugh at Witham in the 1180s’, Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1066-1272* (Harlow, 2011), p.195.

²⁵³ Henrietta Leyser, ‘Hugh the Carthusian’, p.1.

²⁵⁴ Guibert of Nogent’s famous description of their very first monastic foundation notes that the Carthusians did not eat or live together like other monks: ‘Et ecclesia ibi est non longe crepidine montis, parlosinuatam devexum habens, in qua tredecim sunt monachi; claustrum quidem satis idoneum pro coenobiali consuetudine habentes, sed non claustraliter ut caeteri, cohabitantes. Habent quippe singuli cellas per gyrum claustrum proprias, in quibus operantur, dormiunt ac vescuntur. Dominica a dispensatore escas panem scilicet, ac legumen accipiunt quod unicum pulmenti genus a quo que eorum se coquitur’, Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua sive monodiarum*, PL 156, cols. 837-962 at col.854B-C.

²⁵⁵ ‘ne quolibet strepitu aut frequentie cuiuscumque accessu solitudinis sue alta silentia interrumpi aut saltem interpellari’, *MVSH*, I, p.61.

they were meant to be living alone.²⁵⁶ Colin Platt, overstating the case somewhat, argues that the “the Carthusian, who seldom left his cell, shared very few beliefs with the Benedictine, who never entered it.”²⁵⁷ In truth, there was admiration between the orders as well: Adam was asked to compose the *MVSH* by two Benedictines who had joined the English charterhouse.²⁵⁸

So what aspects of Carthusian individualism did Adam encounter in his reading and how might they have shaped the VEME? The fundamental concern with deep self-knowledge permeates much of the Carthusian writing and is one possible source for the forensic self-examination which makes the VEME stand out from other visions of the time.²⁵⁹ This concern was at the heart of the documents that provided structure to the Carthusian way of life, notably the *Consuetudines* and *Meditationes* written by Guigo I, the fifth prior of the Grande Chartreuse.²⁶⁰ The *Meditationes*, in particular, encapsulate aspects of the Carthusian approach to self-knowledge which it is tempting to see reflected in the VEME. No less than eleven of the *Meditationes* have self-

²⁵⁶ Richard said that he had considered becoming a Carthusian, ‘in order to see how much more lofty and closer to Heaven is the Carthusian cell than the cloister at Winchester.’ He added that it was surprising that the Carthusians maintained such a good knowledge of the gossip and news when they were ‘living alone and apart and outside of the world’, Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. J. T. Appleby (London, 1963) pp.1-2.

²⁵⁷ Colin Platt, *The Abbeys and Priors of Medieval England* (London, 1984) p.63. Robert Bartlett notes the way in which ‘the ancient English Benedictine houses, which sometimes housed scores of monks and had a strongly communal and corporate way of life’ voiced their ‘disdain for the religious individualism and fussy domestic pre-occupations of these newcomers’, Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings* (Oxford, 1999) p.433.

²⁵⁸ *MVSH*, I, p.x.

²⁵⁹ It is important to distinguish between the intensity of this part of Carthusian life and the more general (and more slippery) ideas about the ‘discovery’ of the individual in the twelfth-century Renaissance which have played a large role in the modern scholarship. For a good summary of the discussion, see: Anna Safir Abulafia, ‘Intellectual and Cultural Creativity’ in Daniel Power ed., *The Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2006), pp.149-177.

²⁶⁰ Indeed, ‘each monk was expected to have a copy [of the *Consuetudines*] ... in his cell, so that the task of copying the text had priority in each house’, Gordon Mursell, *The Theology of the Carthusian Life in the Writings of St. Bruno and Guigo I*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 127 (Salzburg, 1988), p.66. The various texts written by Guigo I can be found in the following editions: Guigo I, *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, ed. and French trans. a Carthusian, SC 313 (Paris, 1984); Guigo I, *Meditationes*, ed. and French trans. a Carthusian, SC 308 (Paris, 1983); Guigo I, *The Meditations of Guigo I, Prior of Charterhouse*, trans. Gordon Mursell, Cistercian Studies Series 155 (Kalamazoo, 1995); The influence of the ‘customs’ of Guigo I on wider Carthusian practice is discussed in: B. Rieder ed., *Deus locum dabit: Studien zur Theologie des Kartäuserpriors Guigo I. (1083-1136)* (Paderborn, 1997). An introduction to the *Meditations* can be found in: Gordon Mursell, ‘Love of the World in the Meditations of Guigo I’, in M. Sargent ed. *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, (Woodbridge 1989), pp.59-65.

knowledge as their dominant theme.²⁶¹ Guigo I encourages self-reflection because “unlike a dog” sinners who are unaware of themselves “do not know [they] are tied up, and ... do not struggle against [their] own chains”.²⁶² He goes on to note that individuals should spend time contemplating “all the things about you at which the devil can exclaim: Bravo! Bravo!”²⁶³

It is also worth pointing out that the features of Carthusian spirituality just described were not simply abstract concepts in Hugh’s life, only available to Adam through the reading of the order’s literature. It was well known that Hugh returned to Witham on numerous occasions when he was Bishop of Lincoln, something that Adam observed in the *MVSH*. Henrietta Leyser has argued that the “importance of these retreats for Hugh cannot be overestimated”.²⁶⁴ Adam would have seen the effects first hand. In addition, Hugh’s Carthusian background seems to have affected his behaviour at Lincoln. Hugh’s emphasis on the importance of correct burial practice, for example, can be seen as part of the spiritual residue left over from his time at Witham where monks were buried with no credence given to the rank that they had obtained in the monastery. Hugh’s teaching on the subject, like that of his brothers, stressed the importance of individual judgement and reflected some of the eschatological hopefulness outlined in the previous section regarding the VEME which the two redactors diluted:

“The kingdom of God is not confined only to monks, hermits and anchorites. When at the last the Lord shall judge each individual, he shall not hold it against him that he was not a monk or a hermit, but will reject each of the damned because he was not a real Christian ... married people ... should not be considered to be devoid of the virtue of chastity, but equally with virgins and celibates would be admitted to the glory of the heavenly kingdom.”²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ Guigo I, *Meditationes*, ##30, 79, 90, 142, 162, 187, 192, 303, 314, 437, 466.

²⁶² *ibid.*, #30; Guigo I, *The Meditations of Guigo I*, p.70.

²⁶³ Guigo I, *Meditationes*, #74; Guigo I, *The Meditations of Guigo I*, p.79. This may be related to Psalm 35:21, ‘I did not love you and went away from you in fornication, and in my fornication heard from all around me, Bravo, Bravo’.

²⁶⁴ Henrietta Leyser, ‘Hugh the Carthusian’, p.12.

²⁶⁵ *MVSH*, II, pp.46-47. For comments on the implication of this statement on the sacrament of marriage, see: Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society*, p.201.

If there is something Carthusian about this emphasis on individuality; can the same be said for the novel devotional approach in the vision? Johannes Mangei has noted that these features may have contributed to the vision's popularity in German Carthusian circles in a later period. In particular he picked out the digressions on the *compassio* of the visionary for the crucified Christ and his emotive reaction to the cross as appealing to late-medieval German Carthusians involved in the *Devotio moderna*.²⁶⁶ But these aspects of the VEME may have been imprinted on the vision by a familiarity with earlier Carthusian literature.

Another of Guigo I's works might provide a hint as to the source of some of the 'emotional' spirituality been identified in the VEME. The *Life of St. Hugh of Grenoble* had a direct influence on Adam's composition of the *MVSH*.²⁶⁷ It is possible that he consulted a copy that was known to reside in Lincoln Chapter Library before 1200.²⁶⁸ According to Adam, Hugh of Grenoble was held in particularly high esteem by his namesake, the bishop of Lincoln.²⁶⁹ Hugh of Grenoble was well known for his visions and the great number of tears that were associated with them. Even the foundation of the Carthusian order was part of a dream. In fact Hugh's life was marked out by the kind of emotional devotion that makes Edmund such a unique visionary. Hugh's life was punctuated by "his fasts, his vigils, his psalmodies, his lamentations, his prayers and the water of his tears".²⁷⁰ Hugh of Grenoble's weeping is a recurring theme and, like Edmund, he was asked about it by his fellow monks. One asked him why he wept

²⁶⁶ 'Damit enthält die Vision vom Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts Gedankengut, dessen Blütezeit mit der Leidenmystik und Christusbezogenheit der Kartäuser und der *Devotio moderna* im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert erreicht wurde – eben in der für die kartäusische Überlieferung der *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham* so entscheidenden Epoche.', *ibid.*, p.145.

²⁶⁷ In their introduction to the *MVSH*, Douie and Farmer have identified a number of parallels between this *Vita* and the *MVSH*, including the repeated emphasis on the reluctance of both characters to take up their bishoprics. For the *Life of Hugh of Grenoble*, see: Guigo I, *Vita sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, PL 153, cols.759-784.

²⁶⁸ Lincoln Chapter Library, MS 107 (A.4.15), ff. 24-35. There are a couple of indications that this volume might be linked to Hugh of Lincoln. The manuscript is a compilation of a number of saints' lives all of who are bishops. This is highlighted in the contents page, suggesting that it was a deliberate decision on behalf of the compiler (f.3).

²⁶⁹ The 'example of St. Hugh of Grenoble had given him [Hugh of Lincoln] a greater enthusiasm and a closer affection for them [the Cluniac monks]. This blessed bishop had formerly been the special friend and patron of the venerable and wise founders of the Carthusian order, and had from his youth onwards and devoutly followed and imitated its way of life', *MVSH*, II, pp.43-4.

²⁷⁰ 'quae jejunia, quas vigilias, quas psalmodias, quos gemitus, quas preces, quosque lacrymarum imbres'. Guigo I, *Vita sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, PL 153, col.768C. See also the following chapter: 'Caput III. Frequens in Cartusia cum S.Brunnie et aliis conversatio inter afflictiones donum lacrymarum', *ibid.*, 768D.

so bitterly. He replied that this life is given to us for weeping and penance, not for idle discussions.²⁷¹ In another remarkably emotional passage Hugh's tears, like Edmund's, accompany visions and prayer:

"These vicissitudes of change in him did not cease until his death; at one moment he was revived in heavenly things with all spiritual strength and lofty vision, and with unspeakable joys, by tasting and seeing that the lord is sweet; at another, by ... human infirmity, he was not free of his earlier sufferings. On both occasions there were tears: here for joy, there for weariness. What more can I say? His 'tears had become his bread by day and night' they did not dry up either in happy or adverse times; he was scarcely able to read, sing psalms or meditate on divine matters without them..."²⁷²

Crucially, Hugh's weeping, like Edmund's, goes beyond the older tradition of tears of empathy; they are tears of joy as well. In fact two whole sections of the *Vita sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani* are devoted to the bishop's weeping.²⁷³ This form of emotional devotion also appeared in several of the Carthusian order's other formative texts. The 'baptism of tears' plays a crucial role in Guigo I's customs for the Carthusian order and is listed as one of the six 'works of devotion to God' in the *Consuetudines*²⁷⁴:

"And now you should consider yourselves these holy venerable fathers: Paul, Anthony, Hilarion, Benedict, and so many others that we cannot count them; consider, too, how much they profited spiritually when they were in solitude, and you will recognise that the sweetness of the psalmody ... the ecstasy of contemplation [*extasis contemplationum*] and

²⁷¹ 'Quadam autem vice quidam ex sociis, tantis ejus fletibus atque suspiriis motus, quasi consolaturus: 'Quid, inquit, Pater, tantum plangis, cum nec homicidium, nec perjurium, nec aliud quid criminale commiseris?' Protinus ille: 'Quid hoc, inquit, refert, cum sola cupiditas et vanitas, si divina non adsit clementia, perditioni possint humanae sufficere?' Quid prudentius aut compendiosius ab incolumi et integrae memoriae potuit responderi? Omnia quae vel boni piis studiis aversantur, vel mali perniciosus nisibus consecantur, duobus verbis, cupiditatis et vanitatis, inclusit', *ibid.*, col.782A.

²⁷² As with the reference to Hugh of Grenoble's fasts, this comes in the incipit to the *Vita*: 'Hujusmodi alteritatum in eo ad finem usque non cessavere vicissitudines; nunc enim in superna totis viribus spiritualibus erectis oculis, gustando et videndo quoniam suavis est Dominus, ineffabilibus recreabatur gaudiis; nunc infirmitatibus humanae pondere relapsus ad solita, prioribus non vacabat angustiis. Utrobique lacrymae; ibi pro gaudio, hic pro taedio. Quid plura? Factae sibi fuerant lacrymae suae panes die ac nocte; non has illi prospera, non has siccabant adversa; vix legere, vix psallere, vix sine his divina meditari. Adeo namque harum in eo excreverat gratia ut frequenter nec edenti, nisi frenatae, deessent', *ibid.*, col.771A-B; trans. in Gordon Mursell, *The Theology of the Carthusian Life*, pp.231-232.

²⁷³ Guigo I, *Vita sancti Hugonis Gratianopolitani*, PL 153, cols.770C-772A.

²⁷⁴ See also: Sandra J. McEntire, *The Doctrine of Compunction in Medieval England: Holy Tears* (New York, 1990), pp.67-68.

the baptism of tears [*baptisma lacrimarum*] could not be more powerfully helped than by solitude."²⁷⁵

All of these six works are intimately linked, and it is particularly difficult to separate out the role of tears from the Carthusian thinking on the individual and self-contemplation. The actual role of physical weeping is further emphasised in the eulogy to solitude in the *Meditationes*:

"Overwhelmed by the spectacle of God's indignation, Jeremiah, too, sat alone. He asked that his head might be a fountain, his eyes a spring for tears, to mourn the slain of his people; and that he might the more freely give himself to this holy work he exclaimed, 'O, that I had in the desert a wayfarer's shelter!' clearly implying that he could not do this in a city, and thus indicating what an impediment companions are to the gift of tears".²⁷⁶

In addition, Guigo II's writing about tears as a sign of a forthcoming 'contemplative' vision seem particularly relevant considering the build-up to Edmund's journey.²⁷⁷ Guigo II muses on the meaning of these tears:

"Can it be that the heralds and witnesses of this consolation and joy are sighs and tears? If it is so, then the word is being used in a completely new sense, the reverse of the ordinary connotation. What has consolation in common with sighs, joy with tears, if indeed these are to be called tears and not rather an abundance of spiritual dew, poured from above and overflowing, an outward purification of a sign of inward cleansing ... 'blessed are those who weep for they will rejoice'".²⁷⁸

If Adam of Eynsham did have Hugh of Lincoln in mind when he was composing the novel aspects of the VEME it is possible that, in addition to his Carthusian background, there were other aspects of the bishop's career that are relevant. His concern and interest in pastoral care is one dimension worth dwelling on. Hugh's experience as a

²⁷⁵ Guigo I, *Consuetudines*, #80.11. 'Iam vos ipsi sancti ac venerabiles patres, Paulus, Antonius, Hylarion, Benedictus, et caeteri nobis innumerabiles, quantum in solitudine mente profecerint per vos considerate, et probatis suavitates psalmodiarum, studia lectionum, fervores orationum, subtilitates meditationum, extasis contemplationum, baptisma lacrimarum, nulla re magis quam solitudine posse iuari', trans. in Gordon Mursell, *The Theology of the Carthusian Life*, p.218.

²⁷⁶ Guigo I, *Consuetudines*, #80.7.

²⁷⁷ Chapter VII. 'Effectus contemplationis', Guigo II, *Scala claustralium*, ed. and French trans. by Colledge and Walsh, SC 163 (Paris, 1970) p.96; Guigo II, *The ladder of monks and the twelve meditations*, trans. Colledge and Walsh (London, 1978), pp.120-122.

²⁷⁸ Guigo II, *Scala claustralium*, pp.96-98; Guigo II, *The ladder of monks*, p.88.

young canon in control of a small parish in France put him in direct contact with the complex nature of the sins of the laity that are so convincingly described in the VEME. In the *MVSH*, for example, Adam tells the story of how Hugh dealt with an adulterous parishioner. The man initially denied his guilt but after Hugh had confronted him several times he eventually “confessed his sin with groans and with floods of tears. He did penance and after correction received absolution”.²⁷⁹

This concern with the sins of the laity, the administering of penance and Hugh’s “subscription to a scheme of salvation more heavily infused with divine mercy” than his contemporaries, place the bishop in the vanguard of the theological developments that were only beginning to have an impact in England at the end of the twelfth century.²⁸⁰ That Hugh was responsible for bringing a degree of theological and pastoral innovation to his episcopate is exemplified by his insistence on appointing Parisian-trained canon lawyers and thinkers to roles in Lincoln, including William de Montibus.²⁸¹ In fact, Adam seems to have been somewhat intimidated by the intellectual milieu that surrounded Hugh in Lincoln. In the *MVSH* he notes that he expected the *litterati* to be critical of his style. Douie surmises that Adam’s “self-conscious” approach to “the curial clerics who surrounded Hugh and who took a far greater share in diocesan affairs” than he did, may have led him to over-elaborate the Latin in the *MVSH*.²⁸² It is not, perhaps, too far-fetched to imagine that Adam’s B and C text rewrites of the VEME, complete with their deep concern for the individual, pastoral care and the practice of modern devotion, are part of a strategy to appeal to Hugh’s Carthusian sensibilities and impress both Hugh and the continental scholars that surrounded him in Lincoln. After all, the diocese was becoming renowned for its “pastoral precociousness” in implementing reforms ahead of the fourth Lateran council.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ *MVSH*, I, pp.19-21.

²⁸⁰ Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), p.186.

²⁸¹ See: Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140-1213): the Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto, 1992).

²⁸² *MVSH*, I, p.xv.

²⁸³ Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p.186. It is tempting to suggest that Lincoln’s exceptional records of indulgences for prayers for the dead in the early fourteenth century are linked to this, see: Robert N. Swanson, ‘Indulgences for Prayers for the Dead in the Diocese of Lincoln in the Early Fourteenth Century’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52 (2001), 197-219. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that the architecture of the town itself may have played a role in Adam’s work. Easting notes that

In conclusion, the VEME's novelty, both in terms of its interest in the fate of individual sinners and its description of emotive piety, seem to stem from the same intellectual root: Adam of Eynsham's relationship with Hugh of Lincoln. It seems possible that in composing the VEME, Adam was reacting to the way in which Hugh conducted his episcopal responsibilities at Lincoln and the bishop's background as a Carthusian monk at Witham. The VEME, then, is far more than a combination of otherworldly tropes or the representation of a particular spatial division of the after-life. It reflects the circumstances of its composition and the theological background of a specific milieu. The editorial activity of the two redactors discussed in the previous section peaks at precisely the moments in the VEME when these influences are most acutely apparent. It is impossible to say whether these alterations of the novel aspects of the vision were based on familiarity with this source. It seems more likely that Roger and the redactor of W were instinctively reacting to the elements of the vision that placed it outside the normative model they expected. In this way their decisions demonstrate a degree of stylistic and theological conservatism associated with the cloistered monks of older orders in England. In Roger's case this clearly fits the profile of St. Albans.

Whatever their motivation, the redactions of the VEME reveal a different otherworld from the A, B or C texts with an altered eschatology. In Roger's redaction the individual receptacles designed for the complex sacramental lives of lay sinners are replaced by an emphasis on the broader geography of torture and bliss. In W, despite the considerable length of the narrative, there is also a profound eschatological consequence. The idea that "a reasonably penitent sinner might hope for salvation", increasingly common at the beginning of the thirteenth century, is eroded by the redactor.²⁸⁴

These redactions probably had little wider influence. There are no surviving copies of W and, although Roger's version of the VEME is taken up by Matthew Paris later in the

the depiction of homosexuals in the VEME may have been influenced by the carvings on the west front of Lincoln cathedral, which Adam "would have known", C(RE), p.194. For images of the cathedral sculpture, some of which is strikingly similar to Adam's work, see: George Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln: the sculpture of the cathedral* (Lincoln, 1988).

²⁸⁴ Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p.180.

century, it is unlikely to have had an impact outside the walls of St. Albans. Nonetheless, studying them has been fruitful. It has revealed two, individual monastic reactions to eschatological and pastoral developments often hidden by the progress of reforms in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council and by interest in the rise of Purgatory. The close study of the patterns of redaction has also shown that by omitting and reshaping material, the style, texture and theology of inherited texts can be fundamentally altered in ways that can reveal the comprehensive editorial strategies of medieval scribes. Finally, it has shown how an examination of these strategies can complicate and nuance interpretations of the earlier versions of a given text. In the next section the examination of the dissemination of the VEME will be widened to include the more popular and widespread shorter redactions of the vision that were used and sometimes produced in England in the thirteenth century. It will consider whether the patterns of redaction described above are replicated when the VEME appears in radically abridged forms in a more varied range of medieval genres.

1.3. Understanding the shorter redactions

1.3.1. Brief extracts, concise summaries and a wider dissemination

In addition to the two lengthy redactions above, the vision appeared in much shorter forms throughout the long thirteenth century, sometimes reduced to a couple of sentences. Despite their brevity, the nature of these short accounts is worth exploring and will provide an introduction to questions which will be discussed in more depth in later chapters. How were visions modified when they were summarized into different types of compilations? What sections from longer visions were extracted and why? Who completed these modifications and is it possible to identify a pattern of authorship? How were visions categorized within the compilations and how were they contextualized within the surrounding material?

Typically, there are two ways in which these shorter versions of the vision appear: in short extracts based around Edmund's encounter with particular individuals or in generalized summaries which survey Edmund's entire experience. The pattern can be extended, more tentatively, to include authorship and genre. If one were to use traditional terminology, the 'extracts' of the VEME appeared in didactic *exempla* collections, whereas the 'summaries' appeared in history chronicles. Some recent

scholarship has attempted to break down the boundaries between the ways in which the reports of miraculous events were used in these two types of source. Elisabeth Freeman, for example, has argued that *exempla* were just as moralized and didactic in some chronicles as they were in collections where their purpose was explicitly linked to the creation of sermons.²⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the stylistic differences between the 'summary' and the 'extracts' do seem to follow the traditional division. Unsurprisingly, the 'summaries' were composed by monks of the older orders and the 'extracts' arranged by Dominican and Franciscan Friars.

With respect to the dissemination of the VEME, there is room for challenging older assumptions about the appearance of the miraculous in different medieval genres within these two broad categories. Categorizing texts as either *exempla* or *historia* can lead to simplistic assumptions about a large number of very different texts within these categories. The *exempla* collections under discussion in this chapter – and in chapter two – are the portable productions of thirteenth-century Mendicants. These share some characteristics with the material produced in Cistercian houses in the same period but are not identical. Both are different from the earlier, localized Cistercian productions that will be discussed in more depth in chapter three.²⁸⁶ Recent research has also shown how the category *historia* does not sufficiently account for the increasing diversity of historical and encyclopedic writing as the thirteenth century progressed. This is less relevant to the study of this particular vision and will be discussed in more depth in chapter four, when the *Chronicon* of Helinand of Froidmont will be examined. Similar consideration should be given to the way in which the text of a vision is presented within a particular work or manuscript. Even when the 'extracts' and 'summaries' are similar in style or content across several different manuscripts, their position within the text, the material they are surrounded with and the internal references that are noted, can lead to different emphases been given to the same material. As far as the VEME is concerned, these considerations are more directly pertinent to its didactic renderings in *exempla* collections. Yet, they should not be

²⁸⁵ Elisabeth A. Freeman, *Narratives of a new order: Cistercian historical writing in England, 1150-1220*, Studies in Church History 2 (Turnhout, 2002), p.165. The debates around this topic will be analysed in more depth as part of a discussion concerning Helinand of Froidmont's redaction of visions in the fourth chapter. See: sections 4.2.1-4.2.2.

²⁸⁶ See: section 3.3.1.

completely ignored in the vision's redaction into the monastic histories of the thirteenth century.

Monastic histories played a limited role in dissemination of the VEME, both in terms of content and quantity. With the exception of Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, which has already been discussed in part 1.2 of this chapter, the references are short, and get shorter as the thirteenth century progresses. Roger's redaction of the VEME provided the basis of Matthew Paris' (c.1200-1259) later summary of the vision into his *Chronica Maiora* (which he worked on until his death in 1259) and *Historia Anglorum* (the surviving text of which was completed in 1255). The number of manuscripts in which these histories actually appear is also limited, although given the continuing debate over how they were used in the monastic environment when they were completed or during the time in which they were being worked, no direct line can be drawn between these numbers and the work's influence.²⁸⁷ As a result, this section will give notification of the various 'historical' accounts of the VEME and discuss them, saving a more lengthy discussion of the relationship between visions and history in the thirteenth century for a later chapter.

The most significant of these accounts was recorded by Ralph of Coggeshall (d. after 1227), a Cistercian monk and then abbot in Essex. He included a brief synopsis of the VEME in his introduction to the vision of Thurkill (a vision he is thought to have been responsible for initially recording). This provides evidence that the vision was composed by Adam of Eynsham and records some of the context in which it was written, though little about the revelation itself.²⁸⁸ A longer notice of the vision was also given in his *Chronicon Anglicanum*, a history of England which included details of events from 1066 until 1224 (thought to be Ralph's own composition from 1187). The earliest surviving manuscript suggests that the work was composed in stages

²⁸⁷ Teresa Webber discussed one of the potential uses of history chronicles in monasteries - refectory reading (without finding any evidence of the practice) - in the 2010 John Coffin Memorial Palaeography lecture: Teresa Webber, 'Reading in the Refectory: monastic practice in England from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries', 18th February, 2010. Available online at: <http://www.sas.ac.uk/videos-and-podcasts/culture-language-literature/reading-refectory-monastic-practice-england-eleventh>, last accessed, 23/03/2012.

²⁸⁸ *Visio Thurkilli*, p.3.

throughout the first three decades of the thirteenth century.²⁸⁹ Elisabeth Freeman's analysis of the role of wonders, prodigies and marvels in this work starts in an undated section of the chronicle that follows the entry for 1199 and as such does not include the brief discussion of the vision of the monk of Eynsham which follows the entry for 1196.²⁹⁰ It seems likely that Ralph had access to a longer account of the text, because he refers interested readers to it at the end of the passage:

“But whoever wants to know the mode and order of the visions at hand, and indeed the type of punishment for the type of crime, and those who want knowledge of powerful people, their deeds and their state, as well as the diverse mansions of the blessed, they should read the small book in which the aforementioned visions are diligently noted down, and from the examination of the book they will certainly discover the great incentive of divine fear”.²⁹¹

This passage hints at what Ralph had left out in his summary. His redaction, in itself, was not sufficient to create divine fear. It also gave a taster of what he thought his audience might be interested in pursuing: more details about the context of the vision, generalized punishments for particular crimes, the fate of powerful men and a description of the mansions of the blessed. As it is, Ralph's short redaction of the vision devotes a sizeable proportion to the vision's monastic context. In fact, nearly half of the account is devoted to these concerns. Ralph tells his readers that Edmund had recently joined the community at Eynsham, that he was a young man with the morals of an old one and had been ill for fifteen months.²⁹² The events that led up to the vision are not ignored either. Ralph informs his readers that Edmund had requested the vision and that it was granted to him over the Easter period.²⁹³ Ralph details the exact timing of the vision and that the visionary awoke when “the bell had pulsed on Sunday on the vigil of Easter”.²⁹⁴ Ralph also notes that Edmund had “diligently”

²⁸⁹ London, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian D.x. The notice of the vision can be found at ff.67^v-68^r.

²⁹⁰ Elisabeth Freeman, 'Wonders, prodigies and marvels: unusual bodies and the fear of heresy in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 26 (2000), pp.127-143. Freeman's interesting conclusions about the way in which miraculous events were used in thematic sub-sections will be discussed in more detail in the third and fourth chapters.

²⁹¹ Radulphi de Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, RS 66 (London, 1875; rpr. Wiesbaden, 1965), p.72. [Henceforth: Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*]. All translations are my own.

²⁹² *ibid.*, p.71.

²⁹³ *ibid.*

²⁹⁴ *ibid.*

repeated his visions “from memory ... reverently and seriously” and that his account was subsequently examined for “signs of evidence” and had concluded with no hesitation that it “should be illuminated by pen in a clear and elegant size”.²⁹⁵

The heavily abbreviated version of the vision in Matthew Paris’ *Historia Anglorum* focuses on similar themes. The *Historia Anglorum* is a summary of Matthew’s main historical endeavour, the *Chronica Maiora*, itself a copy and extension of Roger of Wendover’s *Flores Historiarum*.²⁹⁶ As such, the *Chronica Maiora* contained a copy of Roger’s version of the VEME outlined above. When it came to abbreviating the earlier work, the vision was one of the accounts radically cut down. Several ‘miraculous’ events were removed in this process, along with incidents that occurred outside England in France and Scotland (some of these events, like the vision of Thurkill, were labelled irrelevant in Matthew’s hand in the margins of one of the manuscripts at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge).²⁹⁷ What remains is a further distillation of a trend we have noted with Ralph: a focus on the visionary, the monastic context of the vision and a reference to the earlier, longer text:

“Around this time there was a certain wondrous vision or revelation from God given to a certain monk of Eynsham concerning the joys of paradise and the places of punishment and Purgatory. This vision was very credible because the monk lay for several days as if in ecstasy, judged to be neither alive or dead”.²⁹⁸

Matthew goes on to note that because the vision was long, he would not repeat it in full but that if “anyone desires to inspect it, because it is miraculous and true, he will be able to find it fully inscribed at St. Albans and, in the same way at Eynsham”.²⁹⁹

Returning to Ralph’s redaction of the vision, it is clear that his prioritization of the visionary and the monastic context of the revelation is not the only way in which his

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, pp.71-72

²⁹⁶ Matthaei Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum* ed. Frederic Madden, 3 vols., RS 44 (London, 1866-9) [Henceforth: Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*]. All translations are my own.

²⁹⁷ There is a long-running debate as to whether the marginalia describing particular events as either ‘impertinens’ or ‘offendiculum’ in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Library, MS 16, were actually meant to guide Matthew’s composition of the *Historia Anglorum* or whether they were for another project. See: Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (London, 1958), p.62.

²⁹⁸ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum* (London, 1866) II, p.60.

²⁹⁹ *ibid.*

version seems to mimic Roger of Wendover's redaction as it was described above. The second half of the account establishes a broad geographic description of the otherworld where souls travel from one area to the next. The focus of Ralph's narrative is on the structure of the area of punishments and its vastness, the same sort of summary that Roger had been taking steps towards:

"Accordingly that brother saw three areas of punishment, endless in size, distinguished from one another by ... the enormity of the punishment. In each and every area he saw an infinite number of humans of both sexes and diverse ages ... those who were tormented in the first place of punishment were moved from light to mild torments compared to the punishments they could see in the second and third places".³⁰⁰

1.3.2. Mendicant preaching aids and theological compilations

The inclusion of the VEME in mendicant preaching aids and theological compilations is at once more interesting and more complex than its appearance in monastic histories. This is because of the range, content and style of both the extracts and the manuscripts in which they appear. This section will explore the way in which the VEME appeared in a number of different collections and pave the way for a more thorough discussion of the dissemination of visions in different types of didactic collections in later chapters. A selection of the manuscripts in which the VEME appears can be found in Table II.

Stephen of Bourbon (1190-c.1261) included short extracts from the VEME in the first volume of his *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* devoted to the gift of fear. Stephen was born in Belleville-sur-Saône and educated at the University of Paris, joining the Dominicans not long after they arrived in the city in 1217. After leaving Paris in 1223 he headed south to Lyons via Reims. At some point after 1235 he had been made an inquisitor and seems to have contact with both the Waldensians and the Cathars. His *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* was never completed. His intention had been to produce seven volumes but he died having only completed five – on fear, piety, knowledge, strength and wisdom. Two books of the *Seven Gifts* have recently been edited with

³⁰⁰ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p.72.

comprehensive commentary under the title *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*.³⁰¹

Alan E. Bernstein estimates that this collection, taken as a whole, contains 2,900 *exempla*.³⁰² Extracts from the VEME make up four of this immense number.³⁰³ Bernstein is correct to note that it is not an ‘*exempla* collection’ and observes the considerable difference between the ‘functional’ and ‘rhetorical’ *exempla* found elsewhere and the ‘sacramental’ quality of the *exempla* in Stephen’s work, arguing that the author saw *exempla* as making “doctrine or abstract principles concrete”, incorporating “truth just as Christ did”.³⁰⁴ In turn, these were different from a collection where the *exempla* were attached to specific sermons.³⁰⁵ In fact, Stephen of Bourbon’s work does not sit comfortably in any of these slightly artificial categories. His *Seven Gifts* was concerned with the creation of sermons, but contains a great deal of theological discussion and draws upon material that would never have been included in the type of collections just discussed. It is as much a collection of doctrinal discussions as it is a collection of *exempla*. The context in which the VEME appears will now be discussed briefly.

The book on fear (*Liber de dono timoris*) is divided into ten ‘titles’; (1) on the seven types of fear, (2) on the twenty-five effects of fear, (3) on the fear of God, (4) on the fear of Hell, (5) on the fear of future Purgatory, (6) on the fear of future (or last) judgement, (7) on the fear of death, (8) on the fear of sin, (9) on the fear of present dangers and (10) on the fear of the character of mankind’s enemies (mainly a discussion of demons).³⁰⁶ The title in which the extracts from the VEME appear is the fifth, on the fear of future

³⁰¹ Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus: Prologus, Liber Primus*, Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub ed., CCCM 124 (Turnhout, 2002) [Henceforth: Stephen of Bourbon, I]; Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus: Tertia pars*, Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub ed., CCCM 124B (Turnhout, 2006) [Henceforth: Stephen of Bourbon, III]. All translations from these works are my own.

³⁰² Alan E. Bernstein, ‘The *exemplum* as ‘incorporation’ of abstract truth in the thought of Humbert of Romans and Stephen of Bourbon’ in Laurent Mayali and Stephanie A.J. Tibbets ed., *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal Theory dedicated to Stephan Kuttner* (Washington DC, 1990), 82-96 at 87.

³⁰³ The excellent commentary that is appended to the edition of the text does not correctly identify the source of the four *exempla* in question. This omission was noted and corrected in: Robert Easting, ‘Visio monachi de Eynsham as a source for *exempla* in Stephen of Bourbon’s *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus*’, *Notes and Queries*, Dec. (2005), 442-443.

³⁰⁴ Alan E. Bernstein, ‘The *exemplum* as ‘incorporation’, 92.

³⁰⁵ See Odo of Cheriton below.

³⁰⁶ Stephen of Bourbon, I: p.17; p.39; p.46; p.66; p.140; p.193; p.269; p.309; p.347; p.369.

Purgatory. This title is, in turn, divided into seven separate chapters. The first two chapters deal with the difference between the fear of ‘present’ Purgatory and that of the ‘future’ Purgatory.³⁰⁷ The third chapter looks at the general category of sinners whom Purgatory punishes.³⁰⁸ In the fourth, fifth and sixth chapter Stephen discusses several reasons for fearing Purgatory.³⁰⁹ It is in the first of these three chapters in which *exempla* from the VEME appear.³¹⁰ The final and seventh chapter refers to the types of suffrage that can help souls in Purgatory.

Like other titles and sections in the treatise, the fourth chapter begins with a general introduction to the material. In the case of the fourth chapter this general introduction is actually to the fifth and sixth chapters as well and it lists the seven reasons for fearing purgatorial punishments that the following chapters will discuss: harshness, diversity, duration, sterility, noxiousness, quality of torment, small number of aids on offer in Purgatory. As in other chapters, this general introduction is followed by a short piece of verse, presumably designed to aid memorisation that can be roughly translated as follows:

“In this place purging is through seven grave and bad punishments.
It is harmful, lengthy, bitter, hard and varied.
In this place no merits are held, but here [what was] owed in life is removed.
In this place many have been harassed few have been pitied.”³¹¹

Stephen goes on to note that the first aspect of the punishment that will be discussed is the bitterness (*acerbitate*) of the punishment. He then selects a quotation from the pseudo-Augustinian work *Concerning true and false penance*, noting that the fire of Purgatory, although not eternal is painful in a miraculous manner and that it exceeds all the pains that are suffered in life.³¹² At this point in the chapter Stephen introduces

³⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p.140; p.143.

³⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.148.

³⁰⁹ *ibid.*, p.149, p.154, p.163.

³¹⁰ ‘Capitulum IIII. Quare pena purgatoria sit timenda’, *ibid.*, p.149.

³¹¹ *ibid.*, p.150.

³¹² ‘De acerbitate pene purgatorii dicit Augustinus, in libro De penitentia, quod ‘purgandus est igne purgationis qui distulit hic fructum conuersionis.’ Hic autem ignis, etsi eternus non sit, miro tamen modo est grauis. Excedit enim omnem penam quam unquam passus est aliquis in hac uita’, *ibid.* The Pseudo-Augustinian work from which this quotation is taken is short but popular. Gratian used the work extensively and it provided important justification for confession to a layperson in “cases of dire

nine *exempla*. The first is explicitly about the ‘bitterness’ of Purgatory and concerns an ill lord who complained to God about his misery. An angel then informed him that he had to endure two more years of illness unless he wanted to exchange it for two days in Purgatory. The lord accepted the offer but after less than half a day in the bitter pains (*pene acerbitem*) he complained and accused the angel of being a liar and a demon in disguise.³¹³ The angel patiently returned him to his previous life of suffering.³¹⁴ A similar *exemplum* can be found in Thomas of Cantimpré’s (1201-1272) famous work, *Bonum universale de apibus*.³¹⁵ Like the extracts from the VEME that follow it, this *exemplum* can also be found in Humbert of Romans’ redaction of Stephen’s work and the *Speculum Laicorum*, a thirteenth-century collection composed in England by an anonymous Dominican.³¹⁶

At this point, after the *exemplum* about the sick lord, Stephen introduces the four *exempla* from the VEME. The first is a very short summary of Edmund’s conversation with the aforementioned drunk who had been rescued from eternal damnation by his devotion to St. Nicholas and his patron’s subsequent rescue of the man from a group of demons. The second summarises the “generous, neighbourly” knight who was “stable in his marriage” (note that this has been softened from the VEME, where the knight had lived in chastity for many years following the death of his wife) but enjoyed hawking.³¹⁷ He had been liberated from all other penalties but he was punished by a bird which perched on “his hand which, with its beak and claws, tore his hand to pieces and inflicted the greatest pain on him”.³¹⁸ The third *exemplum* is not individually titled in the edition or in the Worcester or London manuscripts. It follows the story of another knight, who was “vicious and deceitful” who had accepted the cross to go on

necessity”. See: R. Emmet McLaughlin, ‘Truth Tradition and History: The Modern scholarship of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance’ in Abigail Firey ed. *A New History of Penance*, Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition 14 (Leiden, 2008), pp.19-95 at 46.

³¹³ *ibid.*, p.151.

³¹⁴ *ibid.*

³¹⁵ Thomae Cantipratani, *Bonum universale de apibus*, G. Colvenerius ed. (Douai, 1627), pp.477-478. Robert Sweetman has specifically considered how visions of Purgatory work in this volume. See: Robert Sweetman, ‘Visions of Purgatory and their Role in the *Bonum universale de apibus* of Thomas of Cantimpré’, *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 67 (1993), 20-33.

³¹⁶ For a fuller list of the distribution of this particular *exemplum* search the *TEMA* using Tubach number 4002. See table II for some examples.

³¹⁷ ‘qui fuerat miles largus, curialis, hospitalis et continens in suo coniugio’, Stephen of Bourbon I, p.151.

³¹⁸ ‘Hic ab aliis penis fuerat liberatus excepto eo quod auiculam in manu tenebat que cum rostro et unguibus manum eius dilacerabat et maximum dolorem ei inferebat’, *ibid.*

crusade or pilgrimage in life but had not fulfilled his oath.³¹⁹ He was forced to start his promised pilgrimage across the sea every night in Purgatory but struggled due to the “unaccommodating darkness and storms of the night”.³²⁰ When day came, the demons dragged him back to an area of punishment before depositing him, when night fell, at the beginning of his pilgrimage again.³²¹ The final extract concerns another knight, this time one who had sold the patronage of a church to a cleric for 25 marks. The knight had repented and undertaken a pilgrimage, but had died during this endeavour. As a result he was punished by demons who fed him burning coins that passed right through his body. He had instructed his wife to pay back the money and have masses said for him, a process which he believed would lead to his eventual relief from pain.³²²

The rest of the chapter is made up of five further *exempla*. The first concerns a priest who had appointed his nephew to succeed him. His nephew heard his uncle’s voice in the fountain informing him that he was burning because he had helped elect him through his commitment to his family. He proved that he was in Purgatory by asking his nephew to throw a candlestick into the fountain which was promptly liquefied.³²³ The second is a multi-faceted story that Stephen claims to have heard from a Friar named John, which carries echoes of the Sicilian Arthur legend found in other texts. The Friar recalls how a man, while searching for his master’s horse came to a Purgatorial city near Etna where he was given a golden vessel and instructed to give it to his master without opening its lid. When the vessel was opened it sent out a burning flame and was then thrown into the sea, which, in turn, was set alight. The third builds on the last *exemplum*, and the pilgrimage *exemplum* discussed above and describes the constant and repeated building of a fortress in Purgatory near Etna.

The fourth *exemplum* is short, interesting and worth detailing in full:

“Those who do penance only out of fear, not true feeling. Item, I heard from a brother, Guillelm, formerly the prior of Besancon,

³¹⁹ ‘vanus et vitiosus’, *ibid.*

³²⁰ ‘De nocte faciebat peregrinationem transmarinam sed parum proficiebat propter tenebras et noctis intemperiem et uie et aeris incommoditatem’, *ibid.*, pp.151-152.

³²¹ ‘Quem, facto die, demones reducebant ad tormentum affligendum’, *ibid.*, p.152.

³²² *ibid.*, p.152.

³²³ ‘Item, de abate exusto in fonte et candelabro liquefacto’, *ibid.*, 152.

that when a certain chaplain from near Neuchatel in the diocese of Lausanne called William – who was said to be pious in manner because of many miracles and the Lord was said to work through him – was in his church above a large lake, and a certain knight who was with him asked him why he afflicted himself, indeed [why] he was almost perishing through his fast, wearing of sack cloth and tears; after this assertion, [William] said that he would be willing to be in a fire that was the size of the lake until the day of judgment and that he was sure that it was possible with all of his penances to evade both the fire of Hell and the fire of Purgatory.”³²⁴

The last *exemplum* of the chapter describes the contrasting fates of a thief and a hermit. The former, realising that he was being chased by his enemies and that his chance of evading them had been lost, prostrated himself in front of a cross and accepted that he deserved death for the offence he had caused to God.³²⁵ A pious hermit, who was nearby, was granted a vision of the soul of the thief which had been taken to Heaven accompanied by angels. This angered the hermit who for many years had completed his penance. As a result he abandoned his previously upstanding life. Finally, when crossing a bridge he fell into a river, drowned and was taken to Hell by some demons.³²⁶

So what can be said about how the extracts from the VEME are edited and used in this context and what can it tell us about the way in which the afterlife and earthly penance feature in Stephen’s theological schema? Two themes, picked up by Le Goff and Bernstein, will provide the starting point for this consideration. The first is stylistic. He notes that Stephen’s editorial approach in his chapter concerning the fear of Hell is coloured by a precise adherence to the particular theme he is discussing. Bernstein argues that this goes beyond editorial practice in other comparative *exempla* collections where the material could be deliberately chosen for its flexibility: “Stephen omits even vital details from his source partly because they would confuse the classification he is using and partly because he saw his role as isolating, not combining, themes for

³²⁴ ‘Ex timore solo et non uere penitentes...’, *ibid.*, pp.153-154.

³²⁵ ‘De latrone ab angelis portato et heremita a demonibus’, *ibid.*, p.154.

³²⁶ ‘Et cum ad seculum rediret, transiens aquam, de ponte cadens, submergitur et a demonibus in infernum proicitur’, *ibid.*, p.154. This *exemplum* comes from Jacques de Vitry who will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.2.

preaching".³²⁷ Le Goff's observation is theological. His selective reading of a number of *exempla* in the chapters devoted to purgatorial punishments led him to conclude, broadly but convincingly, that Stephen's work demonstrated a wider trend: the 'infernalisation' of Purgatory.³²⁸

The precision that Stephen demonstrated in elucidating the various aspects of Hell is clearly not matched by his adherence to the particular theme introduced in the beginning of this section. This seems to be particularly true toward the end of the listed *exempla* from this part of the chapter. The fourth *exemplum* following the extracts from the VEME seems out of context. It follows from a series of tales urging detailed consideration of the bitterness of purgatorial pains with a suggestion that this, in itself, was a dangerous path to follow. In fact, Stephen seems to have radically altered the meaning of this tale to cement this interpretation of the story. In other collections the moral is profoundly different: the priest, in fearing the otherworld, is behaving well. The final *exemplum* seems even more out of place as it does not mention Purgatory at all, referring only to the fires of Hell. Besides, neither the hermit nor the thief's motivation seems to have had anything to do with the bitterness of pains in the otherworld.

It is tempting to suggest that Stephen's control of the material is waning towards the end of the section. The precise focus that Bernstein notes in Stephen's discussion of Hell cannot be detected in this particular chapter. Is it possible that by including these *exempla* (especially the fourth and fifth) Stephen is demonstrating that fear of Purgatory must be intimately linked to an understanding of one's own sin, not a comparison with other people's or a more generalised fear of hellfire? Certainly the individualised texture of the stories in the chapter devoted to Purgatory far outweigh the number of similar descriptions in the previous chapter about Hell, where general or group punishments pre-dominate. It seems likely that the motivation for selecting the four extracts from Edmund's vision was related to their focus on individualised purgatorial punishment and the fear that it should engender. The knight whose hand is attacked

³²⁷ Alan E. Bernstein, 'The invocation of Hell in thirteenth-century Paris' in James Hankins, John Montasani, Frederick Purnell Jnr. eds., *Supplementum Festiuium: Studies in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 49 (New York, 1987), 13-54 at 35.

³²⁸ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.205-208.

by a bird, the knight on perpetual crusade and the knight forced to digest burning coins are clearly enduring profound punishment. Stephen's description of the attack on the drunken goldsmith by a devil in the shape of a toad is slightly more ambiguous. It could have occurred after he had died, or been the cause of his death, although it is notable that the ambiguity is not present in the authorial versions of the text, where the attack by the demon is clearly what kills him.³²⁹

Equally interesting is that Stephen demonstrates very little concern with the precise location of these punishments in relation to one another, or in their wider position in otherworldly geography. Just as Roger of Wendover seemed more interested in the broad spatial sweep of the afterlife, Stephen does not contextualise these accounts in the same way at all. Purgatory is a series of individual punishments tightly linked to individual behaviour on earth. Stephen does not extract the passages that describe multitudes of souls enduring generalised punishments – an image that would have been familiar to thirteenth-century audiences from the depictions of Hell painted on chancel arches in parish churches throughout Europe. This does not necessarily distinguish it from the way in which other *exempla* operated. But it does suggest that, contrary to some of the historiographical pre-occupations, when the Friars disseminated visions of the otherworld they were not primarily concerned with the spatial difference between Hell and Purgatory or their relative positions in the otherworld: the purging of the soul took place in an individualised environment. It is a pattern that can be identified in the dissemination of other visions and in different collections.

It is difficult to be sure whether Stephen is demonstrating a purely eschatological preference in his description of these individual Purgatories; clearly the demands of genre and audience are at play here as well. But it is notable that his decisions in respect to the VEME contradict those taken by the monastic historians described above in other ways as well. In all of the accounts described above there is a sense in which the vision was granted to a monk because of his vocation.³³⁰ Just as Ralph, Roger and

³²⁹ This is the case elsewhere as well; see Odo of Cheriton below.

³³⁰ Consider Ralph of Coggeshall: 'Quidam monachus exstitit in Enigsamensi coenobio, juvenis quidem aetate sed morum probitate senior, qui nuper postquam de seculo ad religionem transierat', Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p.71.

the compiler of W detail the monastic context of the vision, in Stephen's account it was just a "holy man" (*sancto viro*) who had been granted a vision of the otherworld.³³¹ There are other differences as well. If Roger of Wendover appeared to be at pains to ignore the goldsmith's drunkenness, that situation is reversed in Stephen's work. In many ways this is more true to the original which focuses on this sin rather than the vocational crime, but it is worth observing the difference nonetheless.³³² Perhaps the most obvious difference between the longer version of the drunken goldsmith's account and Stephen's shorter report is in its explanation of how the drunk man found himself in purgatorial suffering rather than eternal punishment. In the A, B and C texts of the vision the person responsible for selecting his current repose was Saint Nicholas and the title of Stephen's *exemplum* would suggest that the same would be true in his account. In fact, in this version of the story, maybe mimicking the crucial role that God played in the previous *exemplum*, it is God who decides the drunk man's fate.³³³

The inclusion of the vision of the monk of Eynsham in the *Speculum Morale*, associated with Vincent of Beauvais' (c.1190-c.1264) massive encyclopedia, is a direct result of its appearance in Stephen's compilation. Its appearance in a thesis that predominantly deals with the long thirteenth century may surprise readers, as this volume has long been regarded as problematic. For many years the *Speculum Morale* has been treated as a derivative compilation of material of little worth to scholars and probably composed in a far later period. This position is exacerbated by its false attribution to Vincent of Beauvais and its addition to his encyclopaedia in the fifteenth century, where it appears as the third volume of the four-volume *Speculum Maius* (the other three volumes are entitled *Speculum Naturale*, *Speculum Doctrinale* and *Speculum Historiale*, the latter of which will be discussed later in respect to the work of Helinand of Froidmont in chapter four). The publication of the Douai edition of the work in 1624 cemented the relationship between the four books, but there was already considerable doubt about Vincent's role in the *Speculum Morale's* creation. Although recent scholarship has suggested that Vincent may have wished to produce a fourth book, Jacques Echard's lengthy study of the work in the early eighteenth century conclusively proved that the

³³¹ Stephen of Bourbon I, p.151.

³³² Similar observations can be made regarding the VEME in Odo of Cheriton's collection discussed below.

³³³ 'et traxit eos ad iudicium Dei qui grauissime pene purgatorie adiudicauit', Stephen of Bourbon I, p.151.

Speculum Morale was not produced by the same thirteenth-century Dominican.³³⁴ Nonetheless, Echard's confessional judgment of the work (he thought that the blatant plagiarism in the *Speculum Morale* could not have been the work of a Dominican) and the incorrect dating of the work of Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken to after 1324 have both been challenged by a French thesis produced in the late 1980s and the recent launching of a research project in Australia.³³⁵³³⁶ The subsequent dating of the *Speculum Morale* to c.1300 places the work within the chronological parameters of this thesis.

For the most part, the details of the vision and the four *exempla* are copied directly across into the third book of the *Speculum Morale* 'Concerning death' from Stephen's version. There is one small difference: in Stephen's account, the drunk man seems to honour St. Nicholas at the point of death, where as in the *Speculum Morale* it happened during his life. However, the drunk man *exemplum* features twice in the text and the latter version provides clues as to how it was integrated with other work. Here, in a section concerning gluttony, St. Nicholas saves the drunk man (no mention of God in this version) from the damnation of Hell (*damnatione inferni*). The hellish consequence of the sin is emphasised in this account presumably because the redactor is not tied to using the *exemplum* in a more general way to describe the otherworld. The text is then followed by a discussion of drunkenness from Leviticus (eg. "you shall not drink wine nor anything that may make you drunk, thou nor they sons, when you enter the

³³⁴ Jacques Echard, *Sancti Thomae Summa suo auctori vindicate sive di Vincentii Bellovacensis scriptis dissertatio* (Paris, 1708).

³³⁵ The Australian research project seeks to look at the *Speculum Morale* in a new light, "considers the limitations of simply dismissing the work as 'plagiarism' and instead draws attention to the potential significance of studying how texts can be subtly transformed by the process of compilation". Such aims sit neatly with what this thesis sets out to do, although their focus is on an individual volume, rather on the various volumes that contain a given text. The researchers plan to use modified plagiarism detection software to compare the *Speculum Morale* and its sources to identify areas of commonality and divergence: Constant J. Mews, Thomas Zahora, Dmitri Nikulin and David Squire, 'The *Speculum Morale* (c.1300) and the study of textual transformations: a research project in progress', *Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter* 35 (2010), 5-15 at 6. For the technical details of this aspect of the project, see Dmitri Nikulin's technical appendix: *ibid.*, 14-15.

³³⁶ Cited in Constant J. Mews, Thomas Zahora, Dmitri Nikulin and David Squire, 'The *Speculum Morale* (c.1300) and the study of textual transformations: a research project in progress', *Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter* 35 (2010), 5. The thesis, which I have not consulted, written by Anne Dubrulle, demonstrated that the *Speculum Morale* had been used by Durand de Champagne in his *Speculum Dominarum* in c.1300: Anne Dubrulle, 'Le *Speculum Dominarum* de Durand de Champagne. Édition critique, diplôme d'archiviste paléographe', École Nationale Des Chartes thèse (1988). For Durand and the *Speculum Dominarum*, see: Lester Kruger Born, 'The perfect prince: a study in thirteenth and fourteenth-century ideals', *Speculum* 3 (1928) 470-504, at 493.

tabernacle of the testimony; lest you die").³³⁷ There is also some specific advice to priests: drunk ministers are not pleasing to God "because they are sanctified and consecrated by God".³³⁸ The intervention of St. Nicholas seems even more remarkable in this context because the description of the punishment for drunkenness in the surrounding *exempla* is clear: *Ebrietas precipitat in infernum*.³³⁹

A final, early, redaction of the vision, notable because it appears alongside a sermon in some copies of the work (a relative rarity for visions of the otherworld) is worth considering briefly as it picks up on some of the sin-specific traits described in the last *exemplum*. Odo of Cheriton (c.1180-90 – c.1246-7) included the tale of the drunken goldsmith in his *Parabola*e (completed in 1219).³⁴⁰ This dating established by A. C. Friend among others, suggests that Odo's work was completed before Stephen of Bourbon's *Seven Gifts* and the *Speculum Morale* and cannot have been derived from them as some have suggested.³⁴¹ Odo was an Englishman from an Anglo-Norman family who spent time as a master in the University of Paris (where he appears in records for the years 1210-1211). His *Parabola*e are sometimes attached to sermons and are sometimes circulated separately. The collection is unstable and any attempt to define an authorial version would be flawed. Nonetheless Léopold Hervieux has produced an edition of the *exemplum* (although not the sermons) in which the drunken goldsmith story features.³⁴² In an English manuscript from the beginning of the fourteenth century, as in the French manuscript in which Hervieux was working from, the drunken goldsmith's story appears after a sermon based on John 2:1 ('there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee...').³⁴³ In the BL manuscript the position of this sermon is different from the expected cycle (it is placed in the first Sunday after the octave of

³³⁷ Leviticus 10:9. This passage finishes the *exemplum*. See: Vincent of Beauvais. *Speculum Morale*, Col. 1359, C-D. In this passage the behaviour of the Saracens (*Saracenorum*) is also referenced – they "abstain according to the rule of Mohammed except in certain festivals when, before they get drunk, they are insane".

³³⁸ 'Quod quia sanctificati et consecrati errant Domino', *ibid*.

³³⁹ *ibid*.

³⁴⁰ Not to be confused with his *Fabulae*. See: *The Fables of Odo of Cheriton*, trans. John C. Jacobs (Chicago, 1985).

³⁴¹ A.C. Friend, 'Master Odo of Cheriton', *Speculum* 23 (1948), 641-658.

³⁴² Odonis de Ceritona, 'Parabola'e in Léopold Hervieux ed. *Les Fabulistes Latin*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1884-1899), IV: *Eudes de Cheriton et ses derives* (Paris, 1896), 272. As we shall see in section 2.2.3, this edition does not necessarily contain the full selection of *exempla* that were disseminated in England through Odo's work. Hervieux uses Paris, BN. MS Lat. 16505 for this edition.

³⁴³ London, BL MS Arundel 231, 2 vols., I, Sermon: ff.92r-95r; *Exemplum*: f.95r.

epiphany, whereas elsewhere it appears on the second Sunday) but it retains its position in the part of the medieval calendar likely to have seen a disproportionate number of weddings.³⁴⁴ In several other manuscripts derived from the *Parabola*, the *exemplum*, along with others in the collection, appears disconnected from the sermon.³⁴⁵

Despite the differences in the manuscripts, the texts of the story are very similar. There is a perfunctory introduction to the vision where it is revealed that a monk in England had been led “in his soul” to where many people were being tortured.³⁴⁶ The monk then questioned a man on the cause of his pains.³⁴⁷ He revealed that he was drunk nearly everyday when he was alive and that he had died when a toad had entered his mouth and consumed his heart.³⁴⁸ Demons then took him “to torment”.³⁴⁹ The man’s concession to the religious life was that he had lit a candle every day, even when he had been drunk, at the altar of St. Nicholas. When he is asked of the eventual fate of his soul, he replies: “I do not know, but I have faith in good Nicholas”.³⁵⁰ Again, interestingly, the geography seems to be secondary. There is no explicit mention of Purgatory or Hell and the man’s fate is uncertain, hinging on his faith in St. Nicholas. Unlike in Stephen’s version, there is no need to set otherworldly parameters for the account. The focus is on the sin of drunkenness leading on from the sermon. In this sense the VEME has lost much of what makes visions of the otherworld stand out from other religious tales, the opposite of what happens when it is shortened into monastic histories. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that both the sermon, which deals with drunkenness and marriage, and the *exemplum* do not seem to enjoy the wide dissemination that their inclusion in the work of Odo of Chertion might suggest. In

³⁴⁴ See: Johannes Baptist Schneyer, *Repertorium Der Lateinischen Sermones Des Mittelalters*, 11 vols., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 43 (Münster, 1969-90), IV: p.484, 15 (T12). For information regarding this see: David D’Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford, 2001), pp.1-2 and p.1n.1.

³⁴⁵ For a thirteenth-century example, see: London, BL MS Harley 3244, f.77^r (col. II).

³⁴⁶ ‘Quidam monachus in Anglia ductus spiritu ubi plures vidit in tormentis’, London, BL MSS Arundel 231, I, f.95^r and Burney 361, f.148^v, col. II.

³⁴⁷ ‘interrogauit causam pene sui qui ait’, *ibid.*

³⁴⁸ ‘Fere singulis diebus dum vixi sue inebriaui ... tandem quadem nocte cum ebrius lecto iacerem in videbatur qui bufo per os meum et guttur intrauit et cor meum momordit et mortuus sum’, *ibid.*

³⁴⁹ ‘et demones animam meum in tormenta’, *ibid.*

³⁵⁰ ‘Requiustus si unquam salvaretur respondit: Nescio tamen fiduciam habeo in bono Nicholao’, *ibid.*

several manuscripts where the rest of the collection appears the sermon and the *exemplum* are absent.³⁵¹

This chapter has shown two broad and divergent trends in the dissemination of the VEME. In the hands of monks from more established monasteries, the vision is shifted to fit with other visions of the otherworld and the parts which seem to reflect more 'modern' pastoral and eschatological concerns are more vulnerable to summary or deletion. This may have reflected the implicit threat that some monks may have seen in the widening of the road to salvation that the more hopeful part of the VEME suggested, but it is also a response to the needs of particular genre. On the other hand, mendicant compilers seem to pick up on part of the VEME's novelty, its concern with individual souls and its eschatological hopefulness. This nuances the model, often proposed by early modern scholars, that sees the emergence in the late twelfth century of a medieval interest in the "vast territories" of the otherworld at the expense of "tiny receptacles".³⁵²

The identification of these trends might also contribute to an understanding of why there were so few new long and geography-based visions of the otherworld composed in the thirteenth century. It seems possible that this type of otherworldly vision found its most committed adherents in the older cloistered monastic communities. By the thirteenth century, as scribal output in these monasteries declined and the libraries became saturated with the visions of the otherworld produced in the twelfth century, the number of similar accounts recorded by Benedictines and Cistercians also fell. In contrast, the mendicant orders, who otherwise picked up the shortfall in writing, did not seem to be interested in visions of the otherworld in the same way. As we have seen, in their accounts, the visions were co-opted into wider categories of the supernatural and miraculous events with a more didactic character. This argument will be expanded and developed in the following chapter, which will examine how the same friars who edited the VEME reacted to a much older vision of the otherworld.

³⁵¹ See table II, notes.

³⁵² Peter Marshall, "The Map of God's Word': Geographies of the Afterlife in Tudor and Early Stuart England', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.110-130 at p.112

Chapter 2

The vision of Saint Fursa and thirteenth-century didactic literature

This chapter will build on the study of exempla versions of the visions of the otherworld offered at the end of the previous chapter. Rather than looking at the after-life of a pastorally innovative vision, this chapter will focus on an older vision seen by Saint Fursa and recorded first in a *Vita* and then in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.¹ The central question is how an older vision from a respected and revered source was treated in a new environment, both in terms of theology and genre, and whether this differed from the way in which the VEME was disseminated. In particular it will consider whether one can sense the influence of wider trends discussed in the previous chapter (the development of the doctrine of Purgatory and the pastoral developments leading up to the Fourth Lateran Council, for example) on the shape of the vision in its various redactions.² It will also look at the way in which the vision became associated with one particular sin – usury – and how that dictated the way in which the vision was edited. It will also briefly discuss how the vision was altered when it was translated into Anglo-Norman and Middle English towards the end of the century.

2.1. The vision of Fursa in the early Middle Ages

2.1.1. Saint Fursa, his *Vita* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*

Fursa (597–c.649) was an Irish monk, one of three brothers who decided to become missionaries.³ During his early life in Ireland Fursa was the beneficiary of three visions (including the one which became popular in the thirteenth century, his second). He left his homeland in c.633 and travelled to East Anglia, becoming the first recorded Irish missionary to England. While he was living in England he had a fourth vision which inspired him to build a monastery in Norfolk. When in East Anglia he lived as a hermit for a year, abandoning his monastic responsibilities. After about a decade in England

¹ Fursa is also known as Fursey, Fursy, Forseus, Fursis and Furseus.

² The relationship between the Fourth Lateran Council and the gnereal literature of pastoral care is discussed in: Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c.1140 – 1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto, 1992), pp.75-99.

³ Recent introductions to Fursa's life can be found in: Michelle Brown, 'The life of St. Fursey': *What we know, Why it matters* Fursey Occasional Papers 1 (Fursey Pilgrims, 2001, rpr. 2003, 2007) and Stefanie Hamann, 'St Fursa, the Genealogy of an Irish saint – the historical persona and his cult', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 112 (2011), 1-41.

he travelled to Frankia where he founded another monastery (*Latiniacum* in the *Vita*, modern-day Lagny-sur-Mer). He died in northern France and was buried at Péronne, where his shrine became the focus of a modest cult. His story survives in a *Vita* (sometimes known as the *Vita Prima* or *The Passage*), where the four visions are recorded.⁴ A continuation was added to the *Vita* added during the seventh century and a ninth-century compilation of his miracles, known as the *Virtues of Fursa*, was also produced.⁵ A second life of Fursa was written in the eleventh or twelfth century in mainland Europe, with a preface by Arnulf, abbot of Lagny, who died in 1106.⁶ For the purposes of this chapter, it is the inclusion of a summary of Fursa's *Vita* in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* [HE] that is crucial.⁷ Bede devotes most of his account to Fursa's longest vision and it is his redaction that is responsible for the vision's popularity before and during the thirteenth century.⁸ The presence of this vision alongside other, similar accounts in the *HE* has contributed to what one scholar has recently described as "watershed moment in the development of the medieval afterlife".⁹ This chapter will start by outlining Fursa's visions (with particular focus on the second) as they appear in the *Vita* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. It will go on to analyse the reappearance of the second vision in the didactic literature of the thirteenth century.

In order to fully appreciate the way in which the longest vision of Fursa was used by later redactors it is necessary to say something about his *Vita*. This will allow the chapter to subsequently explain how Fursa's story was edited by Bede and also

⁴ Nine manuscripts of Fursa's *Vita* survive. It is edited, omitting Fursa's first two visions, in: *Vita virtutesque Fursei Abbatis Latinacensis Passiones in Vitaeque Sanctorum aevi Merovinginci*, ed. Bruno Krusch, MGH SRM IV (Hanover, 1902), 423-440 [Henceforth: *Vita*]. The first two visions are edited in: M. Ciccarese, 'Le visioni di S. Fursa' in *Romanobarbarica* 8 (1984-5), 231-303 [Henceforth: *Visions*]. The numbers in the brackets refers to the section number from table A. The earliest surviving manuscript of this work is London, BL MS Harley 5041, fols.79-98, which was probably copied in Northern France in the eighth century. This manuscript has formed the basis of a recent transcription and translation: Oliver Rackman, *Transitus Beati Fursei* (Norwich, 2007). Rackman, somewhat misleadingly, introduces his own sub-titles into the account, to match those provided by Ciccarese, but his section numbering, like mine, conflates the two separate editions described above.

⁵ *Vita*, 440-449.

⁶ 'Alia vita S. Fursei', *ActaSS*, Jan. 2nd, 408-418.

⁷ The vision appears in: Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.19, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), pp.268-277 [hereafter: *HE*].

⁸ For several early-medieval redactors the vision seems to be one of the 'highlights' of the *HE*. It is, for example, selected for inclusion in the so-called 'East Anglian Chronicle' when other material is omitted. See: Hart, Cyril, 'The East Anglian chronicle', *Journal of Medieval History* 7 (1981), 249-282 at 256.

⁹ Isabel Moreira, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2010), p.11.

demonstrate how and to what extent the account became removed from its original context in the central and later Middle Ages. A summary of the order of events in the *Vita* can be found in section i of Table III below. This division of the *Vita* will also be referred to when the longer redactions of the vision are discussed later in the chapter. It is important to note, however, that few (if any) of the thirteenth century redactors would have had access to a copy of the *Vita*, which survives in relatively few manuscripts.¹⁰

Fursa's life, as it is described in the *Vita*, is dominated by his visionary experiences which occurred at various intervals during his stays in Ireland and England. In the *Vita*, Fursa is described as "noble even by birth" and his early years in the monastery were scattered with signs of divine grace.¹¹ After he had spent several years studying scripture, he founded his own monastery. Following this he experienced his first vision (sections 2-4 in table III). On his way to visit his family, he became seriously ill and was surrounded by darkness. He saw the hands of four angels who lifted him heavenwards. Although he could perceive nothing bodily (*corporeum*), he was able to discern the angels' countenance and hear them sing an extract from Psalm 84.¹² After this, Fursa was reluctantly returned to his body. He remained ill for two days before he was taken away by angels again, on the third day when he had another extraordinary encounter. This vision (sections 5-17 in table III) is the longest event in Fursa's *Vita* and is considerably more complicated than his first. In the following description I will summarise the areas that interested later redactors, but a feeling for the balance of the vision can be understood from table III. Fursa was granted this vision while he was still recovering from the illness that had led to his first experience. It occurred when some of his friends had gathered around his bedside at midnight, just as he was about to "gladly accept death."¹³ Instead of listening to a heavenly choir, as he had done in his previous encounter, Fursa is taken by his angelic entourage through a crowd of jeering demons, who flew around him like shadows (*umbram*).¹⁴ The demons cast fiery darts at Fursa, but the angels fought them off. The angels then had

¹⁰ For a list of the manuscripts of the *Vita*, see: *Vita*, 429-431.

¹¹ 'nobilis quidem genere', *Vita*, 434 (1).

¹² 'nec aliquid corporeum nisi luminis claritatem potuit videre', *Visions*, 281 (2). Psalm 84: 'Ibunt sancti de virtute in uirtutem uidebitur deus deorum in Sion', *Vision*, 281 (3).

¹³ 'laetus excepit mortem', *Visions*, 283 (5).

¹⁴ 'et uolaticum umbram uidere poterat', *Visions*, 284 (6).

to defend the saint against the accusations of the Devil who challenged Fursa's right to enter the kingdom of Heaven.¹⁵ In this passage, Satan used several biblical passages from the gospel of Matthew to try to undermine the angels' defence of Fursa. Nonetheless, their defence was eventually successful and Fursa was asked to look down upon the world, where he saw a valley of darkness. Fursa saw four fires in the air (representing various sins) emerging from the gloom. These fires gradually merged together and moved towards the stationary saint, who grew increasingly wary. Fursa was told by the angels that he didn't need to fear the fire because the flames would "try everyone according to their works."¹⁶ The angels proceeded to protect the Irish missionary from the fire, where he could see that the demons were waging a dreadful war. While Fursa's group were in this fire a second debate with the Devil ensued. After the angels had been victorious for a second time, Fursa was surrounded by an immense brightness. This part of the vision takes place near or in Heaven, possibly in an ante-room which the living were permitted to see (occasionally some of the heavenly entourage retreat back into a deeper area to which Fursa is not granted access) but the delineation is not entirely clear. The area is introduced as follows: "no labour should seem hard, no time long by which the glory of eternity is gained. All were filled with joy and sweetness" and the angels tell Fursa that no sadness can be done in "this Heavenly kingdom."¹⁷ During his stay in this area, he was introduced to two Irish holy men, Beoan and Meldan. In a lengthy passage they talk to Fursa about the end of the world, the behaviour of priests and the nature of sinfulness.¹⁸ Beoan gives Fursa specific advice about taking alms and keeping to the monastic rule, finishing by urging him to preach in Ireland.

After this, Beoan returns into a part of Heaven which Fursa is not allowed to see. Fursa has to return to his body and his angelic bodyguards have been reduced in number from four to three.¹⁹ Initially, the angels are able to divide the fire as they had done before but the demons manage to seize a soul and throw it at Fursa, burning his

¹⁵ 'hic homo non intrabit in regnum caelorum', *Visions*, 286 (7).

¹⁶ 'tamen secundum merita operum singulos examinat', *Visions*, 287 (8).

¹⁷ "Nullus labor durus uideri debet, nullum longum tempus quo gloria aeternitatis acquiritur' ... laetitia simul et dulcedine complebatur', *Visions*, 291 (10); "In hoc caelesti regno nulla umquam tristitia nisi de hominum perditione fieri potest", *Visions*, 293 (11).

¹⁸ *Visions*, 293-300 (12-15).

¹⁹ 'Beato quoque Furseo cum tribus angelis solis ad terram reuersuro', *Visions*, 300 (16).

shoulder and jaw. Fursa recognised the soul of the man who had been thrust upon him. He had been the man's confessor on his deathbed and received garments from him in thanks for liberating his soul. The visionary was punished because the man was a sinner. Fursa was told that:

"Repentance may be done and be received by a priest even unto the last hour; but nothing of the sinner's property shall be received, nor shall his body be buried in a holy place."²⁰

Fursa was then returned to his body, by which time mourners had gathered in the church. When water was poured on him, the wounds that had been inflicted upon him on his way down from Heaven became clearly visible. After his return to his body Fursa preached in Ireland until he was granted his third vision, on the anniversary of his second. This time an angel gave him more advice on how to preach. The advice seemed to have worked and Fursa soon became frustrated with the size of the crowds that gathered around him, some of whom, we are told, began to move against him.²¹ This situation motivated him to travel to East Anglia, where he was honoured by Siegberht, the king of the region. Here he had his fourth and final vision, which inspired him to found a monastery. The *Vita* then informs us of Fursa's year-long spell as a hermit, his eventual departure from England to France and his death and burial in Péronne (sections 21-24). When Fursa's body was eventually moved from the porch of the church to a position nearer the altar, it was found to be miraculously undamaged.²²

It is worth highlighting a few features of the *Vita* of St. Fursa which will serve as an introduction to an examination of how his second vision was extracted and disseminated in the course of the long thirteenth century. Although this second vision dominates the *Vita*, it is only part of a recognisably hagiographic account of Fursa's life. As such, although it contains several features common to the visions of the otherworld recorded at the end of the twelfth century, it remains recognisably part of a different genre, with different emphases. One such difference is the ambiguity

²⁰ 'Praedica ergo omnibus quod poenitentia agenda et a sacerdote suscipienda usque in extremam horam sed tamen nihil substantiae eius suscipiendum nec corpus in sancto sepeliendum est loco uiuo', *Visions*, 301 (16).

²¹ 'inruentium popolorum multitudines non ferens, aliquantum etiam animos, invidia stimulante, contra se commotus esseprehendens', *Vita*, 436-437 (20).

²² 'ibi post tot annos immaculatum corpus reverentissimis...', *Vita*, 439 (24).

concerning the geography of the otherworld. There is no clear delineation of the areas that Fursa travels through. Related, is Fursa's lack of agency. He doesn't move through the otherworld, often it moves around him (for example, when the four fires merge into one and engulf him). The "concrete" nature of the twelfth-century otherworld observed by Robert Bartlett does not apply here.²³ Another feature of the vision worth noting is the centrality of Fursa's time in Heaven and his long conversation with Beoan and Meldan. These features of the *Vita* and the second vision are worth highlighting as we track the account through its later redactions. This is not to say that these characteristics remained unaltered until the thirteenth century. Some of the most significant alterations came when Bede placed the vision into his history. Although Bede retains parts of Fursa's life, he also removes, restructures and adds material to the text that he inherited. These changes are worth dwelling on, as the redaction in the popular and readily available *HE* is largely responsible for setting the parameters of the vision's later dissemination.

Bede places his summary of the *Vita* in the nineteenth chapter of the third book of the *HE* which he completed in c.731.²⁴ Bede's redaction of Fursa's life is based on the *Vita*, and he refers interested readers back to the text at several intervals.²⁵ Despite this familiarity, Bede changes the narrative that he inherited in several interesting ways. A summary of these changes can be seen in table III, section ii. Although Bede does add some features into his account of Fursa, he is mainly interested in summarising the information he has obtained from the *Vita*. For example, Bede removes the detailed debates between the angels, the demons and Satan regarding Fursa's suitability to enter into Heaven, referring only to their "manifold accusations" and directing readers back to the *Vita* (note that similar trends were observed when the VEME was placed in later, thirteenth-century history chronicles).²⁶ Similarly, he removes all of the information about Fursa's encounters with the heavenly host. The content of his long conversations with Beoan and Meldan concerning a wide variety of issues is reduced

²³ Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), p.606.

²⁴ I am grateful to Roberta Bassi for allowing me to consult her unpublished paper: 'The spiritual journeys of Fursey and Dryhthelm in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in the *Old English Bede* and in the *Homilies* of Ælfric', presented at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 14th July, 2010. See also: Aine Casey, *The Vita Fursey and its use by Bede and Aelfric*, Fursey Occasional Papers 5 (Norwich, 2010).

²⁵ 'de uita eius conscriptus sufficienter edocet ... et ipsas etiam cogitationes quasi in libro descriptas replicauerint ... legat ipsum de quo dixi libellum uitae eius', *HE*, 3.19, pp.270-271.

²⁶ 'crebris accusationibus', *ibid.*

to a reference to “a fuller [*copiosior*] vision of the heavenly hosts, as well as of the saints of his own nation, whose names he knew by repute and who had been devoted priests in days gone by.”²⁷ These deletions have the effect of highlighting the ‘negative’ aspects of Fursa’s second vision, something that Bede explains he is doing because it would be helpful [*commodum*] to his readers.²⁸ In particular, Bede focuses on the way in which Fursa was engulfed by four fires and on his assault by the demons on the way back to his body, although he does also note briefly that he is granted a vision of the heavenly hosts in-between these two events.

Bede also emphasises Fursa’s stay in East Anglia and his monastic vocation. Some of this emphasis is the result of active restructuring on Bede’s part. In the *Vita*, only sections 20-24 occur in England. In order to place the story into his wider chronology Bede moves these sections to the beginning of the narrative, making Fursa’s relationship with the king of East Anglia, Sigeberht, clear. The previous section in the *Ecclesiastical History* focused on Sigeberht’s rule. As a result Bede reports Fursa’s fourth vision (section 24) before any of the others. This allows him to note that Fursa founded a monastery in England and is able to give new detailed geographic information about its location: “now the monastery was pleasantly situated close to the woods and the sea, in a Roman camp which is called in English *Cnobheresburg*, that is the city of Cnobhere [Burgh Castle].”²⁹

Following this opening, the actual earthly location of the subsequent visions is unclear. Whether this is through the deliberate process of ‘nationalising’ the text, or the more passive result of summary is unclear. Bede certainly mentions that Fursa is of “very noble Irish race” and he details Fursa’s move to England (although this reference itself is confusing).³⁰ On the other hand, he does not mention the location of Fursa’s first foundation and completely removes the most explicitly Irish of Fursa’s visions (the third in the *Vita*, sections 18 and 19 in table III). The Irish saints Beoan and Meldan are either names that are unfamiliar to him, or he thinks will be unfamiliar to his audience. In

²⁷ ‘*copiosior caelestium agminum uisio; sed et uirorum de sua natione sanctorum, quos olim sacerdotii gradu non ignobiliter potitos fama iam uulgante conpererat*’, *HE*, 3.19, pp.272-273.

²⁸ *ibid.*

²⁹ ‘*Erat autem monasterium siluarum et maris uicinitate amoenum, constructum in castro quodam quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheresburg*’, *ibid.*, pp.270-271.

³⁰ ‘*Erat autem uir iste de nobilissimo genere Scottorum*’, *ibid.*

addition, Bede follows up his account of the longest vision with an added passage concerning an English monk who was “an aged brother still living in our monastery ... [who] had seen Fursa himself in the kingdom of the East Angles and had heard these visions from his own mouth.”³¹ The brother added that,

“although it was during a time of severe winter weather and hard frost and though Fursa sat only wearing a thin garment, yet as he told his story he sweated as though it were the middle of summer, either because of the terror or else the joy which his recollections aroused.”³²

In short, readers of the complete earlier version of the *HE* who did not have access to the earlier *Vita* could be forgiven for thinking that all of Fursa’s visions occurred in England. Similarly, they may have picked up a slightly distorted account of Fursa’s spiritual life. In Bede’s version, before Fursa’s longest vision, he had founded two monasteries. He also mentions Fursa’s management of the East Anglian monastery later in the account and his third foundation in France, meaning that all the references to the visionary’s monastic life in the *Vita* survive Bede’s editing.³³

These deletions, amendments and additions have the combined effect of highlighting Fursa’s second vision, his monastic vocation and the importance of his stay in England. They also have the effect of focusing Bede’s account of Fursa’s life on the negative aspects of his vision – the fire and the demons, rather than Heaven. Despite this, however, much of the narrative Bede inherited from the *Vita* remains intact. Fursa is still described as a saint from his birth, he has still attended a dying man’s bedside and he is still guided through the otherworld by a group of angels. There are no significant theological differences – Fursa’s sin and punishment remain identical. Furthermore, Bede does little to clear up the ambiguous spatial description of the otherworld. As in the *Vita*, Fursa is taken up and down and the first fire still moves towards him.

³¹ ‘Superest adhuc frater quidam senior monasterii nostri qui narrare solet dixisse sibi quendam multum ueracem ac religiosum hominem, quod ipsum Fursum uiderit in prouincia Orientalium Anglorum, illasque visiones ex ipsius ore audierit’, *ibid.*, pp.274-275.

³² ‘adiciens quia tempus hiemis fuerit accerimum et glacie constrictum, cum sedens in tenui ueste uir ita inter dicendum propter magnitudinem memorati timoris uel suauitatis quasi in mediae aestatis caumate sudauerit’, *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*

2.1.2. Purgatory and the vision in the early and central Middle Ages

Although the exact reasons for Bede's alterations have been neglected by historians of the early Middle Ages, the second vision of Fursa in both the *Vita* and the *HE* has played a role in the recent debate about the doctrine of Purgatory. In particular, historians have discussed whether the vision, in either of its forms, can shed any light on the dating of the emergence of Purgatory that Jacques Le Goff placed at the end of the twelfth century. For his part, Le Goff saw nothing in Bede's version of the vision to "detain" him for long, focusing on the more popular and more structured vision of Drythelm instead.³⁴ He noted that in the vision of Fursa purgatorial fire is not "mentioned by name" and that the idea of Purgatory was, at best, vague.

In contrast, Dunn argues that the vision in the *Vita* reveals a uniquely Irish (and potentially British) approach to penance and purgation, and is thus an important milestone in a longer evolution of the doctrine of Purgatory. She also makes the case for the vision having a wider contribution to early medieval theology, shaping the discussion of Purgatory in Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*. This adds to her argument that, rather than being a single text, the *Dialogues* are "hybrid and inauthentic."³⁵ In relation to the otherworld, she develops the argument of Peter Brown that the vision was a "specifically Irish vision of the afterlife based on Irish ideas of law."³⁶ Just as in Irish law, justice is debated and administered by Satan and the angels in private, away from the presence of God. Therefore the vision, despite its lack of a purgatorial space, extends "the system of tariffed penance into the afterlife."³⁷ Indeed it is Satan who argues that God had "promised that every sin that is not expiated on earth shall be

³⁴ The translated version of *The Birth of Purgatory* says that the vision of Saint Fursa 'need not detain us long' (the phrase that Dunn uses in her criticism of Le Goff), Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), p.112. In the original French, however, Le Goff is slightly less dismissive saying that he is 'passons rapidement sur la première vision', Jacques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris, 1981), 154. For criticisms of Goldhammer's translation, see G. R. Edwards, 'Purgatory: Birth or Evolution?', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985), 636-646.

³⁵ Dunn uses the vision to argue that at least part of the *Dialogues* was written in England, not Rome and confirm that the work was a hybrid creation, not a cohesive work: Marilyn Dunn, 'Gregory the Great, the vision of Fursa and the origins of Purgatory' *Peritia* 14 (2000), 252.

³⁶ Peter Brown, 'Vers la naissance du purgatoire', *Annales ESC* 52/2 (1997), 1247-1271.

³⁷ Marilynn Dunn, 'Gregory the Great, the vision of Fursa and the origins of Purgatory' *Peritia* 14 (2000), 238.

avenged in Heaven.”³⁸ Dunn sees this as an “original contribution” to the development of Purgatory.³⁹ She concludes that “ultimately, the alternative approach to the afterlife and penance, promoted in the vision of Fursa, in the *Dialogues* and by Bede slowly developed into what we know as Purgatory.”⁴⁰ Having seen the changes that Bede made to the narrative in the *Vita* it is clear that Dunn’s argument holds up less well for Anglo-Saxon England than it might do for Ireland. The dialogue between the angels and Satan is removed in its entirety and none of its legal complexity survives into Bede’s redaction. Focusing solely on Bede’s version, Sarah Foot has recently argued that there is no evidence from the *HE* to suggest that the Anglo-Saxons had a firm idea of post-mortem purgation.⁴¹ In short, she broadly agrees with Le Goff’s analysis that Purgatory is a central medieval development.

One way of testing these theories is by looking at the way in which the otherworldly space in the vision of Fursa was negotiated by later redactors. Although several twelfth-century visions have been discussed in relation to Le Goff’s suggested dating for the emergence of Purgatory, nothing has been said about how older visions were utilised in the central Middle Ages. The later versions of the vision of Fursa have certainly not attracted the interest of historians, despite the considerable light they might shed on the transmission and reception of the doctrine of Purgatory. Analysing them will demonstrate whether or not thirteenth-century authors (on the other side of Le Goff’s birth-date for Purgatory) detected and highlighted the purgatorial texture to the account that Dunn identifies and Foot denies, or whether they used the vision in a different way. In the context of this thesis, the study of the thirteenth-century redactions might help to build on and nuance some of the ideas suggested at the end of the last chapter about how otherworldly geography, new emphases in the provision of pastoral care and the limitations of different genres might have interacted.

³⁸ ‘Quia omne delectum quod non purgatur super terram in caelum iudicandum promisit’, *Transitus Beati Fursei*, p.22.

³⁹ Marilyn Dunn, *The Vision of Saint Fursey and the Development of Purgatory*, Fursa Occasional Papers 2 (Norwich, 2007), p.3.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p.23.

⁴¹ Sarah Foot, ‘Anglo Saxon ‘Purgatory’ in Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon eds., *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of Souls*, SCH 45 (Woodbridge, 2009), pp.87-96, at p.96.

While this discussion of otherworldly space is a good starting point for a study of the dissemination of the vision of Fursa, an analysis of the later redactions will also contribute to a wider understanding of medieval eschatology. The re-appearance of the vision will reveal the locations and identities of those interested in visions of the otherworld. The alterations, omissions and additions that these redactors introduced to the inherited narrative will demonstrate how religious texts crossed genres; from history to *exempla* or from hagiography to sermon; and how newer visions of the otherworld influenced the dissemination of Fursa's narrative. The very placing of the narrative within manuscripts will show how the authors imagined the vision would be used, who their intended audience was and what they thought of the earlier vision's theology and eschatology. In the course of this investigation topics as varied as sinfulness, punishment and even Fursa's own sanctity will be discussed. It is impossible to isolate the geography of the afterlife from this range of issues.

Thanks to Bede, the vision of Fursa has a continued presence in the literature produced and used in England and in Western Europe throughout the thirteenth century. The redactions of the vision are plentiful and range in length from a couple of lines to full verbatim copies. The vision appears in chronicles, sermon collections, hagiography, *exempla* collections, miscellanies and at least one compilation of visions.⁴² It is translated from Latin into French, Anglo-Norman and Middle English. In some cases the vision is extracted from the *HE* wholesale with few amendments and little embellishment. The vision appears like this in the hugely influential *Legenda Aurea*, for example.⁴³ Yet, sometimes due to a need to summarise the account or for other reasons, the vision also appears radically altered in many manuscripts and collections. The following two parts of the chapter will focus on when the vision is altered and placed in didactic texts, primarily used for preaching. In particular I will look at a sample of the sermon and *exempla* collections that enjoyed a wide circulation throughout the century. This is partly because these accounts formed the basis of lay

⁴² London, Lambeth Palace MS 51, ff.59r-63r [Peter of Cornwall, *Liber Revelationum*].

⁴³ Jacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea, vulgo historia Lombardica dicta*, ed. J. G. T. Graesse, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1850), pp.639-642 [CXLIV]; Jacopo da Varazze, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, 2 vols., trans. William Granger Ryan (New Jersey, 1993), I, pp.198-200. Even here there is an interesting alteration because Fursa is described as a Bishop rather than a priest or a monk. In the *Liber Revelationum* the vision appears unabridged from the *HE* and is surrounded by extracts from elsewhere in the *HE*.

interaction with the vision, but also because, as will be explained below, those who created them – the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinian canons – have been identified as the principal broadcasters of the doctrine of Purgatory. Thus, my analysis is divided into two sections. The first deals with the short Latin *exempla* versions of the vision from the long thirteenth century. The second will deal with the longer vernacular versions of the vision. A selection of the texts and manuscripts that are analysed below appear in Table IV along with an identification of their main features.

2.2. The Latin *exempla* versions

2.2.1. Sin: the introduction of usury

As we saw towards the end of the last chapter, in the thirteenth century preachers and priests sometimes added short and pithy accounts, called *exempla*, to the end of their sermons, to highlight theological points that they had made in their oratory.⁴⁴ As was pointed out, there is a wider range of texts that contain *exempla*, and the differences in style and shape could have a fundamental effect on the way in which the stories were told, organised and re-edited. In this chapter the focus will be on the mendicant compilations that were increasingly arranged into thematic or alphabetical order for ease of access. These short *exempla* came from a wide variety of sources, including saint's lives, the works of the Church Fathers, chronicles and monastic collections. Once they had entered into a popular collection they were copied by other compilers who often edited the account to suit their own needs, sometimes inserting the name of their own order into an account; sometimes more radically altering the *exempla's* meaning. This meant that single *exempla* could be spread quite widely and quickly, but could vary considerably in form and content.

In the case of the vision of Fursa it is clear that some compilers were copying the account from other *exempla* but others extracted the vision directly from the *Ecclesiastical History* (or at least referred back to it). Some compilers would have had

⁴⁴ A summary of this tradition can be found in Jacques Le Goff, Calude Bremond and Jean-Claude Schmidt eds., *L'Exemplum*, Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental 40 (Turnhout, 1982). For the English tradition, see: J. A. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England* (New York, 1911). This is now out of date, referring to Etienne de Bescancon as the compiler of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, for example.

both the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *exempla* collections in question. As with references to other important texts, however, references to the Bede original (often simply marked 'refert Beda' in the margin) were copied along with the text so provide no indication as to whether the author was using the *HE* or not.⁴⁵ This mixture of sources and the popularity of the vision ensured that there were many different versions of Fursa's account in circulation. In fact, the tradition became so diverse that one manuscript from the beginning of the fourteenth century contained three different versions of the vision, seemingly from the two different traditions.⁴⁶ Given this diversity, the accessibility of the *HE* and the vagueness in many parts of the inherited text it is surprising that any pattern can be detected in the way in which the vision was disseminated and used. The most obvious similarity between the various *exempla* is their focus on Fursa's longest vision, and, in particular his scalding by the burning soul on his return from Heaven to his body. This choice is unsurprising. It is the most detailed part of Bede's redaction and deals with a specific punishment for a specific crime, lending itself neatly to the work of the *exempla* compilers. Beyond the choice of content, it is possible to detect three trends that will now be discussed. These reveal a considerable amount about how the vision was interpreted by later redactors, the process of *exempla* compilation and the theological concerns of the authors. The first concerns the sin which the vision is used to combat, the second concerns the location of the punishment of that sin and the third concerns the status of the visionary himself.

In Bede's account, Fursa's scalding is punishment for his behaviour at the death-bed of a dying sinner, who had seemingly repented at the last moment before his death. Fursa had received some of this man's clothing as a gift. As a result, as Fursa leaves Heaven for his return to earth, the Devil argues that "since you have received the property of a sinner, you ought to share in his punishment."⁴⁷ The focus is clearly on Fursa's neglect of correct death-bed protocol. After the angels had mounted their successful defence of the saint, one turned to the saint and said "if you had not received the property of this man ... you would not have been burned by the fire of his punishment". He then went on to give helpful advice as to what should be done for the

⁴⁵ A typical example can be found in the *Speculum Laicorum*: 'Refert Beda hic et historia anglorum qui cuius beatus Furseus,' London, BL, MS Additional 11,284, f.3v.

⁴⁶ London, BL, MS Harley 268. The different visions are listed separately in Table IV.

⁴⁷ Bede, *HE*, 3.19, pp.272-273

salvation of those who repented in the hour of their death.”⁴⁸ Bede’s narrative reveals a specific concern, inherited from the *Vita* (though somewhat watered down), with the pastoral care of dying sinners.⁴⁹ The theme of correct behaviour for the clergy is even more clearly drawn out in the *Vita*, where Fursa was lectured on the issue by the Irish saints Beoan and Meldan.⁵⁰ The scolding of Fursa is also explained in more depth here: the angels argue that repentance may be received by a priest until the last hour of a man’s death but nothing of the man’s property should be received by the practitioner of the last rites, nor should the body of the man be buried in a holy place. Instead his remaining property should be divided up among the poor next to wherever he is buried.⁵¹ The soul that was thrown at Fursa seems to be of less interest to both Bede and the author of the *Vita*. He is described as a generic sinner (*peccatoris*) who died in his sins (*in peccatis*).⁵² No further details about the sinner’s life are offered in either account.

The narrative of Fursa’s burning in the *exempla* tradition takes on another dimension. Every single *exempla* redaction discusses the vision in terms of avarice. In nearly every case the *exemplum* has a specific focus on the sin of usury. In the vast majority of the accounts, Fursa receives the cape from a dying man who has been a usurer in his life time – the clothing is therefore regarded as part of the profit from that crime. The moral of the narrative tends to be about avoiding the taint of usury by researching the source of your goods. This is a completely novel thirteenth-century introduction to the vision: usury plays no role whatsoever in either the *Vita* or the *Ecclesiastical History* and the earthly behaviour of the soul that is flung at Fursa remains vague and unimportant to the narrative in either account. Jacques de Vitry (c.1160s-1240) is one *exempla* compiler who was especially explicit in linking Fursa’s burning to usury. He was a renowned preacher, initially as a regular canon before achieving fame as a recruiter for the Albigensian crusade. His *exempla* originally formed part of one of his sermon collections, the *Sermones Vulgares* (or *ad Status*).⁵³ The vision of Fursa is attached to a

⁴⁸ Bede, *HE*, 3.19, pp.272-273.

⁴⁹ *Visions*, 302(16).

⁵⁰ *Visions*, 294(13).

⁵¹ *Visions*, 302(16).

⁵² Bede, *HE*, 3.19, pp.274-275; from *Visions*, 301(16).

⁵³ J.-B. Pitra, *Analecta novissima spicilegii solesmensis: Altera continuatio* (Paris, 1888), II, pp.189-193 [Prologue], pp.344-346 [List of sermons], pp.443-461 [List of *exempla*].

sermon addressed to people caring for the sick.⁵⁴ Despite their association with specific sermons, the *exempla* received most attention when they were extracted and circulated as an independent group in the mid thirteenth century.⁵⁵ Although Jacques never joined the mendicant order, his collection was used extensively by the Franciscans and Dominicans throughout their years of expansion.

In Jacques' version of the vision of Fursa the soul is thrown at the Saint because he had "accepted a cape from a certain usurer."⁵⁶ Jacques introduces the word *feneratore* which had not been included in either of the earlier versions.⁵⁷ In fact, he mentions usury or the usurer four times in the *exemplum* which, depending on the manuscript, runs to roughly only one hundred and twenty words.⁵⁸ The inherited moral is further eroded as no reference is made to the circumstances in which Fursa had come to own the cape at the man's death bed, which is surprising given the group of people that the original sermon was designed to address. Interestingly, in a further addition to the Bede narrative, Fursa is forced to return to his body to do penance: "the Lord resolved that the soul should be returned to the body to complete the penance."⁵⁹ Jacques has introduced an earthly consequence for Fursa's crime, increasing the value of the vision for preaching even further. This sheds some light on the debate of the early medievalists, described above. If, as Dunn asserts, the earlier versions of the vision were remarkable for their consideration of otherworldly penance, this penance is not deemed suitable (or at least edificatory) by the later redactors.

The *exemplum* culminates with a moral summary attached to the end of the narrative where the focus is on the method for purchasing goods and the reader or listener is told "that the holy man [Fursa] did not know that the cape he had obtained came from

⁵⁴ 'Sermo XL. Sermo ad Hospitalarios et custodes infirmorum', *ibid.*, p.345, p.450. The sermon is based around Prov. 16: 6, 'By mercy and truth iniquity is purged.' The sermon is not printed in full.

⁵⁵ One such collection is London, BL, MS Harley 463; the vision of Fursa is at f.6v. References will be taken from: Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla ex Sermonibus Vulgaribus*, ed. Thomas Crane (New York, 1890) [Henceforth: *Exempla*]. Crane extracts the *exempla* from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 17,509. All translations are my own.

⁵⁶ Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, p.46 [XCIX].

⁵⁷ *ibid.*

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, ll.19,22,25,27.

⁵⁹ 'decrevit Dominus ut anima ad corpus rediretur et penitentiam ageret', Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, p.46 [XCIX].

usurer, but he ought to have enquired thoroughly.”⁶⁰ The audience is urged to try and trace the source of their goods “in the same way that they pay careful attention to meat bought at the market, to see whether it is sound or diseased or bad smelling.”⁶¹ There has been considerable debate over whether the sermons of the thirteenth century, particular those of the mendicants, were “heavily impregnated with a market-place vocabulary” because of their increasingly urban audience of merchants and traders.⁶² It was a feature both noted and criticised by contemporaries in areas hostile to the intrusion of preachers, like St Albans where Matthew Paris noted that the mendicants were selling crusade indulgences like you would wool at the market.⁶³ It is likely that some recent modern scholarship has exaggerated the urban dimension of mendicant preaching (an imbalance addressed by David D’Avray who argues that it has “definite limits”).⁶⁴ Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the moral (and the language used to illuminate it) in Jacques’ redaction of the vision of Fursa is strikingly different from both the Bede and *Vita* versions.

Usury is repeatedly used in a similar way throughout the *exempla* accounts of the vision of Fursa in the thirteenth century. It is impossible to assert whether Jacques’ popular *exemplum* was responsible for all of these changes, although it seems unlikely given the variation in vocabulary to describe similar concepts. In the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, for example, Arnold of Liège claims that the coat was owned by a usurer using a different description to Jacques (*capam usurariis* rather than *feneratoris*).⁶⁵ A similar description is used in the anonymous version of the vision in MS Harley 268 (it goes on to say that nobody must accept gifts from usurers if they do not know how the gift was acquired, if they find out it is from a usurer, they must return it).⁶⁶ In contrast, only four folios later in the same manuscript, in line with Jacques’ redaction, Fursa is

⁶⁰ ‘nec tamen credimus quod sanctus homo sciret capam illam ex fenoratore [sic] fuisse acquisitam, sed debuisset diligenter inquirere’, Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, p.46 [XCIX].

⁶¹ ‘sicut qui in macello carnes emunt, utrum sit sana vel leprosa aut fetida diligenter intendunt’, *ibid*.

⁶² Barbara Rosenwein and Lester K. Little, ‘Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities’ in *Past and Present*, 63 (1974), 4-32 at 24.

⁶³ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, 3 vols., (Rolls Series xlv, 1866-9) III, pp.51-52. For a specific study of the issue see: W. R. Thomson, ‘The image of the mendicants in the Chronicles of Matthew Paris’ in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 70 (1977), 3-34.

⁶⁴ David D’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars* (Oxford, 1985), p.207.

⁶⁵ London, BL, MS Harley 268, f.114r.

⁶⁶ London, BL, MS Harley 268, f.30v. Although this is the same manuscript, the first half is a different collection. Only the second half follows Arnold of Liège’s *Alphabetum Narrationum*.

described as a *fenerator* in the first line of a different *exemplum* about the same incident.⁶⁷ The position of the account in the thematic divisions of the compilations is also revealing. The vision often appears in thematic sections specifically devoted to avarice and sometimes, more specifically, to usury.⁶⁸ In Odo of Cheriton's *Parabola*e it appears after the story of St. Laumer and the usurer.⁶⁹ In the anonymous *Speculum Laicorum* it appears as the first *exemplum* in the second chapter which is entitled 'Concerning unjust acquisition and its perils'.⁷⁰ It is followed by six stories about usury including one about incorrect trading practices in Greece and the account of St. Laumer and the usurer.⁷¹ This positioning of the account is continued in some of the vernacular accounts as well. In both the French *Manuel des Peches* and the Middle English *Handlyng Synne*, the vision is paired with a story about how usurers should be detested.⁷² In the *Fasciculus Morum* (a collection which will be discussed in more depth below) and Arnold of Liege's *Alphabetum Narrationum*, the vision falls into slightly different thematic sub-headings. In the former it appears at the end of a sermon devoted to avarice.⁷³ In the latter it is placed in a chapter entitled *elemosina*.⁷⁴

The introduction of usury in the *exempla*, combined with the lack of information regarding the priest's deathbed responsibilities, lessens the spiritual distance between the visionary and the audience of the *exempla*. For the preachers, who were increasingly interested in the moral value of the vision for a lay audience, this change led to a shift in emphasis from how to perform the last rites to the more generally relevant crime of usury and its penance. As with the *exempla* based on the VEME

⁶⁷ 'legitur in vita sancti Fursei quod quid fenerator dedit ei capam suam', London, BL, MS Harley 268, f.34v.

⁶⁸ For a summary of the *exempla* that concentrate on usury or avarice see F. C., Tubach, 'Index Exemplorum: A handbook of religious tales', *FF Communications* 204 (1969), 1-529 or TEMA, <http://gahom.ehess.fr/thema/index>, last accessed, 26/03/2012.

⁶⁹ London, BL, MS Arundel 231, f.105r. Fursa's vision does not appear in all of the versions of the *Parabola*e and is missing from the only edition of the text: Odo of Cheriton, 'Etudes de Cheriton et ses Dérivés' in L. Hervieux ed. *Fabulistes Latins IV* (Paris, 1896), pp.177-255.

⁷⁰ 'De acquisitis injuste et eorum periculo', London, BL, MS Additional, 11,284, f.3r.

⁷¹ London, BL, MS Additional 11,284, f.3v. Here, the vision of Fursa is followed by an account concerning the usury of a Flemish merchant, whose domesticated monkey throws his ill-gotten gains into the sea on the way back from Greece.

⁷² They are edited side by side in: William de Wadington and Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng synne, with those parts of the Anglo-French treatise on which it was founded, Manuel des pechiez*, EETS 119 (London, 1901, rpr. 2006), p.88.

⁷³ *Fasciculus Morum*, ed. and trans. Siegfried Wenzel (Philadelphia, 1989), pp.22-23.

⁷⁴ London, BL, MS Harley 268, f.114r.

discussed in chapter one, it is clear that in collections where visions of the otherworld are placed in sections about a sin, then penance is earthly and geography takes a back seat. However, as we have seen, *exempla* from the VEME were sometimes placed in collections in sections devoted to specific areas of the otherworld (see section 1.3.2). Here, surprisingly, geography is also somewhat marginalised but the (individual) penance is otherworldly. In both cases the features that made visions of the otherworld stand out as a separate genre at the end of the twelfth century are eroded. Yet, the location of suffering in the otherworld was no small matter – it was the difference between eternal punishment and hope of salvation. A simple mention of the location in an aside in an *exemplum* or in the margin of a manuscript can reveal something of what mendicant preachers thought of the gravity of the sins being discussed.

2.2.2. Space: the introduction of Hell

The introduction of usury to the vision adds another historiographical dimension to our consideration of otherworldly space which serves as a reminder that discussions about the geography of the afterlife cannot be disconnected from sin and penance. In addition to dating the emergence of the doctrine of Purgatory, Jacques Le Goff has considered what types of sins were punished there. He argues that in the thirteenth century, usury is increasingly seen as a sin that can be cleansed after death and that “the hope of salvation open[ed] up for the usurer.”⁷⁵ According to Le Goff this new pattern was increasingly used to describe usurers in *exempla* collections and was applied to new stories and older ones where, “under certain conditions, [usurers were] plucked from Hell and saved by and through Purgatory.”⁷⁶ In one of his most far-reaching statements, Le Goff concluded that “Purgatory, by making the salvation of the usurer possible, contributed to the birth of capitalism.”⁷⁷

A manuscript containing an anonymous text in the British Library’s Royal collection seems to support the premise that usury was punished in Purgatory. In this

⁷⁵ Jacques Le Goff, ‘The usurer and Purgatory’, in Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, UCLA ed. *The Dawn of Modern Banking* (Yale, 1979), pp.25-52, at p.51.

⁷⁶ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.305.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*

manuscript the visions of Fursa and Dryhthelm (also from Bede's *HE*) sit next to each other among a selection of saint's lives, stories from the *Legenda Aurea* for Christmas Day and a mixture of edifying religious tales.⁷⁸ The scribe clearly considers Bede as being worthy of reverence as a later note in the manuscript, in the same hand, discusses how Bede came to be known as 'Venerable'.⁷⁹ Here, the two visions are clearly placed in a section devoted to the pains of the third place. The noun *purgatorium*, so important in Le Goff's analysis, is the title of the section.⁸⁰ In the margin next to the vision of Dryhthelm, the compiler explicitly informs the reader that the *exemplum* concerns the "pains of Purgatory."⁸¹ The preceding *exempla* emphasise this purgatorial context. They include a discussion of the death of Bishop Udo, Saint Gregory's choice of penalties, Paschasius the Deacon's purgatorial service in hot baths and the tale of a Franciscan in Purgatory. This latter *exemplum* relates how a dead Franciscan appears to tell his friend that he was only in Purgatory for the time of a *De Profundis* prayer, but that he would rather do penance on earth until Doomsday than go through it again.⁸² In terms of the dating of the emergence of Purgatory there are two ways of looking at this manuscript. Either the author is making explicit the purgatorial undertones that were detected by Dunn in the earlier versions, or, by using the noun, the author is attempting to clear up the spatial ambiguity by introducing a novel and modern theological concept to a revered older text. Thus, to use a modern description of medieval scribal practice, the compiler is 'innovating' and 'preserving' at the same time.⁸³

Either way, by looking at the vision in other thirteenth-century *exempla* collections, it is clear that the location of the vision of Fursa into Purgatory is an exception, rather than conforming to the rule. Despite the purgatorial context detected by Dunn in the earlier accounts, a tiny minority of the *exempla* compilers choose to locate the vision in

⁷⁸ London, BL, MS Royal 12. E.i. The religious tales described here are bound up with a Latin treatise on metrical arithmetic in a 15th century hand.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, f.162^r.

⁸⁰ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.155.

⁸¹ 'De pena purgatorii', London, BL, MS Royal 12 E.i, f.159^v.

⁸² The scribe has written 'De pena de purgatorii' twice in the main body of the *exemplum* and 'purgatorium' in the margin for good measure, *ibid.*, f.159^v.

⁸³ Kathy Kawey and Jason Harris, 'Introduction' in Kathy Kawey, and Jason Harris, ed., *Transmission and Transformation in the Middle Ages: Texts and Contexts*, (Cork, 2007), pp.11-14 at p.11.

Purgatory.⁸⁴ Most prefer to iron out any spatial ambiguity by explicitly locating Fursa's encounter in Hell and emphasising the lack of mercy available to usurers and those guilty of avarice and, in particular, for the soul flung at Fursa. In some respects then, the punishment given to Fursa for owning the cape of a usurer seems to strike a conservative theological note in a period when canonists were beginning to come to terms with the economic reality of the practice.⁸⁵ In the period in which these *exempla* were in circulation, legislation against usury, as Helmholz has shown, was only effectively applied when the rates of interest reached exorbitant levels.⁸⁶

In the earlier versions, in both the *HE* and the *Vita* the description of the otherworldly space is vague. The soul is plucked from a "fire of his punishment" that appears between Heaven and earth. In the *Vita*, as in Bede, after the soul had collided with Fursa, it was thrown back to the fire from "whence it came."⁸⁷ Similarly, the less popular description of Fursa's movement through the four fires before his ascent into Heaven is never explicitly labelled by the author of the *Vita* or by Bede. These ambiguous spaces, which Dunn identifies as proto-purgatorial, do not have this connotation in the vast majority of the thirteenth century revisions. The *Fasciculus Morum*, composed in 1300 by an English Franciscan, is one such example.⁸⁸ This extensive treatise on the seven deadly sins and their opposed remedial virtues contains the vision of Fursa in a section devoted to "the properties of avarice: hard work in acquisition."⁸⁹ This is an especially interesting example as the author seems to have had direct access to Bede's reaction of the vision and is not relying solely on one of the other versions in circulation. Unlike these versions, the author records Fursa's burning by the four fires and records the incident as follows:

⁸⁴ The only other preaching text to do so, although not strictly an *exempla* collection, is the *Speculum Morale*, an apocryphal volume Vincent of Beauvais large encyclopedia, the *Speculum Maius*. See above, section 1.3.2.

⁸⁵ John Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (London, 1969), p.67.

⁸⁶ R. H. Helmholz, 'Usury and the Medieval English Church Courts', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 364–80.

⁸⁷ 'in ignem reiecit', *HE*, 3.19, pp.274-275; 'humerumque eius ac maximillam incendens, ab angelo sancto in ignem unde exiit proiectus est. Angelo qui a sinistris uolabat inter beatum uirum et ignem sanate, dexter illum angelus in flammis proiecit', *Visions*, 300-301.

⁸⁸ *Fasciculus Morum*, ed. and trans., Siegfried Wenzel, (Pennsylvania, 1989), p.22. [Henceforth: *Fasciculus Morum*]. I have used the translations provided in this edition. Most of the surviving twenty-eight MSS are from the fifteenth century and all but three of them are from British libraries. Nonetheless, the evidence points to an original composition at the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth century. See: A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, (Manchester, 1917), pp.139-157.

⁸⁹ 'De proprietatibus avaricie: labor in perquirendo', *Fasciculus Morum*, p.314.

“of this burning avarice Bede reports in book 3 of *The Deeds of the English* that at one time Saint Fursa left his body and was carried by angels to the depths of Hell. There he saw an awesome, dark valley burning with four fires.”⁹⁰

Surprisingly, this marks a considerable deviation from Bede’s narrative where Hell is not mentioned at all and the four fires come towards Fursa when he is looking down on them from on high. In the *Fasciculus Morum* the location of the four fires in Hell could not be more explicit. This departure from the Bede narrative does not simply concern the spatial layout of the otherworld, however. The author is keen to emphasise the hellish consequence of avarice. It is the fourth fire of pitilessness which the author chooses to elaborate. He directly quotes the Bede description of the fire and adds his own gloss that the avarice of the world is an unquenchable fire that could never be satisfied.⁹¹ There is no suggestion that any form of salvation will eventually be granted:

“Therefore avarice may well be called that hellfire which never says ‘enough’. For that fire is so much kindled and lighted with the sticks of covetousness, craving, strife, pitilessness, and other vices of this kind that it can never be quenched by all the water in the world.”⁹²

The decision to locate the four fires in Hell is given particular resonance when one considers how the same author deals with another vision from Bede’s *HE*, the vision of Drythelm (Drichtelm or Drythelm are also used in the modern literature). The spatial description in Bede’s version of this vision is clearer than that of Fursa and the purgatorial elements are more readily identifiable. Nonetheless, as in the vision of Fursa, Purgatory is not mentioned by name. In the *Fasciculus Morum* this changes and the vision of Drythelm is firmly located in Purgatory:

⁹⁰ ‘Et ideo de illa avaricia sic inflammante narrat Beda *De gestis anglorum* libro 3 quod cum semel sanctus Furseus exutus esset a corpore et angelis in altum deportatus, ad inferiora respiciens vidit vallem terribilem et tenebrosam a quatuor igni[bus] succensam’, *Fasciculus Morum*, p.314, ll.22-25.

⁹¹ *Fasciculus Morum*, p.314.

⁹² ‘Et ideo bene dicitur ignis ille infernalis qui numquam dicit ‘sufficit’ N^{am} ignis iste sic accenditur et inflammatur per ligna cupiditatis, rapacitatis, dis censionis, et impietatis, et cetera huiusmodi, quod nequaquam ab aqua universa extingui potest’, *Fasciculus Morum*, p.314, ll.18-21.

“This pain, namely of Purgatory, according to blessed Augustine surpasses all natural sufferings a hundredfold. On this subject, the Venerable Bede tells in his *Deeds of the English* of a landlord in Northumberland [Dryhthelm].”⁹³

The vision of Fursa, on the other hand, is used to illuminate the hellish result of the sin of avarice.

This formula does not only apply to the more general sin of avarice, however. It is employed by *exempla* compilers that specifically focus on usury, bringing Le Goff’s arguments into sharp focus. Odo of Cheriton’s *Parabolae* uses his *exemplum* of the vision to demonstrate that the usurer could expect to be punished in Hell.⁹⁴ This collection, composed by a Kent man who was a master in Paris between 1210 and 1211 was especially popular in England (and enjoyed a wide transmission in Spain as well).⁹⁵ It exists in about a dozen British manuscripts, many dating from the thirteenth century.⁹⁶ In Odo’s work, the vision is recorded at the end of a sermon for the fifth Sunday after Pentecost (Sermon xlix).⁹⁷ He records that a tunic was received from a usurer, although Fursa was ignorant that the man had sinned in this way.⁹⁸ In the second sentence of the *exemplum* it is recorded that: “Of course in that same story it is revealed clearly that, for the usurer, no mercy will occur.”⁹⁹ Finally, Jacques de Vitry’s *exemplum* brings the space and sin together explicitly locating the soul of the usurer in Hell. Jacques records

⁹³ ‘Que quidem pena, scilicet purgatorii, secundum beatum Augustinum, omnes alias qualescumque in centuplum excedit naturale[s]. De qua narrat venerabilis Bede *De gestis Anglorum*, quod quidam paterfamilias in partibus Northhumbro[rum]’, *ibid.*, p.412, ll.181-184.

⁹⁴ A.C. Friend, ‘Master Odo of Cheriton’, *Speculum* 23 (1948), 641-658 at 653.

⁹⁵ It is notable that the vision of Fursa mainly appears in the English manuscripts of Odo’s work and does not have a comparable impact in the continental transmission. Indeed, Hervieux’s edition of the *Parabolae* and *Fabulae* misses out the vision of Fursa (it should be placed after *exemplum* CXIX – ‘De quodam feneratore et Sancto Laudomaro’) presumably because it does not feature in the French MS he was working from.

⁹⁶ London, BL MSS Arundel 231 (of Cistercian origin, this MS will be used below), Harley 3244 and Egerton 2890; Oxford, Balliol College Library, MS 38; Cambridge, Peterhouse Library, MS 109; Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk I.ii (from the Premonstratensian Abbey at West Dereham in Norfolk); Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 11 and London, Lambeth Palace, MS 481 (from the Augustinian Priory in Lanthony).

⁹⁷ ‘Cum turbe innuerent...’, London, BL, MS Arundel 231, II, f.104r.

⁹⁸ ‘qui ignorans recipit tunicam a quod usurariam’, London, BL, MS Arundel 231, II, f.105v.

⁹⁹ ‘In quo sane exemplo manifeste ostenditur qui de usura non potest elemosinam fieri’, London, BL, MS Arundel 231, II, f.105v.

that the soul of the usurer thrown at Fursa came from the “flames of Hell.”¹⁰⁰ The appearance of the word *ghehennali* marks a significant departure from both the original vision and Le Goff’s expected historiographical trend. No *post-mortem* penance for the sin of usury is discussed or implied by Jacques de Vitry.¹⁰¹ In short, the vision of Fursa in the *Vita* and in Bede’s redaction both discussed punishment in between Heaven and Hell and in the later redactions usury became the focus of the narrative. But the preachers chose not to offer the hope of salvation to the usurers. This is striking considering that the vision of Dryhthelm, another popular narrative extracted from the *HE*, is regularly placed in a purgatorial context.¹⁰² Instead, they emphasised that there would be no mercy for usury and that their souls would burn in hell-fire. This demonstrates that the ‘social triumph’ of Purgatory in England and its associated hope of salvation for usurers is not quite as clear cut as Le Goff might suggest.

2.2.3. Status: Fursa as saint, priest and sinner¹⁰³

In many of these *exempla* the reader (and listener) is told that Saint Fursa was ignorant concerning the sin of the man whose clothing he had taken. Nonetheless, the decision of the *exempla* compilers to focus on usury rather than the correct way to orchestrate the last rites increases the account’s usefulness considerably. This approach is enhanced by descriptions of Fursa’s status. Given the short length of the accounts, there is little space for information about Fursa’s life or about his other visions. Nonetheless, although Fursa is often described as a saint, he is never described as a monk or a priest, features that are important in the *Vita*.¹⁰⁴ This reduces the spiritual distance between the lay audience and the saint, whose vision is no longer used as a moral lesson about clerical practice, but is more generally applicable. One *exemplum* that redacts the vision reduces this spiritual distance still further.

¹⁰⁰ ‘igne ghehennali’, Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, 46, l.25.

¹⁰¹ For descriptions of similar *exempla* concerned with usury see: John W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: The Social View of Peter Chanter and his Circle*, 2 vols. (New Jersey, 1970), I, pp.302-307.

¹⁰² *Fasciculus Morum*, p.412.

¹⁰³ Some of the ideas in this section were sketched out in: Chris Wilson, ‘The vision of St. Fursa in thirteenth-century didactic literature’ in Tony Claydon and Peter Clarke eds., *Saints and Sanctity*, SCH 47 (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.159-170.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example: Jacoppo da Verazze, *Legenda Aurea*, p.639.

The first version of the vision to appear in London, BL MS Harley 268, appears to deviate widely from the *Vita* and the *HE*.¹⁰⁵ It is impossible to tell whether these dramatic changes were the work of a single author or the result of several stages of amendment (although there is no surviving evidence to suggest the latter). Either way, this version of Fursa's burning seems to have been initially composed in Northern France (maybe in Picard) and it appears in several French *exempla* collections. It does not achieve particular popularity in England, but does appear in several European vernacular translations, spreading from France at the beginning of the fourteenth century to Germany and Scandinavia through the German *Große Seelentrost*.¹⁰⁶ It is eventually translated into Old Swedish and Old Danish.

The Latin version present in the Harley MS departs in several key places from the Bede narrative. Fursa is no longer named at all and the anonymous visionary who replaces him is no longer described as a saint. This is presumably part of the reason that the author of the manuscript is unaware that, several folios later, there is another version of the vision, substantially nearer in content to the earlier redactions, in which Fursa is named.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the visionary is no longer the beneficiary of a dying sinner's cape – he is actually wearing the coat of a usurer and is dying himself.¹⁰⁸ The focus on correct pastoral practice of priests in the original has all but disappeared. This version of the vision has added a new dimension for the instruction of the laity: how to die well. At the end of the vision he is granted the right to return to his body and die for a second time, not wearing the cape. As well as masking the *post-mortem* penance, as described above, this has the effect of moving the account away from the genre of visions of the otherworld (running against the authenticating trend discussed in the previous chapter in respect to longer redactions) and refocusing it around the death-bed.¹⁰⁹ In the earlier redactions the visionary is not dead but seriously ill, a motif that reappears in the longer visions of the otherworld that were recorded at the end of the twelfth century. The position of the account in the manuscript further highlights this

¹⁰⁵ London, BL, MS Harley 268, f.30r.

¹⁰⁶ This version of the vision eventually appears in the anonymous, *Ci nous dit* (1313-1330; 817 *exempla*) collection in France. It also gets translated into *Der Große Seelentrost*, ed. M. Schmitt, *Niederdeutsche Studien V* (Köln, 1959), p.250.

¹⁰⁷ London, BL, MS Harley 268, f.34r.

¹⁰⁸ London, BL, MS Harley 268, f.30r.

¹⁰⁹ See section 1.3.2 for 'generalising' trends.

shift, coming at the beginning of a series of stories based around the death-bed. The perspective of the account shifts very clearly from the saintly eyes of a priest to those of a dying sinner, who is concerned about how to die well. Fursa's sanctity and sainthood are completely eroded, as his individuality, and he is no longer any different from one of the lay people listening to this redacted version of the account. Yet the movement in Latin *exempla* collections away from the unique features of visions of the otherworld towards more general visions only tells part of the story when it comes to the dissemination of the vision of Fursa. There are a number of vernacular translations of the vision which reveal different trends.

2.3. The Anglo-Norman and Middle English versions

2.3.1. Robert of Greatham's *Miroir des Évangiles*

When Robert of Greatham (fl. early-mid. thirteenth century) redacted the vision he negotiated Fursa's sainthood and sanctity in a more subtle way. He also had a different approach to the otherworldly geography inherited from the Bede and *Vita* narrative and to the value of the story for preaching. Robert of Greatham (possibly Greatham in Rutland) was probably an Augustinian canon; a priest from a priory or abbey in either Shropshire (Lilleshall) or Northamptonshire.¹¹⁰ He composed a series of fifty-nine verse sermons for the Sunday Gospels called *Le miroir, ou les évangiles des domnées* (the *Miroir*), one of which finished with a redaction of the vision of Fursa.¹¹¹ The work was composed in Anglo-Norman and was completed at some point in the 1250s. This vernacular sermon collection seems to fit into a tradition of *pastoralia* more explicitly connected with the Fourth Lateran Council and the growing role of the parochial clergy than with the preaching of itinerant friars.¹¹² As well as the *Miroir*, it seems likely that Robert was the author of another work in Anglo-Norman, the *Corset*, a rhymed commentary on the seven sacraments. The *Miroir* was written for, and

¹¹⁰ K. V. Sinclair, 'The Anglo-Norman patrons of Robert the Chaplain and Robert of Greatham' in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 28 (1992), 193-208, at 205.

¹¹¹ Robert of Greatham, *Miroir ou les évangiles des domnées*, ed. Saverio Panunzio (Bari, 1974), 232. [Henceforth: *Miroir*]. The prologue is edited in Marion Y. H. Aitken, *Étude sur le Miroir ou les évangiles des domnées de Robert de Greatham suivie d'extraits inédits* (Paris, 1922), pp.105-111 [Henceforth: *Prologue*]. All translations are my own.

¹¹² Leonard E. Boyle discusses the impetus for the increase in the production of these manuals in 'The Inter-Conciliar Period 1179-1215 and the Beginning of Pastoral Manuals', in Roberto Tofanini, ed., *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III, studi raccolti da Filippo Liotta* (Siena, 1986), pp.43-56.

dedicated to, a woman called Aline, who apparently had an unhealthy appetite for secular literature, in particular a variety of *chansons de geste*.¹¹³ Nonetheless, the way in which Robert's sermons are addressed and the number of surviving manuscripts, suggests that he may have had a wider audience in mind.¹¹⁴ Through a faithful translation into Middle English at the beginning the fourteenth century the work certainly reached a wider audience.¹¹⁵ In fact, this translation has been described as "one of the most important shapers of civic, literary and religious pre-occupations" of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁶ Robert's adaptation of the vision of Fursa has even been cited as a potential source for the Reeve's Tale in Chaucer.¹¹⁷ It also had considerable influence in shaping Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne* (1303), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Robert of Greatham places the vision after a sermon for the second Sunday after Easter (which seems to reflect the clarification of the relationship between the clergy and the laity that was outlined in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the Oxford Council of 1222) and, like the *exempla* compilers, he only deals with Fursa's second, longest, vision.¹¹⁸ Unlike the *exempla* compilers he reasserts some of the original narrative: the soul that is cast at Fursa is *not* described as a usurer; Fursa is described as a priest; and God is *not* present at Fursa's judgement. In addition, some of the interaction between Fursa and the angels is maintained. As we shall see, the

¹¹³ 'A sa trechere dame, Aline, Saluz en la vertu divine. Madame, bien l'ai oï dire, Ke mult amez oïr e lire Chançon de geste e d'estoire, E mult i metez la memoire', Robert of Greatham, *Prologue*, p.105. He mentions Mainet, Sansunnet, Tristam and Balam specifically.

¹¹⁴ The following thirteenth century manuscripts have been listed: Nottingham, University Library, Mss. WLC/LM/3 and WLC/LM/4; Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.I.I; Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS B.14.39 (323); York, Chapter Library, MS 16.K.14. Many of the sermons are addressed to barons and 'seignurs' collectively.

¹¹⁵ *The Middle English 'Mirror': An Edition Based on Bodleian Library, MS Holkham misc. 40*, ed. K. Blumenreich, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 182. (Tempe, AZ, 2002). See also: Thomas Duncan, 'The Middle English Mirror and its Manuscripts', in D. Gray and E. G. Stanley eds., *Middle English Studies Presented to Norman Davis* (Oxford, 1983), pp.115-126.

¹¹⁶ Vincent Gillespie, 'Religious Writing' in Robert Ellis ed., *The Oxford history of literary translation in English to 1550*, (Oxford, 2005), p.251.

¹¹⁷ M. Harley, 'The Reeves Four Gleedes and St. Fursa's vision of the Four Fires of the Afterlife' in *Medium Aevum* 56 (1987), 85-89.

¹¹⁸ This may have some significance regarding the otherworldly aspects of the narrative, Dante, for example, arrives in Purgatory on Easter Sunday, but more work needs to be done on the positioning of vision narratives in sermons to establish whether there is a pattern. For the English context of this literature, see M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), pp.212-213; Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934; repr. 1962), esp.106-131.

content of Robert's version of the vision suggests that he may have had access to the earlier *Vita* as well as Bede's account. Yet if the initial version of the vision of Fursa influenced Robert, it is clear that he thought the narrative needed to be redrafted. He radically alters the order of the story, moving details of Fursa's sainthood to the end of the account and changing the position of the visionary's burning. Some of these changes have been discussed in a literary context by Fritz Kemmler with regards to the so-called 'development of narrative' and Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*.¹¹⁹ Yet, these changes have a theological dimension as well, linked into the development of the doctrine of Purgatory, pastoral care and the newer visions of the otherworld that were in circulation during the thirteenth century.

Unlike the *exempla* discussed above, Robert devotes his redaction of the vision to the correct pastoral practice of priests and he is seemingly uninterested in the potential to discuss usury. The vision is attached to a sermon on John 10: 11-16, *ego sum pastor bonus*, traditionally used in reference to the behaviour of the clergy.¹²⁰ Robert comments that in this lesson God teaches the priests on earth how to be "good herdsmen" like he is.¹²¹ Priesthood is stressed from the very first line.¹²² He mentions *prestres* or *prestre* eight times and *pastur* once in the *exemplum* alone.¹²³ Robert proceeds to link Fursa's burning to his pastoral role at the death-bed (as it had been in the *Vita* and the *HE*).¹²⁴ If anything, Robert makes the link more explicit, noting that the visionary was responsible for dealing with the dead man's will.¹²⁵ This passage clearly reflects the focus found in the earlier redactions, but also widens criticism of Fursa to include a more general indifference to the pastoral duties of the priest, rather than simply the acceptance of a sinner's property at death.¹²⁶ His concluding moralisation is equally revealing. He addresses parsons and priests, urging them to look to their

¹¹⁹ Fritz Kemmler, 'Exempla' in context: A Historical and Critical Study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne', *Studies and Texts in English* 6 (Tübingen, 1984), pp.127-129.

¹²⁰ Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.232.

¹²¹ 'En ceste lesçon Deu par buche les pasturs de sa Eglise tusche ...', Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.233, l.23.

¹²² 'dunt avint jadis à un prestre', *ibid.*, p.243, l.327.

¹²³ *ibid.*, p.243 (l.326), p.244 (l.351), p.245 (ll.378,383), p.246 (l.407, l.414), p.247 (l.426, l.438).

¹²⁴ *Visions*, 301 (16); Bede, *HE*, 3.19, pp.274-275.

¹²⁵ Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.246.

¹²⁶ 'Jol cunuis à ma peine grant de li oi, à sum muriant, une chape mes par sun grant, mais puis ne li ai rendu tant cum jo li oi en covenant, e sachez ke par ubliance l'ai fait e nient de voillance', *ibid.*, p.246, ll.398-404.

end when they take other men's alms and to consider Saint Fursa who had forgotten what he had taken rightfully, and what he had not.¹²⁷ Whether this actually means he intended the *Miroir* to be used by priests (or even chapter canons) is unclear, but the sermon, and the vision narrative that followed it, both fit in with the emphasis on clerical reform and the clarification of the relationship between the clergy and the laity outlined in the canons of the fourth Lateran Council in 1215 and the Oxford Council of 1222.¹²⁸ In fact, the whole of Robert's account combines a traditional insistence on the responsibility of the laity to respect clerics, with a newer stress on what the laity could expect back from their priests in terms of pastoral care.

By looking at Robert's editorial decisions in respect to the vision of Fursa, there seems to be some justification in placing Robert among a "group of Anglo-Norman writers [who wrote] in response to the need to instruct the laity about religious matters."¹²⁹ The intended lay demographic may have been slightly different from the *exempla* collections described above, some sermons are addressed to Barons and 'seigneurs', (although this wouldn't have stopped a wider, less 'elite' circulation, especially after translation into Middle English) but the vision of Fursa was being used in the *Miroir* as much to set benchmarks for the laity as it was as guidance for clerics. The monastic context of the vision disappears, despite its prevalence in the Bede, *Vita* versions, and several *exempla* collections. Robert's pre-occupation with priesthood goes some way to explain the curious absence of information in the *exemplum* concerning Fursa's sainthood, which is only mentioned once towards the end of the account. Yet this decision can also be linked to developments in eschatological doctrine. It is my contention that in rewriting the vision of Fursa, Robert either enhanced or introduced purgatorial aspects of the vision, which the *exempla* compilers had ignored. The changes can be identified both in terms of the description of the process of purgation and the identification of a separate space for that purging.

The most obvious purgatorial transformation occurs over the course of the *exemplum* as a whole. Fursa only becomes a saint *as a result* of his vision. This simple change marks a stark divergence from the description of Fursa presented in the *HE* and the *Vita*. In

¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p.247.

¹²⁸ Mary Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), p.205.

¹²⁹ K. V. Sinclair, 'The Anglo-Norman patrons of Robert the Chaplain and Robert of Greatham', 204.

these accounts, Fursa's sainthood is central from the very first sentence. In Bede's version, before the visionary is taken by the angels we are told that "from his boyhood days he had devoted all his energy to the study of sacred books and to the monastic discipline; furthermore as a saint should, he earnestly sought to do whatever he learned to be his duty".¹³⁰ A reader of the *HE* or the *Vita* is given the impression that Saint Fursa is granted this vision *because* of his worthy life that he had led since his early childhood, if not birth. In contrast, in Robert's redaction the vision has a reforming influence on the visionary. Fursa is introduced as a priest from the see of Cnobesburgh and Robert chooses to withhold the information regarding Fursa's sanctity from his audience until the end of the *exemplum*. This seems to make a link between the trial that Fursa underwent during his vision and his eventual canonisation. Robert says that after Fursa's return to his body he lives well and wisely and has "amended his life so that he is now called Saint Fursi [Fursa]".¹³¹ This suggests that the vision operates as the cleansing of an every-day priest, rather than the spiritual reward for a saint. This may also reflect some of the trends in the development of sainthood and hagiography which began to privilege saints who were not necessarily born holy.¹³² As well as distancing Robert's redaction from the *Vita* and the *Ecclesiastical History*, this decision is a deviation from the pattern outlined by the *exempla* compilers who are uninterested in the potential for the vision to act in this way. In general they introduced him as a saint and, perhaps due to the length of the accounts, did not discuss any progression in his character. For Robert the vision acts as a moral lesson for a priest who can only become a saint after transforming his behaviour. As well as revealing a different, clearer narrative of cleansing, Fursa's eventual reformation also serves to demonstrate the increased gravity of the sin of incorrect pastoral practice in the years after the Fourth Lateran Council.

¹³⁰ Bede, *HE*, 3.19, pp.270-271; *Vita*, 434(1); *Visions*, 279(1).

¹³¹ Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.247.

¹³² The rise of the evangelising saint is discussed in André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1997), pp.387-412. In the thirteenth century there seems to be a general lack of interest in the early life of saints. According to Michael Goodich, of the five hundred saints who became the objects of local or univereal cults from 1215 to about 1334 no more than ten percent possess reliable data concerning their early years. Rather than being born a saint, conversion in later life stemmed from 'childhood neglect or deprivation, resentment against an absent or allegedly cruel father, and a period of emotional stress in late adolescence which is resolved through religious commitment.' Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The ideal of sainthood in the thirteenth century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters; Bd.25 (Stuttgart, 1982), p.82.

The cleansing and transformational aspects of Robert's account are not only achieved by the careful deployment of the information he inherited regarding Fursa's sanctity. There is clearer presentation of the process of purgation, which relies on a restructuring of the otherworld. The most substantial change that Robert makes in this respect is relocating Fursa's burning in space and time. Robert tries to iron out some of the ambiguity about otherworldly space present in the *Ecclesiastical History* and *Vita*. In the Latin *exempla*, as we've seen, this is simply solved by actively locating the burning of Fursa in Hell. The *Miroir* also introduces Hell into the vision but clearly separates it from the area in which Fursa is burned by the soul. In the opening summary of the vision Robert makes this delineation. Fursa's guide 'led him into many places and showed him many things: the depth of Hell and the pains that were there and then (*e puis*) he led him towards (*vers*) Heaven'.¹³³ It is on this journey heavenward, in an area clearly distinguished from Hell, that Fursa comes across a single large fire (Fursa is no longer asked to look down on the earth and is instead always moving upwards and heavenwards). Robert's account makes it very clear that the fire that Fursa sees, and is taken through, is not Hell, but something that is blocking the entrance to Heaven, in the air: "but when they approached Heaven he found a very great fire in the air."¹³⁴ It is this single fire in the air that contained the demons that eventually assaulted him with the soul of the sinner and usury is not mentioned at all.¹³⁵ The emphasis of the vision has shifted from a reward for a saintly life to the purgation of a sinful priest.

It is worth briefly considering that the location of a 'third place' in the air would not have been anachronistic to Robert's contemporaries. Although late twelfth and early thirteenth-century English visions of the otherworld tend to be more grounded (consider the hills and valleys of the vision of the monk of Eynsham, or the purgatorial theatre of the vision of Thurkill), the air was also a relatively popular place in which to locate Purgatory. Gervase of Tilbury (c.1150-c.1228), a contemporary of Robert's operating in the same Anglo-Norman milieu wrote about Purgatory's position in the air. The *Otia Imperialia* contains a story concerning a girl who is able to speak to, and see, her dead father, who is suffering in the third place, despite leading a reasonably

¹³³ Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.244.

¹³⁴ 'Mais, quant il a ciel aprocherent, en l'eir un feu mult grant trouverent', *ibid.*, p.224, ll.343-344.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*, p.244.

honest life. On one occasion the girl spoke to her father as follows: “On seeing him, the girl greeted him warmly, she asked him where he had come from, and in whose company he had returned to her. He replied that he had his dwelling in the air among the spirits, and that he was undergoing the torments of fire in Purgatory.”¹³⁶ Later, in the same story, the soul of the tormented father was even clearer, noting that “Purgatory is in the air.”¹³⁷ It is possible that Robert of Greatham and Gervase of Tilbury are part of an older, under-researched tradition in this respect.¹³⁸ Consider, for example, the *Visio Baronti Monachi Longoretensis* (678/679). Here, when the monks had noticed that Barontius’ soul had departed his body, they sang psalms through the night, praying that his body would be lifted to heaven through the air. Just as in the vision of Fursa, demons emerge from flames to attack his soul, but at ‘cockcrow’ Barontius awoke singing ‘Glory to God’.¹³⁹ There is also a popular Byzantine tradition of a post-mortem journey through toll gates on the airway which the soul has to negotiate before being admitted into Heaven.

The new spatial delineation in the *Miroir* redaction is matched by a new temporal framework. This radical alteration can be tracked by following section 16 as it moves through the redactions listed in Table III. In the Bede and *Vita* versions the burning of Fursa occurred *after* his extended vision of Heaven, on his return to his body: “the great fire came near unto Blessed Fursa, who was to return to earth with three angels only.”¹⁴⁰ In the *Miroir*, this incident occurs on the way to Heaven as an extension and alteration of the ‘four fires’ part of the narrative inherited from Bede and the *Vita*. The demon that casts the soul at Fursa is located “further into the fire.”¹⁴¹ It is only after this burning that Fursa is allowed to see “much of Heaven.”¹⁴² This new order of events fits

¹³⁶ ‘visus a virgine familiariter salutatur, et dum unde ueniat aut quo comite illuc uenerit inquiratur, respondet in aere mansionem inter spiritus habere, et penas ignis purgatorii sustinere’, Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. and trans. Banks, S. E., and Binns, S. W., (Clarendon: Oxford, 2002), p.764.

¹³⁷ ‘purgatorius quidem in aere est’, *ibid.*, p.768.

¹³⁸ There is an even longer tradition of stories of processions in the air which are sometimes seen as dead souls, sometimes as demons. These stories are used in *exempla* collections and, as we shall see in chapter four, histories in the thirteenth century. See: Claude Lecouteux, *Chasses Fantastiques et Cohortes de la Nuit au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1999).

¹³⁹ *Visio Baronti monachi Longoretensis*, ed. H. Levison, *MGH SRM V* (Hanover, 1910), 368-394.

¹⁴⁰ ‘Beato quoque fursio cum tribus angelis solis a terra reuersorum maximus adpropinquauit’, *Visions*, 300 (16).

¹⁴¹ ‘quant il vint el feu bien avant’, Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.245, l.373.

¹⁴² ‘parmi le feu l’ad dunc mené e del ciel li ad mult mustré: la glorie li mustrat en veir tant cum list à home saveir’, Robert of Greatham, *ibid.*, p.246, ll.409-412.

in neatly with the biblical passages that were used as the basis of the doctrine by theologians. Notably in I Corinthians 3:15, “If any man’s work burn, he shall suffer loss: but he himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire.”¹⁴³ But also in I John 3:3, “Everyone who has this hope based on him makes himself pure, as he is pure.”¹⁴⁴ That is, in order to be granted a vision of Heaven, the visionary must be purified by fire. This sense is further enhanced by Robert’s decision to remove all mention of Fursa’s first vision (recorded in the original and Bede’s version) where the saint is taken straight up to Heaven, which can be observed in Table III as well. The location of this burning in both time (before the Heavenly vision) and space (in the air between Heaven and Hell) seems, at least, to vastly elaborate the purgatorial aspects of the vision.

If the vision has been reordered and transformed to firm-up the purgatorial dimension of the inherited account, then we have to ask why Robert felt inspired to make these changes in the first place. If, in fact, Robert was an Augustinian Canon (and the circumstantial evidence provided by K. V. Sinclair points convincingly to such an attribution), then perhaps his inspiration came from the general practice of his order.¹⁴⁵ The Augustinian Order, most of whose members remained practicing priests, is regarded as one of the great promoters of the doctrine of Purgatory.¹⁴⁶ In the twelfth century they were responsible for the promotion of the Lough Derg pilgrimage site where the knight Owein embarked on his journey through Purgatory. Peter of Cornwall, a great collector of visions and recorder of the vision of Ailsi and the ghost stories of William of Newburgh, were both members of the order.¹⁴⁷ The very first Augustinian to be canonised, Saint Nicholas of Tolentino (d.1305), is the patron saint of the souls suffering in Purgatory. The decision to translate the vision into Anglo-Norman would also fit into the Augustinian pattern, as the order used the language

¹⁴³ ‘si cuius opus arserit detrimentum patietur ipse autem salvus erit sic tamen quasi per ignem’, Latin Vulgate Bible, I Corinthians, 3:15.

¹⁴⁴ ‘et omnis qui habet spem hanc in eo sanctificat se sicut et ille sanctus est’, Latin Vulgate Bible, I John, 3:3.

¹⁴⁵ K. V. Sinclair, ‘The Anglo-Norman patrons of Robert the Chaplain and Robert of Greatham’ in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 28 (1992), 200-205.

¹⁴⁶ Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, (Princeton, 2001), p.74.

¹⁴⁷ William of Newburgh, ‘Twelve Medieval Ghost Stories’, ed. M. R. James, *English Historical Review* 37 (1922), 413-422.

regularly, particularly in their interaction with people outwith the cloister.¹⁴⁸ In fact, Robert justifies his choice of language by insisting that it a great foolishness to speak to the laity in Latin.¹⁴⁹

The decision to translate the vision of Fursa into Anglo-Norman is particularly interesting given Robert's comments about his patron's preference for secular Romance literature. Robert is therefore using an increasingly common method of disguising contemporary religious doctrine (including, in this case, the doctrine of Purgatory and correct clerical practice), in the style of Anglo-Norman secular Romance to please the taste of his picky patrons. The English author of the second Anglo-Norman version of St. Patrick's Purgatory explicitly states that he is putting the vision into 'Romance'.¹⁵⁰ It is tempting to see Robert's redaction of the vision of Fursa as a combination of the Augustinian Order's role in pastoral care, its use of Anglo-Norman and its interest in the dissemination of the doctrine of Purgatory. As well as the advancement of the doctrine of Purgatory and the preoccupations of Robert's own order it would seem that the circulation of newer visions of the otherworld also played a role in shaping Robert's version of the vision of Fursa. Some of these changes seem small, but they clearly bring the older vision of Fursa into line with the longer visions of the otherworld that were first recorded at the end of the twelfth century (but had made their way into a variety of different didactic texts during the thirteenth century).¹⁵¹ The changes show how older texts could be shaped by the newer rules governing the type

¹⁴⁸ M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters: The influence of the ordes upon Anglo-Norman literature* (Edinburgh, 1950) pp.57-76.

¹⁴⁹ 'E si est ço mult grant folie, A lai parler latinerie; Cil s'entremet de fol mester, Ki vers lai volt latin parler; Chescun deit estre a reisun mis, Par la langue dunt est apris', Robert of Greatham, *Prologue*, p.107. There is a small tradition of translating otherworldly accounts into Anglo-Norman. St. Patrick's Purgatory appears in three different versified Anglo-Norman versions. Marie de France composed the most famous in c.1190 (see: Marie de France, *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patrice*, ed. Yolande de Pontfarcy (Louvain, 1995)). A second version of the same legend appears in an English manuscript of c.1250 (see: Berol, *Le Purgatoire de saint Patrice par Berol*, ed. M. Mörner (Lund, 1917), pp.3-63). In addition there is a third version of the story that only survives in one thirteenth-century manuscript, composed in England (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee 6.11, see: *Étude sur le Purgatoire de saint Patrice, accompagnée du texte latin d'Utrecht et du texte Anglo-Normand du Cambridge*, ed. C. M. van der Zanden (Amsterdam, 1927) 90-135). There is also an Anglo-Norman versified version of St. Brendan's voyage, composed in the early eleventh century (see: Benedeit, *The Anglo-Norman Voyage of St Brendan*, ed. E. G. R. Waters (Oxford, 1928)).

¹⁵⁰ 'En l'onor Damideu et a la soe gloyre, Vuel retrayre en romanz por tenir en memoyre, Ço que hay trové ou livre escrit d'espurgatoyre; No i ha rien ajosté fors la veraye hystoyre', Berol, *Le Purgatoire de saint Patrice par Berol*, ed. M. Mörner (Lund, 1917), p.3. See: D. D. R. Owen, *The Vision of Hell, Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature*, (Edinburgh, 1970), p.67.

¹⁵¹ Chapter 3 will explore the way in which one such vision was disseminated.

of sub-genres which can be identified throughout thirteenth century didactic texts (we saw earlier how the same vision was placed into a death-bed narrative). The purgatorial aspect clearly has parallels with the newer visions. As Dinzelbacher has noted, in the late-twelfth century visions through Heaven, Hell and Purgatory had a reforming influence on the visionary and those around him.¹⁵² After their visions, the Cistercian novice Gunthelm is no longer tempted to leave his monastery; the lay person Drythelm (also recorded in Bede and widely disseminated) takes the monastic habit and Tundal's behaviour is completely transformed.¹⁵³ In various versions of Owein's visit to Saint Patrick's Purgatory, including Marie de France's Anglo-Norman redaction, the visionary is inspired by his experience to go on crusade. Similarly the new order of events, Hell, Purgatory, Heaven fits more comfortably into the genre, although it should be stressed that this is not consistent throughout all of the newer visions. It seems then, in the longer, vernacular translations of visions of the otherworld the distinct features that marked this type of narrative out from other 'supernatural' events in the Middle Ages had a better chance of surviving and being augmented with support from similar contemporary accounts.¹⁵⁴

In a similar vein there are a number of more subtle stylistic changes which highlight the pervasive influence of the newer visions and the spread of Romance literature. Fursa's actual behaviour in the otherworld seems to be altered to fit the contemporary organisation of visions of the otherworld. Rather than Fursa's passivity in the Bede and *Vita* versions, the priest is seen as actively forging his own path through the otherworld, albeit led by his guide.¹⁵⁵ This is most obvious in the section where Fursa first encounters the fire. In the Bede version, Fursa is helpless as the four fires "gradually ... grew together and merged into one vast

¹⁵² Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur*, pp.185-209. For Drichtelm, see pp.203-204.

¹⁵³ For Drichtelm, see *ibid.*, pp.203-204.

¹⁵⁴ This process was noted in section 1.2.3. For a discussion of how visions might be standardised as part of the redactor's desire to authenticate, see: Andreas Bihrer, 'Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionsliteratur', p.99.

¹⁵⁵ A parallel case for a Middle English translation is discussed in: Robert Easting, 'The South English Legendary "St Patrick" as Translation', *Leeds Studies in English* 21 (1990), 119-40. For a wider discussion of how the narrative elements of Latin didactic literature are enhanced when they are translated into Middle English, see: Anne B. Thompson, *Everyday Saints and the Art of Narrative in the South English Legendary* (Aldershot, 2003). For an interesting comparison with the process on the Iberian peninsula in relation to the vision of Tundale, see: Huw Aled Lewis, 'The Vision of the Knight Tugano in the Literature of the Iberian Peninsula', *Speculum* 72 (1997), 85-99, esp. 98.

conflagration. As it approached him, he cried out in fear to the angel: "Look, master, the fire is coming near me".¹⁵⁶ In contrast, in Robert's redaction Fursa is given the agency to move himself and, "with great thinking and great dread ... entered the fire."¹⁵⁷ Like most of the newer visions, the otherworld is static and the visionary moves through the landscape. In addition, Fursa is only guided by a single angel, like the single saints of later visions, rather than an entourage of four as in the *Vita* and *Ecclesiastical History*.¹⁵⁸ Finally, on his return to his body he spends considerable time (three days) on his deathbed.¹⁵⁹ As we saw above, even the part of the vision which appears to be most anachronistic, the location of Purgatory in the air, had contemporary parallels as well.

The changes that Robert of Greatham makes to the vision of Fursa are substantial and fascinating. They show that in order for the vision to have a satisfactory purgatorial emphasis, a complete re-ordering of events was needed to bring the vision more in line with the longer visions of the otherworld that were circulating in the same period. It also shows that the dissemination of the doctrine of Purgatory was not restricted to travelling friars and preachers, influenced by scholastic thought from Paris, who were preaching to a developing 'middle class'. This version of the vision was designed with an elite audience in mind, even if it did gradually reach a wider audience. It also shows that Purgatory was not necessarily received by its audience as a clear doctrine in its own right: it was disseminated, sometimes opaquely, alongside other didactic material, in this case strongly linked to the provisions of the Fourth Lateran Council regarding pastoral care and confession. Finally, the content of Robert's version makes it clear that not all thirteenth-century redactors of the vision of Fursa saw the story in terms of usury. That link was the invention of the Jacques de Vitry and the *exempla* compilers.

¹⁵⁶ 'Crescentes uero paulatim ignes usque adinuicem sese extenderunt, atque in inmensam adunati sunt flammam; cumque adpropinquassent, pertimescens ille dicit angelo: 'Domine, ecce ignis mihi adpropinquat', *HE*, 3.19, pp.272-273. This version is slightly different from the *Vita*: 'Ignis uero crescentes in magis effectus est unus, illi adpropinquebat; timensque ignem minacem sancto angelo secum colloquenti ait: ignis mihi adpropinquat', *Visions* 287(8).

¹⁵⁷ 'li fu ert à merveilles grant e mult horrible e mult ardant, li guiurs est lores entrez e li prestres s'est arestez', Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.244, ll.345-348.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p.243.

¹⁵⁹ Robert of Greatham, *Miroir*, p.246.

2.3.2. Usury and purgation: Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*

In 1303 the vision of Fursa was translated into Middle English by Robert Mannyng of Brunne.¹⁶⁰ It is worth concluding this chapter with a brief discussion of this work, even though the surviving manuscripts come from a considerably later period than its original composition, because it brings the two crucial elements from the Latin and Anglo-Norman traditions together: usury and Purgatory. Mannyng wrote the treatise at the Gilbertine Priory of Sempringham in Lincolnshire and seems to have a thorough knowledge of the contemporary pastoral literature.¹⁶¹ As well as being influenced by the Bede redaction, Mannyng is clearly familiar with Robert of Greatham's account, the version in the *Manuel des Peches* and the various Latin *exempla* in circulation. Mannyng's work, unlike Robert of Greatham's, was explicitly concerned with the education of the laity, although some recent scholarship has highlighted its uses for the clergy as well.¹⁶² Indeed, his account of the vision of Fursa is actually cited as an example of *Handlyng Synne* being read out for the instruction of laymen. An extract from Mannyng's version reads: "Of þys before 3e herde me rede, How Seynt Fursyn founde hyt in dede."¹⁶³

Mannyng's version of the vision of Fursa has been discussed by Kemmler in a narrative context, but for this study the didactic and theological changes are more relevant.¹⁶⁴ In *Handlyng Synne* the location of Fursa's burning is clearly in-between Heaven and Hell:

"he shewed hym þhe depnes of Helle, and þhe peynes þhat þeryn dwelle;
seþþe þey toke a weye ryzt euene, as hym þoght, toward heuene. Yn þhe
fyrment as þey zede, Foure fyres he sawe."¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ The oldest manuscript is dated towards the end of the fourteenth century, London, BL MS Harley 1701, ff.1-84.

¹⁶¹ As such it can be seen as one of the forerunners of the 'second wave' of vernacular penitential *pastoralia* identified in Leonard E. Boyle, 'The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology', in Thomas J. Heffernan, ed., *The Popular Literature of Medieval England* (Knoxville, 1985) pp.30-43 at p.35.

¹⁶² Kate Greenspan, 'Lessons for the Priest, Lessons for the People: Robert Mannyng's Audiences for *Handlyng Synne*', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 21 (2004), 109-121.

¹⁶³ Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Furnivall F. J., (EETS, 1903), [Henceforth HS].

¹⁶⁴ Fritz Kemmler 'Exempla' in context: *A historical and critical study of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's 'Handlyng Synne'* (Tübingen, 1987), pp.127-132.

¹⁶⁵ HS, pp.88-89.

Yet, Mannyng moves away from the *Miroir* (which has clearly influenced these parts of the narrative) in several, revealing ways. First, Fursa is no longer a priest. Second, and most interestingly, the moralisation at the end of the vision focuses on usury. Here Mannyng notes: “Okerers men oght to weyue, zeue hem noght, ne of hem receyue 3yf þou wete what þey are, yn no manere of chaffare”¹⁶⁶ And that “3yf an okerer myzt be founde þey helde hym vyler þan a Jew.”¹⁶⁷ He encourages people who come in contact with a usurer to say “sere, lo, þere þhe cursed usurere!”¹⁶⁸ Already it is clear that Robert Mannyng’s approach is close to that of some of the Latin *exempla* compilers. So, it was Mannyng, a member of the only completely English order of monks, writing in the vernacular, who reconciled the two main elements that later historians would associate with the vision of Fursa: Purgatory and usury. It was not, as might be expected, the travelling friars who made the connection in their *exempla* collections. They, overwhelmingly, stripped the vision of Purgatory and added usury. It was Robert of Greatham, writing for a lady of high status (not for an audience of merchants and tradesmen) who highlighted the purgatorial elements that historians have identified in the original vision and the Bede redaction, but there was no room for usury or avarice in his account. His context was the behaviour of priests.

In conclusion, the vision of Fursa underwent a remarkable and surprising evolution in the long thirteenth century. The ambiguous nature of the otherworld described in the original account and popularized by Bede allowed the thirteenth century redactors a blank canvas to sketch out their own impressions of the story and its religious significance. These sketches varied radically from genre to genre and author to author but the pattern of dissemination shows us that the ‘triumph’ of Purgatory was a complex process, not solely the work of friars disseminating the doctrine from Paris. The various redactions also offer an insight into how longer texts were summarised for different audiences and how compilers and authors dealt with both preservation of older texts and the innovation of newer meanings and contexts. By and large the *exempla* compilers seem less concerned with Fursa’s own role in the vision and more interested in altering the account to introduce usury. When changes to Fursa’s status were introduced by the *exempla* authors they tended to reduce the spiritual distance

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.* p.92, ll.2591-2594.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.* ll.2596-2597.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.* l.2604.

between the saint and the lay audience at which they were targeted. In the case of the vision of Fursa it seems to be the ambiguity of the earlier narrative in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* that allowed later compilers and authors a blank canvas to paint out their own ideas of the account and its moral significance. But it also demonstrates a wider editorial flexibility that later compilers employed when they redacted visions of the otherworld. This flexibility was utilised even when redacting highly revered inherited texts, such as the work of the Bede, and could be applied to such basic concepts as the sanctity of the visionary, the description of the otherworld and the sins that were being reproached. The next chapter will turn away from the mendicants and Augustinian canons to look at how visions of the otherworld operated in a different type of *exempla* collection compiled by the Cistercian order in the later twelfth century.

Chapter 3

The Cistercian order and the vision of Gunthelm

This chapter will complete the analysis of the dissemination of three individual visions of the otherworld. It will explore the transmission of the vision of a twelfth-century Cistercian novice – known to modern scholarship as Gunthelm – and discuss what light it can shed on the earliest surviving copies of the text. In order to achieve this it will start with a summary of the narrative as it appears in its longest and earliest forms, look at the shorter and later redactions and then re-examine the vision's twelfth-century Cistercian context. In this respect the structure of this chapter follows the discussion of the VEME in chapter one. In addition, several parallels in the way in which both visions were approached by the thirteenth-century mendicants will be observed below. Nonetheless, the dissemination of the vision of Gunthelm also fills some gaps. It is thought to have been recorded in the central decades of the twelfth century and thus allows for a consideration of a vision first recorded at the beginning of the period that Jacques Le Goff regards as crucial in the establishment of the doctrine of Purgatory.¹ More importantly, it turns our attention to the stories of the Cistercians, a group linked with the eschatological novelty of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries and not discussed in the earlier chapters. Finally, the way in which the vision of Gunthelm was disseminated contrasts with the visions of Fursa and the monk of Eynsham both in terms of its limited popularity and its appearance in distinct genres (Marian miracle collections, for example).

3.1 The vision of Gunthelm

3.1.1. Context and scholarship

At some point in the central decades of the twelfth century a Cistercian novice who desired to leave his monastery was attacked in his cell by a demon in the shape of a monkey. The wounded novice's soul was taken out of his body and guided through various parts of the otherworld by Saint Benedict and the archangel Raphael. As well as seeing various torments and joys, at the beginning of the vision, after he had climbed a ladder, the novice encounters the Virgin Mary in a chapel surrounded by white souls

¹ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.4. Following this analysis the VEME was first recorded at the end of this period and the vision of Fursa long before it.

(one of whom was a member of the same monastery). In the depths of Hell he sees the traitor Judas punished on a flaming wheel. The earliest and longest version of this vision survives attached to the first and second versions of Peter the Venerable's (c.1092-1153) *De Miraculis* in several manuscripts and has been edited by Giles Constable (this version will be referred to as VG(A)).² In these manuscripts the visionary is known as William but in modern scholarship he is generally named Gunthelm, following Helinand of Froidmont's later attribution. The decision to name the visionary after the redaction in Helinand's *Chronicon* (the subject of chapter four, where his version of the vision of Gunthelm will be discussed in more depth in section 4.2.2) largely represents the extent to which modern scholars have engaged with the vision's thirteenth-century dissemination, no doubt due in part to the visions lack of widespread popularity.³ This small gap will be addressed in the second part of this chapter where the vision's later dissemination in the didactic texts of the thirteenth century will be discussed. Before this, however, it is worth discussing the role that this longer version of the vision has played in recent scholarship and summarizing the vision as it appears in the VG(A) – almost certainly the source of these didactic versions – in some length.

Although the VG(A) is the earliest surviving version of the vision, it is clear that it is not the 'authorial' account and that an earlier story was in circulation in some form, orally or textually. Nonetheless the VG(A) is critical in understanding how the vision was disseminated and has dominated the contribution that the vision of Gunthelm has made to recent work on journeys to the otherworld. As with similar narratives there has been a tendency to look to the VG as a mine for the common otherworld motifs that characterize the other longer, authorial visions. Earlier critics see these motifs as a reason for dismissing the vision, noting that there was "nothing very remarkable about

² Giles Constable, 'The vision of Gunthelm and other *visiones* attributed to Peter the Venerable', *Revue Benedictines* 66 (1956), 92-114, 'Vision of Gunthelm' at 105-113 [Henceforth, VG(A)]. All translations from this work and the later redactions are my own unless otherwise stated. For a discussion of Peter the Venerable's approach to miracles and a detailed categorisation of the various demons that can be found in *De Miraculis*, see: Jean-Pierre Torrell and Denise Bouthillier, *Pierre le Venerable et sa vision du monde: Sa vie, son oeuvre, l'homme et le demon* (Leuven, 1986). To compare this visions to other miracles compiled by Peter the Venerable, see: Peter the Venerable, *De miraculis libri duo*, ed. Denise Bouthillier, CCCM 83 (Turnhout, 1988).

³ Constable does discuss a fifteenth-century version of the vision: Giles Constable, 'The Vision of a Cistercian Novice' in Giles Constable and James Kritzeck ed. *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956* (Rome, 1956), pp.95-98, 'Vision of Gunthelm' at 96-98. There is a note on the vision's later dissemination in Appendix II.

it” and that the narrative contained “little of special originality.”⁴ Moltke Moe went as far as to say that the vision of Gunthelm “is essentially a variant of that of Thurkill.”⁵ Later historians, while giving fairer accounts of the visions’ role, continued to focus on common motifs. Carozzi places the vision of Gunthelm in a chapter devoted to steps up to the sky and considers the vision in the light of other accounts of military men like Owein and Tundale.⁶ Dinzelbacher also focuses on the first section of the vision, the steps to Heaven.⁷ Alison Morgan, who looks at the relationship between earlier visions of the otherworld and the *Divine Comedy* discusses the ‘heavenly ladder’ in relation to Dante: “it is noticeable that in the *Paradiso*, the ladder is also associated particularly with Benedict, and that it leads Dante, as it does Gunthelm, straight to a vision of Mary and the Church Triumphant.”⁸ In these analyses the vision seems to be a manifestation of a general, relatively consistent, pre-Dante otherworld and eschatology. This chapter seeks to complicate this picture.

In the introduction to his edition of the vision and in an article some twenty years later, Constable does contextualise the vision in its specific twelfth-century context more fully, focusing on the novice’s desire to go on crusade and whether it is possible to attribute the vision to Peter the Venerable, something that he leans towards.⁹ He argues that the appearance of the VG(A) in the collection of Peter’s work in a manuscript from Anchin was the strongest evidence in favour of such an attribution.¹⁰ For the purposes of this analysis the precise attribution of the vision is somewhat irrelevant. It is, however, worth noting that there are a number of factors that

⁴ Thomas Wright, *St Patrick’s Purgatory; An essay on the legends of Purgatory, Hell and Paradise, current during the middle ages* (London, 1844), p.39; H.R. Patch, *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass, 1950), p.118.

⁵ op. cit. VG(A), 99n.1, see: Moltke Moe, ‘Draumkvaedt: Middelalderens Visionsdigtning’ in K. Liestøl ed., *Samlede Skrifter* 3 (Oslo, 1927), p.242.

⁶ Claude Carozzi, *Le Voyage de l’ame dans l’au-dela* (Roma, 1994), pp.572-573.

⁷ Peter Dinzelbacher, ‘The Way to the Other World in Medieval Literature and Art’, *Folklore* 97 (1986), 70-87.

⁸ Alison Morgan, *Dante and the Medieval Otherworld* (Cambridge, 1990) p.43. This reference appears in her chapter on ‘Topographical motifs in the Other World’.

⁹ Giles Constable, ‘Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages’, *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976), 125-146 at 139. Even Constable cannot resist discussing the vision’s significance in the light of what scholars of Dante might be interested in: ‘Workers on Dante may be interested in the way in which both of Gunthelm’s conductors, St. Benedict and Archangel Raphael answer his unspoken questions, as does Vergil those of Dante; and the observation by Gunthelm of the movements of the sun may be among the literary antecedents of the solar and astronomical puzzles of the *Divine Comedy*’, VG(A), 102.

¹⁰ The famous Anchin manuscript, composed by the scribe Siger: Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 381.

complicate the direct attribution of the VG(A) to Peter, some of which Constable acknowledges. First, the only dating of the vision is recorded by Helinand of Froidmont as 1161, after Peter's death. There are good reasons to be suspicious of Helinand's precise chronology (as we shall see in sections 4.2.2 and 4.3.1), but I think that a slightly later dating of the vision, after Peter's death, might fit in with some of the Cistercian features of the vision described in part 3.3 below. It is possible that the vision's connection to Peter may have been an attempt to bolster the reputation of the account, or a simple misattribution of the vision to an individual who was known to have recorded similar stories. Both of these features help explain the decision on behalf of a number of compilers to attribute the VEME to Peter as discussed in chapter one.¹¹ Furthermore, as Constable noted, cataloguers from the fifteenth century were not convinced by the attribution.¹² Neither was Helinand, who does not mention Peter in his *Chronicon*.¹³ Helinand, in all likelihood, had access to a copy of the VG(A) and was a comprehensive recorder of sources, no matter how unreliable some of his references turned out to be. In addition, there is no way of dating the Anchin manuscript to a period more precise than the third quarter of the twelfth century, so it is possible that the vision only became associated with Peter in the decades after his death.

3.1.2 'A vision miraculous but at the same time terrible...'

Before going into a more detailed discussion of the later dissemination of the vision, and what this might tell us about the longest and earliest surviving copy of the text, a brief summary of the VG(A) will be offered: The vision is described as "miraculous and, at the same time, terrible ... of the glories of Heaven and the pains of Hell."¹⁴ The title also informs the reader of the visionary's Cistercian origin.¹⁵ It opens with a brief prologue concerning the value of the account and an explanation of the source of the story. It goes on to describe how a man, who had developed a reputation for himself in

¹¹ Constable notes other visions and miracles falsely attributed to Peter the Venerable. See: Giles Constable, 'Manuscripts of Works by Peter the Venerable' in Giles Constable and James Kritzeck ed., *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956* (Rome, 1956), 219-242, at 231-232.

¹² VG(A), 94.

¹³ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, PL 212, col.1060C.

¹⁴ 'Visio mirabilis simul et terribilis...de gloria beatorum et penis damnatorum', VG(A), 105.

¹⁵ 'Quam quidam novitius ordine Cisterciensi vidit', *ibid.*, 105.

England on account of his strength, decided to go to Jerusalem.¹⁶ He did so in recognition that his secular life style had caused great offence to God.¹⁷ The abbot of a nearby Cistercian monastery dissuaded the man of this idea through his sermons and convinced him to stay behind at the monastery.¹⁸ After starting his religious life strongly, he gradually grew weary of battling for his soul.¹⁹ He was twice placed before councils at the monastery, but eventually decided that he was going to go to Jerusalem, (probably on a crusade) but because the abbot was away, the novice postponed his decision to leave the monastery.²⁰ That night, when he had gone to bed, he saw a demon in the shape of a monkey hiding above a beam in his room (the novice knew of nothing of this sort of thing happening in the monastery before).²¹ When the demon realised it had been spotted it leaped off the beam and lashed out at the novice until blood was pouring from his mouth and nose. After the 'soldier of Christ' had been knocked to the floor, the demon disappeared.²² The other monks were woken by his cries and took him to a bed where he lay for three days, as though dead.²³

When he was in this state St. Benedict came to him and greeted him. The novice was unsure whether the man was St. Benedict of Nursia, asking: "What, Benedict? Surely

¹⁶ 'Rei gestae ordinem de homine quodam Anglo habemus, qui de carnis suae uirtute, famae titulum sibi erexit in Anglia', VG(A), 105. The passage about the novice's desire to go to Jerusalem is, as Constable admits in his introduction, obscure. It reads: 'si Iherusalem placet inuisere, illam subeat, cuius quicumque ciuis non erit, huius praesentis uisio nichil conferet ad salutem, VG(A), 106. Constable translates this passage as: 'that if he wished to visit Jerusalem, he should approach that one [the heavenly Jerusalem], of which he would not be some [earthly] citizen, whose vision [of the earthly Jerusalem] in this life would be of no assistance to his salvation', *ibid.*, 102. This in itself does not prove that the novice wanted to go on crusade. However, an earlier passage does hint at this saying that he had settled his mind to go with his soul to Jerusalem in order to use his strength to appease Christ and 'scatter his enemies': 'Sedit animo Iherosolimam proficisci, ut de famoso suo robore Christum placans, eius sterneret inimicos', *ibid.*, 106.

¹⁷ 'Hic cum secularem agens uitam, Deum in multis sibi redderet offensum, compunctus Deo', *ibid.*

¹⁸ 'Circumuentus itaque salubriter huiusmodi sermonibus ab abbate', *ibid.*

¹⁹ 'Addens, ergo bonae primordiis conuersionis...', *ibid.*

²⁰ 'Impatiens luctae cadit a uoto, incurrit periculum, primum secundo praeponit propositum, omnino se non remanere asserit, Iherosolimam perrecturus. Quoniam abbas deerat, differtur interuentu prioris discessus, sed de dilatione periculi, salus se non distulit ad inuitum accedere', *ibid.*

²¹ 'Nocte quadam cum a necessariis ueniens, ad proprium diuerteret se presepium, forte minus cernens, in simiae speciem super trabem cellae uidit antiquum hostem. Sciens in monasterio non haberi huiusmodi portenta', *ibid.*

²² 'Coniciens se esse deprehensum inimicus uirtutis, prosilit de insidiarum specula, ut Christi membrum prosterneret', *ibid.*

²³ 'Fratres tam de facti fragore quam de laesi fratris clamore excitati et uehementer perterriti ... Percussus itaque frater sensus corporeos amississe uidebatur, et sic iacens per triduum semiuiuus', *ibid.*

not the great Benedict?"²⁴ After Benedict had explained who he was, he led the novice out of his body to "narrow and arduous steps" that stretched out into the air.²⁵ As they walked up this stairway the novice was assailed by demons – two on each step – that clambered around him, striking and insulting him.²⁶ The demons assigned to St. Benedict were not able to hurt him at all.²⁷ The novice soon wearied under the continued assault but was helped by his guide who placed his hand on Gunthelm's head.²⁸ When the pair eventually came to the top of the steps they saw a chapel suspended in the air in an area of lush greenness.²⁹ The novice was surprised at how small the chapel was ("a building of moderate construction"), but the Saint told him that he did know the extent of the interior and that the work of God was not to be judged by the standards of man.³⁰

After this brief exchange, the novice and the guide entered the chapel, where, among throngs of people dressed in white, they saw the Virgin Mary "resplendent like the sun among the stars."³¹ Benedict approached her and told her that this was the novice she had asked for.³² Mary then asked the novice if he wanted to live in her house "and serve [her] as he had begun."³³ He replied in the affirmative and informed Mary that he did not want to stray again. After this, she made Gunthelm take a vow on the altar inside the chapel to protect and create the good works of God.³⁴ Mary then instructed Benedict to take the novice onwards. Before they had left the chapel, Benedict told the novice to pay attention to the sights that he was about to see because they would be

²⁴ 'Quis es, domine? Cui sanctus: Ego sum inquit frater Benedictus. Quis inquit Benedictus? Nunquid magnus? Magnus inquit', *ibid.*

²⁵ 'Cumque ambo simul proximum aera carperent, ad quosdam gradus uenerunt artos et arduos', *ibid.*

²⁶ 'In singulis uero gradibus demones bini et bini residebant, qui quos poterant omnes ad superiora conscendere nitentes terribiliter infestebant', *ibid.*, 106-107.

²⁷ 'Quos ut uidit nouicius, ualde nimirum expauit, attamen a beati Benedicti uestigiis non recessit... nequam spiritus sancto nocere non apposuerunt', *ibid.*, 107.

²⁸ 'Animaduertens quidem sanctus discipuli sequentis defectum, conuertens se benigne ad eum reuelationis gratia super afflicti caput propriam posuit manum', *ibid.*

²⁹ 'et illis serenissimam puri aetheris regionem ingredientibus, apparuit eis e regione locus mirae uiriditatis et amenitatis', *ibid.*

³⁰ 'modicae fabricae structura', Benedict replies to this thought (the question is never spoken aloud), saying 'Diuinitatis quidem opera non sunt humano more aestimanda', *ibid.*

³¹ 'inter illos uelut sol inter sydera resplendebat', *ibid.*

³² 'Domina ecce nouicium adduxi, quem adduci iussistis', *ibid.*

³³ 'vis in domo mea ad seruendum michi sicut coepisti semper perseuerare?', *ibid.*

³⁴ 'Et beato uirgo: Iura inquit michi super altare praesens', *ibid.*

profitable to him. Benedict and Mary proceeded to wash the feet of the throng in the chapel.³⁵

When they had left the chapel, on their way through lush fields surrounding it, the guide and the novice saw many monks who had crowns on their heads.³⁶ Some had not been granted crowns, but were expecting to receive them at a later date.³⁷ One of the monks danced in joy at seeing the Saint.³⁸ He called the pair over and informed the visionary that he is a monk of the same monastery, called Matthew.³⁹ Matthew then made a speech encouraging Gunthelm to reproach the abbot at their monastery who needed to increase discipline in order to protect the Cistercian order: “that he should try to mend his ways and see to it that the discipline of the Order is kept with greater diligence and care.”⁴⁰ He noted that he had been destined to take one of the crowns as it descended from Heaven but it was given to another monk who had died before him.⁴¹ Matthew also told the visionary that he had only made it to his current location along a very laborious and difficult path and that he had scarcely avoided damnation.⁴² After he had told Gunthelm this, Matthew beseeched the visionary to live a religious life.⁴³ It is worth noting how deeply concerned the long opening of this vision of the otherworld is with the monastic life and the particulars of the situation at Gunthelm’s own monastery. Although the tendency has been to focus on ‘common’ visionary tropes, there is much that makes this opening section unique, not least the appearance of the Virgin and the discussion concerning her chapel.

³⁵ ‘Quae omnium per ordinem circumsedentium pedes humiliter coepit lauare’, *ibid.*

³⁶ ‘ecce religiosorum multitudo monachorum ac nouiciorum, e quibus quidam coronas perpulchras capitibus impositas habebant’, *ibid.*, 107-108.

³⁷ ‘quorundam uero humi adhuc prostratae, sed tempore oportuno resumendae iacebant’, *ibid.*, 108.

³⁸ ‘Qui uidentes beatum Benedictum patrem suum dilectissimum, gauisi sunt gaudio magno, et occurrentes circumdederunt eum et tripudiantes congratulabantur ei’, *ibid.*

³⁹ ‘ego uita comite in monasterio illo conuersatus sum’, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ ‘ut se corrigere studeat, et ordinis disciplinam diligentius atque sollicitius in monasterio suo custodiri satagat’, *ibid.*

⁴¹ ‘uidens coronam unam de caelo emissam, eam meam esse speraui, sed quidam monachus qui ante me obiit, illam accipere meruit’, *ibid.*

⁴² ‘Laboriosa ualde et difficilis est uia que huc uenitur ... et uix a periculo dampnationis euasi’, *ibid.*

⁴³ ‘et caue elationem, notabilitatem, et uehementiam, atque indiscretionem. Voluntatem propriam tanquam salutis tuae hostem, et animae tuae proditricem in omnibus caue, et ambula inter fratres tuos sine querela et inquietudine ... Deum time, et ab isto ordine noli unquam recedere’, *ibid.*

After the conversation with his Brother had ended Gunthelm is given to a new guide, St. Raphael. He is taken into Paradise which was a city carved from gold.⁴⁴ The guide answers several of the visionary's unspoken questions regarding the gate and a fountain.⁴⁵ The angel then led him to a tree of beauty, on top of which there was a man of large stature (as if a giant).⁴⁶ The visionary is informed that this is Adam and that he is wearing "the covering of righteousness, the gown of immortality and the vesture of glory."⁴⁷ This multi-coloured costume is progressively embroidered from Adam's feet upwards as the good works of mankind are added to.⁴⁸

After this encounter the novice was taken to a region with great turrets belching out smoke.⁴⁹ He was informed that this was not Hell but the place where the hell-fire was discharged.⁵⁰ Next he came across several characters suffering in great torment. Gunthelm discovered a man who was sat on a bishop's throne.⁵¹ He was assaulted by beautiful women who poured hot wax through his mouth and extracted it from his penis.⁵² Raphael said that the man had been fond of his own low passions and had enjoyed the company of mistresses.⁵³ Next the visionary came across a man who was being flayed alive by spirits who roasted him and rubbed salt into his wounds.⁵⁴ This man had been a powerful individual in life and had roughly subdued those around him.⁵⁵ Next they saw a man riding a burning horse who was carrying a burning shield. On the neck of the horse there was burning goat. Tied to the tail of the horse there was

⁴⁴ 'ciuitatis deauratos muros', *ibid.*

⁴⁵ 'Cui inde vehementer miranti, dixit angelus: Quid miraris? Porta inquit fecit portam', *ibid.*; 'dixit ei angelus: Sed quid miraris? Fons fecit fontem', *ibid.*, 109.

⁴⁶ 'sub qua arbore homo quidam recumbebat, homo uenustae formae, gygantei corporis, et sublimis ultra humanum modum staturae', *ibid.*

⁴⁷ 'indumentum est iustitiae stola immortalitatis et uestis gloriae', *ibid.*

⁴⁸ 'A primo itaque iusto Abel scilicet filio suo usque nunc, recuperare coepit istam quam uidet uestem, per totam iustorum omnium de mundo uenientium successionem'; 'Cum autem Adam ex toto fuerit indutus, tunc in memoria aeterna erunt iusti, et completo electorum numero, finem accipiet mundus', *ibid.*

⁴⁹ 'et cernens quasi turrium fusca cacumina ab imo surgentium', *ibid.*

⁵⁰ 'angelus inquit: Non est infernus quod cernis, sed quae conicis antiquas esse turres, camini sunt infernales per quos ignis aeternus suas euomit flammās, et gehennalis fornax suas emittit fauillas', *ibid.*

⁵¹ 'Deinde ostendit ei hominem in ignea cathedra residentem', *ibid.*

⁵² 'quae ardentes cereos in eius ora instanter intorquebant, quos traductos per uiscera per uirilia extrahebant', *ibid.*

⁵³ 'Et quia mulierum amator fuit, per mulierum species a malignis spiritibus quasi cereorum facibus inflammatur, et sic semper iteratis incendiis sine fine cruciatur', *ibid.*

⁵⁴ 'uiderunt hominem quem tetri spiritus uiuum exoriabant, exoriatum sale fricabant, atque sallitum, super crateum ferream igne subposito concremabant', *ibid.*, 110.

⁵⁵ 'Et hic inquit angelus quem sic uidet dampnatum, potens fuit in mundo', *ibid.*

a monastic habit.⁵⁶ The angel said that “this soldier was a fairly poor man in the world and had sustained his life through pillaging.”⁵⁷ In this same area they saw a diverse range of religious people, who were suffering greatly for a variety of crimes.⁵⁸ Finally, as they headed deeper into the infernal regions they came across a giant wheel, with a man spread out over it.⁵⁹ When the wheel had stopped all the captured souls and demons in the area insulted the individual stretched across it and beat him viciously.⁶⁰ Gunthelm was informed that this man was the traitor, Judas.⁶¹ This section was combined with Mary’s role earlier in the vision to make a short, but not terribly popular Marian miracle.⁶²

Raphael then took the visionary’s soul back to his body. He told the novice that he should tell the vision to no-one except his abbot in confession.⁶³ He quickly forgot about the angel’s final piece of advice and told those around him what he had seen.⁶⁴ This led to St. Benedict’s return to the monastery, where he thrashed the novice with a walking stick and informed him that if he felt the physical pain of the beating he was sure to know that his soul would be struck even more. The novice was then informed that he would be without the power of speech for nine days.⁶⁵ After he had recovered from

⁵⁶ ‘Viderunt et alium hominem, super equum flammeum sedentem, scutumque igneum ad collum gestantem, qui et super equi collum capram unam portabat, et habitum monachi post se ad caudam caballi religatum trahebat’, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ ‘Quia miles fuit satis pauper in mundo, et uitam suam sustenabat ex rapto’, *ibid.*

⁵⁸ ‘uiderunt quasi religiosas personas promiscui generis’, *ibid.*, 110. The nature of the crimes will be discussed in more depth in section 3.3.1.

⁵⁹ ‘Et porro suspicientes, eminus terribilem uiderunt rotam totam igneam, et innexum hominem super eam’, VG(A), 111.

⁶⁰ ‘Cumque rota haec ita in puteum baratri se terribiliter immergeret, omnes animae quae tenebantur in morte captivae, cum malignis spiritibus furibundis uocibus conclamabant’, *ibid.*, 111.

⁶¹ ‘Hic autem infelicissimus omnium hominum homo, Iudas Christi Ihsu traditor’, *ibid.* This particular section of the vision has clear parallels with the Anglo-Norman version of the St. Brendan legend contained in a poem by Benedeit: D. D. R. Owen, *The Vision of Hell: Infernal Journeys in Medieval French Literature* (Edinburgh, 1970), p.61.

⁶² See section 3.2.2.

⁶³ ‘Porro prohibuit sanctus Raphael nouicium mox ad corpus proprium hiis uisis reuersurum, ne cui referat uisionem, nisi tantum abbati suo per secretam confessionem’, VG(A), 112.

⁶⁴ ‘Cedit angelicum a memoria praecaepum, et ubi perit memoria, uiget negligentiae culpa, coepit secretum facere publicum, Visi inquiring infernum, fui in paradysum. Intrauerat iam narrationem, cum ecce sanctus Benedictus cum pastorali baculo asstitit [sic.]’, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ ‘Nunc uero quia uerbo peccasti, uerbum per dies nouem amittes’, *ibid.*

this second affliction, he told the abbot what he had seen.⁶⁶ The abbot, who had not taken an order of silence on this matter, told the vision to the benefit of anyone who would listen.⁶⁷

3.2 The vision in the thirteenth century

3.2.1. Mendicant Collections

Those lucky enough to hear the abbot's version of the vision directly, or to have read one of the *De Miraculis* manuscripts which contained the VG(A), would have encountered the account in all the complexity and detail just outlined. In the thirteenth century, however, despite the vision's limited dissemination, it seems likely that shorter versions of the narrative were just as popular and probably read and heard by a greater number of people. This part of the chapter will briefly discuss a number of these later redactions as they appeared in the didactic literature of this period and flag up a number of ways in which this pattern of dissemination might bring light to bear on the VG(A) itself, much in the same way as the later versions of the VEME highlighted the novel and eccentric features of the earlier versions. It is worth repeating that there is one redaction of the vision that this chapter will not discuss, the version that appears in Helinand of Froidmont's *Chronicon* (VG(H)) which is subsequently copied into Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* (VG(V)).⁶⁸ These will be discussed as part of a wider analysis of Helinand's work in chapter four. Instead, this part of the chapter will look at three 'didactic' redactions, comparing the vision as it appears in an English Dominican *exempla* collection at the end of the thirteenth century, in Stephen of Bourbon's *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit* and in John of Garland's *Stella Maris*, before suggesting reasons for the vision's lack of popularity compared with the VEME and the vision of Fursa. The later dissemination of the vision is briefly discussed in the Appendix II.

⁶⁶ 'Porro post nouem dies conualuit, uerbum sublatum recaepit, et de correptione factus cautior, omnia quae uiderat, quae audierat, abbati suo per ordinem sicut sibi iussum fuerat, sub confessionis silentio, utiliter enarruit', *ibid.*

⁶⁷ 'Abbas autem non tacuit, quia ut taceret mandatum non accaepit [sic], sed dignum fore censuit, ut tantae uisionis ueritas piis mentibus pia relatione innotesceret', *ibid.*

⁶⁸ Helinand of Froidmont, *Helinandi de Frigidimontis, Chronicon*, PL 212, cols.771-1082, at 1060C-1063D; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 29.6-10.

Stephen of Bourbon's incorporation of extracts from the vision of Gunthelm, like his selections from the VEME, reflect the specific position he places them in his volume and reveal something more general about the pattern of dissemination of visions of the otherworld.⁶⁹ The extracts from the vision of Gunthelm are in the same book as his redaction of the VEME – the book on the gift of fear – but it is placed in a different chapter which specifically discusses the fear of Hell.⁷⁰ His version of the vision of Gunthelm, unlike the VEME, is contained in a single *exemplum* but describes three separate punishments in particular. It is clear that these punishments, though slightly different, stem from the VG(A), although it is possible that Stephen was using the version of the vision as it was redacted in VG(H,V), possibly in addition to the VG(A), possibly instead of it. In the following analysis, Helinand and Vincent's versions of the vision will also be cited where relevant.

The punishments that Stephen records are listed as follows: (1) A cruel Lord and collector of taxes who was skinned and salted on a rack.⁷¹ Stephen somewhat elaborates this man's credentials. In the VG(V) version, for example, we are told that he was a powerful man, responsible for "roughly subduing."⁷² Stephen makes him a "cruel lord and an oppressor of subjects and a tax collector."⁷³ It is tempting to see this as a result of Stephen imagining how the *exemplum* might be used in preaching. (2) A powerful prince (*principem*) who sat on a burning throne and had burning wax poured through his body and extracted through his genitals by beautiful women.⁷⁴ (3) The punishment of a man who decided to join the monastery at the end of his life for worldly rather than spiritual favour.⁷⁵ He is riding a fiery horse led by the tail by an empty monastic habit.⁷⁶ The decision to look at these individuals seems to follow the trend described in section 1.3.2 in respect to Stephen's redaction of the VEME. Another

⁶⁹ For an introduction to this work, see above, section 1.3.2. See also: Alan E. Bernstein, 'The invocation of Hell in thirteenth-century Paris' in James Hankins, John Montasani, Frederick Purnell Jnr. eds., *Supplementum Festiuium: Studies in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 49 (New York, 1987), pp.13-54.

⁷⁰ Stephanus de Borbone, *Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus: Prologus, Liber Primus*, ed. Jacques Berlioz and Jean-Luc Eichenlaub, CCCM 124 (Turnhout, 2002) [Henceforth: Stephen of Bourbon I].

⁷¹ Stephen of Bourbon I, p.96.

⁷² 'Hic, inquit angelus, potens fuit, et crudelis in subditos'. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 30.9.

⁷³ 'hic fuerat crudelis dominator et subditorum oppressor et exactor', Stephen of Bourbon I, p.96.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, pp.95-96.

⁷⁵ 'Et in fine, humano fauore, non uoluntate perseuerandi, infirmus, habitum monachi accepit', *ibid.*, p.96.

⁷⁶ 'et post caudam equi habitum monachi trahebat', *ibid.*

decision, however, is equally notable: Stephen's decision to place the vision in Hell. This is surprising because in the VG(A,H,V) the visionary's guide explicitly tells him that the punishments he sees are not Hellish.

<p>"Cui haec exsistimanti angelus inquit: 'Non est infernus quod cernis, sed quae conicis antiquas esse turres, camini sunt infernales per quos ignis aeternus suas euomit flammās, et gehannalis fornax suas emittit fauillas.'"</p>	<p>"et vidit novitius quasi turres horribiles, et putauit quod ibi esset infernus. Sed angelus dixit: 'Non est. Illae autem turres sunt camini infernales, per quos fumas et flamma ignis aeterni exeunt.'"</p>	<p>"and just as the novice saw as it were horrible towers and thought that was where Hell was. But the angel said: 'It is not. Indeed those towers are infernal chimneys, through which the fumes and flames of the eternal fire are discharged.'"</p>
<p>VG(A), 109.⁷⁷</p>	<p>VG(H), col.1062C, VG(V), 30.9.</p>	

The punishment of the man in the burning throne is discussed, one of the extracts Stephen places in the *Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit*, is described directly after this unambiguous statement. Yet, as has already been observed, the 'title' (*titulus*) in which he places this extract is devoted to the fear of Hell.⁷⁸ As was discussed in the first chapter, Stephen does not have a problem with the doctrine of Purgatory and devotes a whole book to the subject (where the redacted extracts of the VEME appear).

It is difficult to assert why Stephen makes the decision to locate his extracts from the vision of Gunthelm in Hell. As the vision progresses in the VG(A,H,V) it is clear that the visionary and his guide do eventually plunge into the infernal depths and it is perhaps the fact these regions seems to be linked in a continuum which confuses both the authors, or leads them to regard the vision as part of an older schema which needed cleared up (although I would stress that the movement between areas is clearly portrayed in the VG(A,H,V)).⁷⁹ This would chime with some of the findings in the last

⁷⁷ For the importance of this statement in the context of the VG(A), see: Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionliteratur*, p.100.

⁷⁸ 'Quartus Titulus Prime Partis De Inferno', Stephen of Bourbon I, p.66.

⁷⁹ In the VG(A), for example: 'laboriosa ualde et difficilis est uia qua huc uenitur', VG(A), 108; 'crede michi frater, cum per hanc huc ascenderem uiam pene dampnationis euasi', VG(A), 108; 'Et vergentes se ad

chapter, that when faced with ambiguous descriptions of punishment in the otherworld, thirteenth-century mendicants tended to locate the accounts in Hell. On a more pragmatic level, Stephen's brief mention of the punishment of Judas, the last encounter in the otherworld in the VG(H,V) may have led him to locate all of the stories in Hell for convenience.⁸⁰ Yet this does not adequately explain why another redactor focusing on a single episode from the vision also chooses to place the vision in this context as well.

A hellish location for the vision can also be found in an anonymous, late thirteenth-century, English *exempla* collection (E) probably compiled by a Dominican Friar in East Anglia.⁸¹ Here, the redactor of E focuses on the last punishment Stephen describes; the man riding on the fiery horse. There are several citations of Peter the Venerable's *De Miraculis* in the marginalia, although not adjacent to this particular *exemplum*, so it is likely but by no means certain that the compiler of E had access to the VG(A). Like many mendicant collections, E relied on several existing *exempla* collections and much of the material in this particular compilation came from the *Speculum Laicorum*, the work of another Dominican.⁸² In the *exemplum* in question, the story is detailed as follows: An angel revealed the punishment of a knight in Hell to a monk of the Cistercian order.⁸³ The man was riding a burning horse and was tormented by a fiery goat (*capre ignee*) in the midst of eternal fire. On seeing this peculiar scene the monk asked the angel what the knight had done to deserve such suffering. The angel replied that the man "was tormented by the goat in such a manner" because he had unjustly stolen and taken away a goat owned by a poor widow (*vidue pauperis*).⁸⁴ As with

interiora caliginis', VG(A), 110; 'qui procedentes inde ad alium locum', VG(A), 110. In the VG(H), for example: 'Tunc S.Raphael duxit eum in paradisum', VG(H), col.1062A-B; 'Post haec uenerunt angelus et nouitius ad regionem umbrae mortis, et terram tenebrosam', VG(H), col.1062C; 'Post haec angelus Raphael duxit nouitum usque ad profundum inferni', VG(H), col.1063B.

⁸⁰ 'Vidit etiam rotam igneam in inferno in qua Iudas proditor uoluebatur', Stephen of Bourbon I, p.96.

⁸¹ London, BL, Royal MS 7. D. I [Henceforth: E]. This manuscript is described in J. A. Herbert and H.L.D Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, 3 vols. (London, 1910), III, pp. 477-503. A number of *exempla* were edited in: Stephen L. Forte O.P., 'A Cambridge Dominican Collector of *Exempla* in the Thirteenth Century', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 28 (1958), 115-148, 'Exempla Selecta' at 118-148. The *exemplum* described is not edited in this selection and all translations from the manuscript are my own.

⁸² See above, section 1.1.2. The compiler of this collection carries many of the citations to the work of Jacques de Vitry in the *Speculum Laicorum* into his manuscript as well as an observation that he had heard him preach.

⁸³ 'Narratio de quodam monachi Cisterciensis ordino quod angelo revelante', E, f.124r.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

Stephen's redaction, the redactor ignores the indications that this part of the vision is not in Hell and in the ten accounts that precede the vision, several also deal with the suffering of individuals in Hell; a rich man is seen being punished for his greed in a bath and a land thief is seen hanging from a hook, for example. In the same way that Jacques De Vitry pushed the vision of Fursa into Hell (observed in the previous chapter, section 2.2.2) the compiler of E makes it explicit by the introduction of the noun *gehenne*.⁸⁵ As with Stephen, this is not reticence on the part of the redactor of E about Purgatory's advance as there are several descriptions of Purgatory in the manuscript including a seemingly unique journey of two friars across a Purgatorial lake. Indeed, after the compiler had heard this particular tale he celebrated mass and "all of the good works that are able to liberate oneself from the pains of Purgatory".⁸⁶

Despite the difference in location, one detail ties the E redaction more tightly to the VG(A) than Stephen's version: the fact that the man being punished was a knight. In most other ways, however, this short *exemplum* erodes the features which made the account in the VG(A) stand out as a vision of the otherworld. For example, the compiler chooses to have an unnamed angel reveal the vision to a Cistercian monk.⁸⁷ Paradoxically perhaps, the decision to promote the novice to a monk removes some of the monastic texture of the original as much of the vision's intrigue comes from the relationship between abbot and novice and the instruction for the former's improvement. In fact, in this manuscript the knight is not punished for joining the monastery for the desire of human favour at all, this aspect of the vision is removed. The compiler of E seems uninterested in the monastic aspects of the text, citing the visionary as a monk only to help in the authentication of the account. Beyond this, the *exemplum* is without the traditional, named otherworldly guide and is missing the description of the punished multitudes in vast landscapes. This is, no doubt, a question of space and *brevitas*, rather than theology; but in selecting this story and editing it in such a way the compiler reveals interests and preferences. As a result, the altered scene seems to fit in with the death-bed accounts that surround it in collection as the

⁸⁵ 'Vidit in gehenne incendens militem quendam', *ibid.*

⁸⁶ 'et aliorum bonorum operum a pena purgatorii ipsum post mortem liberare potuit', *ibid.*, f.114v.

⁸⁷ 'quodam monachi', *ibid.*

visionary has the account 'revealed' to him, rather than actively being involved in a journey through the otherworld.⁸⁸

Stephen's extracts do not work in exactly the same way and his *exemplum* is more recognizably a vision of the otherworld. The soul of the visionary is removed from his body and he is taken by a Saint – in this case Benedict – to the otherworld.⁸⁹ Yet some of the monastic quality of the VG(A) is eroded in Stephen's version as well. Like the version in the Royal manuscript, other than at the beginning where one sentence describes the mansions of the elect and the punishments of the wicked, the generalised punishments from the VG(A) are missing from Stephen's version.⁹⁰ The multitude of monks and novices that are awaiting their place among the elite are removed, as are the less fortunate religious personnel who were suffering in line with their earthly sins.⁹¹ As we have seen, in the VG(A) the vision was granted to a novice who had a desire to go on crusade to Jerusalem. As will be discussed in section 3.3.1, the issue was current in Cistercian monasteries in the second half of the twelfth century. For a Dominican Friar in the middle of the thirteenth century, the issue may have been less relevant and in Stephen's version the novice is a returning crusader and his reasons for wanting to leave the monastery are unclear.⁹² As with his redaction of the VEME the minutiae of monastic life that provide the VG(A) with its preamble are deleted.⁹³

In short, it seems that both these compilers were concerned with diluting the monastic intensity present in the texts that they inherited and the lengths that the redactor of E and Stephen go to achieve this may hint at reasons for the vision's relative

⁸⁸ 'quod angelo revelante', *ibid.*, f.124r. It may be worth considering whether by pushing these visions of Hell towards the more 'revelatory' accounts (such as ghost stories, for example) this process led to a merging of purgatorial stories and those which explicitly took place in Hell and contributing to the 'infernalisation' of Purgatory observed elsewhere. See: Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.205-8, p.252, pp.310-315.

⁸⁹ 'Et cum laboraret in extremis, beatus Benedictus, ut uisum est ei', Stephen of Bourbon I, p.95.

⁹⁰ 'ostendit ei mansiones multas electorum et supplicia malorum', *ibid.* These are also features of the VG(H,V) line of dissemination so it seems likely that it was Stephen's own decision even if he was not extracting the material directly from the VG(A).

⁹¹ 'Post haec vident diversas personas religiosas monachorum, monialium, episcoporum quorum quidam ridebant et cachinnabantur, alii convitiabantur, alii studebant gulae satiandae, alii libidini', Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 30.9.

⁹² 'quod cum quidam cruce signatus intrasset in Anglia ordinem Cisterciensium ... et cogitaret de exitu ordinis', Stephen of Bourbon I, p.95.

⁹³ Details of these can be found in the summary of the VG(A) in section 3.1.2.

unpopularity. It seems likely that the mendicant compilers approved of the authenticity that the Cistercian background gave the story (the visionary is described as a Cistercian monk in both of the *exempla*) but found it difficult to untangle the vision from the monastic message as it appears in the VG(A).⁹⁴ That this Cistercian message ran deep is also suggested by the appearance of the vision in a Marian miracle collection, a rarity for visions of the otherworld.

3.2.2. A Marian Miracle

This other appearance of the vision focuses on one of the rare features described in the VG(A): the role of the Virgin Mary. In the VG(A) and VG(H,V), the visionary's journey through the otherworld is sanctioned by the Virgin and this detail is the basis for the vision's appearance in a small number of Marian miracle collections that were popular in England and France throughout the thirteenth century.⁹⁵ This section will briefly discuss the English accounts.⁹⁶

Many Cistercian miracles were used in these collections in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the order claimed to have a special relationship with the Virgin (see below, section 3.3.1). They were regularly used to assert a separate Cistercian identity.⁹⁷ What makes the vision of Gunthelm's small role as a 'Marian miracle' stand out is that visions of the otherworld are very rarely utilised in these compilations. In addition to the shortened version of the vision of Gunthelm which will be discussed below, there are two other examples which might merit further study. The first is a

⁹⁴ 'intrasset in Anglia ordinem Cisterciensium', Stephen of Bourbon I, p.95.

⁹⁵ The first appearance of the vision of Gunthelm in a Marian miracle collection seems to be through the so-called 'Quoniam' collection in a Paris manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 17,491). This manuscript also contains a full version of the vision as well as the redacted story. It becomes part of the collection that was then passed into the so-called 'Ste. Geneviève compilation' which no longer exists. Constable lists several other French Marian miracle collections had a version of the vision of Gunthelm: Constable lists four manuscripts all originating in France: Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 168 (s.xiii) and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS U134 (s.xiii, this possibly resided in Jumieges in the middle ages), and MS A535 (s.xiv, from Jumieges). See: VG(A), 92-93. There is also a later, fifteenth-century English Marian miracle collection containing the vision (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex MS 95). Giles Constable edits of this later version in: Giles Constable, 'The Vision of a Cistercian Novice' in Giles Constable and James Kritzeck ed. *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956* (Rome, 1956), pp.95-98 [Vision at 96-98].

⁹⁶ For a recent general introduction to the genre, followed by a more focused discussion of the representation of Jews in the collections, see: Kati Ihnat, 'Mary and the Jews in Anglo-Norman Monastic Culture', Queen Mary, University of London PhD thesis (2011), pp.117-155.

⁹⁷ See: Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009), pp.149-157.

vision of Heaven and Hell seen by a Jew named Jacob in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*.⁹⁸ This occurs when the Jew has been assaulted and robbed on the road from London to Winchester. The Virgin Mary releases Jacob and grants him a vision of the otherworld which leads to his baptism in Bath. A similar story appears in a later *exempla* collection but the action has been moved to the road between Bristol and Wilton.⁹⁹ Slightly more popular is the vision of Wetti's appearance in Marian miracle collections. An English collection from the early thirteenth century describes how a sick German monk saw first the demons and then angels around his bed. He was then taken up by one of the angels who led him to Heaven and obtained his pardon from God through the intercession of the Virgin. The monk died the next day.¹⁰⁰

To this list, the appearance of the vision of Gunthelm in an English Marian miracle collection composed around 1300 can be added. For many years this manuscript resided in the library of the Benedictine monastery in Bury St. Edmunds.¹⁰¹ It is a copy of one of the works of John of Garland (b. c.1195, d. in or after 1258), who achieved a moderate amount of fame as a poet and grammarian at Paris and Toulouse. It is thought that he was born in Berkshire and educated at Oxford. His interest in England can be detected throughout his works. It was probably during his time in Paris that John had access to a series of French Marian Miracle collections that the vision of Gunthelm had appeared in, which he adopted into his *Stella Maris*.¹⁰² He was the first

⁹⁸ 'Quidam iudeus nomine Iacobus a Lundonia civitate Anglie apud Wintoniam pergens in via predonum manus incurrens captus est, plagis afflictus atque in domum vetustam casum iam minantem tractus. Post multas iniurias omnibus rebus suis spoliatur, ligatusque ad postem pedibus et vinctis post tergum manibus ibidem relinquitur solitarius...', Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 8.111.

⁹⁹ London, BL MS Harley, 2250, f.87r.

¹⁰⁰ This account was translated into Anglo-Norman as part of Adgar of London's collection. See: London, BL MS Egerton 612, f.41r. There is another thirteenth-century version of this text but the vision does not appear in it (London, BL, MS Additional 38664). See: Adgar, *Le Gracial*, ed. Pierre Kuntzmann (Ottawa, 1982). For comments see: Adrienne Williams Boyarin, *Miracles of the Virgin in Medieval England: Law, Jewishness in Marian Legends* (Cambridge, 2010), p.5. The *Visio Wettini* is the basis of a new research project by Richard Pollard at the Centre for Renaissance and Medieval Studies at UCLA. As far as visions of the otherworld containing reference to the Virgin that were not redacted in Marian miracle collections, the only example that can be added to the vision of Gunthelm in England is the vision of Orm. Dom Hugh Farmer ed., 'The Vision of Orm', *AB* 75 (1957), 72–82. There are examples of visionary material appearing in the same manuscripts as Marian miracle collections. See, for example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 410 where the vision of Drythelm appears, alongside other visions, next to a collection.

¹⁰¹ London, BL MS Royal 8. C. iv., f.19v.

¹⁰² Evelyn Faye Wilson, *The Stella Maris of John of Garland. Edited, together with a study of certain collections of Mary legends made in Northern France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946) [Henceforth: John of Garland, *Stella Maris*]. The first appearance of the vision of Gunthelm in a Marian

known lay compiler of Marian miracles and his version marks an even more dramatic movement away from the visions of the otherworld than described above.¹⁰³ Entitled “Concerning the monk who saw the punishment of Judas”, the account in the *Stella Maris* only lasts four short stanzas.¹⁰⁴ There is little contextualisation of the account which is essentially used as a vehicle for a poetic meditation on the beauty of the virgin. In fact, the last two stanzas do not deal with the miracle at all.¹⁰⁵ Crucially, however, it focuses on the Virgin granting the monk permission to see the punishment of the “outstretched traitor Judas”.¹⁰⁶ The dramatic rising and falling of the wheel that Judas is punished on is given a versified rewrite, as were the curses of Judas and the shouting of the devils around him.¹⁰⁷

It is tempting to see this dramatization of the narrative in the light of the discussion in the previous chapter about Fursa’s journey into Middle English: As lay tastes changed in the thirteenth century, was there a movement away from the traditional components that made up the longer visions of the otherworld towards a less historically-grounded and more literary interpretation of the inherited accounts? Sadly, it is impossible to test this hypothesis using the vision of Gunthelm as it was never translated into Middle English. When the *Stella Maris* was translated into the vernacular, the Judas account

miracle collection seems to be through the so-called ‘Quoniam’ collection in a Paris manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 17,491). This manuscript also contains a full version of the vision as well as the redacted story. It becomes part of the collection that was then passed into the so-called ‘Ste. Geneviève compilation’ which no longer exists. Constable lists several other French Marian miracle collections had a version of the vision of Gunthelm: Charleville, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 168 (s.xiii) and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale MS U134 (s.xiii, this possibly resided in Jumieges in the middle ages), and MS A535 (s.xiv, from Jumieges). There is also a later, fifteenth-century English Marian miracle collection containing the vision (Cambridge, Sidney Sussex MS 95). Giles Constable edits of this later version in: Giles Constable, ‘The Vision of a Cistercian Novice’ in Giles Constable and James Kritzeck ed. *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956* (Rome, 1956), pp.95-98 [Vision at 96-98].

¹⁰³ John of Garland, *Stella Maris*, p.73.

¹⁰⁴ ‘De monacho qui vidit penam Jude’, John of Garland, *Stella Maris*, p.120.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Ave, que tot mira facis / Templum Dei, turris pacis / Salutis refrigerium / Ave, flos suavitatis / Lilium es castitatis / Gaudii solsequium // O flos, ave, sponsa solis / Solem sequens, nove prolis / Genitrix et filia / Dulcis odor violarum / In te spirat et rosarum / Exundat fragrantia’, *ibid.*, p.121.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Penam Iude proditoris / Pandi mater salvatoris / Monaco permiserat’, *ibid.*, p.120.

¹⁰⁷ Rota Iudam inflammata / Nunc depressa nunc levata / In profundum immerserat // Descendebat cum frangore / Animarum plebs clamore / Judas maledixerat / Omnes illum percusserunt / Inpellentes, devoverunt / Rota dum corruerat., *ibid.*, pp.120-121.

disappears, meaning that its appearance in Marian miracle collections, particularly in English manuscripts, was very fleeting indeed.¹⁰⁸

This unique appearance of a vision of the otherworld in Marian miracle literature serves to highlight the Cistercian and monastic texture of the vision of Gunthelm that the mendicant redactors began to undermine in the thirteenth century. That the more unique aspects of the vision do not make it into versions of the vision described in 3.2.1 may also point towards the reasons for its comparative lack of popularity. Unlike the VEME, *exempla* compilers could not easily find well-delineated secular material to extract from the VG(A). In addition, those redactors more concerned with otherworldly geography (the sort of monastic chroniclers described in section 1.3.1) were not presented with descriptions that could easily be linked to, or authenticated by, the other visions in circulation (we will see how Helinand of Froidmont solved this problem in the following chapter). These observations seem to indicate that the VG(A) contained eccentricities which mark it out from the wider genre of visions of the otherworld in addition to the common motifs observed in recent scholarship. In addition, the pattern of the vision's dissemination seems to indicate that these eccentricities stem from the VG(A)'s engagement with specifically monastic, even Cistercian concerns.¹⁰⁹

3.3 The Cistercian order and the VG(A)

3.3.1. A Cistercian vision: broad trends in the order's literature

To understand the Cistercian history of the vision, then, this chapter will have to look back to the twelfth century and towards the VG(A). Given the VG(A)'s strong links to Peter the Venerable (discussed above, section 3.1.1) it might be surprising to dwell on this aspect of the vision. Yet, even if Peter the Venerable was actually responsible for

¹⁰⁸ The *Stella Maris* is translated into Middle English in London, BL Additional MS 39,996, but the Judas story is not present.

¹⁰⁹ It would also help explain the vision's appearance in a slightly redacted form in the *Liber Revelationum*. This version of the vision follows the VG(A) but its presence in the text is instructive. Although an Augustinian, the compiler, Peter of Cornwall, seems to have collected much of his material from Cistercians passing through London on their way to and from General Chapter meetings. See: London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 51, ff.18r-31r. The manuscript catalogue suggests that this is the vision as it appears in VG(H) but it follows VG(A).

composing the VG(A) it clearly stems from an earlier Cistercian account. Peter may have watered down the Cistercian features of the text or oral story that he inherited (and this might help explain the “not altogether laudatory” attitude to the vision that Constable detects in the VG(A)), but in the following sections it will be argued that many Cistercian aspects survive and are crucial in understanding the pattern of dissemination just outlined in part 3.2.¹¹⁰ The first task then is to place the VG(A) in the context of late twelfth-century Cistercian literature and the recent scholarship concerned with the order’s identity and storytelling. There are two particular elements in the burgeoning modern scholarship on the Cistercian order in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century that merit further discussion in respect to the VG(A). These will provide the background for the discussion in the following two sections. The first is the growing interest in Cistercian *exempla* collections and the second is the assertion that the Cistercians had a pre-eminent role in formulating and disseminating the doctrine of Purgatory in the second half of the twelfth century.

On-going research into twelfth century *exempla* is considering how the Cistercian stories differed from the production of later mendicant collections, whether a Cistercian ‘style’ existed and how the material was actually disseminated. Both Helen Birkett and Lorenzo Braca’s research promises to look into twelfth-century miracles and visions in this context and the early fruits of Stefano Mula’s work have already been published.¹¹¹ In some respects, the latter can be seen as a response to the work of Brian Patrick McGuire who has set out a four-tiered model for the dissemination of Cistercian *exempla* originating in the monasteries.¹¹² First, ‘primitive’ and ‘naive’ stories (often orally transmitted) are recorded and placed into collections. Herbert of Clairvaux’s

¹¹⁰ VG(A), 94.

¹¹¹ Stefano Mula, ‘Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections: Role, Diffusion, and Evolution’, *History Compass* 8 (2010), 903-912. Mula is currently preparing an edition of Herbert of Torres’ *Liber miraculorum et visionum* and a monograph on early Cistercian literature ‘tentatively’ entitled *Between Literature and History: The Medieval Cistercian exemplum (12th-13th C)*. I have benefited greatly from conversations with all three scholars and am grateful for their suggestions.

¹¹² Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘The Cistercians and the Rise of the *exemplum* in Early Thirteenth-Century France: a re-evaluation of Paris, BN MS Lat. 15912’, *Classica et Medievalia* 34 (1983), 211-267 [the ‘model’ is discussed at 213]. In this article, McGuire transcribes several *exempla* which will be used in the discussion below. For a general overview of McGuire’s work on the subject, see: Brian Patrick McGuire, *Friendship and faith: Cistercian men, women and their stories, 1100-1200* (Aldershot, 2002).

Liber Miraculorum is used to exemplify this stage.¹¹³ In the second stage the material is placed into ‘structured’ collections like Conrad of Eberbach’s *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*.¹¹⁴ After this the material is put into more general collections where the stories are “shorn of most historical information and submitted to a structure of proof and theory.”¹¹⁵ In the thirteenth century the stories return “deceptively close to the original stage” in Dominican and Franciscan *exempla* collections.¹¹⁶

McGuire clearly favours the ‘naive’ early stories in which “the fears, hopes, dreams and obsessions of an entire culture meet us head on” and in which he detects the “submerged mind of the laymen ... a cry for justice, truth and adherence to Christian ideals.”¹¹⁷ This leads him to dismiss the appearance of the stories in later collections as being part of “a vague religious broth”, devoid of historical context. He only takes an interest in the stories again when they are liberated from the broth by the “emancipation of the story from its moral context”, completed by authors like Chaucer or Boccaccio.¹¹⁸ Like most models, McGuire’s is imperfect and un-nuanced. His judgment on the historical quality of the manuscripts is particularly questionable, and as previous chapters have shown, it is possible to rescue something of worth from the ‘broth’ of the mendicant collections particularly when they are seen in the context of their dissemination. The other problem is that the model does not account for geographical differences. There are no significant ‘collections’ of *exempla* originating in England, where stories seem to be shared and spread individually. Some of these stories end up being recorded into French Cistercian manuscripts (a dynamic which Richard Southern has noted elsewhere for Marian miracles), but the pattern is quite

¹¹³ The language McGuire uses to describe these collections is questioned by Mula; see: Stefano Mula, ‘Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections’, 903n1. *Herbert von Clairvaux und sein Liber miraculorum. Die Kurversion eines anonymen bayerischen Redaktors. Untersuchung, Edition und Kommentar*, G. Kompatscher Gufler, ed. (Bern, 2005) [Henceforth, Herbert of Clairvaux, *Liber Miraculorum*].

¹¹⁴ Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium magnum cisterciense sive narration de initio cisterciensis ordinis auctore Conrado*, B. Griesser ed. (Rome, 1961; rpr. Turnhout, 1994) [Henceforth: Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*].

¹¹⁵ Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘The Cistercians and the Rise of the *Exemplum*’, 212.

¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 212.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, 211.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, 212.

different for the *exempla* originating in Clairvaux than it is for material originating in the monasteries in the north of England, for example.¹¹⁹

What is more useful for the study of the vision of Gunthelm is the way in which McGuire isolates certain aspects of Cistercian storytelling which reflected particular periods in the order's history, something that will be discussed below. It is dangerous, as numerous scholars have pointed out, to attribute a Clairvaux 'style' to the order as a whole, but there are certain common stimuli (not least the General Chapter meetings and the well-rehearsed foundation myths) that are worth considering. Although it cannot be found in an explicitly Cistercian context, I believe the surviving VG(A) carries traces of the stories where the

"Cistercians would find the description of their daily life, of their quotidian temptations and of their regular toil and pleasures, but also stories that through the veil of the narrative, would reinforce the rules of the Order, and the rituals to be followed in different situations".¹²⁰

The second 'Cistercian' historiographical context in which the VG(A) of the vision of Gunthelm should be placed is Jacques Le Goff's observation that the Cistercian order deserves a privileged, innovative position in the 'birth of Purgatory'.¹²¹ It was a position that Stephen Greenblatt would follow in his influential book on the subject: "The key institutions were the monasteries and in particular the houses ... of the Cistercians".¹²² Le Goff and Greenblatt both look to the dissemination of St. Patrick's Purgatory as addressing "less the curious, than those who doubt the very existence of the place described".¹²³ R. Howard Bloch has argued that the "rapid dissemination" of the doctrine of Purgatory by the Cistercians "coalesced to a remarkable degree" with the Angevin colonisation and subsequent legal reform of Ireland.¹²⁴ Le Goff argues that

¹¹⁹ Richard Southern, 'The English Origins of the 'Miracles of the Virgin'', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 176-216.

¹²⁰ Stefano Mula, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Cistercian Exempla Collections', 906.

¹²¹ He adds: 'the fact that St. Bernard was not the inventor of Purgatory was of small importance', Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 168.

¹²² Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (New Jersey, 2001), p.76.

¹²³ *ibid.*

¹²⁴ R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago, 2003), pp. 282-283. Ireland may be a special case, where the political dynamics altered the way in which Purgatory was used in Cistercian didactic literature.

Lough Derg was only one of the ways in which the doctrine was promoted by the Cistercians; Caesarius of Heisterbach was one of his two great ‘popularizers’ of Purgatory.¹²⁵ His sermons have been used by several scholars to show a general thirteenth-century acceptance of the efficacy of crusade indulgences for liberating souls from Purgatory.¹²⁶ Dorothea French agreed, suggesting that as well as dictating the shape of the third-place, the Cistercians set the parameters for the dissemination of the doctrine through their *exempla* and sermons. In her analysis the Cistercians not only designed the ‘third-place’ but the means of spreading it as well. She argued that “the Cistercians provided preaching friars with a collection of anecdotes of *exempla* on Purgatory to incorporate into their sermons”.¹²⁷ For French, the late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Cistercians designed *and* popularized Purgatory. Again, an external political motivation is detected: the maintenance of “exclusive and exalting” rituals that had become associated with the order.¹²⁸

By looking at the vision of Gunthelm in the context of contemporary Cistercian literature, it is possible to nuance these arguments and build up a more accurate picture of the Cistercian relationship with the otherworld. In the late twelfth century, northern French and English Cistercians demonstrated, through their literature and liturgical practice, a growing interest in the otherworld. The vast majority of the work, however, was specifically concerned with the unique role that members of the order could expect to benefit from in the afterlife. The Cistercians, in the words of Brian Patrick McGuire, were interested in “a special Cistercian Purgatory”.¹²⁹ This section will build on McGuire’s argument and it will be further advanced in the following chapter when we consider how the vision of Gunthelm maintained some of these features when it was

¹²⁵ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.300-310.

¹²⁶ Caesarius’ sermon of 1225 is usually cited here: ‘Non attendant quid predicent, dummodo multos capiant. Tales sunt hodie quidam predicatorum crucis, qui signari volentibus, quotquot vel quas animas requirunt, de purgatorio vel, quod maiores vesanie est, de inferno repromittunt, ac si illas in suo reti conclusas teneant. Cum non sint de foro viventium anime corporibus solute, qua fronte viventes illas presumunt vendere’, Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Fasciculus moralitatis venerabilis fratris Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi*, ed. Johannes Andreas Coppenstein, 4 vols. (Köln 1615), III, p.46. See: Robert W. Shaftern, ‘Learned Discussions of Indulgences for the Dead in the Middle Ages’, *Church History* 61 (1992), 367-381 at 369.

¹²⁷ Dorothea R. French, ‘Ritual, Gender and Power Strategies: Male Pilgrimage to Saint Patrick’s Purgatory’, *Religion* 24 (1994), 103-115 at 109.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*

¹²⁹ Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘Purgatory, the Communion of the Saints and Medieval Change’, *Viator* 20 (1989) 61-84 at 76.

redacted by a Cistercian compiler into an ostensibly more outward-looking text.¹³⁰ In both instances a picture of the Cistercian order reacting to doctrinal developments will emerge, moderating Le Goff's emphasis on their role as innovators. The following arguments will show the advantage of moving the vision of Gunthelm out of the ghetto of the genre of 'visions of the otherworld' to which scholarship has so far condemned it. By seeing the vision through the prism of late twelfth-century Cistercian literature a clearer picture of its role emerges and will contribute to an understanding of how monastic orders viewed themselves in the light of theological developments in the late twelfth century.

So what is particularly Cistercian about the VG(A)? The first, most obvious answer is that the visionary is himself a Cistercian. The reader is informed of the novice's Cistercian identity at several points in the narrative.¹³¹ In addition, Matthew, the monk that the visionary comes across outside Mary's chapel, reveals that he was once a brother of the same monastery and goes on to criticise his former abbot.¹³² Yet there is more to the Cistercian attribution than a simple name-check of the order. The order's theology and political concerns profoundly shape the narrative and by comparing the vision to other material from the same period it is possible to ascertain a distinctively Cistercian texture to the visionary's account. The resemblance between the vision and a number of Cistercian *exempla* collections, compiled at similar times, is particularly revealing. As well as the shared concerns and themes that are apparent in the content of the accounts, there are structural similarities. It is even possible to detect a resemblance in the process by which the *exempla* collections and the vision were recorded and disseminated.

These parallels suggest that the vision of Gunthelm was the product of the first 'crisis' of the Cistercian order that occurred in the third quarter of the twelfth century. It was initially brought on by the deaths of three of the highest profile Cistercians who had

¹³⁰ See section 4.2.2 and part 4.3.

¹³¹ The title informs the reader that the visionary was a 'quidam novitius ex ordine cisterciensi', VG(A), 105; he is enticed into a house following the Cistercian rule, 'Petens igitur uicinum quoddam Cisterciensis regulae monasterium, *ibid.*, 106. The virgin Mary entreats him to serve faithfully in her house: 'Vis in domo mea ad seruiendum michi sicut coepisti semper perseuerare', *ibid.*, 107. These examples from the VG(A) of the vision could be supplemented with many more from the vision's various appearances in later redactions, where the Cistercian attribution is maintained.

¹³² 'ego vita comite in monasterio illo conuersatus sum', *ibid.*, 108.

been fundamental in shaping the early history of the order. Most significantly, Bernard of Clairvaux, the most important spiritual leader of the order, died in August of 1153 (and was canonized in 1174). The first Cistercian Pope, Eugenius III (a close friend of Bernard's at Clairvaux), had died the previous month. In October of the same year, Henry Murdac, former Abbot of Fountains, also died. The order had lost its principal leaders in France, Italy and England in the space of four months. It is unsurprising that this led to a period of upheaval and uncertainty concerning the direction of the Cistercian mission. The year before these deaths, new Cistercian foundations had been halted. This was replaced after Bernard's death by a near-instant increase in the consolidation and expansion of the order's existing monastic holdings. Various statutes were issued to forbid these excesses which Bernard had strongly disapproved, but changes in many monasteries were recorded and contested.¹³³ In short, for a spell, the order became increasingly inward-looking.

This was reflected in Cistercian 'didactic' writing and storytelling. Brian Patrick McGuire has located the period that followed the deaths of Bernard, Henry and Eugenius III as especially significant in the development of Cistercian literature.¹³⁴ He argued that it prompted an explosive "writing down of stories and experiences from the early heroic generations."¹³⁵ In particular he noted how the crisis led to a literary appeal to "maintain and renew [the] earlier enthusiasm" of the order, a process that would continue into the early thirteenth century.¹³⁶ This urge to capture the spirit of early Cistercian life "when it was already disappearing" is most explicit in the various lives of St. Bernard, but was also a feature of the *exempla* collections.¹³⁷ The vision of Gunthelm could be included with these as an early manifestation of these impulses. In content and style it can be compared to several of the *exempla* that appear in Cistercian collections. There are particularly telling parallels with the *Collectaneum exemplorum ac visionum Clarvellanse* (Anonymous, c.1175)¹³⁸; the 'Beaupre collection' (Anonymous,

¹³³ See: Francois Bucher, 'Cistercian Architectural Purism', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3 (1960), 89-105.

¹³⁴ Brian Patrick McGuire, 'The Cistercians and the Rise of the *Exemplum*', 212.

¹³⁵ *ibid.*

¹³⁶ *ibid.*

¹³⁷ *ibid.*

¹³⁸ This collection was made at Clairvaux under Prior John between 1171 and 1179 and survives in one manuscript, Troyes, Bibliotheque Municipale, MS 956. It is divided into four parts: (1) *De diversis visionibus et miraculis*; (2) *De miraculis corporis et sanguinis Domini*; (3) *Alia miracula et visiones*; (4) *Capitula quartae*

c.1200)¹³⁹; but also with the more famous *Liber Miraculorum* (by Herbert of Clairvaux, c.1178), over half of which is made up of visions in the general sense¹⁴⁰; and the *Exordium Magnum* (by Conrad of Eberbach, c.1180).¹⁴¹ All of these collections would later influence the *Dialogus Miraculorum* (by Caesarius of Heisterbach, c.1219-1223) but their styles are very different.¹⁴²

There are further comparisons to be made between Gunthelm's account and the visions in Peter of Cornwall's *Liber Revelationum* that come from the Cistercian monastery of Stratford Langthorne (c.1195).¹⁴³ It should be noted that this manuscript is a rare example of an English 'collection' of miracles. It is, however, fundamentally different from the type of collection being produced in northern France and described above. First, the manuscript was not compiled by a Cistercian, but a London-based Augustinian canon. Second, the thematic link in the collection is not institutional but based on content; Peter is interested in a particular *type* of story (visions and revelations). Nonetheless, it is clear that much of the material comes from conversations with travelling Cistercians – often on their way to and from General Chapters – and extracts from their manuscripts. Many of his tales have the *patina* of the Cistercian *exempla* found on either side of the channel – and it is no surprise to find the vision of Gunthelm alongside them.¹⁴⁴ In short, the vision of Gunthelm ought to be placed alongside the stories found in the northern-French collections as an independent result

partis. It is particularly revealing when compared with the vision of Gunthelm, perhaps because they are dated relatively close together. McGuire discusses it in: Brian Patrick McGuire, 'A lost Clairvaux *exemplum* collection found' in *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1980). Some of his assumptions about the MS have been corrected in the recent edition prepared by Olivier Legendre. All the references to the collection are taken from his work: *Collectaneum Exemplorum et Visionum Clarevallense*, ed. O. Legendre, CCCM (Turnhout, 2005). [Henceforth: *Collectaneum*].

¹³⁹ The 'Beaupré Collection' is so named because McGuire has suggested this is where the *exempla* were placed into a collection. It exists in a single manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat 15912. It is unedited but the examples mentioned below come from Brian Patrick McGuire's descriptions and extracts; see: 'The Cistercians and the Rise of the *Exemplum*' 211-267.

¹⁴⁰ Herbert of Clairvaux, *Liber Miraculorum*. Michael Casey notes that visions make up 53% of the stories in this collection. See: Michael Casey, 'Herbert of Clairvaux's *Book of Wonderful Happenings*', *Cistercian Studies (Quarterly Review)* 15 (1990), 37-64, at 41.

¹⁴¹ Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*.

¹⁴² Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851-7).

¹⁴³ These visions appear in the *Liber Revelationum* of Peter of Cornwall in London, Lambeth Palace, MS 51 [Peter of Cornwall, *Liber Revelationum*]. See: 'Eleven visions connected with the Cistercian monastery of Stratford Langthorne', ed. Christopher J. Holdsworth, *Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses* 13 (1962), 185-204. [Henceforth: *Eleven visions*].

¹⁴⁴ London, Lambeth Palace, MS 51, ff.18^r-31^r.

of the same influences; a testament to the particular concerns of the Cistercian order towards the end of the twelfth century. Several of these themes are worth exploring further: the emerging importance of the Virgin in Cistercian spirituality; an increased willingness to provide a critique of the order (and the abbots); a fear of losing monks, novices and lay brothers to other orders or lifestyles; an interest in confession (not to a priest, it must be emphasised, but to an abbot); more nuanced thinking about the crusades and pilgrimage; and a concern with the after-life and the Cistercian role within it. Taken individually, some of these areas may represent general monastic concerns, but taken together there is a compelling case for seeing the VG as having as much in common with twelfth-century Cistercian *exempla* as it does with the longer visions of the otherworld which have captured the imagination of so many historians.

The first aspect that will be explored is the role of the Virgin Mary. Her crucial role in the VG(A) is an indication that the vision of Gunthelm does not conform to all of the features generally associated with visions of the otherworld. As was noted earlier, her appearance in the 'canon' is rare.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, the pattern of dissemination indicates that there was something odd about the Virgin's role. She is either deleted completely (as in the mendicant compilations in 3.1.1) or her appearance is used to push the vision into contexts in which visions of the otherworld rarely appear (as in the Marian miracle collections in 3.1.2). Her disappearance from the mendicant compilations is misleading. She plays a crucial role in the vision. She asked St. Benedict to bring the visionary to the otherworld in the first place. On his arrival St. Benedict greets Mary and said, "Lady, see the novice I brought, who you commanded me to bring."¹⁴⁶ In the chapel she is described as being as resplendent as the sun among the stars.¹⁴⁷ She is also explicit about her connection to the Cistercian order.¹⁴⁸ The virgin's predominant role in Cistercian thought was established late in the twelfth century, particularly after the death of Bernard. McGuire argues that Bernard "did not provide her [Mary] with the

¹⁴⁵ The vision of Thurkill seems to be leading up to a role for the Virgin Mary when the layman from Essex sees three Virgin Martyrs enthroned at the end of his vision, but they are St. Catherine, St. Osith (a local saint) and St. Margaret.

¹⁴⁶ 'Domina ecce nouicium adduxi, quem adduci iussistis', VG(A), 107.

¹⁴⁷ 'et tanquam regina in uestitu deaurato inter sydera resplendebat', VG(A), 107.

¹⁴⁸ 'Vis in domo mea ad seruiendum michi sicut coepisti semper perseuerare', VG(A), 107.

special place she attained in later writings.”¹⁴⁹ Famously, Bernard did not accept the doctrine of the Virgin’s Immaculate Conception. As the twelfth-century progressed, however, she begins to claim a more central place in Cistercian writings. Two stories in a Marian miracle collection serve to highlight this feature. One describes how Theobald Count of Blois was admitted to Heaven through the intercession of the Virgin because he had always befriended her servants, the Cistercians. Later in the same manuscript there is an account of a Benedictine monk who has a vision of Cistercians at their fieldwork. The monk had left the Cistercians because he found their insistence on manual work too tedious and hard.¹⁵⁰

Her place in later Cistercian stories concerning the order’s position at the Last Judgement is crucial. The vision of Gunthelm can be seen as an early manifestation of the virgin’s role in securing privilege for ‘her’ order.¹⁵¹ But this was a period of transition in Mary’s relationship within the Cistercian order. As McGuire points out, she was not yet the “loving comforter” or “sensual mother” of the later narratives.¹⁵² Her presence in the vision of Gunthelm is *also* chastising and she makes Gunthelm re-take his vows over the altar in her chapel.¹⁵³ In this respect, the Virgin’s role seems to be tied up with a fear of Cistercian decline found in other *exempla* at the end of the twelfth century. One *exemplum* in the ‘Beaupre collection’ describes a hermit who has a vision of Mary. The virgin is found weeping about the Cistercian orders lack of concern for

¹⁴⁹ Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘A lost Clairvaux *exemplum* collection found: the Liber Visionum et Miraculorum compiled under Prior John of Clairvaux’, *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (Rome, 1980), 26-62 at 56.

¹⁵⁰ London, BL MS Additional 15,723, f.83r.

¹⁵¹ She plays a similar role in the first vision linked to Stratford Langthorne where she appears to an ill monk. She tells him to sing what was written on the joints of his fingers. On one hand he found ‘Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini’ and on the other he found ‘Ave Maria’. She told him not to be fearful and he was granted a series of visions over the proceeding nights, including a taste of Heaven, through the singing of an angel. Significantly, this vision from Stratford Langthorne is the only one to be redacted into the Sidney Sussex MS described earlier. The vision of Gunthelm and this account clearly presented a Mary recognizable to later redactors. ‘[I] De Herueo monacho qui moriens uidit in digitis suis scriptum Ave Maria’, *Eleven Visions*, 193-194.

¹⁵² Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘A lost Clairvaux *exemplum* collection’, 56. This later role is repeatedly exemplified through visions, although generally not of the otherworld. One such vision occurred in the thirteenth century in the Cistercian monastery of Melrose where Adam, a monk from Yorkshire, had a vision of the Virgin as the ‘all-embracing Church’, J. Stevenson ed. and trans., ‘The Chronicle of Melrose’, in *The Church Historians of England IV* (London, 1854), pp.72-124 at 95-96. See: Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp.128-129.

¹⁵³ ‘Et beato virgo: Iura inquit michi super altare praesens. Et accedens iurauit, et statuit custodire mandata Dei sui’, VG(A), 107

her, despite the fact that they should love her the most.¹⁵⁴ It is made very clear that she is referring to the Cistercians.¹⁵⁵ Her attack on the order is brutal: the monks enter into the infirmary without cause, they are impatient for food and wine and they seek nothing in the religious life except bodily enjoyment and spiritual pleasure.¹⁵⁶ At the end of the vision she exhorts the Cistercians to return to their “sancto propositio”.¹⁵⁷

As well as the role of Mary, the criticisms themselves are a point of comparison. Self-criticism in early Cistercian writing is rare and only starts to make an appearance in the later twelfth-century. The monk that Gunthelm meets, Matthew, raises a variety of concerns about the conduct of the abbot of the monastery that they were both brothers in. In addition, although not necessarily referring to the Cistercian order specifically, the list of crimes committed by the suffering monks is every bit as brutal as Mary’s assault described above:

“Some of the monks were given to much laughter and jeering and idle words and some were intent on immodest speech and stories, for slander, for vicious gossip and for constantly whispering; others subordinate to their appetite and gorging on fine food and exotic drinks and fussing for himself; others were given over to lust and the shame of fornication, in the manner of dumb animals.”¹⁵⁸

When placed in this context, the choice of St. Benedict as an otherworldly guide takes on considerable significance as an appeal to the roots of the Cistercian order. After all, Cistercian rule was dedicated first and foremost to the Rule of Benedict, literally interpreted. It was an appeal to the spirit and ideals of the earliest Cistercians. The choice has parallels in other Cistercian narratives. The ‘Beaupre collection’ describes how a monk at Fountains (also, confusingly, named Benedict) foretold his death to a doctor named Herbert, claiming St. Benedict had come to him in a vision. After he had

¹⁵⁴ ‘Maximam vero mihi luctus prestat materiam paucula gens illa que mihi specialiter adherere colebat’, Brian Patrick McGuire, ‘The Cistercians and the Rise of the *Exemplum*’, 249.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Ordo inquit illa cisterciensium’, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ ‘Monachi et conuersi sine causa intrant infirmitorium. Murmurant pro carnibus. Litigant pro vino... Nil querunt in ordine nisi voluptatem corporis. Et vanitatem cordis. Dicunt et faciunt quod nec dici vel fieri fas est. et quod nefas est cogitari’, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ ‘Quidam namque risui multo et chachinnis atque uerbis ociosis dediti erant, quidam turpiloquiis et fabulis, detractationibus, prauis aeloquiis, et murmurationibus insistebant; alii gulae et uentri subditi lautioribus cibis et peregrinis poculis ingurgitare se satagebant; alii immunditiis et fornicationum flagitiis more brutorum animalium subiacebant’, VG(A), 110.

died he came to Herbert and narrated his experiences, including the fires of Purgatory.¹⁵⁹ St. Benedict, along with Mary, is given a special place in the first of the Stratford Langthorne visions and in a story contained in the *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, which describes how a monk appears after his death to inform the other brothers of his progress in the otherworld. In order to achieve this he had called upon the special intervention of St. Benedict.¹⁶⁰ This account is taken from the *Liber Miraculorum*.¹⁶¹

In a way, the whole vision serves as a critique of the behaviour of one Cistercian; it is granted in order that the novice might amend his ways and one transgression in particular – his decision to go to Jerusalem on a crusade rather than stay in England and face up to the harshness of the Cistercian rule.¹⁶² As we have just seen, such is the severity of Gunthelm's departure from his original obedience that the Virgin makes him swear a new oath to continue his service in her house. In the late twelfth-century there are a number of accounts involving the departure from the monastery; planned, attempted and successful. Like the vision of Gunthelm, the would-be transgressors are sometimes halted by supernatural events.¹⁶³ The *Collectaneum* contains a story about a novice who is tempted to leave the Cistercians in order to return to his former life as a secular canon. The novice master convinced the novice to stay after a vision reveals the privileged position of the Cistercians in the afterlife.¹⁶⁴ There are several stories concerning monks who fear for their position in the otherworld because they have left the Cistercian order, sometimes for the Benedictines, because they find the rule too harsh.¹⁶⁵ The use of the novice in Cistercian literature to make these points is well attested to, not least in the work of Caesarius of Heisterbach. Similar observations can be made from less structured collections as well. In an article about the role of the demon in Cistercian storytelling, Tom Licence cites the example of Achard of Clairvaux

¹⁵⁹ Brian Patrick McGuire, 'The Cistercians and the Rise of the *Exemplum*', 250.

¹⁶⁰ Conrad of Eberbach, *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, 2.23, pp.143-147.

¹⁶¹ Herbert of Clairvaux, *Liber Miraculorum*, PL 185, cols. 1274-1385, col.1360B.

¹⁶² 'Addens ergo bonae primordiis conuersionis, melioris cursum conuersionis, inuidum spiritum in disciplinae palestra ex bono opere nesciens prouocauit ad pugnam', VG(A), 106.

¹⁶³ This trope is not exclusive to the genre of *exempla* and miracle collections; it also appeared in Cistercian hagiography. This is briefly discussed below in connection with the *Life of St. Ailred of Rievaulx* in section 3.5.

¹⁶⁴ 'De canonica regulari facto nouicio in Clarevallensi probaterio et die iudici', *Collectaneum*, Section IV, *Exemplum* LVII, pp.371-372.

¹⁶⁵ One such story appears in London, BL, MS Additional 15,723.

(1124-1170) who saw two demons carrying a roast chicken encircled by a snake enter the dormitory in an attempt to lure novices away from their strict way of life.¹⁶⁶ He concludes by noting that contemporary Benedictines saw demonology as “mainly a Cistercian predilection” and that although one should be wary of generalising about the whole order the “demon-vision reflected and addressed specific needs within Cistercian spirituality”.¹⁶⁷ The attack on the novice Gunthelm by the demon in the shape of the monkey provides a demonic springboard for the rest of the vision.

Another area where the vision fits into a pattern of general Cistercian concern is in opposition to crusading and pilgrimage. In another article, Constable placed the vision in this context himself, saying that “many Cistercian sources from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries” emphasised the importance of stability and discouraging peregrination.”¹⁶⁸ This is not a uniquely Cistercian position, particularly in the aftermath of the second crusade, but the order did seem to have a particular problem with wandering monks. The novice’s planned departure to the East chimed with concerns recorded in the Cistercian General Chapter statutes. The fifty-third statute from 1157 highlights the problem.¹⁶⁹ Another statute implicates the abbots, saying that if they receive wandering lay brothers they faced a penalty of three days absence of food and water.¹⁷⁰ In addition there is a statute, dated 1201, dealing with lay brothers from the monastery at La Cour-Dieu who had returned from crusade. The statute

¹⁶⁶ Tom Licence, ‘The Gift of Seeing Demons in Early Cistercian Spirituality’, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 39 (2004) 49-65 at 56. See also: Susan Boynton, ‘“The Devil Made Me Do It”: Demoniac Intervention in the Medieval Monastic Liturgy’ in Miri Rubin ed., *Medieval Religious Cultures* (London, 2008), pp.89-106.

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p.64. Interestingly, Licence also notes that many of William of Newburgh’s (c.1136-c.1198) tales come from the monks at the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx. This provides further evidence that many English Cistercian stories are actually recorded by monks and canons outside the order (Peter the Venerable or another Cluniac may have recorded the vision of Gunthelm; Peter of Cornwall records the visions from Stratford Langthorne, for example). This is in contrast to the Cistercian monks in the north of France who are busily recording miracles and visions into collections by the second half of the twelfth century.

¹⁶⁸ Giles Constable, ‘Opposition to pilgrimage in the middle ages’, *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976), 125-146 at 139.

¹⁶⁹ ‘Qui de ordine exeunt ut ierosolimam eant, uel aliam peregrinationem aliorum faciant, uel seipsos qualibet ex causa faciunt abscidi uel incidi, sine omne personarum acceptione de domibus propriis amoti, mittantur in alias domus ordinis perpetuo, numquam reversuri’, *Twelfth-century statutes from the Cistercian general chapter*, ed. C. Waddell (Studia et Documenta, 12, Cîteaux, 2002), Statuta Series, 1157, no.53, 600. Waddell’s note to this particular clause reads: ‘Restless monks were not above using a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or elsewhere as an excuse for leaving the cloister’.

¹⁷⁰ *Twelfth-century statutes*, p.600.

passed responsibility for punishing the crusaders to the abbot.¹⁷¹ Several Cistercian stories attest to this problem and refer back to St. Bernard's criticism of monks on crusade and pilgrimage.¹⁷² Constable notes that the founder of Mortemer, William of Le Pin, convinced a knight who wanted to travel to the Holy Sepulchre to become a monk.¹⁷³ Caesarius of Heisterbach tells of a Canon of Liege who was inspired by Bernard's preaching to take the cross of the order rather than the cross of an overseas pilgrimage.¹⁷⁴ The vision may also have been inspired by internal disagreement: at the time the vision was recorded, the Cistercians were gradually breaking with St. Bernard's opposition to founding houses in the Latin Kingdom.¹⁷⁵ As we shall see below, the vision repeatedly seems to emphasise the practical application of Bernard's teaching at a time when the strictness Cistercian rule seemed to be easing. The Cistercians even picked up a reputation among other orders for their opposition to planned adventures in the East. A Premonstratensian chronicle, under the year 1150, claimed the entire proposal for a third crusade was wrecked by the attitude of the Cistercians.¹⁷⁶

Another issue that seems to pre-occupy the Cistercian writers of the time is the importance of confession. There are several famous accounts of legitimate/illegitimate confession in Caesarius' *Dialogus* and the issue is prominent in the debates between the Cistercians and the Cluniacs.¹⁷⁷ The important aspect of confession in the vision of Gunthelm is that it is heard by the correct authority, the abbot. At the end of the vision St. Raphael clearly states to the visionary that he is to tell no-one about the otherworld

¹⁷¹ *ibid.*, 1201, no.23, p.490.

¹⁷² Although he was hardly consistent on this matter and seemed to be keen to lead an expedition to the Holy Land himself in his dotage.

¹⁷³ Giles Constable, 'Opposition to pilgrimage in the Middle Ages', 139.

¹⁷⁴ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1851-7), 1.6.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, PL 185, col.316.

¹⁷⁶ 'Anno 1150, habitis per franciam conuentibus, jubente etiam Eugenio Papa ut abbas Clarvallensis Jerosolyman ad alios provocandos mitteretur grandis iterum sermo de profectione transmina celebratur, sed per Cistercienses monachos, totum Cassatur', Sigebert of Gembloux, *Continuatio Praemonstratensis*, ed. L. K. Bethmann, MGH SS VI, 447-456 at 447, 455. cit., Brenda Bolton 'The Cistercians and the Aftermath of the Second Crusade' in M. Gervers ed., *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, (New York, 1992), pp.131-140 at p.137.

¹⁷⁷ David Knowles, 'Cistercians and Cluniacs: the Controversy between St Bernard and Peter the Venerable,' in David Knowles ed., *The Historian and Character* (Cambridge, 1963), pp.50-75.

he has just witnessed.¹⁷⁸ When he returns to his body he forgets this advice after three days and starts to tell other people what he has seen.¹⁷⁹ This inspires a furious reaction from his previously friendly guides. St. Benedict returns to Gunthelm (not, tellingly, the guide who had informed him of this duty) and beats him viciously with a stick, damaging his mouth so that he could not speak for nine days.¹⁸⁰ It is Benedict who enters the monastery twice. After he had recovered from St. Benedict's assault, Gunthelm told the abbot what he had seen in confession.¹⁸¹ The abbot, who was not under orders from the Saint, was able to spread the account around for the edification of the monks.¹⁸² The importance of correct confession, yet again, features in the *Collectaneum*. In an *exemplum* entitled "*De periculo furtive confessionis*" a monk from a monastery in Burgundy is assaulted by devils on his deathbed.¹⁸³ The reason for his torture is that instead of confessing his wickedness to the abbot, he tried to conceal it by confessing to another monk.¹⁸⁴ As a result, malign spirits dragged his soul from his body and punished him.¹⁸⁵ Only after confession to his abbot, and a grant of absolution, was the monk able to remain in peace.¹⁸⁶

These stories and the vision of Gunthelm shared more in common than content and emphasis. They were part of a cultural exchange that was taking place between England and France throughout the late twelfth century. This exchange seems to have been particularly productive in terms of collections of the miracles of the Virgin, where stories originating in England become the basis of collections circulating in northern

¹⁷⁸ 'Porro prohibuit sanctus Raphael nouicium mox ad corpus proprium hiis uisis reuersurum, ne cui refereat uisionem, nisi tantum abbati suo per secretam confessionem', VG(A), 112.

¹⁷⁹ 'Cadit angelicum a memoria praecaepum, et ubi perit memoria, uiget negligentiae culpa, coepit secretum facere publicum, Vidi inquiens infernum, fui in paradysum', *ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ 'Nunc uero quia uerbo peccasti, uerbum per dies nouem amittes', *ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Porro post nouem dies conualuit, uerbum sublatum recaepit, et de correptione factus cautior, omnia quae uiderat, quae audierat, abbati suo per ordinem sicut sibi iussum fuerat, sub confessionis silentio, utiliter enarrauit', *ibid.*

¹⁸² 'Abbas autem non tacuit, quia ut taceret mandatum non accaepit [sic.], sed dignum fore censuit, ut tantae uisionis ueritas piis mentibus pia relatione innotesceret', *ibid.*

¹⁸³ 'De periculo furtive confessionis ... In quodam monasterio Burgundie fuit quidam monachus occulte scelerosus', *Collectaneum*, Section III, *Exemplum X*, p.253.

¹⁸⁴ 'Hic conscientiam suam abbati suo nolebat denudare, sed cuidam monacho, male seipsum fallens, confitebatur turpitudinem suam', *ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ 'apparuit ei uisibiliter malignus spiritus, stans propter ut raperet spiritum eius exeuntem de corpore', *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ 'Confitetur abbati, et post confessionem absoluitur ab abbate. Quibus completis, confestim et malignus confusus disparuit, et frater in pace remansit', *ibid.*

France. Richard Southern has discussed this phenomenon in relation to a group of stories originating in the Benedictine monasteries of southern England in the circle of St. Anselm.¹⁸⁷ This exchange was particularly active between the Cistercian monasteries either side of the channel. McGuire lists several *exempla* concerning English monks that are compiled into the 'Beaupré collection', including the story of a clerk in England who entered into the Cistercian order, but finding their rule too harsh left to join the Benedictines.¹⁸⁸ He finds several parallels between the 'Beaupré collection' and London, British Library Ms. 15,723 which seems to have been compiled by an English Cistercian with links to northern French monasteries.¹⁸⁹ As we have seen, the vision of Gunthelm experienced by an English Cistercian receives its biggest audience, like many of the *exempla* described above, by redaction in France.

The final theme for consideration is the most obvious: an interest in the shape and nature of the otherworld. This concern is by no means uniquely Cistercian. Yet the order does seem to be more involved in the negotiation of the structure of the otherworld than their monastic contemporaries. Cistercian discussions of the otherworld were overwhelmingly concerned with one feature: an assessment of the order's own position in the schema of the after-life. The vision of Gunthelm can also be seen in this light. Two areas of the vision merit further attention in this regard. First, the Lady Chapel and second, the area where Gunthelm meets the soul of Matthew. In the chapel at the top of the stairs the Virgin is surrounded by souls who are dressed in white, just as the monks of the Cistercian order would have been.¹⁹⁰ The significance of the presence of Mary in this context has already been described above, but it is worth repeating that it is in this chapel that the Virgin highlights her special relationship with the Cistercians, asking the Novice if he was ready to continue to serve her in her house as he had begun.¹⁹¹ The monastic context of this part of the vision is given greater

¹⁸⁷ R. W. Southern, 'The English Origins of the Miracles of the Virgin', in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies IV* (London, 1958), 176-216.

¹⁸⁸ Brian Patrick McGuire, 'The Cistercians and the Rise of the *Exemplum*', 227.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 228.

¹⁹⁰ The etymology of the word 'candidatorum' cannot be associated conclusively or exclusively with the Cistercian order, but there is some evidence to suggest that there is a link. The word is certainly favoured by several Cistercian writers over alternatives such as 'fundamentum' which is used in other visions. This will be discussed in more detail in relation to the redaction of visions in Helinand of Froidmont's *Chronicon* in chapter 4.2.

¹⁹¹ 'Vis in domo mea ad seruiendum michi sicut coepisti semper perseuerare?', VG(A), 107.

emphasis by the description of the choir in the 'cella'.¹⁹² When the visionary and St. Benedict leave the Lady Chapel they come to an area which acts as an ante-room to Heaven. Among the religious people there are many monks and novices, one of whom is Matthew, a Cistercian monk from the same order. It is tempting to suggest that, if the VG(A) was recorded by Peter the Venerable or another Benedictine, explicit references to exclusively Cistercian parts of the otherworld were reduced and removed. If that is the case, a surprising number of hints survive.

There are several Cistercian *exempla* that deal with the order's position in the otherworld, some of these have striking parallels with the vision of Gunthelm. The *Collectaneum* contains an account of a novice, mentioned above, that concludes with a vision of the last judgement where he sees that the Cistercians are given a privileged position in Heaven.¹⁹³ A vision from Stratford Langthorne describes how a Cistercian habit allowed a soul to get into Heaven.¹⁹⁴ The protection that the Virgin offers the souls of Cistercians in the otherworldly chapel is a precursor to a story that would later become incredibly popular within the order. The story tells how a Cistercian monk or canon sees the glory of the Cistercians under Mary's cope in Heaven. It neatly combines the concern with Cistercian exceptionalism in the after-life with the growing importance of Marian devotion. It appears in 'Beaupré collection', in a contemporaneous English Cistercian manuscript and the *Dialogus* of Caesarius of Heisterbach. It is eventually altered by Thomas of Cantimpré to the benefit of the Dominican order.¹⁹⁵

The Cistercian concern with the otherworld is not limited to their position in the Heavenly schema.¹⁹⁶ Several stories deal with the Cistercian position on the infernal

¹⁹² 'Erat autem in illa cella chorus quasi uirorum candidatorum in circuitu consedentium', *ibid.* The detail that they were sitting in a circle recalls a chapter house, a feature of other visions of the otherworld.

¹⁹³ 'De canonica regulari facto nouicio in Clarevallensi probaterio et die iudici', *Collectaneum*, Section IV, *Exemplum* LVII, pp.371-372. A similar description of Cistercian advantage can be found in the same compilation where St. Bernard sees Cistercians in Heaven: 'De responsione sancti B[ernardi] abbatis Clareuallensis cum Diabolus ei uellet nocere', *Collectaneum*, Section IV, *Exemplum* VIII, p.265.

¹⁹⁴ [VI] *De quodam conuerso cisterciensis ordinis qui post mortem habitum conuersi quem reliquerat accepit*, *Eleven Visions*, 196-7.

¹⁹⁵ See: Tubach, *Index Exemplorum*, no.1102.

¹⁹⁶ This includes, importantly, repeated discussions of a heavenly waiting area. Here souls are denied the sight of God, but wait in beautiful repose safe in the knowledge that they will eventually be granted access into the Kingdom of God.

side of the otherworld. One *exemplum* in the *Collectaneum* offers a fascinating insight into the kind of discussions that were taking place within Cistercian monasteries at the end of the twelfth century: The *Collectaneum* was a collaborative effort. There were many contributors who added to the manuscript in their own hand. This clearly led to some disagreement and various sections are amended and ruled out. One *exemplum* that seemed to inspire such controversy concerned the position of souls in the afterlife. It concerned the mournful voices of souls, some of whom had been monks who had asked for special privileges, acquired their own property and engaged in unutterable depravities.¹⁹⁷ After the voices were heard, a former Cistercian monk, now a Bishop, told the brothers that they ought not to pray for a member of their own house who was in this group of suffering souls.¹⁹⁸ The compiler of this particular vision is unconvinced by the Bishop's stance and we get a fascinating insight to the compilers own confusion: "But I will neither judge that dead brother, nor reject the judgement by the bishop. The judgement of God is hidden and should be feared."¹⁹⁹ These comments clearly attracted further interest in the monastery because they were eventually crossed out. The Stratford Langthorne visions also pick up on these concerns. One of the accounts discusses how the Cistercian life was the most pleasing to God and how none of the monks of its order would spend more than thirty days in Purgatory.²⁰⁰

The vision of Gunthelm is an early example of the development of these trends. Like the *exempla*, it discusses the position of the order in the otherworld and focuses on the price of monastic sin. Similarly, the vision of Gunthelm is shaped by the ambiguity that affects the *exempla*, particularly in regard to the development of the doctrine of Purgatory. Although the novice is told that the area where the knight, bishop and lord are suffering is not Hell, his descent into the depths where Judas is suffering is not clearly delineated at all. The Purgatory that features in these accounts is not the same

¹⁹⁷ 'Defuncto fratre quodam in quodam monasterio, inuentum est tunicam unam eum plus habuisse quam lex ordinis permittebat ... Et hanc tam expauescendam lamentationem uniuscuiusque uocis dicentis ac clamitantis miserabiliter tanto spacio audiuit, quo a porta monasterii posset quis usque ad dormitorium venire', *Collectaneum*, Section III, *Exemplum IX*, pp.251-252.

¹⁹⁸ 'Adueniente postmodum quodam in monasterio illo religioso episcopo, Cistericiensis ordinis monacho, quesitum est consilium super hoc quod contigerat illis', *ibid.*, p.251.

¹⁹⁹ 'Ego autem nec fratrem illum defunctum iudico, nec episcopo consilium reprobo. Occulta sunt Dei iudicia, et nimium metuenda', *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ 'Nullum enim cisterciensis ordinis in purgatorio ultra tricesimum esse posse asserebat', [V] 'De quodam conuerso qui erat purgatorio triginta diebus', *Eleven Visions*, 196.

place (or doctrine) that would be disseminated by the mendicants. When Purgatory was discussed, it was in the context of Cistercian hope for a comparatively easy cleansing. More substantially, the otherworld included room for four separate places, and the focus was often on the Heavenly end of the spectrum. In short, it was a continuation of the Augustinian model, rather than a three-tiered space. Indeed, it is tempting to suggest that discussions within the order, outlined above, are the products of an attempt to negotiate the order's own place within the developing eschatology, something which may explain the Cistercian reluctance to accept indulgences.²⁰¹ Perhaps this is because many of the narratives, as we have seen, were shaped in England, away from the Parisian schools. Such a suggestion necessarily reduces the Cistercian's 'creative' role in the 'birth' of Purgatory.

3.3.2. A Cistercian vision: some further suggestions

Debate about the geography of the otherworld should not detain us too long. Visions of the otherworld provide the historian with evidence for more than medieval attitudes to the structure of the after-life. Like *exempla*, miracles and hagiography they also contain material that reveals attitudes specific to a time and place.²⁰² Just as the ideas described above were becoming increasingly common in Cistercian literature there is one exchange in the vision of Gunthelm that seems eccentric and hints at more a specific concern. It is still a recognizably Cistercian concern, but places the vision in a slightly earlier context.

The discussion between the novice and St. Benedict as they look at the Virgin's chapel is one such episode. This discussion is unique in vision narratives of the otherworld. On his arrival at the top of the stairs, Gunthelm was surprised by the size and the style of the Lady Chapel, "a building of moderate construction".²⁰³ Although there are other

²⁰¹ See: Nicholas Vincent, 'Some Pardoners' Tales: The Earliest English Indulgences', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002), 23-58 at 43. Vincent notes that both the Premonstratensians and the Cistercians were reluctant to deal with indulgences in the earlier period of their dissemination (although monks of these orders who become bishops seem happy to) and that neither order is in receipt of an indulgence until 1225. This stands in contrast to the Benedictines, for example.

²⁰² For McGuire, *exempla* collections have to be in a 'naive' state to reveal such attitudes, see section 3.4. Simon Yarrow has usefully shown how miracles can reveal a variety of social concerns: Simon Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England* (Oxford, 2005).

²⁰³ 'modicae fabricae structura', VG(A), 107

examples of chapels floating in the air in the otherworld there is never a dialogue between guide and visionary concerning the size of these chapels, far less a criticism by the visionary of the structure.²⁰⁴ In fact, all descriptions of Paradise and Heaven are marked by a stream of superlatives regarding all aspects of the buildings and nature of the area (similar, in fact, to the way Gunthelm describes the heavenly city in a later part of the same vision).²⁰⁵

This particular part of the vision owes much to the contemporary discussions in the Cistercian order concerning the expansion of buildings and churches owned by the order.²⁰⁶ The issue was particularly current around the time that the vision of Gunthelm was produced, as apparent in the statutes from the Cistercian General Chapters in 1157 and 1158. These condemned the building of stone bell towers among other restrictions on the expansion of monasteries – “Let stone towers with bells not be built.”²⁰⁷ Expansion seemed to continue regardless, however. In 1240 the decree was expanded, “Let stone towers not be built nor wooden [towers] of extravagant height which would mar the simplicity of the order.” The 1157 and 1158 statutes were reissued in various different Cistercian abbeys throughout the period. The fact that these statutes were a constant feature of Cistercian legislation suggests there were various monasteries engaged in expansion from the mid-1150s onwards.

²⁰⁴ This vision is unique even within the Cistercian order. A far more common example of the kind of building seen in Heaven is given in the *Life of Ailred of Rievaulx* (which will be discussed in more length below). In this account ‘a certain religious brother had a vision in the night and he saw a high building of the most skilful construction’. It is possible that such an overt discussion of the size of the building is related to the architectural controversy which was taking place in the Cistercian order. ‘Eodem tempore religiosus aliquis frater aspiciebat in uisa noctis et esse aderat ei coram facie quodam excelsum edificium architectuione artificiosissima constructum, amplum quidem et uenestrum’, Walter Daniel, *Life of Ailred*, p.52.

²⁰⁵ ‘Quo cum appropinquassent eleuans nouicius oculus uidit quasi ciuitatis deauratos muros, ualde rutilantes et splendidos, et portam quandam inarrabili pulchritudine decoram, et artificio mirabili compositam, et per totum lapidibus preciosis et gemmis ornatam’, VG(A), 108.

²⁰⁶ The Cistercians were by no means the only order to ‘hide’ sometimes quite specific theological and political meanings using this type of text. Sharon Roubach has recently shown how two voyages of the otherworld undertaken in the eleventh century seem to have hidden specific messages about the apocalypse and Benedictine reform: Sharon Roubach, ‘The hidden apocalypse: Richard of Saint-Vanne and the otherworld’, *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 302-314, esp. at 307.

²⁰⁷ ‘Turres lapidee ad campanas non fiant. Domus extra portas cadant’, *Twelfth-century statutes*, 1157, no.16, p.579. Reissued in 1158, no.13, p.70. Also reissued in local documents, e.g. Vanclair, 1158-1202: ‘Lapidee turres non fiant in ordine nostro’, no.6, p.631.

There is certainly architectural and archaeological evidence to suggest such building works. There were two parts of the Cistercian grange that were prone to alterations in this period. First, the flat East end of Cistercian churches were increasingly expanded into round apses and second, the introduction of crossing or bell towers. Indeed, no sooner had St. Bernard died than the monks set about the task of enlarging the East end of his abbey at Clairvaux with a new chevet, complete with ambulatory and radiating chapels.²⁰⁸ There is no doubt that these changes had the effect of increasing the size of the buildings as gazed upon from the outside, as Gunthelm does the chapel of Mary. If one looks at the surviving chevet at Pontigny (c.1186) it is possible to see how much greater in size the building becomes when the flat east end of the church is replaced by a rounded apse containing room for several chapels.

Peter Fergusson argues that the architecture of the Cistercian monasteries and abbeys can be seen as a barometer for the changes in the order noting that

“just as the unified interior of the early Cistercian church represents for us the common bond of shared purpose that distinguished the entire early monastic communities, so the church with its crossing tower signals the increasing stratification of monastic responsibilities that marked the 1150s and 1160s.”²⁰⁹

Adding these new features to existing buildings is perhaps best seen in the light of the decision within the Cistercian order to stop building new monasteries. It was an act of consolidation rather than expansion. But the decision to enlarge and complicate existing buildings clearly had its critics and this criticism is expressed in the vision of Gunthelm, along with a more general fear about the future of the order which affected other Cistercian literature in the period. However, this particular concern with architectural purity, combined with other material from Gunthelm’s account, may suggest a more specific local concern in the narrative.

²⁰⁸ Christopher Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, (Sutton, 2003), p.180.

²⁰⁹ Peter Fergusson, ‘The Early Cistercian Churches in Yorkshire and the Problem of a Cistercian crossing tower’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 29 (1970), 211-221 at 214. For a fuller analysis of the importance of architecture in the early years of the Cistercian order, see Francois Bucher: ‘[architecture] ultimately express[ed] the search for order of a deeply rational and independent group within the emotional twelfth-century society ... chance and fantasy have been excluded. Its austerity, which demands transcendence, addresses itself only to a spiritual elite, to the ‘genus monasteriale’ as defined in the strictest terms by St. Benedict and St. Bernard’; Francois Bucher, ‘Cistercian Architectural Purism’, 105.

Although no concrete conclusions can be drawn regarding the exact location of the vision, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that it took place in the north of England, perhaps at Rievaulx. There are several passages in the vision that indicate this possible location. First, I want to suggest that the general architectural questions, described above in relation to the Cistercian order as a whole, had particular resonance to Rievaulx and the north of England in the 1150s and early 1160s. Secondly, I want to look at the long conversation between Matthew and Gunthelm in the context of the *Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, the abbot of the time.

Rievaulx was crucial in defining the early architecture of the Cistercians in the north of England, “it promoted a type of architecture which strongly reflected and often directly quoted from the order’s contemporary churches.”²¹⁰ Indeed, daughter houses of Clairvaux were marked out by their association with Bernard’s preference for architecturally pure buildings with no towers and shallow, square east ends.²¹¹ It seems that the expansion of ecclesiastical buildings that the General Chapter had warned about was little heeded in the north of England. In the period in which the vision was recorded two significant building projects were embarked upon. Both Fountains (25 miles away from Rievaulx) and Kirkstall (about 40 miles to the south of Rievaulx) introduced crossing towers in this period, which had been forbidden by the various Cistercian decrees described above. The Fountains expansion came in the wake of an 1147 fire (lit by a mob furious at the political machinations of the then abbot, Henry Murdac). Architectural evidence “from the general character of the mouldings” points to a date in the late 1150s or early 1160s.²¹² Other evidence from the account of a donation of money to the restoration by William Fitzherbert suggests that work had not been started by 1153, but was definitely in the final stages of planning. A similar expansion, involving the introduction of a crossing tower took place at Kirkstall in exactly the same period. It is certainly tempting to suggest that the unique exchange between St. Benedict and Gunthelm had its roots in the expansion of nearby Cistercian abbeys, in contrast to the architectural ‘purity’ that Rievaulx embodied. Certainly, by

²¹⁰ Peter Fergusson, ‘The Early Cistercian Churches in Yorkshire and the Problem of a Cistercian crossing tower’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 29 (1970), 214.

²¹¹ Christopher Brooke, *The Age of the Cloister*, (Sutton, 2003), p.180.

²¹² Peter Fergusson, ‘The Early Cistercian Churches in Yorkshire’, 216.

the time the second wave of Cistercian building was underway in the 1160s, architectural historians have hinted that in places like Roche, “Cistercian identity is blurred, even compromised” by the introduction of a crossing tower, three stage elevation and the use of rib vaults.²¹³

The *Life of Ailred of Rievaulx* adds some circumstantial evidence to the Rievaulx location. Constable has already noted that criticism levelled at Ailred by some of his monks may have been behind some of the vision of Gunthelm’s criticisms, highlighting Rievaulx as a potential location for the vision.²¹⁴ It is possible to take this argument further by looking at the exchange between Matthew and the novice regarding their abbot. Although dead abbots are familiar inhabitants of the otherworld (in Heaven, Hell and Purgatory) it is rare for a vision to be used as a method for upbraiding a living abbot, especially through the intervention of a novice. Walter Daniel’s biography of Ailred, written after his subject’s death in 1167 reveals the depth of discord at Rievaulx, all the more telling as it appears in a work aimed at cementing the abbot’s reputation. Even if the parallels between the trouble at the monastery and the vision of Gunthelm are inadequate to locate the account at Rievaulx, they can be added to the list of concerns shared throughout the Cistercian order in the second half of the twelfth century.

When Gunthelm comes across Matthew in the otherworld, the monk entreats the novice to insist that the abbot improves the behaviour at the monastery. He makes it very clear that the abbot’s inattention to maintaining the Cistercian rule is responsible for preventing the monk from receiving his crown and progressing through the after-life:

“Brother William [Gunthelm], I lived my life as a member of the monastery that you were going to live in. Therefore I implore you to tell the lord my abbot who is also yours about my position (my name is Matthew) so that he can amend his ways and busy himself to follow the rule of the order more diligently and carefully in his monastery.”²¹⁵

²¹³ *ibid.*, 221.

²¹⁴ VG(A), 103.

²¹⁵ ‘Frater Vuillelme, ego uita comite in monasterio illo conuersatus sum, quo et tu conuersari proposuisti. Precor ergo te, ut domno abbati meo utique et tuo se parte mea dicas (Mattheus enim dicor) ut se corrigere studeat, et ordinis disciplinam diligentius atque sollicitius in monasterio suo custodiri satagat’, *ibid.*, 108.

This general concern with the abbot's management of the monastery is one that is repeated in Walter's biography of Ailred. The *Vita* reveals that Ailred faced detractors from his election onwards. Walter recalls that: "there are some who think that ambition brought him to the headship of this house. Every good man knows that this is false ... how many jealous busy bodies this man of peace had to endure."²¹⁶ These critics clearly got to Ailred who demonstrated his piety by praying for those who depressed him in their criticism of his rule.

In the vision, however, there is a more specific criticism levelled at the abbot. Matthew informs Gunthelm that he was saved from damnation "for the sole reason that I refused to accept the special allowance the Lord Abbot was once for granting me (ingrate that I was) in food and sleep to match my weakness."²¹⁷ The impact of such a statement would have been considerable. Only by ignoring the abbot's instruction was Matthew saved from damnation. The special allowances described in the vision were a feature of life in Rievaulx in the 1150s. Indeed, the abbot had himself been granted special privileges by the general chapter of 1157 in view of his physical infirmities. These grants included allowing Ailred to eat and sleep in the infirmary.²¹⁸ He was given other freedoms – he was allowed to hold mass in public and private and at different times from abbots elsewhere.²¹⁹ Walter admitted that during his illness, Ailred was forced to drink wine to ease his suffering.²²⁰ This led to criticism. Walter complained that he was frequently surrounded by monks who wanted to talk about the observance of the order.²²¹ Other monks were more overt in their criticism, calling him "a glutton and a wine bibber and a friend of publicans [who] gives up his body to baths and

²¹⁶ 'Quidam uero ad huius domus regimen proprie uoluntatis ambitione ascendisse illum arbitrantur, quod falsum esse boni omnes nouerunt ... Et quantos male zelantes pacificus ille sustinuit?', Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. and trans. F. M. Powicke (Oxford, 1978) pp.33 [All translations are from this edition. Henceforth: *Life of Ailred*].

²¹⁷ 'pro eo solo quod misericordiam quam dominus abbas aliquando in cibo vel somno pro debilitate mea michi ingrato impendebat, accipere recusaui', VG(A), 108.

²¹⁸ 'Causa uero huius passionis in generali abbatum capitulo apud Cistercium concessum est illi, quatinus in infirmitorio manducans et dormiens et cetera necessaria infirmitati sue sedulo exhibens ...', Walter Daniel, *Life of Ailred*, pp.39.

²¹⁹ 'non tamen se in officio suo ut infirmus haberet, set potius per omnia in conuento quando uellet ordinis sui administraret negocia, cantando uidelicet missas publice et priuatim', *ibid.*

²²⁰ 'Bibebat aliquando uinum propter ueterem morbum calculi quo singulis mensibus grauissime cruciabatur', *ibid.*, pp.34.

²²¹ 'ut uenientes ad illud et in eo sedentes uiginti simul uel triginta singulis diebus conferrent ad inuicem de spirituali iocunditate scripturarum et ordinis disciplinis', *ibid.*, p.40.

ointments.”²²² As well as receiving special dispensations, Ailred was known to grant them. In one account a monk who desired to leave the monastery “for the delights of the world” came to Ailred to tell him that his inconstancy was not equal to the burden of the monastery. He complained about the manual labour, the clothing, the length of the vigils and the food. Ailred says: “I am prepared to give you better food to eat and softer raiment and to grant you every indulgence allowable to a monk, if only you will persevere and bring yourself to live with me in the monastery.”²²³

There are several, more general, parallels between Walter’s account of life at Rievaulx and the vision of Gunthelm. There seems to have been a problem at the monastery maintaining the commitment of the novices and the monks. Walter cites several examples of brothers trying to leave the monastery but being stopped by the intervention of the abbot. There is also a story of a regular clerk who became a novice under the stewardship of Ailred. This novice had “no mental stability” and decided that he would “descend into Egypt” and leave the monastery.²²⁴ This brother tries to leave the monastery again: “In this same time the same brother to whom I have referred above, he whose soul Ailred had begged God to give him, was again caught in the fire of his previous instability and wished to leave the monastery.”²²⁵ Like Gunthelm, the brother’s attempt to leave the monastery is halted by supernatural means: “Meanwhile the fugitive was coming to the gate, hastening to get away, but at the open doors he felt the empty air as though it were a wall of iron”²²⁶ Although there are no direct parallels between this account and the vision, it is clear that stories regarding the attempted escape of brothers and the supernatural events that prevented their flight were circulating at Rievaulx. Explicit and implicit criticism of Ailred continued after his death. Even his canonisation was challenged and Walter was forced

²²² ‘Alii dicebant quia bonus, alii ‘non set est homo uorax, potator uini et publicanorum amicus, balneis et unguentis dedens corpus suum’, *ibid.*, p.34.

²²³ ‘Et ego’ inquit ‘esculenciores cibos et blandiora uestimenta tibi preparo et omnia que monacho debentur portabiliora indulgeo, dummodo monasterium mecum inhabitare perseueranter sustineas’, *ibid.*, pp.30-31.

²²⁴ ‘Non multo post frater ille in probatorio inprobis factus et in sensum reprobis traditus descendere in Egyptum concupiuit et ceptum boni operis deserere propositum’, *ibid.*, p.24. The decent into Egypt is clearly a biblical reference, taken from Isaiah 30.

²²⁵ ‘Eodem tempore isdem frater de quo in superioribus diximus, ille uidelicet cuius animam Deum rogauit Alredus ut sibi daretur, pristina mutabilitatis incendio conflagratus a monasterio recedere uolebat’, Walter Daniel, *Life of Ailred*, p.30.

²²⁶ ‘Fugitiuus autem ad portam ueniens exire festinabat, set apertis ianuis quasi murum ferreum sensit aeriam inanitatem’, *ibid.*, p.31.

into the unusual step of including a letter at the end of Ailred's *Vita* defending accusations that his miracles had been invented. Ailred's successor was forced to tighten monastic discipline on a group of monks that had been significantly expanded in the previous abbacy. As a result, the problem with a high rate of defection seemed to continue and Pope Alexander III issued a mandate at the insistence of Rievaulx threatening excommunication and expulsion from the parish for those found guilty.²²⁷ Although there is nothing but circumstantial evidence to suggest that the vision took place at Rievaulx during the 1150s or early 1160s, the criticism of Ailred, the monastery's architectural position in the north of England and the parallel stories that were circulating in the monastery, heavy with similar concerns, suggest that such a location for the vision of Gunthelm is possible.

Stefano Mula writes that Cistercian *exempla* should be examined in their groups as "many different bricks meant to build a unique edifice: the idealized Cistercian Order."²²⁸ This chapter has suggested that it may be beneficial to see the VG in this context. Although, it is impossible on the basis of the surviving evidence to suggest whether the VG originally came from one of the 'bricks' Mula described, some of the features outlined in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 suggest that it may have done. Even so, because it is only possible to imagine how the VG might have fitted into the 'Cistercian edifice' with reference to parallels in the contemporary literature of the order, the conclusions remain tentative. Nonetheless, although there is not enough evidence to place the vision at a specific monastery, it is clear that the VG contains echoes of specifically Cistercian concerns that seem to date to the middle or later twelfth century. The multiple moral meanings and longer narrative certainly distinguish it from the type of stories that were repeated in mendicant collections and it is telling that when the VG does appear in the manuscripts of the travelling friars it is radically summarised and altered. Indeed, the deeply Cistercian themes may have been one element in the vision's limited dissemination. The concern with the order's fate in the otherworld also overshadows the role assigned to it in terms of the spread of the doctrine of Purgatory.

²²⁷ 'Idoque universitati uestre per apostolica scripta precipiendo mandamus et mandando precipimus quatinus monachos uel conuersos monasterii Rieualensis millatemus recipiatis, sed potius, si deposito religionis habitu seculariter uixerunt, publice excommunicatos denuntientis et cautius euitetis et de parrochiis vestris expellatis', *Cartulary of the Abbey of Rievall*, no.201, p.194.

²²⁸ Stefano Mula, 'Cistercian Exempla', 909.

It is clear that not all of the Cistercians, particularly at the end of the twelfth century, were concerned with the dissemination of the eschatological novelties to the laity. The transmission of a 'hopeful' doctrine of Purgatory from the Paris schools to the provinces was not an overarching Cistercian anxiety. Indeed, several of the Cistercian stories seem to be more interested in protecting, or at least discussing, the order's unique role in the afterlife.

Yet, much of the literature discussed in this chapter was inward-looking, concerned with Cistercian themes and contemporary debates. It is clear that any picture of Cistercian practice these stories paint, however interesting, is also partial. Members of the order were also responsible for more ambitious productions that often served as a bridging point where the monastic stories just discussed were edited and organised before being transferred into mendicant collections. Even the VG's limited appearance in the work of Dominican and Franciscan preachers was the result of one such text to which our attention will now turn: the history chronicle of Helinand of Froidmont.

Chapter 4

Visions of the otherworld and history in Helinand of Froidmont's *Chronicon*

In this chapter, a number of visions as they appear in a single work, the *Chronicon* of Helinand of Froidmont (c.1160-), will be analysed. This will lead to a discussion of how visions of the otherworld fitted into Helinand's wider work and whether it is possible to unpick the influence of genre, eschatology and personal interest on the shape of the redacted narratives. As well as drawing on recent scholarship about Helinand and his *Chronicon* this chapter will consider the value of looking at visions of the otherworld in light of recent debates about the medieval practice of history and, specifically, how supernatural events were perceived by chronicle writers.

4.1. Helinand of Froidmont and his *Chronicon*

4.1.1. Biography and Codicology

Details about the life of Helinand of Froidmont (c.1160-) are scarce. He was born around 1160, possibly in Angvilliers in northern France. His father, Herman, and his uncle, Helleband, left Flanders following the murder of Charles the Good in Bruges in 1127. Helinand spent his early life in and around Beauvais where he was tutored by one of Peter Abelard's former pupils at a cathedral school.¹ After this he made a living as a popular itinerant poet and served at the court of Philip Augustus. He entered the Cistercian monastery at Froidmont in the diocese of Beauvais sometime during the last decade of the twelfth century. After his conversion to the Cistercian order, little is known of Helinand's exact movements until 1229, where he was a signatory at a council in Toulouse and where he is thought to have given several sermons.²

¹ 'Haec Gaufridus contra Petrum olim magistrum suum fortiter et catholice scribit. Hujus etiam Petri Abaelardi discipulus fuit magister meus, qui me docuit a puero, Radulphus, natione Anglicus, cognomento Grammaticus, Ecclesiae Belvacensis, vir tam in divinis quam in saecularibus litteris eruditus', Helinand of Froidmont, *Helinandi Frigidi Montis Monachi, Chronicon*, PL 212, cols.1035C-1035D [Henceforth: Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*]. See: R. W. Hunt, 'Studies on Priscian in the Twelfth Century, II: The School of Ralph of Beauvais,' *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1950), 1-56.

² Jacques Le Goff, 'Les universités du Languedoc dans le mouvement universitaire européen au XIIIe siècle' in M. H. Vicaire ed., *Les universités du Languedoc au XIIIe siècle*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 5 (Toulouse, 1970), pp.316-328 at p.318. For a fuller biographical summary, see G. Tyl-Labory, 'Hélinand de Froidmont' in Fayard ed. *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Age*, (Paris, 1992), 666-668.

Despite his conversion to the Cistercian order, Helinand's earlier career as a poet continued to have an influence on him. This is clearest in the production of his most famous work: the *Vers de la Mort*. This fifty stanza vernacular French poem was written between 1194 and 1197, not long after he had taken up the monastic habit.³ The poem is Helinand's most popular work, both in his lifetime (at least twenty-four medieval manuscript versions of the poem survive) and in terms of recent scholarship. There has been particular interest in the poem's significant influence on the development of later French poetry.⁴ Sadly, a modern, critical edition of the *Vers* has recently been abandoned.⁵

Helinand's reputation as a performer was not limited to his life as a *trouvère*. In total sixty-nine of his sermons have been identified and there is considerable evidence to suggest that he performed some of them himself. Twenty-eight sermons can be found in the PL.⁶ Forty more sermons have been identified in two manuscripts in Paris (five in one and thirty-five in another).⁷ These sermons are increasingly well studied and edited, not least by Beverly Kienzle who has written extensively on their theology and structure.⁸ Kienzle is preparing an edition of all of Helinand's sermons for the CCCM series, although it is not expected to be completed for several years.⁹

³ The most reliable edition is *Les Vers de la Mort par Hélinant, moine de Froidmont*, F. Wulff, E. Walberg, eds. (Paris 1905; repr. New York/London, 1965). For a translations into English, see W. D Paden, 'The Verses on Death by Helinant de Froidmont', *Allegorica* 3 (1978), 62-103 and Helinand of Froidmont, *The Verses on Death*, ed. and trans. Jenny Lind Porter (Kalamazoo, 1999) [Henceforth: *The Verses on Death*].

⁴ There are interesting evaluations of Helinand's language in G. S. Williams, 'Against Court and School. Heinrich of Melk and Hélinant of Froidmont as Critics of Twelfth-Century Society', *Neophilologus* 62 (1978), 513-526 and F. McCulloch, 'The Art of Persuasion in Helinant's 'Vers de la Mort'', *Studies in Philology* 69 (1972), 38-54.

⁵ Email from Brepols, 22/04/2009, 12:17PM.

⁶ Helinandi Frigidi Montis Monachi, *Sermones* in J. Migne ed. PL. 212, Cols.481B-534C [Henceforth: Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermones*].

⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Lat. 14,591 and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS Lat. 1041.

⁸ A. T. Thayer, 'Judith and Mary: Hélinand's Sermon for the Assumption', in J. Hamesse, Beverly M. Keinzle, D. L. Stoudt and A. T. Thayer, eds., *Medieval Sermons and Society. Proceedings of International Symposia at Kalamazoo and New York* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1998), 63-75. Beverly Kienzle has written many articles on the subject of Helinand's sermons. The following selection was of particular interest to this investigation: Beverly M. Kienzle, 'Cistercian Preaching Against the Cathars. Hélinand's Unedited Sermon for Rogation, B.N. MS Lat. 14591', *Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses* 39 (1988), 297-314; Beverly M. Kienzle, 'Mary Speaks against Heresy. An Unedited Sermon of Hélinand for the Purification, Paris, B.N., MS lat. 14591', *Sacris Erudiri* 32 (1991), 291-308; Beverly M. Kienzle, 'The House of the Lord. Hélinand on Superfluous Monastic Construction' in *Proceedings of the PMR Conference*, 11. (Villanova University (Augustinian Historical Institute), 1986), 135-141. She has also produced a monograph on the general

Helinand's longest work, the *Chronicon*, is the focus of this chapter. He compiled this work between 1211 and 1223. The codicology and survival of the *Chronicon* is fragmented and complex. By the late thirteenth century complaints were already surfacing about the work's patchy survival.¹⁰ Modern scholars only have access to books 1-18 and 44-49. The content of books 19-43 can be imperfectly pieced together by reference to the work of Vincent of Beauvais, who copied large parts of Helinand's work into his encyclopedia. Books 1-18 survive in a thirteenth-century manuscript currently residing in the Vatican Library.¹¹ These books are the sole contents of the Vatican manuscript which is thought to have belonged to the Cistercian abbey at Beaupré before it came into the possession of Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626-1689). A helpful edition of the title chapters and some of the marginalia in this manuscript has been prepared by Monique Paulmier-Foucart.¹² In addition to the Vatican manuscript, the first sixteen books can be found in a fifteenth-century version in the British Library, bound together with the *Gesta Ricardi Secundi Regis*.¹³ At least one scholar believes that this manuscript "though later, represents an earlier version of the text and is closer to Helinand's own copy".¹⁴

subject of Cistercians and preaching: Beverly M. Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade (1145-1229): Preaching in the Lord's Vineyard* (Woodbridge, 2000).

⁹ Email from Brepols, 22/04/2009, 12:17PM.

¹⁰ Vincent of Beauvais comments: 'et hoc quidem opus dissipatum est et dispersum, ut nusquam totum reperiatur', Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 30.108. The *Speculum Historiale* makes up one part of Vincent of Beauvais' encyclopedia. Unlike with the apocryphal *Speculum Morale*, reference to the *Speculum Historiale* will be to the book and chapter number. This will allow for consultation of the 242 surviving manuscripts of the text (esp. from the fourteenth century). See: M. -C. Duchenne, Gregory G. Guzman and J. B. Voorbij, 'Une liste des manuscrits du *Speculum Historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais', *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), 286-294. The reader will be alerted if reference is made to either a specific manuscript or the commonly cited Douai edition (1624). It should be noted when using the latter that the numeration of chapters is slightly different.

¹¹ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535. I would like to thank the RHS and the British School at Rome for enabling me to study this manuscript. In this chapter material from the earlier books of the *Chronicon* will come from the Rome manuscript unless otherwise stated with the book, chapter number and page number proceeding any quotation. Note that the pages in the Rome manuscript have not been foliated *recto* and *verso*, but by page number.

¹² Monique Paulmier-Foucart, ed., 'Hélinand de Froidmont. Édition des titres des chapitres et des notations marginales d'après le MS du Vatican, Lat. Reg.535', *Spicae* 4 (1986), 81-254.

¹³ London, BL, MS Cotton Claudius B.IX. A synopsis of the content of this manuscript can be found in H. Meyer, 'Les premiers livres de la chronique d'Helinand', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 46 (1885), 198-200.

¹⁴ Email from Erik Saak, 29/01/2010, 16:50.

At the time of writing, only tiny fragments of these books have been edited. Book 8, a short treatise on the afterlife, has been edited in an un-published thesis.¹⁵ Book 6, a treatise on astrology, and book 12, containing Seneca's *Tragedies*, have also been partially edited.¹⁶ Books 44-49, dealing with the years 634-1204, have not survived in any medieval manuscripts. They were edited by Bertrand Tissier from a Beauvais manuscript which was subsequently lost. Jacques-Paul Migne used the Tissier edition for the PL version which covers all of the five books.¹⁷ A modern edition of all the surviving parts of the *Chronicon* has been in preparation for over a decade under the guidance of Edmé Smits (whose untimely death interrupted the project) then Erik Saak and now Ollo Kneepkens at the University of Groningen. The first draft of the first volume was expected in 2010 as part of the CCCM series.¹⁸ Apart from the erratic nature of the manuscript survival, Kneepkens' team has had to deal with several difficult editorial decisions, ranging from the best way to use Vincent of Beauvais' copy of Helinand's work, to problems concerning Tissier's revision of books 44-49. The team has produced several articles about these difficulties.¹⁹

Despite these problems, there are several good pragmatic and historiographical reasons for using the *Chronicon* to discuss the dissemination of visions of the otherworld. The sheer number of visions of the otherworld that Helinand records in the *Chronicon* makes it possible to identify patterns in the redactor's approach. A selection of the visionary material discussed by Helinand can be identified in table V. In addition,

¹⁵ Marie-Paul Arnaud-Cancel, 'Le huitième livre de la chronique d'Helinand de Froidmont', École Nationale des Chartes thèse (1971).

¹⁶ Book 6: M. H. Malewicz, 'Libellus de efficatia artis astrologice. Traite astrologique d'Eudes de Champagne XIIIe siècle', *Mediaevalia Philosophica Polonorum* 20 (1974), 1-95 and Edmé Smits, 'An unedited correspondence between Helinand of Froidmont and Philip, abbot of Val Ste. Marie on Genesis 27:1 and the ages of the world' in T. J. Sommerfeldt ed., *Erudition at God's Service*, Studies in Medieval Cistercian History 1, Cistercian Studies Series 98, (Kalamazoo, 1987), 243-266.

¹⁷ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.771-1082.

¹⁸ Email from Brepols, 22/04/2009, 12:17PM. As of 18/01/2012 the volume is still described as being 'in preparation'.

¹⁹ Edmé Smits, 'A Project on Helinand of Froidmont', *Vincent of Beauvais Newsletter* 11 (1986), 2-6; Edmé Smits, 'Editing the *Chronicon* of Helinand of Froidmont: the Marginal Notes', *Sacris Erudiri* 32 (1991), 269-289; J. B. Voorbij, and Marinus M. Woesthuis, 'Editing the *Chronicon* of Helinand of Froidmont: the Use of Textual Witnesses', in R. I. A. Nip, et al., eds., *Media Latinitas. A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion of the Retirement of L. J. Engels*, (Turnhout, 1996), pp.345-354; H. Voorbij, 'The *Chronicon* of Helinand of Froidmont: A Printed Edition in an Electronic Environment' in H. T. M. van Vliet ed., *Produktion und Kontext. Beiträge der Internationalen Fachtagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für germanistische Edition im Constantijn Huygens Instituut*, (Tübingen, 1999), pp.3-12.

Helinand's approach to death and the otherworld can also be detected in several non-visionary accounts that he redacts into the *Chronicon*. At one stage in the eighth book Helinand includes a short theological tract devoted entirely to the nature of the soul and Hell.²⁰ In short, a deep interest in death and the otherworld pervades much of the *Chronicon*. The chronology of the composition is also interesting. Helinand's interest in death and the afterlife makes him a useful case study into the influence of the eschatological developments discussed in previous chapters, particularly given his extensive philosophical digressions in the earlier books (this will be discussed in part 4.3). His time in Paris, conversion to the Cistercian order and interest in the university of Toulouse add a further dimension to this line of enquiry. These are among the chief biographical characteristics which have been identified with the first and pre-eminent disseminators of the doctrine of Purgatory at the end of the twelfth century.²¹

Helinand's interest in death and the afterlife goes beyond visions of the otherworld and is carried over to the production of his other works as well. In addition to a consideration of his eschatology then, the stylistic diversity of Helinand's writings allows for a detailed analysis of the role of genre. The relationship between Helinand's sermons and his *Chronicon* is particularly interesting as he places several of the same accounts in both (this will be discussed in part 4.2). In addition, the *Chronicon* is especially useful in terms of tracing the dissemination of visions because Helinand details his wide range of sources quite clearly.²² His redactions are often tightly based on his sources, so his amendments, summaries and additions are clear and significant. The *Chronicon* is also a pivotal text for the later redaction of visions. Despite its own relatively limited influence, the versions of the visions recorded in the *Chronicon* were disseminated through near-verbatim copies in Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*.

²⁰ The following chapter headings come from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535 (and London, BL, MS Cotton Claudius B. IX): 'Quod anima vivit post mortem', 8.53, p.188; 'Quod infirme sunt rationes philosophorum de immortalitate anime', 8.55, p.188; 'Ubi credendum est infernum esse', 8.59, p.192 (f.125^r, col.II); 'De igne gehennali et igne purgatorio', 8.60, p.192 (f.126^v, col.I); 'Hystorica interpretatione de fluviis infernalibus', 8.67, p.195 (f.128^r, col.II).

²¹ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), p.168. This issue will be discussed in section 4.3.2.

²² As well as a range of patristic and classical authors (such as Bede, Augustine, Eusebius and Seneca), Helinand references several, more contemporary sources. The basis for the early books in the PL is Sigebert of Gembloux's (c.1030-1112) chronicle, but he also uses the work of Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St. Victor and William of Malmesbury. Sigebert's chronicle has been edited as Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, PL 160, 57-834 [includes continuations].

In turn, this work was used by many mendicant *exempla* compilers, preachers and scholars who gave Helinand's redactions a far wider audience than their initial inclusion in the *Chronicon* (although, as we have seen, this does not mean they accepted Vincent's version wholesale) and as result the visions that Helinand redacted often appeared in English manuscripts. So, it is Helinand's editorial decisions that set the parameters for the way in which several visions were utilised by the Franciscans and the Dominicans in the later thirteenth century. Indeed, was it not for Helinand's decision to include some of these visions of the otherworld, their dissemination would have been more limited.

4.1.2. Using the *Chronicon*

When Louis Ellies du Pin added his entry concerning Helinand into his huge compendium of ecclesiastical authors at the end of the seventeenth century he noted that "there is more of Labour in his History than of Judgment: for 'tis nothing but a Collection from other Authors made without any direction".²³ There are two aspects of this statement that seem to run against the grain of contemporary scholarship. First, as has been demonstrated in the previous chapters, medieval compilers were able to show 'direction' to their works through their selection and editing of inherited texts from 'other authors'. In this sense, medieval historians were no different from the compilers of the more explicitly didactic texts discussed above. As Julia Crick has noted:

"in the medieval and Classical periods, history was not a free-standing discipline but an auxiliary one; it was used to grind the axes of men whose concerns were moral, political, theological, and occasionally personal, but rarely those of professional scholarship."²⁴

Following on from this, du Pin's uncomplicated assertion that Helinand's *Chronicon* is a work of 'History' is now also up for debate as medievalists have queried the relevance of modern notions of the genre for works produced in the Middle Ages. Indeed, the amount of recent, general scholarship on the meaning of 'history' in the

²³ Louis Ellies du Pin, *Nouvelle Bibliothéque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, 19 vols. (Paris and Holland, 1691-) trans. as *A New Ecclesiastical History containing an account of the controversies in Religion in the Lives and Writings of Ecclesiastical Authors*, 19 vols. (London, 1692-1699), XI, p.60.

²⁴ *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 5 vols (Cambridge, 1985- 1991), IV: Julia C. Crick, *Dissemination and Reception in the Later Medieval Ages* (Cambridge, 1991), p.225.

Middle Ages is vast and the debates complicated.²⁵ In part, this complication has been caused by the array of categorisations of different types of history that have been deployed by both medieval and modern scholars. These categories are often placed in opposition to each other, but rarely appear consistently throughout the period or in the historiography. Sometimes *historia* is seen in opposition to *fabulae* of poets, sometimes in opposition to didactic *exempla*. In other interpretations the central characteristic of the type is the unit of chronology used. Isidore of Seville's famous tri-partite definition is based on units of time ranging from a calendar to works concerned with longer periods of time. Modern scholars have occasionally introduced their own hierarchies, comparing 'straight-forward' Annals to the more impressionistic, even mythologizing work of prose historians. Yet, these boundaries are also more complex than they first appear. Sarah Foot, for example, has shown how annalistic entries, listing events year-by-year could "convey significant narratives".²⁶ Given this range of categories and distinctions and the relatively fluid movement of stories between genres that we have observed in previous chapters is it worth trying to identify the *Chronicon* as a particular type of production?

Several scholars working on the *Chronicon* have thought so and have gradually pushed it away from the historical context described by du Pin and have suggested that Helinand conceived it as a more didactic text. For Helinand's part, he uses the terms *Chronicon* and *historia* to describe his own work, but Marinus Woesthuis has suggested that Helinand is not producing an annalistic chronicle but doing something more encyclopaedic, giving a "resumé of the written testimonies of knowledge that had been acquired in the past about man's history within God's creation."²⁷ Woesthuis concludes

²⁵ R. Vaughan, 'The Past in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History* 12 (1986), 1-14; Robert Ray, 'Medieval Modern scholarship through the twelfth century: Problems and progress of research', *Viator* 5 (1974), 33-60; Elisabeth van Houts, 'Medieval Latin and Historical Narrative', in Elisabeth van Houts, C. H. Kneepkens et al. eds., *Media Latinitas Instrumenta Patristica* (Turnhout, 1996), pp.75-87.

²⁶ Sarah Foot, 'Finding the Meaning of Form: Narrative in Annals and Chronicles' in Nancy Partner ed., *Writing Medieval History* (London, 2005), pp.88-108 at p.102.

²⁷ Marinus M. Woesthuis, "Nunc ad historiam revertamur": History and Preaching in Helinand of Froidmont', *Sacris Erudiri* 34 (1994), 313-333, at 315. It should be noted that in an earlier article, Woesthuis more confidently asserts the credentials traditionally associated with 'historical works' in respect to the *Chronicon* arguing that Helinand's profound concern with chronology was "of greater importance than the presentation of a complete or continuous dossier" of his source material, even if it meant breaking up narratives such as a *vita*. Marinus M. Woesthuis, 'The origins of anonymous primus, Vincent of Beauvais, Helinand of Froidmont and the life of St. Hugh of Cluny', *AB* 105 (1987) 385-411 at 404. Helinand uses the

that the *Chronicon* should not be seen as an independent composition that could or would be used in its own right, but that Helinand envisaged it as a complimentary aid to his preaching activity; a reference tool for sermons and a 'storehouse' for *exempla*. In passing, although never denying that chronology plays a part in the organisation of the *Chronicon*, Edmé Smits draws an even firmer line between the two 'genres' in his introduction to an edition of Book 12, concluding that it might be classified as "either one of two categories ... a world chronicle [or] a research aid."²⁸ He argues that the latter is the most accurate description and that chronology is a mere "organisational tool" for the work.²⁹ This chapter, in particular part 4.2, will explore this distinction in respect to visions of the otherworld.

Despite this, it is worth observing that, like many other medieval chronicles starting with the beginning of time, the *Chronicon* narrows in geographic focus as the narrative progresses. In this respect at least, the *Chronicon* cannot be entirely separated from other monastic history chronicles. The latter books seem less concerned with the 'timeless' theological debates (often described in the earlier book by Helinand as digressions) and more concerned with events in France. Given this, and this thesis' focus on visions of the otherworld, the recent interest in the role of supernatural events in medieval chronicles merits consideration as well. This topic has been pursued mainly by scholars working on English material from the twelfth century, notably Carl Watkins, Robert Bartlett, Monika Otter, Gabrielle Spiegel and Elisabeth Freeman.³⁰ Many of their findings and much of their theoretical discussion is relevant to the way in which visions of the otherworld were placed into the later books of Helinand's *Chronicon*, not least because Freeman has worked specifically on a Cistercian 'type' of history.³¹ These

term *Chronica* elsewhere to describe his sources. For example, the sixty sixth book of Bede's *Reckoning of Time*, the episodic list of world events is described by Helinand as Bede's *Chronica*.

²⁸ Edmé Smits, 'Helinand of Froidmont and the A-text of Seneca's Tragedies', *Mnemosyne*, 36 (1983), 324-358 at 335.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2006); 'Sin, Penance and Purgatory in the Anglo-Norman Realm: the evidence of visions and ghost stories', *Past and Present* 175 (2002) 3-33; Robert Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages*, (Belfast, 2008); Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in twelfth-century English writing* (London, 1996); Elisabeth A. Freeman, 'Wonders, Prodigies and Marvels: unusual bodies and the fear of heresy in Ralph of Coggeshall's' *Chronicon Anglicanum*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 127-143.

³¹ Elisabeth A. Freeman, *Narratives of a new order: Cistercian historical writing in England, 1150-1220*, SCH 2 (Turnhout, 2002).

studies have tried to answer several questions about the relationship between supernatural events and history that can usefully be repeated for Helinand's redaction of visions of the otherworld: Were these events treated by compilers any differently from other material (coronations, battles, monastic disputes)? Did visions of the otherworld have to be contextualised in a different way; their meaning interpreted by the author? If so, can they be seen as *inventiones*: fictional, moral underpinnings to support the given historical narrative? Or, in contrast, were supernatural events simply to be verified or rationalised in the same way as all other stories?

Otter, along with several other scholars, has been keen to emphasise the literary quality of some of the supernatural events in twelfth-century history chronicles. The appearance of the supernatural in history chronicles was, in her words, "self-conscious fiction ... the chief objective seems to be to raise and discuss, but ultimately leave open, the questions about 'reality' which come with such marvels".³² Freeman, who has done much to rescue Cistercian achievements from earlier scholars who emphasised the ambiguity of the order towards historical writing, does not argue that supernatural events in Cistercian chronicles were 'literary'.³³ Nonetheless, she points out that wonders used in histories were "non-dated; almost a-historical events."³⁴ In this way, Freeman sees no tension between 'facts' and interpretation but "confirming, complimentary ways by which medieval histories suggested meaning without those meanings necessarily being tied to facts."³⁵ What guided their inclusion in the texts was an overriding moral message, a devotional narrative that was "clearly and characteristically Cistercian."³⁶ Supernatural stories were moralised *exempla* used to shore up the history of Cistercian foundations and the way in which "many of history's themes [were] most persuasively presented."³⁷ Watkins is more tentative about the institutional influence on late-twelfth century historians. For him, "membership of a

³² Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Writing* (London, 1996), p.93.

³³ The Cistercian General Chapter ruling that forbade "unauthorised literary composition" was extrapolated to mean that the Cistercians were "infrequent and uninterested historians. Freeman, *Narratives of a new order*, p.1.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.164.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.166. This would not have been a surprise to a medieval audience: the "resultant text[s were] never anything other than ... perfectly readable and generically unremarkable," p.167.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.164.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p.165

monastic house had a shaping but not determining effect on their outlook.”³⁸ He also cautions against seeing supernatural events in medieval chronicles as either overtly ideological (an argument put forward by Gabrielle Spiegel in a more political context as well as in Freeman’s monastic one) or part of a “reflexive exercise”.³⁹ Instead he notes that in some cases the ‘truthfulness’ of the supernatural material could lie in its intrinsic theological or moral value and in other cases, when the stories had a more ambiguous spiritual value and their position in the text demonstrated this uncertainty (in the margin or in labelled digressions, for example), the “historical status” of the event mattered more and testimony and authority were therefore crucial.⁴⁰

By looking at the way in which Helinand of Froidmont’s approach to visions of the otherworld varied from or mimicked his contemporaries, this chapter will make a contribution to both of the debates just outlined. It will show that his treatment of visions of the otherworld does not entirely conform to his editing of worldly events, but that his concern to place the material into a historical framework reveals an interest that went beyond the didactic quality of the inherited stories. More specifically, there were several factors informing his editorial decisions: A personal interest and approach to eschatology, informed but not dominated by scholastic trends, and an alertness to suitable preaching material nuanced by a desire to fit supernatural events into a historical narrative that increasingly focused on the Cistercian order and France. Before looking at these ideas in more depth, however, it is necessary to offer a number of methodological caveats.

In order to analyse these features of Helinand’s editorial programme it is important to attempt to identify to what extent the author was directly responsible for the alterations to the visions and what material he had access to. Despite the fact that Helinand is an astute recorder of his sources it is impossible to identify the exact versions of the texts that he was working from. In some of the cases described below it is possible to combine the surviving evidence with conjecture to tentatively suggest a relationship between Helinand’s version of a given vision and a source text. For just as many

³⁸ Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p.12.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp.16-17. See: Gabrielle Spiegel, ‘Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles’, in E. Kooper ed., *The Medieval Chronicle* (Amsterdam, 1999), pp.1-12.

⁴⁰ Carl Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, pp.202-225, esp.223-225.

cases it is impossible to identify or describe such a relationship with any confidence. Indeed, for several of the visions that Helinand records (among them the vision of the boy William and the vision of the monk of Melrose) it seems possible that he is recalling information from memory in addition to, or instead of, working from an existing text.⁴¹ With this in mind, on the occasions where the establishment of a relationship between the *Chronicon* and source material is impossible, any differences between the vision narratives in circulation and Helinand's versions are discussed only in general terms. On occasion, however, several factors have led to a more confident assertion of Helinand's role in amending the inherited narrative. In analysing the visions that appear in *Chronicon* as a package, there are often enough stylistic parallels between narratives and good codicological reasons to identify Helinand's own editorial hand shaping the redactions. If Helinand repeatedly references his source text it is possible to build up a picture of the work he is using, as in the redaction of the vision of Drichtelm.⁴² The shape of the redacted narrative and the use of copied Latin may also hint at a source text, as in Helinand's redaction of the vision of Fursa from the *Vita* rather than Bede's *HE*.⁴³ And sometimes there is only a single narrative form of the vision in circulation before the vision appears in Helinand's *Chronicon*. The last two indicators both apply to the redaction of the vision of Gunthelm.⁴⁴ There is a strong possibility that Helinand redacts the vision of Gunthelm from the version of the narrative described as the VG(A) in the previous chapter.⁴⁵ The order of events in Helinand's redaction replicates those in the VG(A) and there are several similarities in vocabulary.⁴⁶ The only other surviving redaction of the vision that pre-dates Helinand's *Chronicon* is the version that appears in a limited number of Marian miracle collections. This only deals with the last section of the vision where Judas is tortured on a wheel

⁴¹ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.1036A-1037C; 1059A-1060C.

⁴² *ibid.*, cols.791C-793C.

⁴³ See 4.2.1 below and Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.776A-778B.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, cols.1060C-1063D.

⁴⁵ See above, section 3.1.1 for an explanation of the VG(A). The VG(A) is edited in: Giles Constable, 'The vision of Gunthelm and other *visiones* attributed to Peter the Venerable', *Revue Benedictines* 66 (1956), 92-114 [Henceforth: VG(A)].

⁴⁶ Compare, for example: 'Post haec vident hominem in ardente cathedra sedentem, ante quem stabant quasi pulchrae feminae, quae tenebant cereos ardentes, quos impingebant in faciem ejus et in os et retrahebant similiter ardentes per ejus interranea', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1062C-D and 'Deinde ostendit ei hominem in ignea cathedra residentem, ante quem formosae mulieres asstabant [sic.] quae ardentes cereos in eius ora instanter intorquebant, quos traductos per uiscera, per virilia extrahebant', VG(A), 209.

and would not have furnished Helinand with the bulk of the details that are found in the VG(A) and his redaction. There are no other surviving intermediary texts that have been identified. In addition, the geographical histories of the surviving manuscripts suggest that the VG(A) was available in the area of northern France and modern-day Belgium that Helinand was familiar with.⁴⁷ It is possible that Helinand actually redacted the vision of Gunthelm and his version of Peter Damian's miracle stories from the same manuscript, which Constable consulted for his edition of the vision, now located in Brussels.⁴⁸ In this case and others similar to it, Helinand is tentatively described as the redactor or author and when a more detailed discussion of the individual visions is offered, it is accompanied with an outline of the evidence for such an attribution.

Another methodological problem with working through these redactions is the assumption that any changes made by medieval compilers have a deep theological or historiographical significance. In many cases the two greatest driving forces behind editorial decisions would be recognised by modern historians: a desire for clarity and a need to cut down the word count (in medieval terms: *brevitas*). Helinand is no different in this respect and these desires are reflected in many of his redactions. Before identifying areas of Helinand's visions that can be fruitfully discussed in the context of the wider dissemination of visions and without delving into diachronic linguistics, it is worth demonstrating what these changes look like. His redaction of the vision of Gunthelm reveals several of these features, not least because the inherited narrative is so complex. The Latin is simplified and some of the more confusing sub-clauses are removed or tidied up. Take the moment when Benedict places his hand on the head of Gunthelm. In the VG(A) this reads:

“Animaduertens quidem sanctus discipuli sequentis defectum,
conuertens se benigne ad eum reuelationis gratia super afflicti caput
propriam posuit manum.”⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The following were identified by Constable: Charleville, Bibliotheque Municipale MS 168 (s.xiii), Rouen, Bibliotheque Municipale MS U134 (s.xiii, this possibly resided in Jumieges in the middle ages) and A535 (s.xiv, from Jumieges).

⁴⁸ Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, MS 7797-806. See: Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.975B.

⁴⁹ VG(A), 107

In Helinand's version, the same passage is rendered as follows:

"Respiciens autem post se sanctus Benedictus, posuit manum suam super caput novitii et confortavit eum."⁵⁰

Clarity was not only introduced stylistically, however. Helinand cleared up some of the more ambiguous passages that could be found in the VG(A). One such passage concerns the visionary's initial motivation for wanting to head East. In the VG(A) this reads:

"Sedit animo Ihrosolimam profisci, ut de famoso suo robore Christum placans, eius sterneret inimicos."⁵¹

This hints at the visionary's desire to go to the Holy Land to crush Christ's enemies, although the reference is indirect. Even more opaque is the abbot's response to these desires:

"si Ihrosalem placet inuisere, illam subeat, cuius quicumque ciuis non erit, huius praesentis uisio nichil conferet ad salutem."⁵²

"That if he wished to visit Jerusalem, he should approach that one [the Heavenly Jerusalem] of which he would not be some [earthly] citizen, whose vision [of the earthly Jerusalem] in his life would be of no assistance to his salvation."⁵³

Helinand makes these references clearer. He irons out the ambiguity and adds a biblical gloss to the visionary's desire:

"Hic post multa peccata reprehensus a sua conscientia proposuit ire Jerosolymam, ut ibi vires suas expenderet in servitio Dei, juxta illud: *fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam* et de hoc voto consuluit abbatem quemdam Cisterciensis ordinis: qui persuasit ei ut crucem religionis acciperet, et ad coelestem Jerusalem properaret"⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1061A.

⁵¹ VG(A), 106.

⁵² VG(A), 106.

⁵³ This passage is the only part of the vision that Constable translates in his introduction to the edition. I have used this translation which can be found in VG(A), 102.

⁵⁴ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1060C-D. The biblical passage is taken from Psalm 58:10.

“In these circumstances, conscious that he had sinned heavily, he planned to go to Jerusalem, in order that he would use his strength in the service of God [as it is said]: ‘my strength for you, my guard’ and concerning this vow he consulted a certain abbot of the Cistercian Order who persuaded him to take the religious cross and make haste to the heavenly Jerusalem”⁵⁵

Of course, depending on the subject of study, these changes should not and cannot be dismissed as simple copy-editing. In being led by the twin motivations of brevity and clarity, medieval compilers prioritised certain bits of material over others and in doing so revealed preferences and demonstrated linguistic trends. This chapter will identify several circumstances where these decisions may illuminate discussions about thirteenth-century eschatology and genre.

4.2. Visions, the *Chronicon* and preaching

4.2.1. The visions of Fursa and Tundale

In this part of the chapter, the role of visions of the otherworld in the context of both the surviving parts of the *Chronicon* and Helinand’s other works will be discussed. This analysis of Helinand’s editorial strategy will be based around three visions, two of which have been discussed in previous chapters. The first, the vision of Fursa, dated 648 in the *Chronicon*, was a popular vision of the otherworld and may have been sourced by Helinand from several different contexts. In contrast the second, the vision of Gunthelm dated 1161 in the *Chronicon*, was not as popular. As we have seen, Helinand’s redaction appears to be a rare variation of the VG(A) which was associated with Peter the Venerable’s *De Miraculis*.⁵⁶ Helinand’s approach to the vision of Tundale (VT), so far undiscussed in this thesis, will also form part of this discussion. This vision, composed by an Irish Benedictine monk named Marcus for an Abbess ‘G.’ was said to have taken place in 1148/9.⁵⁷ In the longest surviving versions of the vision (c.10,500 words) the soul of an Irish knight is given a tour of a complex otherworld by his guardian angel. He travels through various different layers of Hell before the vision

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ For a list of these visions and several others in the *Chronicon*, see Table V.

⁵⁷ *Visio Tnugdali*, Albrecht Wagner ed. (Erlangen, 1882; rpr. Hildesheim, 1989) [Henceforth: VT]. For an introduction, see: Claude Carozzi, *Le voyage de l’âme dans ‘au-delà d’après la littérature latine* (Rome, 1994), pp.553-555 and Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, pp.190-193.

is stopped at the walls of paradise. Although many scholars have focused on the vision's many parallels with other accounts of a similar nature, it has also been discussed with respect to the twelfth-century reform movement.⁵⁸ The long version of the vision survives in over 150 medieval manuscripts and Helinand's redaction is one of several that can be found in Latin and other European vernacular languages.⁵⁹ Helinand's redaction, edited from the longest surviving version of the vision, is copied into Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*.⁶⁰

The way in which the VT and the vision of Fursa appear in the *Chronicon* show that, whether Helinand was concerned with their didactic qualities or not, he also wanted to contextualise them in the wider themes of the later books of the work, by drawing out the northern French aspects of the accounts, for example. Indeed, most of the supernatural events that Helinand records in books 44-49 of the *Chronicon* are either concerned with Helinand's locality or the Cistercian order.⁶¹ Placing the vision of Fursa, recorded as taking place long before the foundation of the order, in a Cistercian context would have been difficult for Helinand (although, as discussed in section 4.3.1 he is capable of radically altering material to this end as well). He does, however, consciously place the vision in a French context, much in the same way as Bede framed the same account with an English background, as discussed in section 2.1.1.⁶² This is

⁵⁸ Carl Watkins, 'Doctrine, Politics and Purgation: The vision of Tnuthgal and the vision of Owein at St. Patrick's Purgatory', *Journal of Medieval History* 22 (1996), 225-236; Sarah Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West 900-1200* (Harlow, forthcoming), ch.1.

⁵⁹ Nigel Palmer has conducted a thorough investigation into the dissemination of the Dutch and German versions in the later Middle Ages. See: Nigel F. Palmer, '*Visio Tnugdali*': *The German and Dutch Translations and their Circulation in the Later Middle Ages* (Munich, 1982).

⁶⁰ Palmer notes that Helinand used "the complete text": Nigel F. Palmer, '*Visio Tnugdali*', p.19. See also: *Speculum Historiale*, 26.88-104;

⁶¹ One exception to this rule is his discussion of several miracles, including a vision, relating to the death of William of Norwich. See: Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.1036A-1037C. These might be related to the stories that appear in: Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, ed. and trans. Augustus Jessop and M. R. James (Cambridge, 1897), pp.67-77. McCulloh concludes they are from a different tradition, but given the extent of the alterations that he seems to make with other supernatural accounts (see section 4.3.1) it is possible that he had access to a copy of the *Vita*. See: John M. McCulloh, 'Jewish Ritual Murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the Early Dissemination of the Myth', *Speculum* 72 (1997), 698-740, at 722-724.

⁶² Bede's introduction to the vision outlines the East Anglian part of Fursa's career in some detail, relating how he was honourably received by the king Sigebert, founded the monastery at Cnobheresberg and how, after Fursa's death, the nobles expanded and patronised the foundation. See: *HE*, 3.19, pp.268-271. This framing of the vision of Fursa is only one aspect of Bede's redaction which has also been discussed in the context of the Anglo-Saxon otherworld by Sarah Foot and is being further researched by Roberta Bassi

particularly interesting as Helinand was able to draw on Bede's account (he uses the *HE* elsewhere in the *Chronicon*), the *Vita* of St. Fursa (some of the material clearly comes from this earlier version of the vision) and Sigebert of Gembloux's (c.1030-1112) annalistic entry regarding the event (Helinand repeatedly draws on Sigebert's chronicle elsewhere in the *Chronicon*).⁶³

That the decision to alter the geographical framing of the vision was taken by both Helinand and Bede, despite the length of time between them, suggests that they were editing the account in line with rules that governed the writing of chronicles in a very general sense, but there are other, more specific parallels as well: Both authors choose to make their large cuts from the discussions between the visionary and the Irish holy men. Both focus on the longest vision (the second) and both reduce the dialogue between the visionary and the inhabitants of the otherworld. Indeed, much of the *Chronicon* version of the vision would have been familiar to readers of the *HE* account. Bede summarises Fursa's life at the end of his re-telling of the story as follows:

"he preached the word of God in Ireland for many years until, when he could no longer endure the noise of the crowds who thronged to him, he gave up all that he seemed to have and left his native island. He came with a few companions through the land of the Britons to the kingdom of East Angles, where he preached the word and there, as we have said, built a monastery. Having duly accomplished all of this, he longed to free himself from worldly all worldly affairs, even those of the monastery itself, so leaving his brother Foillán in charge of the monastery ... he resolved to end his life as a hermit. He had another brother called Ultán who ... had passed on to the life of a hermit ... and for a whole year lived with him in austerity and prayer ... Then seeing that the kingdom was disturbed ... [he] sailed for Gaul, where he was honourably entertained by Clovis, king of the Franks and by the patrician Eorcenwold. He built a monastery in a place called Lagny, where not long afterwards, he was

and Aine Casey. I am grateful to Roberta Bassi for allowing me to consult her unpublished paper: 'The spiritual journeys of Fursey and Dryhthelm in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in the *Old English Bede* and in the *Homilies* of Ælfric', presented at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 14th July, 2010. See also: Aine Casey, *The Vita Fursey and its use by Bede and Aelfric*, Fursey Occasional Paper number 5 (Norwich, 2010).

⁶³ Sigebert doesn't give any details of the vision of Fursa at all, his entry is purely annalistic: 'Saraceni Africam occupant [BEDA.] Sanctus Furseus ... quiescit. Martinus Romanae ecclesiae 71^{us} presidet [FRED.] Sigibertus rex Radulfo Turingorum duci bello concurrat', Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, PL 160, col.122C. For a general discussion of Bede's importance as a historian and his specific influence on the Cistercians, see: Antonia Gransden, 'Bede's reputation as an historian in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), 397-425.

taken ill and died". [Bede finishes the account with a description of Fursa's burial].⁶⁴

Helinand has a similar, even shorter, summary of Fursa's life at the end of his account:

"He preached to the people of *Gothorum* [Sweden?] for ten years, preaching in Ireland with his poor brothers, and having crossed through Britain to Saxony, and having received the support of King Sigebert, and founding a monastery that he entrusted to his brother Foillán and having departed for a life of a hermit with his brother Ultán for a year he travelled to France. Here he received the support of Clovis, king and patron and constructed a monastery in the area called Lagny."⁶⁵

However, Helinand chooses to open the narrative with an extract from the shortest account of the vision he has access to, Sigebert of Gembloux's entry:

"Saint Fursa who was famous in Ireland, went on a pilgrimage through Christ to France, where he was honourably received by the king Clovis [II], son of Dagobert and founded the monastery at Lagny. Not long after he was followed by his brothers Foillán and Ultán, who were famous throughout France. By the bounty of Gertrude the Virgin, Foillán afterwards founded the monastery at Fosse, where he rests with the crown of martyrdom."⁶⁶

This contextualisation of the vision may have appealed to Helinand because it highlights the aspects of Fursa's life that take place near where he is thought to have composed the *Chronicon*. The monastery at Lagny, mentioned twice in his redaction, is less than fifty miles away from Froidmont and was renowned in the thirteenth century as a site for annual Champagne fairs. A fountain supposedly created by one of Fursa's miracles was established as a pilgrimage site there. This particular miracle, although not cited in the *Vita*, is mentioned in the *Virtues of Saint Fursa*.⁶⁷ In addition, the references to Gertrude and the martyrdom of Foillán, not mentioned in the *HE*, but referenced by Helinand, are additions to the *Vita* originally composed in the eleventh

⁶⁴ *HE*, 3.19, pp.274-277.

⁶⁵ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.778B.

⁶⁶ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.766A-766B.

⁶⁷ B. Krusch ed., 'Vita virtutesque Fursei abbatis Latiniacensis et de Fuilano additamentum Nivialense', in B. Krusch and W. Levison eds., *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici IV*, *MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* 7 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1920), pp.448-449.

century.⁶⁸ In short, Helinand uses the surviving written testimonies to enhance an explicitly French context for Fursa's life. As with the version of the same vision found in Bede's *HE*, the reader is not denied knowledge of Fursa's Irishness, nor his monastic and preaching career in England, but these features are secondary to the local or French context of Helinand's account. Helinand furnishes the vision with historical apparatus familiar to Bede and the chronicle writers that were observed in the first chapter. Even if Helinand was inspired to place the vision of Fursa into his *Chronicon* because of its didactic qualities, he was concerned that it interacted with his developing historical narrative, and edited it in a way recognisable to other medieval historians.

Given this, Helinand's decision to remove the geographical descriptions from the VT also seems relevant. In addition to the deletion of the lengthy topographical information found in the VT's introduction (for example, the famous description of Ireland's favourable natural environment), Helinand also omits to note that the vision was seen in Cork by a knight from Cashel.⁶⁹ The vision's Irishness is not only apparent in the opening statements, however. In an earlier version of the vision in a section entitled "*de avaris et pena eorum*", the visionary encounters giants named Fergus and Conal "who were so faithful to the beliefs of their own people".⁷⁰ In Helinand's redaction these giants were nameless and "faithful to their own wickedness".⁷¹ Helinand's introduction to the VT reads as follows:

"In that year St Malachy died, as it is read in a vision which a certain Marcus wrote to the abbess G. From this vision I decided to make

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, pp.423-448.

⁶⁹ Sumithra J. David, 'Looking East and West : The reception and dissemination of the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *Itinerarium ad partes orientales* in England [1185-c.1500]', University of St. Andrews PhD Thesis, 2009, pp.43-44 and p.44n22.

⁷⁰ 'Hi vero viri, qui inter dentes et in ore ejus apparent contrappositi, gigantes sunt et suis temporibus in secta ipsorum tam fideles, sicut ipsi non sunt inventi, quorum nomina tu bene nosti. Vocantur enim Fergusius et Conallus', VT, p.17. [Henceforth: VT].

⁷¹ 'hi vero qui in ore ejus et inter dentes apparent contrappositi gigantes sunt et suis temporibus in nequitia sua diabolo fideles fuerunt', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1042B. Given Helinand's apparent respect for Bernard of Clairvaux, it is not impossible that this is in some way repeating or reflecting the saint's famous dislike of the Irish, but it seems unlikely. For Bernard of Clairvaux's deep influence on Helinand in the context of his sermons, see: Beverly Kienzle, 'Education in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: the witness of Helinand of Froidmont' in George C. Berthold ed., *Faith Seeking Understanding: Learning and the Catholic Tradition* (Manchester: NH, 1991), 77-88, at 83, 85.

some extracts here. For he says: In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1149, which was the second year of the expedition to Jerusalem of Conrad king of the Romans and the fourth year of Pope Eugenius [III] - in which year the pope himself returned from France to Rome [and] also in which St Malachy died at Clairvaux - this vision was seen."⁷²

The vision is contextualised in the activity of the first Cistercian Pope, the life of one of Bernard of Clairvaux's favourite saints and his subsequent death at the heart of Helinand's order in northern France. The manner in which Helinand edited these visions suggests that he treated them as part of his historical project, not just as preaching material to be organised chronologically. This does not mean that every event that Helinand recorded was approached in exactly the same way, but that supernatural events were provided with some 'historical' apparatus. Nonetheless, both the VT and the vision of Fursa were recorded in a manner that made their transmission into such a context relatively easily for Helinand. The vision of Gunthelm, however, came from a more didactic background. The changes that he made to this vision will now be explored.

4.2.2. The vision of Gunthelm

The geographic framing of the visions of Tundale and Fursa seem to indicate that Helinand was placing these events in a narrative context which had parallels to universal histories with which he was undoubtedly familiar. Yet, given that these visions were extracted from other works of universal history, chronicles or annals, their study as an indication of Helinand's response to supernatural events in the context of the debate about how such accounts were used in chronicles can only reveal so much because they have already been 'pre-edited' by other chroniclers. In this section, the *Chronicon* redaction of the vision of Gunthelm will be studied to try and unpick the mechanics of Helinand's approach to material that came from a different genre and did not necessarily have the narrative apparatus that the inherited visions of Fursa and Tundale possessed. It will go beyond Helinand's 'tidying up' of the vision described in

⁷² 'Anno isto S. Malachias obiit, sicut legitur in visione, quam scripsit Marcus quidam G. abbatissae; de qua quaedam in hoc loco excerpta decrevi. Ait enim: Anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1149, qui fuit annus 2 expeditionis Hierosolymorum Conradi regis Romanorum, et annus 4 Eugenii papae; in quo anno ipse papa de partibus Galliae Romam reversus est, in quo etiam S. Malachias in Claravalle mortuus est, visa est haec visio', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1038D. Even the details of Malachy's preaching in Ireland, a feature of the earlier versions of the vision, are missing.

section 3.1.2 and look at any alterations in light of the movement of the account from a didactic *exemplum* to the *Chronicon*.

The analysis that follows is based on the assumption that Helinand would have broadly recognised the description of the VG(A) in the terms in which it was described at the end of the previous chapter; that is, a Cistercian *exemplum* recorded to pass on moral instruction within the order and as a commentary on the affairs of the order as a whole. Helinand's decision to copy the vision is interesting because it is rare, especially in chronologically-organised works. In fact, if one takes the *Chronicon* out of the equation, the only other historical work – and here the term is applied very loosely – of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in which the vision of Gunthelm appears is Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*.⁷³

It might be worth starting with a consideration of why other collectors of stories and narratives did not redact or copy the vision. This is a highly speculative endeavour but it is worth highlighting several features of the VG(A) which made it stand out, perhaps in a way that would not have appealed to later compilers. For compilers of didactic material which might have been used in promulgating the crusades, the ambiguity of the vision in regard to the enterprise may have been disconcerting.⁷⁴ In addition, although generalised and internal criticism of the Cistercians was increasingly common in the order's *exempla* towards the end of the twelfth century, the criticism of a specific abbot (particularly through a wayward novice) is relatively rare. It has been argued elsewhere, for example, that compilers like Jacques de Vitry avoided material that was overtly critical of monastic orders.⁷⁵ Helinand, in contrast, was deeply concerned about the fate and recent history of the Cistercian order and was not shy in criticising its weaknesses. Kienzle notes that Helinand had a "petulant nature" towards his own order which manifested itself in thinly-veiled attacks on his adopted order in

⁷³ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 29.6-10.

⁷⁴ See 3.2.2 above and: Giles Constable, 'Opposition to pilgrimage in the middle ages', *Studia Gratiana* 19 (1976) 125-146.

⁷⁵ It has been shown in Jacques' case that his defence of the Cistercian order, despite not being a member, stretched to support of the controversial Cistercian nuns. See: Sally Thomson, 'The Problem of the Cistercian Nuns in the Twelfth and Early-Thirteenth Centuries', in Derek Baker ed., *Medieval Women*, (Oxford, 1978), pp.227-252.

his sermons.⁷⁶ The type of anxiety that seemed to shape some of the localised late twelfth century *exempla* collections were not challenging for Helinand; in one sermon he even utilised an *exemplum* which described a vision of an English monk who sees Mary shed tears of blood over the various failings of the Cistercians.⁷⁷ Yet, it is possible that Helinand's interest in the vision of Gunthelm was more specific than the generally self-critical tone that the vision seems to encapsulate. Several topics could be identified in this regard, not least the theme which ushers in the vision: a stress on the importance of *stabilitas* for novices. In addition, Miri Rubin has shown the depth of Helinand's devotion to an "assertive" Virgin Mary through an analysis of his sermons.⁷⁸ A similar description of Mary can be found in the VG(A) and in Helinand's redaction of it.

Neither of these interests, however, is especially unique to Helinand. On the other hand, Helinand's well-attested concern with the Cistercians' excessive building projects is a rarer feature of his writing. Kienzle has highlighted several instances where Helinand complains about the specific issue of the excessive expansion of monastic buildings.⁷⁹ Helinand's sermon for All Saints' Day contains several fascinating examples of this concern, although there are more scattered throughout his writings. In this sermon he asks why excessive construction is necessary when a more simple approach would suffice; and he goes on to query the need for pictures, sculptures and "columns that support nothing".⁸⁰ Later, in the same sermon, he complains that the order had "built palaces for guest accommodation, town walls for [normal] walls,

⁷⁶ Beverly Kienzle, 'Helinand on superfluous monastic construction', in *Proceedings of the Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance (PMR) Conference*, vol.11 (1986), 135-142, at 135.

⁷⁷ 'Sermo XXI. In Nativitate B. M. Virginis I', Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermones*, cols.652B-661C. This attitude may explain the tension that existed between Helinand and the hierarchy of the Cistercian order. William D. Paden Jnr. has noted that Helinand's poetry may have even inspired a Cistercian statute prohibiting such works at the end of the twelfth century (1199) although he is quick to point out that no unorthodox statements were made in the verses in question: William D. Paden Jnr. 'De monachis rithmos facientibus: Helinant de Froidmont, Betran de Born and the Cistercian General Chapter of 1199', *Speculum* 55 (1980), 669-685 at 672.

⁷⁸ Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009), pp.154-157.

⁷⁹ Beverly Kienzle, 'Helinand on superfluous monastic construction', 135-142.

⁸⁰ 'Fiunt enim non solum pro pauperibus praesentis temporis, sed etiam longe post futuris. Sed minus simplicia, inquit, fieri poterant. Quid si tam sumptuosa necessaria erant? Neque enim si quid sumptuosum, statim et superfluum. Denique quid in eis curiosum; quae ibi aut picturae, aut sculpturae, aut nihil sustinentes columnae? Imo quid in eis non necessarium?', Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermones*, col.677A.

towers for refectories, castles for shrines, country houses for granges.”⁸¹ There is no doubt that Helinand, again, approaches this subject in the context of the Cistercian order. At one stage, about half way through his sermon, he addresses his audience directly:

“But here someone will say: Why, therefore, do you Cistercians, though you have abandoned everything and you are sworn to be sober and poor, do you build so many extravagant and unnecessary buildings”.⁸²

It is possible that Helinand recognised the echoes of these concerns in the VG(A). It was suggested in section 3.2.3 that the conversation between St. Benedict and Gunthelm about the size of the Virgin’s chapel highlighted a similar issue that was current in the Cistercian order at the time in which the VG(A) was recorded and is well documented through the general statutes of the late twelfth century. Given the oddity of the passage which deals with these issues and the decision of later redactors to ignore it, Helinand’s decision to retain it is interesting.⁸³ Helinand records the novice’s reprimand by Benedict in the vision as follows:

“You are not amazed by the small exterior of the chapel because you do not know that the interior is broad and lofty, that it is high and precious. A mortal human who only understands the method of his own work should not be surprised by the work of God.”⁸⁴

To Helinand, well versed in the language of Cistercian conservatism, this implicit criticism of the order’s new era of building may have been an attractive feature of the vision that fitted in with his wider fears about Cistercian demise and it is tempting to think that this is one of Helinand’s preoccupations that he recognised in the vision of

⁸¹ ‘aedificant palatia pro hospitibus, moenia pro muris, turres pro refectoriis, castra pro dormitoriis, templa pro capitulis, castella pro templis, villas pro grangiis’, *ibid.*, col.677B.

⁸² ‘At hic dicet quis: Cur ergo vos Cistercienses, quanquam reliquistis omnia, sobrietatem et paupertatem professi estis, tam sumptuosa et superflua construistis aedificia’, *ibid.*, col.676D.

⁸³ The part of the VG(A) that this passage is extracted from is, to my knowledge, unique in visionary literature. That Helinand retains it is certainly rare. All of the other redactors (with the exception of Vincent of Beauvais’ word-for-word copy of the *Chronicon* and the near word-for-word copy of the VG(A) in the *Liber Revelationum*) omit this conversation.

⁸⁴ ‘Ad quem sanctus Benedictus: ‘noli mirari forinsecam capellae angustiam; quia nescis, quam lata et ampla, quam alta et pretiosa sit intus. Mortalis homo non debet mirari opera Dei, qui scit solus rationem operum suorum.’, Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1061B.

Gunthelm and that his decision to redact it, where others had ignored it, stemmed from an acknowledgment of these shared concerns.

That it is possible to detect a relationship between aspects of the *Chronicon* and aspects of Helinand's sermons leads onto a question about what extent he regarded the former as a tool for the latter. This is not uncharted territory: Marinus Woesthuis, for example, has analysed an interesting story that passed from the *Chronicon* into one of Helinand's sermons.⁸⁵ The analysis of the VG(H) offered below will be discussed in comparison to Woesthuis' findings and to another account concerning Durand de Bredon's (†c.1071) return from the dead, which makes a similar migration from the *Chronicon* into Helinand's sermons. The usefulness of such comparisons may not initially be clear as the VG does not follow a similar path and does not appear in a sermon. Nonetheless the VG's transmission from a didactic *exemplum* into Helinand's *Chronicon* offers another perspective on the issue, and acts as an imperfect mirror image of the process that Woesthuis describes.

Woesthuis analysis is based on an account in the *Chronicon*, dated 1120, when Helinand recalls how John, a canon in the church of Lyon, made a secret vow to become a Cistercian monk.⁸⁶ He ignored this vow and went on pilgrimage instead. John then had a vision of Christ, St. Peter and St. James who made it clear that a pilgrimage could not compensate for a broken vow. John saw Peter holding a book that the Lord demanded him to open. When Paul read John's name from the list saw his own name among the list of the predestined, he told God to delete it as John had "made a promise and reneged on it".⁸⁷ James pleaded on John's behalf: "I beseech you Lord, the pilgrim is mine, do not delete his name".⁸⁸ Woesthuis' particular interest in the account is aroused by the fact that Helinand noted that the John's vision was useful for arguing with the heretics of his own time and he seemed to act on this recommendation when

⁸⁵ Marinus M. Woesthuis, "Nunc ad historiam revertamur", *Sacris Erudiri* 34 (1994), 313-333.

⁸⁶ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.1019C-1022C.

⁸⁷ 'promiserat et resiliit a promisso', *ibid.*, col.1020A.

⁸⁸ 'Dominus, meus est peregrinus, ne deleas, obsecro nomen ejus', *ibid.* Interestingly, this account has at its centre the same theme as the vision of Gunthelm: the danger of abandoning the Cistercian life after committing to it. Furthermore, it shares with the vision of Gunthelm a certain ambiguity about the benefits of pilgrimage and crusade in contrast to the life of a cloistered monk.

he placed the account into his own sermon.⁸⁹ Helinand's sermon version is presented in a slightly different way from the account in the *Chronicon*. Woesthuis argues that Helinand selects a single moral from his earlier version of the vision – the insufficient fulfilment of a vow – above the other lessons contained in the story (the power of the intervention of Saints and the importance of prayer, for example). The flexibility of the original narrative was discarded in favour of a focus on a single moral lesson. Woesthuis extrapolates from this study that Helinand saw *exempla* as a form of short *historia*. The main difference between the two categories is that the historical version of the *exempla* did not teach a single, specific lesson.⁹⁰ But he goes further as well, suggesting that Helinand did not regard the vision of John as part of the historical narrative. Crucially Helinand's comment on the usefulness of the vision of John is relevant to a different period than the date it is placed under. He notes that Helinand needed to denote a return to history at the end of the passage.⁹¹ Woesthuis concludes that the historical framework is a good place to store *exempla* because the insertion of stories into the historical narrative led to their authorization and the stories behaved as "literal representations of past events" and left them open to a variety of possible didactic interpretations.⁹² In short, in the *Chronicon* itself Helinand consciously distinguished between recounting and interpreting the past."⁹³

So, does Helinand envisage his redaction of the vision of Gunthelm in the same way? Is it included in the *Chronicon* for its didactic value? Is it possible that the vision's explicit moral message at once attracts Helinand and repulses other chroniclers? If so, Helinand's decision to include the vision remains uncommon. As we saw in section 3.2.1, mendicant compilers looking for preaching material rarely draw on the VG and its appearance in Marian miracles was uneven and shortlived (see section 3.2.2).⁹⁴ In addition, the VG(H) is not marked out as a digression or break from the narrative in the same way as John's vision, or other supernatural accounts. These were sometimes denoted with the word *exemplum* in the margin, chapter title or at the beginning of the account and/or with a note apologising at the end of the narrative with a promise to

⁸⁹ 'hoc exemplum apertissime facit contra haereticos nostri temporis', *ibid.*, col.1020C.

⁹⁰ Marinus M. Woesthuis, "Nunc ad historiam revertamur", 328.

⁹¹ 'nunc ad historiam revertamur', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1022C.

⁹² Marinus M. Woesthuis, "Nunc ad historiam revertamur", 333.

⁹³ *ibid.*, 315.

⁹⁴ See sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 above.

return to 'history'.⁹⁵ Helinand's version of the VT, for example, is regarded as digression, for example. It is difficult to be precise about these comments as the PL edition may have obscured some of the references in the manuscripts which have subsequently been lost, but it seems likely that the VG(A) was not framed in the same way as the vision of John.

Questions relating to Woesthuis' analysis of the stylistic variations between the two versions of the vision of John should also be raised. How does Helinand react to the explicitly didactic elements in the VG(A)? Does he somehow dilute the over-riding moral message running through the text that he inherited? It is debatable whether such a message is clearly developed in the VG(A) and at this point the differences between the type of *exempla* Helinand deploys in his sermons and the longer, more localised, late twelfth century Cistercian *exempla* becomes clear.⁹⁶ Nonetheless, it is worth making some observations: Helinand does not add his own material to make his version of the vision of Gunthelm more multi-faceted. Indeed, the issue of monastic obedience and stability that comes closest to governing the VG(A) is sometimes clarified by the simplification of the syntax and the Latin:⁹⁷

⁹⁵ In the earlier books of the *Chronicon* numerous *exempla* are denoted. All the references below are from Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535. For examples of *exempla* denoted in title or prose: 'Exemplum quod ars theurgica impeditur per invidiam', 2.9, p.26, col.II; 'Exemplum de coitu demonis cum nomine in speciem mulieris conuersi' [in the margin: 'Gaufridus'], 4.2, p.49, col.II; 'Auctor in quod anima vivit post mortem ... huc usque Gregorius ... Exempla vero que de hac repoint quoniam videlicet anime defunctorum ...', 8.8, p.188, col.I. For examples of *exempla* denoted in marginalia (note how these are clumped together): 'Exemplum de penis Theoderici regis', 8.58, p.191, col.II; 'Exemplum de pena Tiburcii', 'Exemplum de milite curiali', 8.58, p.192, col.I; 'Exemplum de Paschasio diacono' 8.60, p.192, col.II. There are several ways in which Helinand denotes a return to 'history', in the *Chronicon* which have been discussed in Marinus M. Woesthuis, "Nunc ad historiam revertamur", *Sacris Erudiri* 34 (1994), 313-333. He lists the following examples from various books in the *Chronicon*: 'nunc ad seuiem hystorie redeamus'; 'nunc ad ordinem hystorie libri noni principium revertartur'; 'nunc ad historiae consequentiam redeamus'; 'nunc ad historiae seuiem redeamus'.

⁹⁶ These aspects of the vision as it appears in VG(A) are discussed in section 3.3.1.

⁹⁷ The following resumé of the VG(A) highlights these themes: Gunthelm is attacked because he is considering leaving the monastery, he is forced to retake his vows in front of the Virgin Mary, Matthew urges the monks of his monastery to obey the rule more closely, the knight who entered the monastery at the end of his life was not fully contrite when he took his vows and the visionary is ordered to retell the vision in his confession to the abbot.

<p>“Cum autem uenit ad exitum, se fieri petiit monachum, non uere gratia paenitentiae compunctus sed inanis gloriae amore et humanae laudis fauore deceptus. Non enim monachi habitum accipit [sic.], ut uitam monachi si conuallisset [sic.] duceret, sed ut finem suum saltem et si non vitam religionis habitus in oculis hominum sed non Dei laudabilem [sic.] demonstraret.”</p>	<p>“Circa finem vitae uoluit fieri monachus, non uere poenitendo, sed ut ignominiam suam parumper tegeret. Nam si viveret, cogitabat se rediturum ad priorem vitam: et ideo trahit habitum religionis sicut quam parvam aestimabat ”</p>	<p>“About the time of his death he wished to become a monk, not by repenting truly but in order to hurriedly hide his dishonour. Now if he lived he thought he would return to his previous life; and therefore he took the habit of religion, he judged, for as short [a time] as possible”</p>
<p>VG(A), 110.</p>	<p>Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i>, col.1063A.</p>	

As will be discussed in section 4.3.2, the relationship between monasticism and the otherworld is one of importance to Helinand, so it is perhaps unsurprising that this story is retained. In some respects comparing Helinand’s redaction of the vision of Gunthelm to the redaction of the VEME into W is more helpful. Like Helinand’s redaction this is a comparatively long summary and there are a number of areas in which they seem to approach the visions in a similar way. For example, both redactors choose to summarise the dialogues between the visionary and both their guides and the inhabitants of the otherworld they encounter, features that can also be observed in Helinand’s redaction of the VT. Take for example, Matthew’s guidance to the visionary:

<p>“et caue elationem, notabilitatem, et uehementiam [sic.], atque indiscretionem. Voluntatem propriam tanquam salutis tuae hostem, et animae tuae proditricem in omnibus caue, et ambula inter fratres tuos sine querela et inquietudine. Fuge suspicionem, et odi singularitatem. Ante omnia humilitatem ama, confessionem frequenta, et tuorum uoluntati magistrorum optempera. Culpa namque grauis est, et pene irremissibilis, nolle optemperare magistris. Deum time, et ab isto ordine noli unquam recedere”</p>	<p>“Te ipsum admoneo ut in proposito tuo permanes humilis et obediens, honores fugiens, et tuam propriam voluntatem nunquam facere delecteris, et semper Deum timeas.”</p>
<p>“avoid elation, standing out and impetuousness together with indiscretion. In all things beware of your own will as the enemy of your salvation, and a betrayer of your soul, and walk among your brothers without grievances and trouble. Flee suspicion and hate singularity. Before this, love humility, confess frequently and be obedient to the will of your masters. In fact a great pain, and of unremmiting punishment, is not to be obedient to masters. Fear God and never wish to withdraw from your Order.”</p>	<p>“I remind you to continue humble and obedient in your purpose avoiding earthly rewards and at no time delighting in your own individual will and you must always fear God.”</p>
<p>VG(A), 108</p>	<p>Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i>, col.1062A</p>

Matthew’s speech is essentially halved by Helinand from two hundred and forty words to one hundred and ten. Similar reductions can be noted in other speeches, even when the introductory sentences are maintained.⁹⁸ That this passage of the speech

⁹⁸ Cf. the two versions of St. Raphael’s descriptions of the man suffering on the throne. In the VG(A) it is described as “Homo iste’ inquit angelus ‘quem sic uidet cruciari, potens in seculo fuit, suae carnis amicus sed animae inimicus fuit, homo luxuriosus, gulae illecebris et libidinum coluionibus deditus. Quod enim uidetur residere in cathedra, usque ad uitae terminum signatur eius in flagiciis perseuerantia. Et quia mulierum amator fuit, per mulierum species a malignis spiritibus quasi cereorum facibus inflammatur, et sic semper iteratis incendiis sine fine cruciatur. Et quid datur sibi in poenis, nisi quod sollicitate quaesiuit in terris? Ignem quaesiuit, ignem inuenit. Qui seipsum incendebat dum uiueret flammis libidinum, nunc ex equo concrematur aeternum ardoribus tormentorum’, VG(A), 109-110. In Helinand’s redaction: ‘Hic homo, ait angelus, amicus fuit carni suae et inimicus animae suae, gulosus et luxuriosus. Cathedra significat quod potens fuit in malitia. Amavit mulieres; et ideo maligni spiritus in tali specie torquent eum’, Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1062D. There may be an eschatological dimension to this deletion; perhaps the eternal nature of the punishment here doesn’t fit with Helinand’s interpretation of

survives Helinand's editing may in itself be surprising as it seems to be centred on a series of didactic instructions. It is worth noting that Helinand seems to make a distinction between instructions given to the visionary and the interpretation of the vision offered by the author. This is most obvious at the beginning and the end of the vision. The VG(A) begins with informing the reader about the evidence of the vision and its usefulness and the author's purpose in recording his love of God.⁹⁹ At the end of the account the VG(A) moves straight from explaining how the abbot, who had not taken a vow of silence regarding the vision was able to disseminate it.¹⁰⁰ In contrast, the redaction in Helinand's *Chronicon* launches straight into the narrative:

"At this time there was, in England, a man of great bodily strength and, because of this strength that he had, he was well known."¹⁰¹

Although Helinand's version ends with the abbot spreading the vision for the edification of audiences and for those reading it, he does not include the prayer stressing the vision's truthfulness and the adjoining doxology.¹⁰² This can be contrasted to the way in which a later redaction of the vision actually elaborated this ending.¹⁰³

In order to show that these features of Helinand's writing are related to genre and not an individual stylistic preference, a third account will be introduced to the comparison. In addition to revealing something of Helinand's approach to genre, the account of Durand de Bredon's return from the dead is useful for discussing Helinand's

the otherworld but it seems more likely that it is the rhetorical and repetitive dimension that he feels able to delete.

⁹⁹ 'Omnis qui de testimonio caritatis nouit agere quod utile approbatur, magnum iam sibi fecit ad sapientiam accessum, etiam si hominum testimonio fauorali [sic.] carere se nouerit. Vnde narrationis nostrae causam scire uolentibus, Dei dilectionem esse et proximi utilitatem respondemus', VG(A), 105.

¹⁰⁰ 'Abbas autem non tacuit, quia ut taceret mandatum non accaepit [sic.], sed dignum fore censuit, ut tantae uisionis ueritas piis mentibus pia relatione innotesceret, ad utilitatem proximi et caritatem Dei et hominis domini nostri Ihsu Christi, boni magistri incipientibus, dulcis amici perseuerantibus, pii patris et saluatoris ueri peruenientibus, qui uiuit et regnat cum patre [sic.] et patre spiritu sancto, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.', *ibid.*, 112-113.

¹⁰¹ 'Eo tempore fuit in Anglia vir quidam magnarum virium corporis, et propter illas vires magni nominis', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1060C.

¹⁰² 'Abbas autem, qui praeceptum tacendi non acceperat, ad aedificationem audientium et legentium visionem revelauit', *ibid.*, col.1063D.

¹⁰³ '... ad honorem Dei et hominis domini nostri Ihsu Christi, et sue sanctissime genitricis et metuendi abbatis Benedicti, ad utilitatem proximorum uiam in te ingredientium et in ea perseuerantium, et in fine ad illam pertingentium, ipso prestante qui regnat in secula seculorum amen.', Cambridge, Sidney Sussex, MS 95. The vision appears in the fourth book of Marian miracles in a section devoted to miracles related to novices. See: VG(A), 113n'a'.

eschatology. As such, it will be discussed in more depth in section 4.3.2. For now, a briefer synopsis is offered. Like the vision of John, the story of Durand's ghost appears in Helinand's *Chronicon* and in one of his sermons.¹⁰⁴ Like the vision of Gunthelm, when it appears in the *Chronicon*, it is not marked out for a specific didactic purpose. Durand was abbot of Moissac before being promoted to the Bishop of Toulouse in 1058. A statue of Durand survives in the cloister of his old monastery. Helinand redacts this account from the life of Hugh of Cluny (1024-1109). In short, Helinand's *Chronicon* version recalls how Durand was punished in Purgatory for not sufficiently punishing the sin of idle laughter when he was an abbot at the monastery of Moissac (heavily associated with Cluniac reform), despite his otherwise faultless life. He appeared to Hugh of Cluny's chaplain begging for prayers and supplications which he subsequently received and returned to thank his supporters. The details of the story will be elaborated below, but for now it is worth noting the major differences in the accounts as they are presented in the sermon and the *Chronicon*.

Like the VG(A) of the vision of Gunthelm, Helinand introduces and concludes his sermon *exemplum* with an explanation of the story's usefulness. The introduction to Durand's story in the sermon is both didactic and related to Helinand's own interpretation of the account which he introduces in the form of rhetorical questions:

"Therefore, I have been reluctantly persuaded to believe that the monk or the priest accustomed to these trifles do not sin mortally. For if all men will render an account of words of this sort at the Day of Judgement, with how much strictness do we think this account is demanded of those who have professed perfection by order or habit? However, should they not fear that story concerning a certain Cluniac monk, who because of his own religious testimony, was not only abbot but was promoted to the cathedral see of Toulouse?"¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.942C-943A; Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermones*, cols.618D-619D.

¹⁰⁵ 'Vix igitur adducor, ut credam monachum vel presbyterum nugis assuetum non peccare mortaliter. Nam si omnes homines de huiusmodi verbis in die iudicii rationem reddituri sunt, cum quanta putamus districtione haec ratio exigetur ab illis, qui perfectionem ordine vel habitu professi sunt? Quem autem non terreat exemplum de quodam monacho Cluniacensi, qui pro suae religionis testimonio non solum abbas factus est, sed etiam raptus ad cathedram sedis Tolosanae?' Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermones*, col.618C-D.

In contrast, in the *Chronicon*, the same story is introduced with the name of the monk and the nature of his crimes, without such a lengthy consideration of the story's precise moral value but with other details that were missing from the sermon:

“A certain brother named Durand of Bredon, previously a layman after a certain period of time appeared as the abbot of Moissac and eventually the bishop of Toulouse”.¹⁰⁶

The inclusion of the geographic information about the monastery seems to fit with the framing of the visions described in section 4.2.1 but it also helps with the chronology. In the *Chronicon* this story features in the entry for 1048, the year in which Durand became abbot at Moissac. Both the references to the monastery and Durand's name, '*de Bredon*', highlight the story's French context, something not needed in the sermon version.

Some of these features are worth discussing in the context of the vision of Gunthelm. Helinand is responsible for dating the vision in 1161, something that the VG(A) gives no guidance about. This is striking in its comparison to the *Chronicon* version of the vision of John, where Helinand notes that the story happened “in the early years of the Cistercian order.”¹⁰⁷ More complex, however, is the issue of the monastery where the vision of Gunthelm takes place. The only information Helinand inherits from the VG(A) is that the vision takes place in a monastery of the Cistercian order in England.¹⁰⁸ Faced with this, Helinand seems to avoid referring to the specific monastery, as is appears in the VG(A), replacing it with more generalised references to the Cistercian order as a whole. Indeed, the incidents that led to the initial occurrence of the vision were altered in such a way. In the VG(A) the desire of the visionary to go to Jerusalem is countered by the abbot after the novice has taken his monastic vows.¹⁰⁹ It is the preaching of the abbot at the particular monastery that convinces him to

¹⁰⁶ 'Quidam frater, nomine Durannus de Brendon [sic.], prius idiota apparens postmodum Moysiensis abbas, demum episcopus Tolosanus', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.942C.

¹⁰⁷ 'cum prima nostri ordinis Cisterciensis jacerentur fundamenta', *ibid.*, col.1019C.

¹⁰⁸ 'Rei gestae ordinem de homine quodam Anglo habemus, qui de carnis suae virtute, famae tytulum sibi erexit in Anglia', VG(A), 105.

¹⁰⁹ 'Circumuentus itaque salubriter huiusmodi sermonibus ab abbate, ut fructose cum caeteris laborem subilet paenitentiae conuersus ad Dominum, remanere in monasterio spiritui [sic.] consilii acquieuit', *ibid.*, 106.

stay.¹¹⁰ In Helinand's version the focus is subtly shifted. Here the visionary first experiences his desire to go to Jerusalem before entering the Cistercian order.¹¹¹ It is his discussion with the abbot of the Cistercian order that initially convinces him to stay and seek the heavenly Jerusalem in a cloistered community.¹¹² This is not an isolated occurrence: Helinand makes a similar editorial decision further into the account, after Gunthelm sees the monkey-shaped demon in his cell. In the VG(A), the novice has no knowledge of these types of *portenta* appearing in the monastery.¹¹³ In Helinand's account the emphasis changes again, it is the order (as a whole) that does not encourage (*nutriuntur*) such tales of beasts.¹¹⁴ He also removes another reference to the monastery at the start of the conversation between Gunthelm and Matthew. The VG(A) version records Matthew urging the novice to tell their abbot: "that he should try earnestly to ensure that the order's discipline is kept more diligently and carefully in his monastery."¹¹⁵ Instead, Matthew's beseeching reads as follows in the *Chronicon* redaction: "that he corrects himself, and considers this anxiously ... that he might protect his order."¹¹⁶ Helinand gently removes the vision from its ties to one specific monastery, but keeps the more generic Cistercian themes alive, even deliberately enhancing them.

In redacting these visions, then, it seems that Helinand of Froidmont is using techniques that we observed in the first chapter. Like Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, Ralph of Coggeshall and the redactor of W, the cuts initially come from the same places: explicitly didactic phrases, conversations and rhetoric. Helinand is obeying rules which would have been more or less recognisable to other authors of medieval chronicles. By tightening his focus on French and then Cistercian themes he is also putting the events of the later books into something approaching a narrative. The *Chronicon* is neither a collection of historical facts nor a random collection of *exempla* organised chronologically. Starting with biblical exegesis and gradually moving

¹¹⁰ 'Cisterciensis regulae monasterium', *ibid.*, 106.

¹¹¹ 'Hic post multa peccata reprehensus a sua concientia proposuit ire Jerosolymam', *Chronicon*, col.1060D.

¹¹² 'abbatem quemdam Cisterciensis ordinis', *ibid.*, col.1060C.

¹¹³ 'Sciens in monasterio non haberi huiusmodi portenta, cognouit esse demonem sibi sub talis forma bestiae apparentem', VG(A), 106.

¹¹⁴ 'quia in illo ordine tales bestiae non nutriuntur', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1060D.

¹¹⁵ 'ut se corrigere studeat, et ordinis disciplinam diligentius atque sollicitius in monasterio suo custodiri satagat', VG(A), 108.

¹¹⁶ 'custodiendo ordinem suum', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1062A.

towards a history of the Cistercian order in France, Helinand's production is neither an annalistic chronicle nor a simple tool for sermons. It is a universal history conforming to the broad trend to "start with creation and become more local as [it] approach[ed] the time of [its] composition."¹¹⁷ The type of timeless exegesis that was necessitated by biblical material in the earlier books was not present in the later sections where the visions were redacted. The same can be said of the more general philosophical enquires.¹¹⁸ In this way then, Helinand can be seen as editing his texts with a rough and developing set of rules in mind. On several occasions these rules are bent so he can include longer works of interest – Helinand notes at the end of the vision of Tundale, for example, that he will be returning to the "sequence" of history.¹¹⁹ This does not necessarily mean that these digressions are regarded as separate from the main narrative or in some way reserved for another task (in this particular case it may be due to the length of the section). In fact some of the visions of the otherworld that Helinand redacts into his *Chronicon* have a far more ambiguous relationship with the sequence of history and are still not regarded as digressions. It is to one of these visions that the next section will turn its attention.

4.3. Visions, the *Chronicon* and monasticism

4.3.1. The visions of Drichtelm

After Helinand recorded the foundation of the Cistercian order in 1098 there is only a single vision of the otherworld – that associated with the cult of William of Norwich – that is not related to the Cistercian order in the *Chronicon*.¹²⁰ Indeed, the vast majority of the supernatural stories that feature in the *Chronicon* are relevant to northern France or the Cistercian order, or both. As demonstrated above, Helinand's redaction of the vision of Tundale reveals that even those stories which have a Cistercian connection are edited in a way that reveals Helinand's geographic focus. But it is this Cistercian connection that needs to be probed deeper to better understand the nature of the later

¹¹⁷ Deborah Deliyannis, 'Introduction' in Deborah Deliyannis ed., *Modern scholarship in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2003) pp.1-17 at p.11.

¹¹⁸ Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535: 'Quomodo pugnandum est cum demonibus', 2.65, p.25; 'Quod per artem theurgicam anima non purgatur', 2.70, p.26; 'Quare demones a nobis non videretur', 2.86, p.29.

¹¹⁹ 'Nunc ad historiae seriem redeamus', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1055D.

¹²⁰ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.1036A-1037C.

books of Helinand's *Chronicon* and in exploring the Cistercian content of supernatural stories a number of features that complicate the pattern described in part 4.2 become apparent.

In the *Chronicon*, under the first years of the 1160s, Helinand records two Cistercian visions side by side. When reading the first of the two visions, one is instantly struck by a number of parallels between the account and the narrative that follows it. The visions both take place in Britain, both have a Cistercian connection and both visionaries travel through areas where souls rest before their eventual reward in Heaven.¹²¹ Both visionaries are even specifically informed by their guide that one of the areas they travel to is not Hell at all.¹²² Despite these similarities, a close reader of the first vision, that of the monk of Melrose, will be aware that the vision is essentially a rewrite of the vision of Drichthelm. It is this vision that will provide the starting point for this section.

The vision of Drichtelm, like that of Fursa, is another story popularised through Bede's *HE*.¹²³ The essential similarity between the vision of the monk of Melrose and the vision of Drichtelm has already been noted by Carol Zaleski.¹²⁴ Taken in isolation from the rest of *Chronicon*, this similarity could be put down to a number of independent factors which do not depend on Helinand self-consciously altering the narrative; a mangled oral tradition or a half-remembered anecdote. Stylistically the account seems to be Helinand's own. He does not appear to be directly copying the story from elsewhere. However, when you contextualise the vision of the monk of Melrose with the wider *Chronicon* a complicating factor emerges: Helinand also included an earlier version of the vision, far closer to the text as it appeared in Bede's *HE*, in the section devoted to the seventh-century.

¹²¹ Compare Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1060B to *ibid.*, 1061D.

¹²² Compare *ibid.*, col.1059B to *ibid.*, 1062C.

¹²³ *HE*, 4.12, pp.488-498.

¹²⁴ Carol Zaleski, *Otherworld Journeys: Accounts of Near-Death Experience in Medieval and Early-Modern Times* (Oxford, 1987), p.78.

The account as it is told in the Bede's *HE* and the seventh-century version in the *Chronicon* are essentially the same.¹²⁵ They tell how a pious family man with his family in the village of Cunningham in Northumbria, died in the night. He rose up at dawn terrifying those around him except his wife who stayed by his bedside to hear how he was going to change his ways. After several hours of prayer Drichtelm distributed his goods between his wife, his sons and the poor. He then joined the monastery at Melrose in the Borders, notable because of its location in a bend in the river Tweed. Bede then recalls the details of the otherworldly vision that had led Drichtelm to radically alter the course of his life. After his death, Drichtelm was taken by a man of shining countenance to a valley of infinite length. One side of this valley was covered in fire and the other in icy snow storms and souls were tossed between them from side to side. He was instructed by his guide that this place was not actually hell. He was then led further into the darkness where he saw globes of fire emitted from the mouth of hell and encountered evil spirits who were torturing a variety of souls. The spirits threatened to seize him but his guide rescued him and took him to a broad and pleasant meadow where innumerable companies were seated. He was instructed that this was not Heaven. Then Drichtelm's guide explained and summarised what the visionary had seen. The first valley was where those who delayed to confess and make restitution for the sins they had committed until they were on the point of death; the people in white robes were good, but not in such a state as to be welcome into Heaven itself and the globes of fire were being omitted from the mouth of Hell.¹²⁶ After Drichtelm had been reluctantly returned to his body he would only relate his vision to those who were living a pious life. These included King Aldfrith and a monk who became a hermit in Ireland, who was still alive at the time Bede was writing. Bede also reveals some details of Drichtelm's life in the monastery, reporting that he would regularly enter the river to chastise his body, even in winter when he had to break through the ice.

All of the key narrative features of these accounts are also repeated in the vision dated 1160 in the *Chronicon* although the vocabulary used to describe them is considerably

¹²⁵ The summary of the following is taken from *HE*, 4.12, pp.488-498 and Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.791C-793C.

¹²⁶ For a discussion of the significance of this part of the vision in terms of the dating of the doctrine of Purgatory see references, above, section 2.1.3.

different. All of the descriptions of the otherworld remain (right down to the globes of fire) and even short asides, like the visionary's chastising of his body in cold water, appear in all three accounts. So what is going on? It is possible that the version of the vision of Drichtelm that Helinand redacts has become detached from Bede's *HE* and circulated independently. Given the popularity of the vision and the availability of its source text it is not inconceivable that Helinand is using a 'corrupt' version of the narrative, which is dated half a millenium later.¹²⁷ This version of the narrative could have been transmitted orally as well. Helen Birkett has noted that Melrose was a location associated with visionary activity.¹²⁸ If the vision was circulating independently of Bede, this scenario would still have required Helinand to have forgotten that he had redacted the first vision from Bede earlier in the chronicle. This seems unlikely because it is clear from Helinand's writing and citations that he had an exceptional knowledge of Bede's work, both the *HE* and his more complicated volume *On the Reckoning of Time* and he intersperses his *Chronicon* with material from both.¹²⁹ Indeed, in his marginalia, Helinand refers to chapter 66 of *On the Reckoning of Time* as the *Chronica* perhaps providing a hint of how he conceptualised his own work.¹³⁰ He continues to use *On the Reckoning of Time* in his later books.¹³¹ In the first sixteen books, Bede is mentioned as a source twelve times in the margin (see table VI) and in books forty four to forty-nine he is mentioned in the body of the text twenty-six times (as late

¹²⁷ The vision of Drichtelm does appear in several manuscripts without the rest of the *Ecclesiastical History*. For example, it appears in many thirteenth century English *exempla* collections: London, British Library, MS Additional 11,284 [*Speculum Laicorum*] (f.44v); MS Additional 15,833 (f.171v); MS Additional 16,589 (f.87bv, col.2); MS Additional 18,364 (f.16r); MS Arundel 506 (f.13r); MS Royal 12.E.i (f.159v); MS Cotton Vespasian D.ii (f.59r). It also appears in its fuller form in Otloh of Emmermam's *Liber Visionum* and in more idiosyncratic miscellaneous collections like Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 34 (f.99r-100r). Most of these versions are far more closely related to the actual Bede text, and refer to him, even when they are summarised. This is true of, for example, the Digby manuscript.

¹²⁸ Helen Birkett refers to the vision of a lay brother named Walter who had a vision of the otherworld after he had become interested in Judaism: *Vita S. Waldevi* in *AaSS*, 1st August (35), pp.271-273. Helen Birkett discussed this issue in an unpublished paper given to the Medieval Seminar Series at the University of Exeter, 7/12/2011. See also: Dom Hugh Farmer, 'A Letter of St Waldef of Melrose Concerning a Recent Vision', *Studia Anselmiana* 43 (1958), 91-101.

¹²⁹ Bedae, 'Liber de temporibus maior sive de temporum ratione', in Charles W. Jones, ed. *Opera Temporum* (Menasha, 1943), pp.175-291; Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, trans. Faith Wallis (Liverpool, 1999; 2nd edition, 2004). All extracts are taken from the latter [henceforth Bede, *ROT*]. See table VI.

¹³⁰ For example: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535, p.63.

¹³¹ 'Beda. Hic temporibus multi gentis Anglorum, nobiles et ignobiles, viri et feminae, duces et private, divini amores instivitu de Britannia Roma venire consueverant. Inter quos et reverendissimus abbas meus Ceolfridus, cum esset presbyter annos 46 abbas vero anno 35 ubi Ligonas [Langres] pervenit, ibi defunctus est', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.812A-B. cf. with *ROT*, ch.66 (p.236).

as 1123).¹³² Unfortunately the PL edition makes it impossible to detect the exact way in which marginal entries were deployed, so there are probably many others. Helinand's redaction of the vision of Fursa, for example, some of which seems to be copied directly from the *HE*, is not included in these entries.¹³³ Helinand certainly uses the last chapter of the *HE* to calculate the number of years that Bede had been a priest and the number of works he had written.¹³⁴ What this demonstrates is that Helinand was both intimately familiar with the work of Bede and was able to access it with relative ease; he could include material from both of his largest books and from his commentaries *On Genesis* and *On the Tabernacle*.¹³⁵

If it is not a matter of forgetfulness, perhaps we should consider if there was anything exceptional or surprising about the use of visions in this way within chronicles. Would a medieval reader have found this way of treating visions normal? Some of the modern scholarship briefly outlined at the beginning of this chapter would seem to support this possibility. If Edmé Smits' analysis is correct, and history was only a "framework" for the *Chronicon*, and the central purpose of Helinand's work was actually the provision of preaching material then perhaps this account is not as out of place as it seems.¹³⁶ Certainly if the vision's presence in the chronicle was 'ahistorical' or a knowingly 'fictional' interlude then perhaps medieval readers would not have been surprised to find a re-heated version of the vision of Drichtelm later in the same text, particularly one located next to another vision which repeats some of the same themes.

A number of factors caution against such a reading of Helinand's second vision of Drichtelm. At least one medieval reader (in fact, the *only* medieval reader we can be certain of) seems to find the inclusion of the second vision incongruous. Vincent of Beauvais does not copy the second vision into his *Speculum Historiale*.¹³⁷ This is despite

¹³² Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1024A.

¹³³ See section 4.2.1 above.

¹³⁴ cf. cols.819A-D with *HE*, 5.24, pp.566-569. Helinand also includes information about Bede's death from the letter of Cuthbert: cols.891A-820B.

¹³⁵ See table VI.

¹³⁶ Edmé Smits, 'Helinand of Froidmont and the A-text of Seneca's tragedies', *Mnemosyne* 36 (1983), 336.

¹³⁷ If copied, the vision would have appeared in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 30.5-6. Given the centrality of this point, several manuscripts of the *Speculum Historiale* were consulted. Although four medieval manuscripts in public collections in the UK have been previously identified as containing the relevant book of the text (see: M.-C. Duchenne, Gregory G. Guzman and J. B. Voorbij, 'Une liste des

the fact that Vincent copies the overwhelming majority of Helinand's *Chronicon* in to his encyclopedia word-for-word. There are several grounds for being surprised by Vincent's omission. First, Vincent is explicitly concerned with the didactic purpose of history, more so than Helinand, and was less likely to be concerned with the chronological deficiencies in the *Chronicon*.¹³⁸ In fact, Vincent lists 'preaching' as the main task for which the *Speculum* would be of use.¹³⁹ Second, Vincent explicitly refers to himself as a compiler who does not make many judgments on the material he uses, simply copying as much as possible and avoiding his own contributions.¹⁴⁰ It is notable that some of the apologies that Helinand includes for his digressions are omitted by Vincent.¹⁴¹ As a result he is wide-ranging in his selection of authorities.¹⁴² These decisions go some way to explaining the length of the volumes; the *Speculum Historiale* runs to 1,230,000 words alone.¹⁴³ Third, and most tellingly, the material either side of the absent vision has been directly copied or enhanced by Vincent. One would expect that the second version of the vision would appear in the twenty-ninth book of the *Speculum Historiale*. The vision of Gunthelm that follows the second version in the

manuscripts du *Speculum Historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais', *Scriptorium* 41 (1987), 286-294) one of which, London, British Library MS Loan 36/6652, was sold at an auction of *Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Sale no.7233) at Christie's London King Street on 7th June 2006 in lot no. 21 (for £38,400) to a private collector. The manuscript was dated from the second half of the fourteenth century. As a result there are now only three manuscripts of the *Speculum* in British libraries which contain the thirtieth book of the text. The manuscripts in question are: Durham, Cathedral Library MS B. I. 32 Oxford, Merton College Library, MS M.2.10; Oxford, Magdalen College Library, MS 180. In the course of this research the latter manuscript was consulted in addition to a digital edition of Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 797. The vision is missing from both.

¹³⁸ For comment on Vincent of Beauvais and his 'didactic, objective and comprehensive' approach to history see: T. R. Eckenrode, 'Vincent of Beauvais: A Study in the Construction of a Didactic View of History', *Historian*, 46 (1984) 339-360, at 347. Paulmier-Foucart writes: 'Helinand note des problèmes et donne une réponse critique ... Vincent de Beauvais est presque anti-critique, il a la volonté d'éliminer les interrogations et de restituer une vision liste de l'histoire', M. P. Paulmier-Foucart, M., 'Écrire l'histoire au XIII^e siècle. Vincent de Beauvais et Hélinand de Froidmont' *Annales de l'Est* 33 (1981), 49-70, at 69.

¹³⁹ Edmé Smits, 'Vincent of Beauvais: a note on the background of the *Speculum*' in W. J. Aerts, E. R. Smits et al. ed. *Vincent of Beauvais and Alexander the Great* (Groningen, 1986), pp.1-9 at p.1.

¹⁴⁰ 'nam ex meo pauca et quasi nulla addidi. Ipsorum igitur est auctoritate, nostrum autem sola partium ordinatione', Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 1.4.

¹⁴¹ At the end of Peter Damian's miracle stories, for example, Helinand writes: 'Huc usque de Petro Damiano. Nunc ad historiae consequentiam redeamus', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.975B. In contrast, Vincent writes: 'Huc usque de Patro Damiano et dictis eius', Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 26.64.

¹⁴² 'Verum quoniam omnes hii de singulis transeundo brevissime tangunt, hac de causa etiam ad libros philosophorum diverti, qui de hiis omnibus latius ac diffusius agunt, indeque pauca notabilia breviter excerpsi que predictorum catholicorum doctorum dictis ut potui competenter adieci', Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 1.7.

¹⁴³ B. L. Ullman, 'A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais', *Speculum*, 7 (1933), 312-326 at 326.

Chronicon makes up four of Vincent's chapters.¹⁴⁴ Vincent continues his direct copying of Helinand through to chapter XII, where he uses the *Historia Francorum*. Directly before the 'absent' vision, Vincent actually enhances Helinand's narrative. In the *Chronicon*, Helinand simply notes that "of this time there were miracles of Mary of Rocamadour."¹⁴⁵ Vincent includes a number of miracles that he has extracted from elsewhere ("ex Mariali").¹⁴⁶ Before this extension, Vincent copies Helinand's extract concerning Pope Adrian and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Theobald. Even the short one-sentence annalistic entries in Helinand's *Chronicon* that precede the reference to Rocamadour become part of Vincent's third chapter. He records that in 1156 a sign of the cross appeared in the moon and that in September of 1159 three suns were seen in the East.¹⁴⁷ In short, Helinand's second version of the vision of Drichtelm is conspicuous by its absence.

In addition, by looking at the changes that Helinand makes to the second vision himself, it seems that he is employing a variety of strategies to distance the vision from its origin. The Latin vocabulary that is deployed is, for the most part, different and although it follows the events of the vision in the same order, it is shorter and contains little of Bede's actual language or grammar. Compare these accounts of the same section of the vision:

<p>"Narrat autem haec: 'Quidam lucidus aspectu, et clarus veste me ducebat. Incedebamus taciti contra solis ortum solstitialem: devenimus autem ad vallem latissimam, longissimam, profundissimam, quae erat a laeva nostra, et habebat unum latus flammis ferventibus nimium terribile, aliud autem ferventi grandine et frigore nivium omnia perflante nimis horrendum; utrumque plenum animabus quae vicissim</p>	<p>This was the account he gave: 'He that led me had a countenance full of light, and shining raiment, we went in silence, as it seemed to me, towards the rising of the summer sun. And as we walked we came to an very broad, long and deep valley; it lay on our left, and one side of it was exceeding terrible with raging flames, the other no less intolerable for violent hail and cold snows drifting and sweeping</p>
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¹⁴⁴ Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 30.6-10.

¹⁴⁵ 'Hujus temporis sunt miracula beatae Mariae de Rupe Amatoris', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.791C.

¹⁴⁶ R. Maloy, 'The *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais and the Marian Works attributed to Saint Ildephonsus of Toledo', *Ephemerides Mariologicae* 22 (1972), 5-15.

¹⁴⁷ 'Anno domini 1156, signum crucis apparuit in Luna ... [anno chronicis 1158] ... Anno sequenti nonis septembris, tres soles visi sunt in parte occidentali, sed duobus paulatim deficientibus, sol diei qui medius erat remansit usque ad occasum', Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, 30.3.

hinc inde jactabantur cum impetu.’’	through all the place. Both sides were full of the souls of men which seemed to be tossed from one side to the other’’
Vision of Drichtelm in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , col.792A	

“Hic narrabat: Quidam pulcher angelus in veste nitidissima duxit me in vallem profundissimam, quae ex una parte plena erat igne magno, ex altera parte nive, grandine et glacie. Ibi plures animae per vices alternas transibant ad aquis nivium ad calorem maximum et e converso.”	“He said this: ‘A certain beautiful angel wearing the brightest clothes led me to the deepest valley that was in one part full of the largest flame and in the other snow, hail and ice. There, in that place, many souls crossed through the alternate sufferings from the river of snow to the intense heat and back again.’”
Vision of the monk of Melrose in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , col.1059B.	

In addition to the changes in vocabulary, Helinand does not make any explicit reference to Bede in the vision dated 1160. He had done so when he redacted the vision of Drichtelm under the year 671.¹⁴⁸ In fact, in the account dated 1160, all of the information about individual characters is deleted. Drichtelm’s name is missing.¹⁴⁹ The various names of the people that were fortunate enough to hear the vision first hand are also missing. There is no place in the second version of the vision for the priest Aethelwold, who went on to administer the Episcopal see at Lindisfarne, or King Aldfrith (the latter seems particularly significant as naming the king would jar with Helinand’s ‘new’ dating of the vision).¹⁵⁰ Similarly there is no place for the monk and priest Hemgils (who went on to live the life of a hermit in Ireland eating only bread and

¹⁴⁸ ‘de quo Beda sermonem facit’, *Chronicon*, col.791D.

¹⁴⁹ In the first version of the vision, his name is revealed towards the end of the account: ‘Dicebatur autem frater, qui haec viderat, Dricelinus’, *ibid.*, col.793B.

¹⁵⁰ In the first version of the vision this section reads as follows: ‘Rex etiam Adnilfridus vir undecunque doctissimus illum studiose audiebat ... et presbyter Hedivaldus, qui nunc episcopus est Lindifarnensis’, *ibid.*, col.793B.

drinking only water).¹⁵¹ Similarly, the fact that Drichtelm's family came from Northumbria is deleted and they are no longer based in the village of Cunningham itself.¹⁵² Helinand has avoided any details which could be used to date the vision or to directly compare it with the vision of Drichtelm earlier in his *Chronicon*. So it would seem that Helinand has botched an attempt to disguise his own version of the vision of Drichtelm under a later date. That this type of literary experiment was not necessarily accepted practice in the thirteenth century is evidenced by Helinand's attempt to hide the origins of the vision in the first place and Vincent of Beauvais' later refusal to copy it into the *Speculum Historiale*.

Given this, there is a problem with interpreting the reasons for Helinand's redaction of two versions of a single vision. Why does he hide names and topographical details but retain enough narrative detail to make (close) readers aware of the parallels? There is a clue in the one geographical detail that survives Helinand's editorial slicing. In both versions of the vision we are informed that the man entered into a monastic house in Melrose (in both: *Malros*). In the first version the reader is informed at the beginning of the vision that,

"not long after this he [Drichtelm] entered the monastery at Melrose [*Malros*], which is nearly surrounded by the river Tweed [*Tuido*], he was given the tonsure and went into a separate part [of the monastery] which the abbot had provided, and there he continued to his death in the good works."¹⁵³

In the second version of the vision the details about the monastery that the visionary devoted the rest of his life to are revealed at the end of the vision. Here there is a telling, extra detail: "After this vision, this man was a convert in a house of the Cistercian order that was called Melrose that was near to some flowing water."¹⁵⁴ In Bede's time there was no Cistercian order, let alone a Cistercian foundation at Melrose,

¹⁵¹ 'In vicinia cellae illius habitabat quidam monachus, et presbyter sanctus, nomine Englis, qui nunc usque in Hiberniae insula solitarius est', *ibid.*, col.793B.

¹⁵² 'Erat paterfamilias in regione Nordannim, quae vocatur Incimmemmaum', *ibid.*, col.791D.

¹⁵³ 'Non multo post ad monasterium Malros pervenit, quod Tuido flumine circumgingitur, accepta tonsura secretam mansionem ab abbate accepit et ibi usque ad mortem in mirabili conversatione permansit', *ibid.*, cols.791D-792A.

¹⁵⁴ 'Hic homo post hanc visionem conversus est in dom Cisterciensis ordinis, quae dicitur Malros, juxta quam erat quaedam aqua decurrens', *ibid.*, col.1060B.

so this looks likely to be Helinand's own addition. That two references to different monasteries in Melrose are possible is something of a historical quirk. The original Benedictine monastery in Melrose was destroyed in 839 by Kenneth the King of the Scots (having been founded sometime in the late seventh century). The monastery fell out of use until it became the base for a group of Cistercian monks from Rievaulx who had been invited to Scotland by the king, David I, in 1136. A few years later they moved a couple of miles upstream and expanded the foundation, dedicating a new church in 1146. It is the first of these foundations that is presumably referred to by Bede and copied in Helinand's first redaction. It is the second Cistercian foundation that is referred to in the second version. Perhaps, then, Helinand uses the vision to bolster support for the foundation.

Helinand is not the only thirteenth-century redactor of visions of the otherworld who altered inherited texts to make a vision more Cistercian in tone. A manuscript in Madrid shows that the VEME underwent a similar change with the visionary changing from a Benedictine to a Cistercian.¹⁵⁵ That the history of the Cistercian order has something to do with Helinand's second redaction is given further support by looking at the position of the account in the *Chronicon*. If we assume that Helinand is responsible for the editing of the vision we must also assume that he is responsible for its new dating. It is significant then, that the vision appears next to another description of the otherworld: the vision of Gunthelm. The interaction between these two narratives seems to go beyond their simple categorisation as visions of the otherworld. As was noted when this analysis started, both visions took place in Britain and both visionaries are linked to the Cistercian order and Gunthelm reconsiders his desire to leave his monastery as a result of the vision, while the unnamed Briton is prompted to join a monastery. Much of the precise topography of the otherworld seems to be replicated in both accounts. In both visions the visionary thinks that he has seen Hell. His guide tells him otherwise:

¹⁵⁵ Madrid, Bibl. Nat. 9783, ff.108^r-109^v. See: Andreas Bihrer, 'Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionliteratur. Eine spätmittelalterliche Redaktion der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham' in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.91-112 at 106.

"et putavit quod ibi esset infernus. Sed angelus dixit: 'Non est.'"	Quod ibi esset infernus respondit angelus cogitationi meae: 'non est.'
Vision of Gunthelm in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , col.1062C.	Vision of the monk of Melrose in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , col.1059B.

This description is clearly featured in Helinand's own version of the vision of Drichtelm earlier in the *Chronicon* (which is closely linked to Bede's account) but when it is repeated it has been altered to make it more similar to the vision of Gunthelm.

"Ductor autem meus cogitationi meae respondens: Non inquit ut putas hic est infernus."	"Respondit cogitationi meae ductor qui me praecedebat: Non hoc, inquiens, suspiceris; non enim hic infernus est ille quem putas."
Vision of Drichtelm in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , col.792A-B.	Vision of Drichtelm in Bede, <i>HE</i> , 4.12, pp.490-491.

Helinand's editing of the vision of Gunthelm plays an equal role in bringing the two 'new' visions together. The same account is recorded in the VG(A) as follows: "Cui haec existimanti angelus inquit: "non est infernus quod cernis"¹⁵⁶

In fact, Helinand seems to alter the vocabulary in the vision of the monk of Melrose to enhance the ties with the vision of Gunthelm. One example of this linguistic dovetailing can be seen in the description of the souls, clothed in white, waiting in the ante-chamber of Heaven. In the following extracts note how Helinand introduces the genitive form of the adjective *candidata* in his second version of the vision and how it seems paired (along with the surrounding language) to the vision of Gunthelm that proceeds it where the visionary is describing souls in Mary's chapel:

"in hoc campo ...	"in quo agmina albatorum plurima et	"ibi erant magni greges candidatorum ¹⁵⁷	"ibi erat quidam
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¹⁵⁶ VG(A), 109.

albatorum conuenticula sedesque plurimae agminum laetantium"	sedes multae laetantium"	sedentium super sedilia pulcherima"	candidatorum ¹⁵⁸ grex, sedentes in circuitu interiori capellae"
Vision of Drichtelm in Bede, <i>HE</i> , 4.12, 492- 493.	Vision of Drichtelm in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , col.792D.	Vision of the monk of Melrose in Helinand of Froidmont, <i>Chronicon</i> , col.1059D.	Vision of Gunthelm in Helinand of Froidmont <i>Chronicon</i> , col. 1061B.

The placing of two similar narratives together is regarded by Monika Otter as part of a medieval strategy for making a 'truth claim': "this closed system discourages outside references 'brackets' the question of any correspondence to outside events and makes us rely on the logic of the text itself, its patterns, its repetitions".¹⁵⁹ There is clearly something in this; perhaps Helinand feels that the vision of Gunthelm needs bolstering by a story conforming to a similar pattern and he edits both narratives in a way that highlights the repetition.

However, this argument can only be taken so far. Helinand does not bracket off the visions from the rest of the *Chronicon* as he did with other accounts or sub-sections. There is no notification that these visions are a digression from the rest of the *Chronicon*. Indeed, by avoiding references to the seventh-century chronology of the vision of the Drichtelm, Helinand is implicitly accepting that the accounts will be compared to the events that appear elsewhere in the surrounding books of the *Chronicon*. It seems likely that Helinand also thinks the visions can make a 'truth claim' by being integrated into the Cistercian narrative that he is developing. Anthony Bale has observed a similar process in the appearance of an *exemplum* about the Jew of Tewkesbury in another, later universal history: Ranulf of Higden's (c.1280-1364) *Polychronicon*. Here, he notes how the compilers of universal histories placed the events in a moral as well as

¹⁵⁷ The use of the adjective *candidata* seems to have come directly from the VG(A) of the vision of Gunthelm here ('Erat autem in illa cella chorus quasi uirorum candidatorum in circuitu consedentium', VG(A), 107), one of the many examples of the vocabulary being transferred into the *Chronicon*, part of the argument for Helinand's direct use of a manuscript containing the text. It is possible, although by no means likely, that the particular adjective *candidata* is being used to further highlight the position of the Cistercian order.

¹⁵⁸ As above.

¹⁵⁹ Monika Otter, 'Functions of Historical Writing' in Nancy Partner ed., *Writing Medieval History* (London, 2005), pp.104-130 at 122.

chronological context.¹⁶⁰ Thus, the medieval historian compiling a chronicle was granted some flexibility in the way in which material was organised, but was limited by certain constraining factors. Bale shows how for some stories the history chronicle was a staging post between their appearance in a purely didactic context and their appearance in an annalistic chronicle entry where listed alongside “‘real’ events of national importance”.¹⁶¹ He calls this “the passage ... from pulpit to ‘truth’ via chronicle history”.¹⁶² This is not to say that medieval historians always got this delicate balance right. Perhaps, given the wide ranging philosophical digressions in the earlier books of the *Chronicon*, Helinand overestimated the flexibility of his role as historian in the case of this vision of Drichtelm.¹⁶³ As the next section will suggest, it is possible that the temptation to link the vision of Drichtelm to the VG(H) was intensified by the way in which they both fitted into Helinand’s emerging, contemporary interests.

4.3.2. A Cistercian or monastic eschatology?

In the final section of this chapter and thesis, the focus moves away from an interest in the impact of genre on the way in which visions of the otherworld were presented in the *Chronicon* and turns its attention to Helinand’s own eschatology. Given Helinand’s voluminous output and his keen interest in matters pertaining to the afterlife it can only scratch the surface of this vast topic. As such, it also serves as an enjoinder to more research into both Helinand’s own eschatology (something which the author hopes to pursue) and into the wider relationship between medieval theology, the supernatural and the dissemination of visions of the otherworld: Journeys into the otherworld have helped de-ghettoize the *Divine Comedy*, but in the process they themselves have often been cut off from the rest of medieval literature and religion. The aim of this section is more modest then; to place the discussions of the visions described above into the context of Helinand’s other work, his relationship with the Cistercian order and some of the broader theological trends of the thirteenth century. In doing so, this section will touch upon topics introduced in chapter two (the development of the doctrine of

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.47.

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*

¹⁶² Anthony Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book* (Cambridge, 2006), p.51.

¹⁶³ According to Elisabeth van Houts, it was the flexibility of the historian in setting these constraining rules which was the role’s ‘greatest attraction’, Elisabeth Van Houts, ‘Medieval Latin and Historical Narrative’, p.87.

Purgatory) and chapter three (the eschatology of the Cistercian order) much in the same way that the previous part of the chapter developed some of themes regarding editorial practice discussed in chapter one. At the end of the last section the possibility that the vision of the monk of Melrose was edited in such a way as to bolster the vision of Gunthelm was discussed. It was suggested that one component of this attempt to authorise the sub-section was the addition of a Cistercian context for the vision which, in its previous incarnations, it did not have. Is this, however, a realistic assessment of Helinand of Froidmont's scholarly behaviour or interests? He is, after all, regarded as one of the first compilers of a philosophical history and many of his digressions are testament to a mind that ranged well beyond the confines of the Cistercian cloister. This may be true of the earlier books of the *Chronicon*, but in the later books his decision to join the Cistercians after his career as a *trouvere* seems to colour his reaction to the otherworld. In highlighting this it is possible to make an appeal to both the difference between the later and earlier books of the *Chronicon* and to his other works.

This discussion does have wider eschatological significance. It has already been observed that several modern scholars have noted the role of the order in the dissemination of the 'new' doctrine of Purgatory.¹⁶⁴ In many ways, however, Helinand is at the centre of more specific observations about the rise of the doctrine. His French roots, his interest in visions of the otherworld, his time in Paris, his connection with the universities and his esteem for Bernard of Clairvaux all serve to make him a particularly interesting case study of the Cistercian relationship with Purgatory.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, Helinand was at the creative "crossroads" between Paris and the Cistercian monasteries where Le Goff identified that Purgatory "first emerged" before the turn of the thirteenth century. This crossroad was embodied by "urban academics, particularly the Parisians [who] ended their days in Cistercian monasteries".¹⁶⁶ Freeman accepts this analysis and after the order's toe had been tentatively dipped into the purgatorial river,

¹⁶⁴ For a fuller analysis of the secondary literature on this topic see section 3.2.2.

¹⁶⁵ Jacques Le Goff ties the order into the doctrine through Bernard of Clairvaux (who, unsurprisingly, plays a large role in Helinand's work). As evidence, Le Goff describes the letter sent from Nicholas of St. Alban to Peter of Celle composed in the early 1180s asserting that Bernard spent a brief period in Purgatory before entering Paradise. To Le Goff, it "scarcely mattered" that Bernard had not specifically discussed Purgatory in his writings. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.163, p.167.

¹⁶⁶ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.168.

the flood gates opened and she sees the Cistercians as “the most enthusiastic adherents of the new doctrine”.¹⁶⁷

To what extent can Helinand be classed an enthusiastic adherent of the new doctrine? Does his work reflect the broader consequences of the doctrine for the laity observed in the works of both mendicant compilers and Cistercians like Caesarius of Heisterbach? Or does Helinand continue to reflect the more inward-looking reaction to the doctrine that was discussed in chapter three? The first observation is that Helinand is aware of the theological developments in regard to ‘third place’ and although discussions of Purgatory are relatively limited in his sermons, he considers the issue at some length in the earlier books of the *Chronicon*. There are several parts of the *Chronicon* that could be used to illustrate this point, but Helinand is at his most explicit when he adds a gloss to Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues* in the sixtieth chapter of the eighth book.¹⁶⁸ Helinand re-orders material found in the fourth book of the dialogues starting with a discussion of the different type of fire found in Hell and Purgatory, which gives this chapter its title.¹⁶⁹ Following Gregory, he notes that the intensity of the fire varies according to one’s guilt, “just as in this world many live under one sun, yet not all feel the heat of the sun to the same degree”.¹⁷⁰ He makes it clear that the fire of Hell is different from that of Purgatory.¹⁷¹ Then, using an earlier book of the *Dialogues* (which, in turn, is an interpretation of Matt. 12:32), Helinand notes that because the bible “says that anyone blasphemes against the Holy Spirit he shall not be forgiven in either this world or the world to come” that it:

“reveals that some sins are forgiven in this world and some in the future. This applies to small sins such as constant idle talking, immoderate laughter and error in the case of family matters which can scarcely be

¹⁶⁷ Elisabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order*, p.189

¹⁶⁸ London, BL MS Cotton Claudius B IX, f.126v, col.I; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535, p.194. Helinand turns his attention to eschatology in a number of other chapters, ‘De penis futuri’, 11.7, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535, p.270, for example.

¹⁶⁹ ‘De igne gehennali et igne purgatorio’, *ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ ‘sicut in hoc mundo multi sub uno consistent, nec tamen eundem solis ardorem equaliter patiuntur’, *ibid.* See: Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, 4.45; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues of Saint Gregory*, trans. O. J. Zimmerman, 2 vols., Fathers of the Church Series (New York, 1959), I. pp.253-254.

¹⁷¹ ‘Est autem interim purgatorie ignis alius quam Gehenne’ [In the margin: ‘Quod alius est ignis purgatorie a Gehennali’], London, BL MS Cotton Claudius B IX, f.126v, col.I; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535., p.194.

managed without fault even by those who know the faults to be avoided or other errors due to ignorance of small matters".¹⁷²

He concludes this chapter with the famous story of Paschasius the Deacon.¹⁷³ It is notable that there is little consideration in these theological chapters of the location of Purgatory in the schema of the otherworld.

One thread that does run through many of the eschatological stories in the *Chronicon* is an emphasis on the importance of the Abbot and the monks of a monastery in securing the salvation of a soul *post-mortem*. Indeed, this can be clearly seen in Helinand's redaction of the vision of Gunthelm described in section 4.2.2 above. This stands in stark contrast to the individual routes through purgation that were described in the vision of the monk of Eynsham, where the salvation of souls depended on personal devotion to particular saints and the reading of discrete spiritual balance sheets. For example, Helinand's interest in the role of Cistercian monks in the after-life can be seen in the extracts he chooses to redact from the *Life of Peter the One-eyed* (d.1185) composed by Thomas of Reuil.¹⁷⁴ Peter was elected to the abbacy of Clairvaux in 1179 after serving as a prior at Igny and an abbot at Val-Roi in the Ardennes. He was involved in several miraculous events based in Cistercian monasteries, some of which find their way into Helinand's *Chronicon*. His election at Val-Roi, for example, was preceded by the candelabrum in front of the large altar shimmering brightly before dying out.¹⁷⁵ In addition, after he had been made abbot, he prevented an embittered labourer who had not been paid by the monastery's cellarer from enacting his revenge by appearing to him as he was about to tip out a cooking pot of charcoal on the neighbouring grange. This was remarkable because Peter was too ill to move. In fact, he had been confined to

¹⁷² 'blasphemiam in Spiritu Sancto neque in hoc seculo remittendam, neque in futuro, que sententia ostendit quasdam culpas in hoc seculo posse relaxari, quasdam in futuro. Quod tamen de parvis minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est, ut est assiduus otiosus sermo et risus immoderatus, et peccatum cure rei familiaris que vix sine culpa vela ab ipsis agitur qui culpas declinare sciunt aut in non gravibus rebus error ignorantie, et similia', *ibid*.

¹⁷³ Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, 4.42; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, trans. O. J. Zimmerman, pp.249-250.

¹⁷⁴ Thomas de Radolio, *Vita Domini Petri Abbatis Claraevallis*, *ActaSS* 13th Oct., cols.68B-84D. [Henceforth: Thomas of Reuil, *Vita Petri*]. See: Thomas Merton OSCO, 'Blessed Peter 'Monoculus,' Abbot of Igny, then of Clairvaux, France', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37 (2002), 443-451. Helinand places his extracts from the *Vita* under the date 1184: Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, cols.1070C-1078A.

¹⁷⁵ 'Quam ejus electionem visio talis antecessit. Videbatur abbati qui tunc praeerat Igniaco candelabrum ardens et lucens, ante altare positum principale, subito per vitream majorem exire; et post modicum electus est', Thomas of Reuil, *Vita Petri*, col.71A.

the infirmary and the labourer had been prevented from seeing him by the aforementioned cellarer.¹⁷⁶ Helinand extracts these two visions and, as we have observed elsewhere, avoided making the material appear too didactic by removing the rhetorical moralising and the numbering of the miracles.¹⁷⁷ A third miracle redacted by Helinand seems to have more to say about eschatology. It involved the return from the dead of a knight named Baldwin.¹⁷⁸ Baldwin's story stresses two things beyond others – that the fate of the soul can be drastically improved by the joining of the Cistercian order when your brothers are in a position to support you *post-mortem*, and that the role of the abbot and Cistercian ritual is of crucial importance in guaranteeing eventual salvation. It reads as follows:

Baldwin was not always a committed Cistercian monk. His life before taking vows was far from perfect. Helinand repeats Thomas' aside that if there were any crimes that Baldwin had not committed it was because he was unable to do so.¹⁷⁹ Despite this, Baldwin's fate is secured; he is punished and then saved. Although recent scholarship has demonstrated how slippery notions of time in Purgatory could be (something that the later dealers and collectors of indulgences were surely aware), it does seem that the knight's purgation was relatively short-lived and it seems that he made comparatively swift progress into the heavenly side of the celestial equation.¹⁸⁰ Baldwin's salvation is remarkable given that he only spent a single night in the Cistercian monastery at Igny having been taken there by his parents when he was nearing his death.¹⁸¹ The monks placed him a cell, clothed him in the Cistercian habit and held the appropriate vigil.¹⁸² The same night, the brothers were woken by the bells rung especially for Baldwin, said seven psalms and observed a mass conducted by Peter.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶ 'Quidam de mercenariis ... narrationem extorsit', *ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ For example, at the end of the account concerning the cellarer: 'Hoc est primum et magnum miraculum: secundum autem simile est huic non forma sed gratie', *ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, cols.74A-75C.

¹⁷⁹ 'nihil mali relinquebat, nisi quod facere non poterat', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1073B.

¹⁸⁰ See: Jacques Le Goff, *Pour en autre Moyen Age: Temps, travail et culture en Occident* (Paris, 1977) trans. Arthur Goldhammer as *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1980).

¹⁸¹ 'desperatus de vita a parentibus suis ad monasterium adductus est', Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1073B.

¹⁸² 'deputatur in cellam, vestitur sacro habitu, et ei custodies deputantur', *ibid.*, col.1073B-C.

¹⁸³ 'Eadem nocte tabula pro eo pulsata excitati fratres accurrunt; persolvit abbas officium, dicuntur etiam 7 psalmi, sed nondum migrat', *ibid.*, col.1073C.

Despite this short stay, Helinand records the details of the monastic rituals and notes how central the order, the monks and the abbot were in securing Baldwin's escape from purgation. Peter convinced Baldwin to say confession and ensured that the community performed the correct liturgical rites for the convert. After Baldwin's death the abbot asks a number of questions that Helinand returns to in other works (remarkable because this type of rhetorical device is usually the sort of material that is culled):

“Lord God, what will happen to that man imprisoned by the bonds of his great sins? What will benefit him; that he confessed his evil and that he repented *in extremis* and that he took up the religious habit?”¹⁸⁴

A voice replied to abbot: “He requires many people to help.”¹⁸⁵ In trying to help Baldwin, the abbot prays at the altar and he could sense that he was weighed down with many burdens. In this state he encountered a demon who questioned his ability to rescue Baldwin: “You suppose you have the ability to remove Baldwin from me, who remained in sin until the end of his life?” The abbot replied: “were his sins not confessed? Did he not repent *in extremis*?”¹⁸⁶ He went on to attack the demon saying he was “ignorant” because he knew nothing of the “blood of Christ that flowed for our sins in forgiveness of errors”.¹⁸⁷ He was eventually able to cast out the demon, demanding that he should be gone and have “no power over that person [Baldwin]”. The demon, “defeated and confused”, fled, leaving the Abbot to sing his praise to God.¹⁸⁸ Tellingly, however, this was not enough for Baldwin's salvation. He required Peter to organize the singing of masses for his soul. Again, there was a particular emphasis on Peter's own devotion; in the thirty days following the visitations, whenever the “devotion of the abbot was tiring” Baldwin would appear to the monks demanding help.¹⁸⁹ Once, when the abbot was walking to one of the monastery's granges and was unable to sing mass, Baldwin appeared on the road in a mood of

¹⁸⁴ ‘Qui jacens in lecto, et adhuc vigilans, coepit cogitare, et secum dicere: ‘Domine Deus, quid erit de homine isto, quem tantorum astringunt vincula peccatorum? Quid ei prodest, quod mala sua confessus est, et quod in extremis poenituit, et quod habitum religionis sumpsit?’, *ibid.*, col.1073D.

¹⁸⁵ “Ipse multum indiget auxilio”, *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ “Putas te Balduinum posse auferre mihi qui in peccatis suis usque ad finem vitae permansit”, *ibid.*, col.1074A.

¹⁸⁷ “quia sanguis Christi pro peccatoribus effusus est in remissionem peccatorum?”, *ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ ‘victus et confusus’, *ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ ‘quando abbatis devotio tepida erat et languens’, *ibid.*, col.1074B-C.

despondency.¹⁹⁰ Eventually on Good Friday the abbot had a further vision of Baldwin, this time escorted by two men to the altar in the monastery's abbey, where he was received into heaven. The message is clear enough; no matter how late you convert, the road to salvation is through the monastery. Helinand's account, despite its many cuts of Thomas' original, retains much of the ritual aspect of Baldwin's story. The brothers gathered no less than three times and every single monk "enjoined in a trental" on the morning after his death. These encounters are given further weight by a vision, seen by a brother in the infirmary, before Baldwin has died. The brother recalls how he saw the whole monastic community bend down in front of Baldwin, who was dying, before giving him the 'kiss of peace'.¹⁹¹ Baldwin's salvation was achieved by the monastic community as a whole. It is a theme which is picked up, more specifically, in the very next part of the *Chronicon* extracted from the same source.¹⁹² The story progresses as follows: Another knight who came to Peter to offer his confession was thinking about joining the order. The abbot pondered "what benefit will this knight have if he assumed the religious habit? And he heard a voice reply: it will be very useful to him ... the Devil will have no power over the person who dies in the Cistercian order".¹⁹³

In addition, these themes are picked up in a story that Helinand adds to Thomas of Reuil's *Vita*, interpolating it with the material described above. It picks up on the fear and sadness surrounding death which, as will be shown, is a concern present in much of Helinand's work. When Peter was on his way to Clairvaux, where he had been elected Abbot, he was saddened by the death of Gerard of Clairvaux (d.1138), Bernard's brother, whose corpse he was accompanying. Gerard appeared to Peter to tell him not to be sad and to say a mass for him and bury him on their arrival at Clairvaux. Having done so, the Saints Malachy – who died at Clairvaux – and Bernard appeared to Peter on either side of the altar informing him that he should not doubt that Gerard was at

¹⁹⁰ 'Apparuit ei Balduinus in via multo tristior quam soleret', *ibid.*, col.1074C.

¹⁹¹ 'Unus videbat, quod totus conventus ante infirmum stabat, inclinatoque humiliter eo, pacis osculum ei dabat', *ibid.*, col.1073C.

¹⁹² It is tempting to suggest that this 'doubling' works in parallel to the observations above made in relation to the visions of the monk of Melrose and Gunthelm, but given their proximity in the earlier version this seems unlikely.

¹⁹³ "Quid proderit militi isti religionis habitus sic assumptus? Et audivit vocem dicentem: 'Multum proderit ei; et scito quod in isto et in quolibet qui in ordine Cisterciensi moritur, nullam habiturus est diabolus potestatem, donec data fuerit de eo sententia', *ibid.*, col.1074D.

the side of angels in Eternal Glory.¹⁹⁴ In his selection and editing of existing material and in his own additions we can observe a number of features of Helinand's style: he is interested in eschatology, late conversion to the Cistercian order and the benefits in which being a member of the order can bring after death. Many of the stories he redacts have contemporary theological themes, the importance of repentance *in extremis* for example, but there is an overriding monastic quality to them.

Clearly not all of the eschatological material redacted into the *Chronicon* by Helinand post-dated the foundation of the Cistercian order. Yet the emphasis on the monastic route to salvation remains clear in the supernatural events recorded earlier as well. In section 4.2.2 one such story was touched upon, concerning Durand of Bredon. Durand, needed the prayers and masses of his brothers but he also needed their silence because he had been unable to stop the monks laughing and casually talking when he was abbot at Moissac. Before Durand had died, Hugh of Cluny (this story is extracted from his *vita*) prophesied that if he was unable to stop the monks behaving in this way, he would come back from the dead.¹⁹⁵ This prophecy came to pass: After he had died, Durand returned to a chaplain of his household named Siguino weeping and foaming at the mouth. Durand asked Siguino to go to Hugh and request his intercession. Hugh then ordered seven brothers to hold a continual silence for the dead for one week. One of the brothers interrupted the silence which prompted Durand to return and Hugh was forced to intervene again, ordering those who broke the silence to start over. Eventually Durand appeared in apostolic clothing thanking Hugh for his purging. In his sermon version of the account, Helinand offers a slightly enhanced version of the narrative in the context of his thoughts concerning whether it is possible to be damned by the use of incautious words alone. He goes on to set a high standard for avoiding both the pains of Purgatory and the pains of Hell: an uninterrupted great fear of God, warning readers and listeners that if they cannot maintain it they might fall victim to the dangers of a sudden death. The monastic rule, the hierarchy of abbot and monks and the rituals of cloistered life all seem to be central to Helinand's understanding of

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, col.1067A-B.

¹⁹⁵ 'Certe, inquit, frater nisi verba ludicra monacho prorsus interdicta vivens dimiseris, post obitum districtius correptus, spumantibus labiis ad superos rediens enormiter apparebis.' *ibid.*, col.942C-D. This passage is difficult to translate, but I have taken 'ad superos' to mean returning from the dead to the ground above. Perhaps Purgatory is presumed to be under the earth.

what is necessary to escape the pains of Purgatory. Along with numerous other biblical quotations at the end of the sermon he records one of Jesus' sayings to his disciples recorded in the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews that Helinand presumably had picked up from Jerome's commentary on Ephesians 5:4: "Never be content except when you look upon your brother in charity."¹⁹⁶

That Helinand's anxiousness about death had something to do with his personal decision to join the Cistercian order seems to be given further credence when one looks at his other, more popular work, the vernacular poem *Vers de la Mort* of which there are twenty-four surviving medieval copies. Many critics have seen the poem as a meditation between the fearful death Helinand would have encountered as a lay-person and the welcoming death that he was expected to imagine as a Cistercian monk. As William Paden Jnr. has put it, Helinand "employed the fear of death as a rhetorical instrument to drive home his call to cease sinning; but the tone he adopted reveals that he must have felt himself the fear he evoked".¹⁹⁷ At first glance the *Vers* appears an unlikely place to find information about Helinand's personal eschatology. The poem does not reveal the same level of theological or doctrinal depth when approaching the otherworld, nor does it demonstrate the same subtlety regarding the afterlife's make up as is apparent in the *Chronicon*. Purgatory does not feature as a separate area at all and the poem's rhetorical power comes from the stark contrast between Heaven and Hell. Take, for example, the contrast between the fates of St. Peter and Nero:

"This one had praise and that one, threat: / Paradise, here; there Hell's
reverse, / The one felt chains and irons coerce, / The other knew no
shackles threat."

Nonetheless, despite the fact that the poem was likely composed with a secular audience in mind, there are glimpses of Helinand's specific interest in the relationship between the Cistercian order and the afterlife.¹⁹⁸ In the thirty-sixth stanza Helinand

¹⁹⁶ 'Dominus dixisse discipulis 'Nunquam laeti sitis, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in charitate.', Helinand of Froidmont, *Sermones*, col.619D.

¹⁹⁷ William D. Paden 'Helinand's 'Verses on Death' in Medieval Literature and Spirituality' in Jenny Lind Potter ed., *The Verses on Death of Helinand of Froidmont* (Michigan, 1999), pp.7-22.

¹⁹⁸ For a brief discussion of Helinand as a Cistercian in the context of this work see: Jenny Lind Porter, 'A Commentary on the Fifty Stanzas of Helinand's Verses on Death', in Jenny Lind Potter ed., *The Verses on Death of Helinand of Froidmont*, Cistercian Fathers Series 61 (Kalamazoo, 1999), pp.22-47 at pp.31-33.

imagines a cosmology in which the otherworld does not exist. With the threat of punishment and the potential of reward removed, he questions the worth of the 'poor hermit sect' that he is a member of. In particular he questions the point of the Order's ascetic values:

"Were there no other life divine, / Here might the body drink and dine, /
And wander as its whims direct; / And man could live like swine, / For
every sin were good and fine, / Were virtue useless and suspect, / Ah
what for the poor hermit sect, / Ascetics, who in God's respect, / Have
downed bitter juice for wine? / If after death its quits direct, / Then they
are to the worst elect, / The Citeaux brotherhood benign."¹⁹⁹

The texture of the *Verses on Death* seems to replicate several features highlighted in the *Chronicon*, not least Helinand's anxiousness that joining a monastic order had a material impact on the nature of the afterlife. Whether this observation can be stretched to suggest that he is trying to close the gate to salvation that the doctrine of Purgatory had been pushing open is more moot. Even if it were possible to confidently locate examples of Helinand editing the texts in such away, as in the discussions concerning the redactor of W in the first chapter, it would not necessarily be possible to assert whether he was doing so consciously or unconsciously. It is far easier to assert that Helinand expresses a concern that monastic, especially Cistercian, asceticism has otherworldly benefits. This attitude is markedly different from the way in which Hugh of Lincoln approached the subject (observed in sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4), with his stress on the idea that salvation was on offer to everyone. It also has a different emphasis from the Le Goff and Greenblatt model that sees Cistercian-Parisian intellectuals like Helinand as opening up the way for a broader, more hopeful Purgatory.²⁰⁰ Just as the *Verses on Death* demonstrate how Helinand expresses this approach positively, his redaction of the VT showed the same sensitivity through deletion. In the earlier versions of the vision the visionary sees some souls in punishment:

¹⁹⁹ Helinand of Froidmont, *The Verses on Death*, pp.120-121. In fact, Helinand mentions the restrictions of the order in the fiftieth stanza as well: 'Fie gluttony and lust and lure, / I gladly from your feast am poor, / Unto my beets and peas retired.'

²⁰⁰ Jacques Le Goff writes, for example, that 'By the end of the thirteenth century ... Purgatory ... seems to have provided a meeting ground where the aspirations of the Christian masses could find their accommodation with the prescriptions of the Church', Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.289. See also: pp.292-293. Takami Matsudi makes similar observations: Takami Matsudi, *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.22-23.

“What is more serious , what I am not able to say without great pain, those who lived under the habit of converts to religion were entering bestial sins so dreadfully, that wearied by tortures from all sides, their strength was not enough to be able to endure them. No sex, no habit stood immune from these plagues, and what I was afraid to say, but charity itself forces me, that the monastic habit itself, of men and women, was present in these tortures; and these people, who seemed to belong to the holier professions were judged worthy of greater punishment.”²⁰¹

These details were removed by Helinand, replaced with a simple “sed etiam religiosorum”.²⁰² There is evidence that this is part of a pattern, because a similar reference is also missing later in Helinand’s redaction: “‘I told you earlier’ he said ‘that people who belong to a holier order are condemned to harsher tortures if they lapse’”.²⁰³ Clearly, Helinand does not attempt to absolve monks of otherworldly punishment. In fact, in a rare addition, he adds a more generalised statement to this particular chapter noting that the pain that Tundale was witnessing was that of “monachorum, canonicorum, sanctimonialium, caeterorumque ecclesiasticorum” who had lied to God in taking the monastic tonsure.²⁰⁴ What Helinand seems to be reacting against is that monks of his own order might be picked out for extra punishment (something that runs counter to many of the other supernatural stories he has redacted). At first glance this may seem to go against the grain of Helinand’s criticism of Cistercian monks also observed above, but there is a difference: Helinand is happy to criticise the worldly conduct of his order and to try to tighten up their ascetic values in the world as long as the otherworldly benefit is likely to be forthcoming. The specific punishment for the Cistercian order in the earlier version of the VT is a problem and Helinand subtly removes it. It is worth noting that when, in the VG, the visionary is told to return and beg the abbot to amend his ways he is doing so to ensure quicker assumption into heaven, the monks are already in the glorious fields surrounding Mary’s chapel. In this respect the ‘Cistercian otherworld’, concerned with the fate of monks and anxious to preserve the role of the monastic community in salvation, does

²⁰¹ ‘quod est gravius, quod non sine gravi dolore possum dicere, sub religionis habitu conversantium, quam dire intrabant bestie, ita ut ex omni parte cruciatibus fessis nulle sufficere vires ad tolerantium possent. Nullus sexus, nullus habitus immunis extitit ab his plagis, et quod dicere verebar, ipsa me cogit caritas, quod monasticus ipse habitus virorum et feminarum his intererat cruciatibus; et hi, qui sanctoris videbantur professionis, digni judicabantur pene majoris.’, VT, pp.24-25.

²⁰² Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1044C.

²⁰³ ‘Superius inquit, tibi dixi quod hi, qui sanctoris sunt propositi, si erraverint, durioribus judicantur suppliciis’, VT, p.29.

²⁰⁴ Helinand of Froidmont, *Chronicon*, col.1066A.

make it from the 'localised' material observed in chapter three to Helinand's *Chronicon*. It survives from the unstructured collections of the twelfth century into the more formal collections of the thirteenth, even if it is subsequently broken down.

So, even although Helinand's *Chronicon* appears to be, in the words of Louis Ellies Dupin, "nothing but a collection" of sources, the author reveals much about his attitude towards genre and eschatology in his subtle handling of the texts that he inherits. When Helinand's redactions of visions of the otherworld are placed alongside other material from the *Chronicon*, the collection of sources he had at his disposal and his other writings, several guiding principles seem to emerge. Helinand's *Chronicon* takes the form of a universal history and there is a movement towards the local and the chronological as the work progresses where texts of questionable authority are shored up with 'historical' apparatus and parallel tales. When dealing with the afterlife, despite Helinand's more structured approach, he reveals a continued concern with the fate of the Cistercian order. When he deals with theological novelty, including the doctrine of Purgatory he does so with monks in mind. In this sense, the *Chronicon* can be seen as a link between the older Cistercian *exempla* concerned with internal stories and the newer mendicant *exempla* more concerned with functioning in sermons and with the afterlife of the laity. There is just enough evidence to suggest that some of Helinand's personal interests slip into the *Chronicon* (by way of his selection of stories at least). He certainly seems particularly concerned with the fate of late converts to the order. Perhaps, however, when he imagines a world without God's justice where sinners freely cross the purgatorial bridge without being touched by punishing flame he is speaking for a constituency of monks. Perhaps, even, he is expressing a wider, often hidden, monastic fear about the role of cloistered communities during the advance of a more hopeful schema of the otherworld:

"If those worldly goods so stout, / Who flaunt their evil roundabout, / Unjudged, had gathered their increase, / And freely passed the bridge without [trouble], / Like those who suffer pain [and are] devout, / Since God promised them release, / Right then in church I'd never cease, / To say his justice was caprice. / That will not be. Their turn will out."²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ Helinand of Froidmont, *Verses on Death*, st.48, pp.144-145.

Conclusion and Epilogue

Medieval visions of the otherworld had a long afterlife of their own. Several recent studies of the Reformation have shown how they were discussed, manipulated and re-formulated in the polemical literature of the sixteenth century.¹ In these accounts they were used to highlight the aspects of Catholic thinking about death that the Reformers found unsavoury: the invention of Purgatory, the mindless communal punishment of souls and the ludicrous reliance on geography to describe the otherworld. More surprisingly, their role as a polemical tool in religious arguments continued in England into the eighteenth century and was not restricted to the rhetorical assault against Catholics. In his remarkable attack on the early Methodist movement (when the 'dissent' was still contained within the Anglican Communion), George Lavington (1684-1762), the Bishop of Exeter, described the physicality of the knight Owein's journey to Purgatory as being part of a 'Methodistico-Monkish' story. His redaction of the account drew on many of the same features of vision narratives that prompted the disdain of earlier Reformers:

"They [the demons] drag him to a Field more dreadful, where are People pierced with Iron Nails from Head to Foot, without Interval; and roarings as if they were killing and tortured with both a cold and burning Wind. But nothing could affright the Soldier. Thence he is hurried into a fourth Field, full of Fires, and every invented 'Torment of every Kind ... Here they shew a Bridge over Hell, extremely slippery, narrow, and high; and compel him to walk upon it ... The Man affirmed, that this proceeded not from Ecstasy; but that he saw all with his corporeal Eyes, and had corporeal Feeling and Experience of the Sufferings. He afterwards entered among the Monks; and had, upon Continuance, and Assurance of Salvation. Thus endeth this Methodistico-Monkish Story."²

In this polemic George Lavington drew out the aspects of the medieval otherworld that inspired both his disgust and fascination. Somewhat ironically, the decision of these critics to focus on the elements of the visions that were most offensive to Protestant doctrine ensured their longevity. Scholars of contemporary culture have identified echoes of the brutality and topography of medieval vision narratives in modern plays,

¹ See: Peter Marshall, "The Map of God's Word': Geographies of the Afterlife in Tudor and Early Stuart England', in B. Gordon and Peter Marshall eds., *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.110-130 at pp.114-115.

² George Lavington, *The Enthusiasm of Methodist and Papists Compared*, 2nd ed. (London, 1749), pp.349-350.

poems, art, films and television programmes.³ These contemporary retellings (and the polemics that inspired them) should not be seen as purely rhetorical inventions. Many medieval visions reflected a profound interest in space and communal punishment. Le Goff has argued that this was part of wider movement when “between 1150 and 1300, Christendom gave itself over to wholesale revision of the maps of both this world and the other” and that this “spatialisation of thought” was a crucial component in the development of the doctrine of Purgatory.⁴ In turn, early modernists have suggested that the relationship between Purgatory and geography was broken down as an accidental or deliberate consequence of the Reformation, part of a “process of ‘despatialising’ the afterlife”.⁵

Yet, this thesis has shown that otherworldly space was only one aspect of the dissemination of visions in the thirteenth century and in many cases it was of less importance than other influences in the redaction of older visions. Some of the recent scholarship on twelfth and thirteenth-century eschatology has been, in the words of Robert Swanson, “beguiled by a sense of place.”⁶ The first chapter demonstrated that the vision of the monk of Eynsham, which had no spatial conception of a three-part otherworld, still contained aspects of advanced thinking about the afterlife: the exchange of worldly for otherworldly penance, the opening up of salvation for the laity and tailored purgation for individual sinners reflecting their complex lives and confused sacramental practice. When the vision was disseminated through the work of travelling preachers these elements were actually emphasised at the expense of the otherworldly geography which had already been sidelined in the earlier versions of the vision.⁷ A similar pattern was observed in the dissemination of the vision of Fursa; in the most extreme example an *exemplum* depicted the saint as a sinner wearing a usurer’s coat on his deathbed.⁸ In many cases it was possible to detect an erosion of the

³ See, for example: John L. Murphy, ‘Beckett’s Purgatories’, *European Joyce Studies* 16 (2005), 109-124; David L. Pike, *Passage through Hell: Modernist Descents, Medieval Underworlds* (New York, 1997); William Racicot, ‘Anything Different is Good: Incremental Repetition, Courtly Love and Purgatory in *Ground Hog Day*’, in David. W. Marshall ed., *Mass Market Medieval: Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture* (Jefferson, 2008), pp.186-197.

⁴ Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.2.

⁵ Peter Marshall, ‘Geographies of the Afterlife’, p.129.

⁶ Robert Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), p.19.

⁷ See section: 1.3.2.

⁸ See section: 2.2.3.

features that made visions of the otherworld stand out as a separate genre. Although it is difficult to unpick the motivation behind such changes – consideration of audience, genre and theology all played some role – it seems likely that this process of dissemination contributed to and reflected a “subtler approach” to the otherworld in the Middle Ages, more concerned with the “state-of-being-in-Purgatory” than later retellings of the longer visions might have us believe.⁹

It would be interesting to further integrate these findings with other observations about the representation of Purgatory in the thirteenth-century. The surviving wall paintings in the chancel arches of English parish churches continued to draw their power from the same dichotomy of Heaven and Hell throughout the thirteenth century and Paul Binski has shown the limited extent of artistic depictions of purgation.¹⁰ The enthusiastic mapping of the Earthly Paradise, which has been plotted over several centuries, was not replicated in respect to Purgatory.¹¹ It is possible that further work on the way in which thinking about Purgatory interacted with other aspects of medieval religious culture would demonstrate that the more controversial strands of late medieval eschatology had less to do with developing ideas of space and more to do with pastoral care and penance. Swanson’s description of the religious environment that under-pinned the later distribution of indulgences certainly focuses on these elements:

“By 1200 the conception of penance as a sacramental process had changed greatly, partly because of new perceptions of lay spirituality. Previously it had been commonly assumed that most lay people went to hell: only monks and the saints were reasonably assured of heaven and eternal salvation. However the development of the concept of purgatory ... and new ideas about the personal relationship between the individual sinner and God, opened up the possibility of salvation for the laity as well”.¹²

⁹ Robert Swanson, *Indulgences*, p.19.

¹⁰ See section: 4.3.2. For the lack of artistic representation of Purgatory, see: Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (New York, 1996), pp.188-199. Dinzelbacher notes that Purgatory was represented in medieval art, just at a later stage: Peter Dinzelbacher, ‘Das Fegefeuer in der schriftlichen und bildlichen Katechese des Mittelalters’, *Studi Medievali* 38 (1997), 1-66. See also: Nigel Morgan, ‘The Torments of the Damned in Hell in Texts and Images in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries’, in Nigel Morgan ed., *Prophecy, Apocalypse and the Day of Doom: Proceedings of the 2000 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2004), pp.250-260.

¹¹ For the continued interest in the geographical location of Paradise, see: Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London, 2006).

¹² Robert Swanson, *Indulgences*, p.12.

That these developments, as described by Swanson, took a long time to become fully established should not necessarily surprise us. After all, the widening opportunity for salvation was an implicit threat to the role of monks as professional penitents on earth. Outright dissent to such advances was relatively rare and infrequently explicit, especially after the Waldensians and other heretics became associated with denial of Purgatory.¹³ Nonetheless, the way in which these ideas were received and spread was not uniform. This thesis has demonstrated how, by tracking the dissemination of visions of the otherworld, the more nuanced reactions of different religious communities to novel eschatology can be uncovered.

The Cistercian Order's reputation as the great disseminators of Purgatory was complicated in chapters three and four. It was shown that some Cistercian monks were as concerned with the messages about their own order contained in the visions as they were with the transmission of new, more hopeful ideas about the afterlife. This is, perhaps, less surprising when the visions appeared in the unstructured collections of particular houses. Here, as the discussion of the vision of Gunthelm showed, the visions reflected mutual concerns about the decline of the order and were stimulated by foundation myths and general statutes, as well as more local concerns.¹⁴ In this way the analysis built on Brian Patrick McGuire's argument that the early *exempla* of the order represented the otherworld in terms of "Cistercian exclusivity". More interesting is that some of these aspects were carried into the more structured, outward-looking productions such as Helinand of Froidmont's *Chronicon*. Here, in a way that revealed something of the author's attitude to the writing of history and the supernatural in general, older visions like that of Drichtelm were fashioned to suit the needs of a Cistercian narrative.¹⁵ These chapters conclude that some Cistercian redactors and compilers of visions were reacting to developments rather than shaping them. In addition, the other group often associated with the dissemination of the doctrine of Purgatory - the mendicant *exempla* compilers - did not always respond to the

¹³ See, for example: Gabriel Audisio, *The Waldensian Dissent: Persecution and Survival, c.1170-c.1570* (Cambridge, 1999), pp.49-50.

¹⁴ See sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.

¹⁵ Brian Patrick McGuire, 'Purgatory, the Communion of Saints, and Medieval Change', *Viator* 20 (1989), 61-84, at 76.

hopefulness of the ideas as the historiography suggests (in this case, with the concern of the mercantile class at the forefront of their sermons). When they introduced usury into the vision of Fursa, they chose to punish it in Hell, a decision that seemed to lag behind the gradual acceptance of the reality of money lending.¹⁶

In other cases the redactors of visions demonstrated a studied indifference to eschatological novelty. The scribe responsible for the redaction of the vision of the monk of Eynsham in W, the manuscript discussed in chapter one, disproportionately removed the examination of individual souls from the text that he inherited, alongside the didactic guidance and emotional piety that gave the earlier versions of the account much of their modern texture.¹⁷ Roger of Wendover made similar decisions, retaining the details of the geography of the otherworld in its older, Augustinian four part shape, whilst deleting much of the detailed dialogue between visionary and sinner.¹⁸ It is no wonder then that many Protestant authors relied on the chronicles of conservative monks to furnish their polemics with the Catholic geography of the afterlife. George Lavington used the work of Matthew Paris as the basis for his description of the corporeality of the otherworld described above.¹⁹

It should be observed that a different type of corporeality was a central part of the visions that were documented in the later Middle Ages. These accounts, which were often recorded in the vernacular, have a notably different texture from the Latin visions discussed in this thesis. In fact, Dinzelbacher broadly divides them into two different 'types' of experience, the latter being influenced by trends in late medieval mysticism, the *devotio moderna* and the multiple revelations of women like Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich.²⁰ The 'Revelation of Purgatory' to an unknown woman (1422) and the vision of Edmund Leversedge (1465) are Middle English examples of such

¹⁶ R. H. Helmholz, 'Usury and the Medieval English Church Courts', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 364–380. See section 2.2.1.

¹⁷ See section 1.2.3.

¹⁸ For interesting discussion of the afterlife of this model, see: Robert Easting, 'Purgatory and the Earthly Paradise in the *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', *Cîteaux* 37 (1986), 23–48 and Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Paradise, Death, and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.187–202.

¹⁹ For comment on George Lavington's use of Matthew Paris, see: Chris Wilson, 'The Medieval Church in Early Methodism and anti-Methodism', in Peter Clarke and Charlotte Methuen eds., *The Church on its Past*, SCH 49 (Woodbridge, Forthcoming, 2013).

²⁰ Peter Dinzelbacher, *Vision and Visionliteratur in Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1981), esp. pp.232–233

accounts.²¹ In England, the comparative lack of new visions chronicled in the thirteenth century underscored the differences between the two types of account.²² However, recent research by Gwenfair Walter Adams, Robert Easting and Andreas Bihrer, among others, has shown how the translation of older visions of the otherworld from Latin into the vernacular might bridge the gap.²³ In the case of the vision of Fursa, discussed in chapter two, it was suggested that the twin influences of Romance literature and the pastoral care of elite women were crucial in the way the story was translated into Anglo-Norman and Middle English, emphasising Fursa's adventure in a dangerous landscape.²⁴ Future research might discover whether there was a wider continental pattern to the way in which earlier visions were translated into the vernacular.

Taken as a whole, this thesis has established that, as they were disseminated, the message and texture of visions were influenced by a variety of concerns particular to the thirteenth century, including developments in theology and eschatology, the requirements of genre and the concerns of particular religious communities. In turn, this led to the spread of many versions of the same texts containing a range of descriptions of the otherworld and emphasizing different aspects of the life to come. Perhaps this variety of medieval interpretations of the otherworld goes some way in explaining the significant divergence in modern analyses of eschatology over the long

²¹ See: 'A revelation respecting Purgatory', ed. Carl Horstman in *Yorkshire Writers*, 2 vols. (London, 1895-1896), I, pp.383-392. It seems likely that the vision of Edmund Leversedge was recorded in Latin in the first instance, but no surviving text has been traced. See: *The Vision of Edmund Leversedge: A 15th-century account of a visit to the Otherworld edited from BL MS Additional 34,193*, ed. W. F. Nijenhuis, *Middelleeuwse Studies* 8 (Nijmegen, 1991). For a discussion of these accounts see: Robert Easting, 'Send thine heart into Purgatory': Visionaries of the Other World' in Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone eds., *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray* (Oxford, 1997), pp.185-203.

²² For tentative suggestions as to why there are no new Latin visions of the otherworld in the thirteenth century, see section 1.3.2.

²³ See, for example: Andreas Bihrer, 'Die Bearbeitung mittelalterlicher Visionenliteratur. Eine spätmittelalterliche Redaktion der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham' in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.91-112; Robert Easting, 'Middle English Translations of the Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii' in Roger Ellis ed., *The Medieval Translator II* (London, 1991), pp.151-174; Gwenfair Walters Adams, *Visions in Late Medieval England: Lay spirituality and sacred glimpses of the hidden world of faith* (Leiden, 2007), pp.36-48. For the exceptionally popular continental translation of the VT, see: Nigel F. Palmer, 'Visio Tnugdali': The German and Dutch Translations and their Circulation in the Late Middle Ages (Munich, 1982); Peter Dinzelbacher, 'The Latin *Visio Tnugdali* and its French Translations' in Thomas Khen ed., *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Vision of Tondal* (Malibu, 1992), pp.111-118.

²⁴ See sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2.

durée. Scholars have identified a huge range of different dates for shifts in thinking about the afterlife. Aron Gurevich, for example, asserts that Purgatory was firmly established in the minds of early-medieval laymen.²⁵ In contrast, for Philippe Ariès, it was not a significant part of the afterlife until the seventeenth century.²⁶ This thesis has shown that, despite these varying modern interpretations, it is possible to isolate some trends from the mass of medieval material about death and dying. More work will have to be done to account for the regional and local variations in the reception of eschatological thought observed by a number of historians.²⁷ Such research would be a valuable contribution to our understanding of the way in which thinking about death shaped life in the Middle Ages.

²⁵ Aron Gurevich, 'Popular and Scholarly Medieval Cultural Traditions: Notes in the Margin of Jacques Le Goff's Book, *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), 71-90.

²⁶ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York, 1981), pp.462-467. As we have seen, Le Goff, Schmitt and Swanson have suggested that the main elements of the doctrine were in place by 1200: Robert Swanson, *Indulgences*, p.12; Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, p.2.

²⁷ See, for example: John H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2010), p.165.

Tables

I. Biblical citations in the VEME B text and the W redaction¹

Ch.	Number	Citation in B text	Explicit in B?	W
P	1.	Genesis 1:4		x
	2.	I Corinthians 8:3		x
	3.	I Corinthians 13:12-13		x
	4.	I Corinthians 13:13		x
	5.	Psalms 110:10		x
	6.	Ecclesiastes 1:16		x
	7.	Luke 16:19, 22	•	x
	8.	Luke 16:29, 31	•	x
	9.	Matthew 25:26		x
	10.	Proverbs 19:9		x
VI	11.	Daniel 7:28; Luke 2:19, 51		x
XII	12.	Judges 3:16		>
	13.	Matthew 8:22, 9:19; Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27; John 1:43		>
XVI	14.	II Maccabees 7:5 (?)		>
	15.	Revelations 7:9		>
XVIII	16.	Psalms 108:29		x
	17.	Job 21:13	•	x
	18.	Judith 16:21	•	x
XIX	19.	I John 5:16	•	x
XXI	20.	II Peter 3:9		>
	21.	IV Kings 19:3		x
	22.	I Corinthians 15:52		>
XXII	23.	Luke 12:20	•	x
XXIII	24.	Ecclesiastes 12:3	•	x
	25.	Matthew 25:40	•	x
	26.	Ecclesiastes 3:33	•	x
	27.	Daniel 4:24	•	x

¹ This table includes all the biblical citations that appear in Easting's notes to C(RE). This list is less comprehensive than the list provided by Dengler, but is more useful for the purposes of examining W. Dengler's list includes many opaque biblical allusions that would not necessarily have been instantly recognizable to the redactor of W. Even some of the citations in Easting's list are ambiguous and those which may have been missed by the redactor of W have been marked with a question mark. However, the list below does include the references made to the bible in general and some specific psalms at the end of chapter LI (as a single citation). When a single citation or allusion comes from several biblical passages they have been merged together. When the B text of the VEME makes an explicit reference to the bible, either by naming the specific book, mentioning the bible in general or referring to specific biblical places or character, this has also been marked with a '•'. In the W column, 'x' indicates that the citation has been deleted and '>' means it has been carried across to the manuscript. See: Dengler, Mark, "In speculo et enigmatē". Zur Auswahl und Funktion biblischer Zitate in der 'Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham', in Thomas Ehlen, Johannes Mangei and Elisabeth Stein eds., *Visio Edmundi monachi de Eynsham. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur mittelalterlichen Visionsliteratur* (Tübingen, 1998), pp.59-71.

	28.	Ecclesiastes 12:3		x
XXV	29.	Romans 1:26-27	•	>
XXVI	30.	Romans 2:5		x
	31.	Acts 1:24 (?)		>
	32.	Ecclesiastes 12:3	•	x
	33.	Isaiah 5:21		x
	34.	Wisdom 6:7	•	x
	35.	Psalms 72:5		x
	36.	Ezekiel 16:49	•	x
	37.	Romans 1:28		x
	38.	Romans 1:24		x
	39.	Romans 2:11		x
	40.	Luke 16:24		x
XXVII	41.	Ecclesiastes 4:25	•	x
XXXIII	42.	Job 7:1		>
	43.	Romans 12:13; Hebrews 13:2	2	3
XXXV	44.	I Corinthians 13:5		x
XLI	45.	Revelations 18:7	•	>
	46.	Revelations 9:17		>
	47.	Job 16:20 (?)		>
XLII	48.	I Kings 16:27		x
XLIII	49.	Galatians 4:23,29	•	x
XLVIII	50.	II Corinthians 1:12; Romans 2:15; 9:11 (?)		>
	51.	Luke 12:48	•	x
LI	52.	I Corinthians 9:22	•	x
	53.	Proverbs 18:14	•	x
	54.	References to the Four evangelists and the Psalms	•	x
LIV	55.	John 21:7		>
	56.	Mark 3:27		x
	57.	I Corinthians 2:10 (?)		x
LV	58.	Daniel 7:10		>
	59.	Revelations 5:7 (?)		>
	60.	I Corinthians 13:12		>
	61.	I Timothy 6:16; Matthew 5:8		x
LVI	62.	Psalms 110:10; Matthew 20:22 (?)		>
	63.	Deuteronomy 11:1		x
Total of biblical citations deleted in W:			44/62	71%
Total of biblical citations deleted in W excluding 14, 31, 47, 50, 57, 59, 62:			43/55	78%
Total of explicit biblical citations deleted in W:			19/21	90%

² This citation is made explicit in B: B(HT), 'ut monet apostolus', 287. However, although the surrounding text is intact, the phrase 'ut monet apostolus' is deleted by the redactor of W. For this reason it has not been included in the numerical data below.

³ See footnote above.

II. Selected manuscripts containing short extracts from the VEME

Manuscript	Date	Prov.	Exempla (f.)						Notes
			A1	A2	A3	B	C	D	
Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS 109 [OC]	s.xiii. mid		•						
Cambridge, University Library MS Kk. I. II [OC]	s.xiii	W. Dereham Premon.	•						
Durham, Cathedral Library MS B. IV. 19 [LE]	s.xiv			83 ^r					
London, BL MS Additional 11284 [SL]	s.xiv		28 ^r			76 ^r		76 ^r	
London, BL MS Additional 28682 [SB]	s.xiv				214 ^r	214 ^r	214 ^r	214 ^r	
London, BL MS Arundel 231 (Vol. I) [OC]	s.xiv ⁱⁿ	Fountains, O.Cist.	95 ^r						Attached to a sermon (#16, ff.92 ^r -95 ^r) for the first Sunday after the octave of epiphany, based on John 2:1.
London, BL MS Burney 361 [dOC]	s.xiv ⁱⁿ		148 ^v						The <i>exemplum</i> appears in a collection of tales, mostly derived from Odo of Cheriton which follow Thomas Cobham's Summa
London, BL MS Harley 3244 [dOC]	s.xiii ^{mi} d		77 ^r						
London, BL MS Sloane 1613 [HR]	s.xiv ⁱⁿ				113 ^v	113 ^v		113 ^v	The <i>exempla</i> are badly damaged, and B is virtually unreadable. This volume contains
London, BL MS Sloane 3102 [HR]	s.xv				44 ^r	44 ^v		44 ^v	A2 clearly derived from SB but with repetition removed.
Oxford, Balliol College MS 38 [OC]	s.xiii		•						'Normal' 64 sermons – see Antolin's catalogue Escorial iii 198-202. <i>Sermones in Evangelia dominicalia</i> .
Paris, BN MS Lat. 16506 [OC]	s.xiii (after 1235)		•						This manuscript was used to compile an edition of Odo's <i>exempla</i> by Léopold Hervieux. The <i>exemplum</i> follows a sermon for the third Sunday after Christmas, based, as in London, BL, MS., Arundel 231 on John 2:1.
Worcester, Cathedral Library MS Q.85 [SB]	s.xiii ⁱⁿ				40 ^r	40 ^r	40 ^r	40 ^r	

Notes and Key

Recognised collections

OC: Odo of Cheriton, *Parabola*, First compiled: c.1219*.

SB: Stephen of Bourbon, *Tractatus*, First compiled: c.1250-1261.

SM: Anonymous, *Speculum Laicorum*, First compiled: c.1279-1292.

LE: Anonymous, *Liber Exemplorum*, First compiled: c.1270-1279.

HR: Humbert of Romans, *Liber de Dono Timoris*, First compiled: c.1263-1277.

VB: Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, First compiled: c. 1240s.

[d: derived from]

The Exempla

A1-A3: Versions of the account of the drunken goldsmith.

B: The hawking knight

C: The crusading knight

D: The simoniacal knight

- *NB. London, BL MS Egerton 2890 [OC] contains the sermon to which A1 is attached to in other manuscripts of the *Parabola*, but the *exemplum* is not present in this copy.
London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 481 [OC] contains neither the sermon nor the *exemplum* associated with the *Parabola*.
Lincoln, Cathedral Library MS 11 [OC] contains neither the sermon nor the *exemplum* associated with the *Parabola*.

III. The vision of Fursa in the Vita, Bede's Ecclesiastical History and Robert of Greatham's Miroir

(i) The order of the events in the *Vita*

(1)	Fursa's birth and early childhood.	<i>Vita</i> , p.434.
(2)	Fursa founds a monastery in Ireland and the start of the first vision.	<i>Visions</i> , p.280.
(3)	The first vision and the music sung by the angels.	<i>Visions</i> , p.281.
(4)	Fursa returns to his body.	<i>Visions</i> , p.282.
(5)	The start of the second vision.	<i>Visions</i> , p.283.
(6)	Fursa assaulted by demons.	<i>Visions</i> , p.284.
(7)	Satan and the angels argue over Fursa's soul.	<i>Visions</i> , p.285.
(8)	Fursa looks down upon the world and at the four fires which the angels part for him.	<i>Visions</i> , p.286.
(9)	Fursa sees demons flying in the fire. Another argument between the angels and Satan.	<i>Visions</i> , p.288.
(10)	The angels win and Fursa is introduced to Heaven (as yet unharmed).	<i>Visions</i> , p.289.
(11)	Fursa introduced to Beoan and Meldan.	<i>Visions</i> , p.291.
(12)	Fursa talks to Beoan and Meldan about the end of the world.	<i>Visions</i> , p.293.
(13)	Beoan and Meldan talk about clerical malpractice.	<i>Visions</i> , p.294.
(14)	Beoan and Meldan compare the role of the priest to that of a doctor and discuss pride.	<i>Visions</i> , p.296.
(15)	Beoan give Fursa specific advice about monastic practice and the distribution of alms.	<i>Visions</i> , p.298.
(16)	<i>Fursa leaves Heaven and on his way to earth, he is attacked and burned by demons.</i>	<i>Visions</i> , p.300.
(17)	Fursa returns to his body to find that the burns from the attack were still visible.	<i>Visions</i> , p.302.
(18)	Fursa preaches in Ireland.	<i>Vita</i> , p.436.
(19)	Fursa's third vision where an angel told him of appropriate things to preach.	<i>Vita</i> , p.436.
(20)	Fursa moves to England and converts the pagans of East Anglia.	<i>Vita</i> , p.436.
(21)	Fursa's fourth vision which inspires him to found a monastery in England.	<i>Vita</i> , p.437.
(22)	Fursa spends a year as a hermit.	<i>Vita</i> , p.437.
(23)	Fursa sails to Gaul and founds a monastery at Latiniacum (Lagny-sur-Mer). He dies.	<i>Vita</i> , p.438.
(24)	Fursa's body is enshrined at Péronne.	<i>Vita</i> , p.439.

(ii) The order of events in Bede's *HE*:¹

(20) → (21+) → (1) → (2) → (3) → (5) → (7) → (8) → (9s) → (10s) → (11s) → (16) → (17) → (+) → (20r) → (22) → (23) → (24)

(iii) The order of events in Robert of Greatham's *Miroir*:²

(+) → (5) → (8+) → (16)³ → (10s) → (17)

¹ All of the sections that appear in the Ecclesiastical History from the Vita have been summarised; (s) indicates that this summary has reduced the section to a sentence or less; (+) indicates that some material has been added; (r) indicates a repeated section.

² See n.1, above.

³ On the way to Heaven, rather than on the way back to his body.

IV. A selection of didactic literature from the long thirteenth century containing the vision of Fursa

Manuscript or Edition	Author or Compiler (Background)	Date	Position in text	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Vita</i>	Anonymous	s.vii.mid	<i>Fursa's second vision</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
<i>Ecclesiastical History</i>	Bede	731	<i>As Fursa's third vision (see section 2).</i>	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Harley 463 <i>Sermonibus Vulgaribus</i>	Attributed to Jacques de Vitry (Preacher and Bishop)	Collection: s.xiii.in Manuscript: s.xiv.in	<i>Sermon to hospital workers, followed by accounts of usury.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Additional 11,284 <i>Speculum Laicorum</i>	Anonymous (Franciscan)	s.xiii.mid	<i>Section on unjust acquisition.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Arundel 231 <i>Parabolae</i>	Attributed to Odo of Cheriton (University Master)	Collection: 1219 Manuscript: s.xiii.ex	<i>Section on usury.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Harley 268 (1)	Anonymous	s.xiv.in	<i>f.30^v – at the beginning of a series of death-bed tales.</i>	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Harley 268 (2)	Anonymous	s.xiv.in	<i>f.34^v – after a usurer is compared to a toad.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Harley 268 (3) <i>Alphabetum Narrationum</i>	Attributed to Arnold of Liege (Dominican)	Collection: s.xiv.in Manuscript: s.xiv.in	<i>f.114^v – section on alms giving.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
Royal 12.E.i	Anonymous (Dominican?)	s.xiv.in	<i>Section on the pains of Purgatory.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
<i>Fasciculus Morum</i>	Anonymous (Franciscan)	c.1300	<i>Sermon on avarice.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
<i>Miroir des Evangiles</i>	Robert of Greatham (Augustinian?)	s.xiii.mid	<i>Sermon on John 10: 11-16.</i>	Y	*	Y	N	N	N
<i>Manuel des Peches</i>	William of Waddington (Priest?)	s.xiii.mid	<i>After a story of how usurers should be detested.</i>	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N
<i>Handlyng Synne</i>	Robert Mannyng of Brunne (Gilbertine)	1303	<i>After a story of how usurers should be detested.</i>	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N

KEY: **A:** Is Fursa named? **B:** Is he described as a saint? **C:** Is he described as priest? **D:** Is he described as a monk? **E:** Is usury mentioned? **F:** Is the burning of Fursa located in Hell? * Only at the end of the account, after his vision has been completed and Fursa has 'amended' his ways. The selected Mss. are all from London, British Library

V. Selected visions in Helinand of Froidmont's *Chronicon*

Vision	Date	Bk.	Ch.	Incipit.	Vatican MS	BL MS	PL
Vision of Pope Benedict	N/A	8	24	<i>De Benedicto papa romano, qui post mortem apparuit in specie monstruosi animalis'</i>	174	120 ^r (I)	
Vision of Stephen	N/A	8	58	<i>De Stephano qui infernum vidit</i>	192	126 ^r (II)	
Germanus and the Roman Deacon	530	8	60	<i>Exemplum de Paschasio diacono</i> [from Gregory the Great]	192	126 ^v (I)	
Vision of Fursa	648	45	N/A	<i>Sanctus Furseus in Hibernia claruit</i>			776A–778B
Vision of Dryhthelm	671	45	N/A	<i>Hoc tempore quidam in Britannia a morte resurgens</i> [From Bede, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>]			791C–793C
Visions associated with William of Norwich	1146	48	N/A	<i>Puer quidam nomine Guillelmus annorum 15, dormiens vidit virum splendidum</i>			1036A–1037C
Vision of Tundale	1149	48	N/A	<i>de qua ortus fuit vir quidam, Tundalus nomine</i>			1038D–1055D
Vision of the monk of Melrose	1160	48	N/A	<i>Eo tempore quidam Britannus quadam nocte mortuus est in principio noctis; et mane revixit</i>			1059A–1060C
Vision of Gunthelm	1161	48	N/A	<i>Eo tempore fuit in Anglia vir quidam magnarum virium corporis, et propter illas vires magni nominis</i> [From the A-text MSS]			1060C–1063D
Vision of Peter the One-Eyed	1184	49	N/A	<i>Florebat hoc tempore Petrus monoculus abbas Claraevallensis</i>			1070C–1078A

BL MS: London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B IX;

Vatican MS: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535.

VI. References to Bede in the early books of Helinand of Froidmont's *Chronicon*

Book	Chapter	Marginalia/Reference	P-F	Vatican MS	London MS	Chapter Title	Bede Text
1	23	<i>Beda</i>	98	7	6 ^v (II)	Concerning the shadow that was first created in the fourth day	ROT, ch.31, pp.89-91; ROT, ch.33.pp.93-96).
3	4	<i>Beda/ Expositio magistri Petri Lombardi super verba Bede presbiteri</i>	109	32-33	23 ^v (I)	Man is made in the likeness of God	OG, pp.89-91.
	5	<i>Supra contra Augustinus et Beda</i>	109	33	N/A	Concerning the soul of the first man and concerning the error of Peter Alfonso	OG, pp.91-92.
4	82	<i>Beda</i>	123	62	44 ^r (II)	Concerning the generations of Noah	ROT, ch.66, pp.161-165; OG, pp.215-226.
	84	<i>Beda in cronicis</i>	123	63	N/A	The second era and the death of Noah	ROT, ch.66, pp.161-165; OG, pp.213-214.
	89	<i>Beda in cronicis</i>	124	63	N/A	Concerning the human works from the flood all the way towards Abraham and concerning the different calculation of the interpreters for the generations of the Hebrews and the years of the second era	ROT, ch.66, pp.161-165.
6	39	<i>Beda</i>	124	98	66 ^v (II)	The sixth argument concerning the meaning of the acts of the apostles	
10	40	<i>Theophilus et Beda</i>	171	242	155 ^v (I)	Concerning you must never cook a young goat in its mother's milk [from Exodus 34:26]	
	50	<i>Beda</i>	172	243	157 ^r (I)	Concerning the shape of the tabernacle and its covering and of all its outward signs/meanings	ROT, ch.66, p.167. OT, pp.55-63.
	72	<i>Beda de ecclesia Ierusalem que est Rome</i>	175	256	165 ^v (II)	Of a cast calf made for the children of Israel	
11	30	<i>Beda [BL: in libro temporibus]</i>	181	278	180 ^r (II)	Concerning the (dating) of the ritual of his sacrifice	ROT ch.63, pp.149-151.
12	4	<i>Beda</i>	187	307	N/A	Tribes of Israel/Crossing the Jordan	ROT, ch.66, pp.167-168.

This is only a preliminary guide to Bede references in the *Chronicon*. The specific way in which Bede was used by Helinand will form part of a later research project.

London MS: London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B IX;

Vatican MS: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 535.

OG: Bede, *On Genesis*

OT: Bede, *On the Reckoning of Time*

OT: Bede, *On the Tabernacl*

Appendix

I. Omissions from the B text in W.

Incipit prefacio. (W, N/A; B(HT), 236; C(RE), 2).

This chapter is omitted in its entirety from the W redaction.

I. Qualiter monachus in egritudinem inciderit et qualiter vacaverit confessioni, oration et lacrimarum compunctioni (W, 42^v; B(HT), 238; C(RE), 12).

The W redaction opens with its own introduction that reads: In heines hamenensi monastic iuuenis quidam/ nuper ad vitam...

The following omissions then appear:

1. B(HT), 238, sed > 239, deambulare; C(RE), 12, ll. 84-92.
2. B(HT), 239 una > pausabant; C(RE), 12, ll. 95-96.
3. B(HT), 239, hinc > deplorans; C(RE), 12, l. 100-14, l. 103.
4. B(HT), 239, requisites > diem; C(RE), 14, ll.110-127.
5. B(HT), 240, qualiter > pandetur; C(RE), ll. 130-132.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next.

II. Qualiter monachus iacuerit in capitulo (W, f.43^r; B(HT), 240; C(RE), 16).

1. B(HT), 240, motus > permansit; C(RE), 16, ll.145-151.
2. B(HT), 240, a quibus > servaretur; C(RE), 16, l.154.

III. De figura crucifixi cruentata (W, f.43^r; B(HT), 241; C(RE), 16).

1. B(HT), 241, nunciantur > alligarunt; C(RE), 16, l.159-18, l.181.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next.

IV. Qualiter monachus ab extasi reversus est (W, f.43^r; B(HT), 242; C(RE), 18).

1. B(HT), 242, et ita marcescere > decocta; C(RE), 18, ll.192-193.
2. B(HT), 242, Paulo > insumeret; C(RE), 18, ll.195-197.
3. B(HT), 242, verba > repetebat; C(RE), N/A.
4. B(HT), 242, et alia in hunc adhuc > sompnis et; C(RE), 20, ll.212-214.
5. B(HT), 242, voce respondit > 243, plorare; C(RE), 20, ll.223-226.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one (the text picks up in the last sentence of chapter VI).

V. Qualiter cepit baculum et calceamenta querere et quam devote crucem adoraverit (W, N/A; B(HT), 243; C(RE), 20).

The whole of this chapter is missing in the W redaction.

VI. Qualiter cuidam sibi familiari in parte narravit que in extasi viderit (W, f.43^r (col.II); B(HT), 244; C(RE), 24).

1. B(HT), 244, interea > 245, proprietatem; C(RE), 24, ll.273-295.

Essentially the whole of this chapter, bar the last sentence, is missing from the W redaction.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

VII. Quomodo rogatus est a fratribus ut propter longum ieiunium aliquid manducaret (W, f.43^r (col.II); B(HT), 245; C(RE), 24).

1. B(HT), 245, immo velud > resurgente; C(RE), 26, ll.308-309.

2. B(HT), 245, sicut in eadem > appellantis; C(RE), 26, ll.313-318.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

VIII. Qualiter duobus confessoribus suis que in visione viderat ex parte narravit (W, f.43^r (col.II); B(HT), 245; C(RE), 26).

1. B(HT), 246, multa > videbant; C(RE), 26, ll.325-328 [viderant].

2. B(HT), 246, et quedam > insinuavit; C(RE), 26, ll.332-334.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one

IX. Que fuit peticio monachi specialis et de cuiusdam apparatione sibi facta in somno (W, f.43^v; B(HT), 246; C(RE), 28).

1. B(HT), 246, hoc > est; C(RE), N/A.

2. B(HT), 246, et ore semper > illapso; C(RE), 28, ll.339-346 [elapso].

3. B(HT), 246, quatenus > superfuisssem ;C(RE), 28, ll.349-ll.353.

4. B(HT), 247, quod rarissime valebam; C(RE), 28, l.359.

5. B(HT), 247, nominatim > benignitas; C(RE), 28, l.368-30, l.376.

6. B(HT), 247, quo Cene Domini > sompnum; C(RE), 30, l.381-390.

X. Qualiter monitus est in somnis crucem Domini adorare (W, N/A; B(HT), 248; C(RE), 30).

The whole of this chapter is missing in the W redaction.

XI. De sanguine effluente de latere crucifix ed de pede dextro et de duobus luminibus (W, N/A; B(HT), 249; C(RE), 32).

The whole of this chapter is missing in the W redaction.

XII. Qualiter in capitulum venerit, disciplinas suscepit, et qualiter in extasi mentis raptus sit (W, 43^v; B(HT), 249; C(RE), 34).

1. B(HT), 249, verum > 250, videram

NB. The redactor adds his own introductory sentence to this chapter (43^v) which reads as follows: Iamque / sex decurso ebdomdarum spatio nocte illa sequitur •/ feria v. parasceue domini nescio qualimodo in capitulum deueni/ et a quodam sene abbas induto vi. disciplinas accepi tot vicibus istata confessione tociens sancta absolu / tione et benedicens ut fieri solet per omnia dicentis {in nomine patre et filii et spiritum sancti amen} ipse vero in sede abbas.

This effectively summarizes some of the preceding narrative and utilizes some of the vocabulary found in B(HT), 250, nescio qualimodo > Sancti.

2. B(HT), 250, eptabam > surrexi; C(RE), 34, ll.459[optabam]–462.

3. B(HT), 250, et beate Marie et omnibus sanctis; C(RE), 34, ll.464-465.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one

XIII. Qualiter se primum raptum sensit (W, f.43^v, B(HT) 250, C(RE), 36).

1. B(HT), 250, ad hec vero > 253, scimus; C(RE), 36, l.474-40, l.575 [deuiamus].

The whole of this chapter, bar the first sentence, is missing from the W redaction.

XIV. Qualiter in extasi positus sit monachus et secutus fuerit ductorum suum (W, 43^v; B(HT), 254; C(RE), 40).

1. B(HT), 254, ait frater > asciverat; C(RE), 40, ll.578-579.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XV. Qualiter venit in primum locum tormentorum (W, f.43^v (col.II); B(HT), 254; C(RE), 42).

This chapter is copied in its entirety into the W redaction.

XVI. De diversitate penarum (W, f.43^v; (col.II); B(HT), 255; C(RE), 44).

1. B(HT), 256, viderimus > 257, conspexi; C(RE), 46, ll.664-676.
2. B(HT), 257, confinia > potuissemus; C(RE), 46, ll.679-281.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one

XVII. De secundo loco tormentorum (W, f.44^r; B(HT), 258; C(RE), 48).

This chapter is copied in its entirety into the W redaction.

XVIII. Qualiter beata Margareta quondam meretricem liberauit a demonibus (W, f.44^v; B(HT), 259; C(RE), 50).

1. B(HT), 259, hic iam referre > documentum; C(RE), 50, ll.734-737.
2. B(HT), 260, quidni > actionis?; C(RE), N/A.
3. B(HT), 260, non confusionis > vermis; C(RE), N/A.
4. B(HT), 261, sed hanc heu proh > tegere; C(RE), 54, ll.792-796.
5. B(HT), 261, iam vero > novit; C(RE), 56, ll.812-813.

XIX. De quodam aurifabro per beatum Nicholaum a damnatione liberato (W, f.45^r; B(HT), 262; C(RE), 58).

1. B(HT), 262, ob quedam > inesse; C(RE), 58, l.839-840.
2. B(HT), 262, • > 263, depinixi; C(RE), 58, •60, l.871.

NB. At the end of this omission, the redactor of W uses some of the vocabulary found in B(HT): Contigit in hoc loco tormentorum (f.45^r).

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XX. Monachus hic primo scivit quod beatus Nicholaus fuit doctor suus (W, 45^r (col.II); B(HT), 264; C(RE), 60).

This chapter is copied in its entirety into the W redaction.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XXI. Narratio aurifabri de subita eius morte (W, 45^r (col.II); B(HT), 264; C(RE), 62).

1. B(HT), 265, et videretur nobis; C(RE), N/A. [Eye-slip, see above].
2. B(HT), 265, ne visitantis > 266, largiretur; C(RE), N/A.

3. B(HT), 266, O miram > executors; C(RE), 64, ll.938[O miserabilem]-949.
4. B(HT), 266, grates > refovīt; C(RE), 64, ll.953-955.
5. B(HT) 266, non sine > suscepēram; C(RE), 64, ll.958-960.
6. B(HT), 266, merito > virile; C(RE), 64, ll.963-968.
7. B(HT), 267, verens > defuissent me; C(RE), 66, ll.988-991.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XXII. Documentum aurifabri contra mortem subitanēam (W, 46^r; B(HT), 268; C(RE), 68).

1. B(HT), 268, de nonnullis > 269, consequēbantur; C(RE), 68, l.1037-70, l.1050.
2. B(HT), 269, scio preterea > reliquerim; C(RE), 70, ll.1063-1069.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XXIII. Qualiter narraverit filius aurifabri de apparitione trina patris matri sue fact (W, 46^r; B(HT), 269; C(RE), 72).

1. B(HT), 269, psalmos > 270, dum adhuc; C(RE), 72, ll.1075-1077.
2. B(HT), 270, ipsa etiam > valuisset; C(RE), 72, ll.1080-1081.
3. B(HT), 270, sed patienter > 272, multa nimis; C(RE), 72, l.1085-74, l.1144.

NB. The redactor adds his own concluding sentence to this chapter (46^r (col.II)) which reads as follows:

Verum de isto hec iam commemorasse sufficiat.

XXIV. De tertio loco tormentorum (W, f.46^r; B(HT), 272; C(RE), 120).

1. B(HT), 272, nam > 273, constantior; C(RE), 128, ll. 1957-1966.

XXV. De vitio sodomitico (W, f.46^v; B(HT), 274; C(RE), 120).

1. B(HT), 274, et si casu > credidissem; C(RE), 80, ll.1201[et si causam]-1204.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XXVI. De quodam legista sodomitico (W, f.46^v; B(HT), 275; C(RE) 80).

1. B(HT), 275, earum etiam > magismagisque; C(RE), 82, ll.1225-1228.
2. B(HT), 275, contra > unde; C(RE), 82, ll.1233-1235.
3. B(HT), 275, quid enim > 276, nescierunt; C(RE), 82, ll.1243-1252.
4. B(HT), 277, ve ve > gloriosus; C(RE), 84, ll.1280-1284.

5. B(HT), 277, ex hiis igitur > 278, corrigere; C(RE), 86, ll.1293-N/ A.
6. B(HT), 278, constat vero > 278, cognoverit; C(RE), 88, ll.1322-1337.
7. B(HT), 279, vel etiam > dederit; C(RE), 88, ll.1344-1345.

XXVII. De his quos in primo loco tormentorum monachus viderat cruciari (W, f.47r; B(HT), 279; C(RE), 90).

1. B(HT), 279, de > decreui; C(RE), 90, ll.1354-1355.
2. B(HT), 280, fuit > dissimulante; C(RE), 90, l.1385-92, l.1393.
3. B(HT), 280, et > peccatores; C(RE), 92, ll.1404-1412.
4. B(HT), 281, et > 282, operandi; C(RE), 94, ll.1418-1446.
5. B(HT), 282, et > coangustor; C(RE), 96, ll.1450-1461.

XXVIII. De quadam inclusa (W, f.47v; B(HT), 283; C(RE), 120).

B(HT), 283, hoc > cepi; C(RE), 96, l.1471-98, l.1483.

XXIX. De quodam episcopo (W, f.47v; B(HT), 284; C(RE), 98).

B(HT), 284, sed > ipsius; C(RE), 98, ll.1501-1508.

XXX. De cuiusdam uxore (W, f.47v; B(HT), 284; C(RE), 100).

B(HT), 285, ceterum > seculo; C(RE), 102, ll.1537-1553.

XXXI. De viris religiosis quas pervis pro quibus delictis pertulerunt (W, f.47v; B(HT), 285; C(RE), 102).

This chapter is copied in its entirety into the W redaction.

XXXII. De quodam milite qui votum fregit (W, f.48r; B(HT), 286; C(RE), 104).

B(HT), 286, quamquam > 287, susceperim; C(RE), 104, ll.1591-1593.

XXXIII. De alio milite (W, f.48r; B(HT), 287; C(RE), 106).

1. B(HT), 287, tunc temporis; C(RE), 106, l.1613.
2. B(HT), 287, ut monet apostolus; C(RE), 106, ll.1618-1619.
3. B(HT), 288, que > expiare; C(RE), 106, ll.1628-1630.
4. B(HT), 288, ut longe > complexus sum; C(RE), 108, ll.1639-1640.
5. B(HT), 288, verum > sufficiat; C(RE), 108, ll.1641-1642.

XXXIV. De his quos in secundo hoc tormentorum monachus vidit (W, f.48^r; B(HT), 288; C(RE), 108).

1. B(HT), 288, notarimus > multo; C(RE), 108, ll.1645-1646.

2. B(HT), 288, et notos > eius; C(RE), 108, ll.1647-1649.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XXXV. De tribus episcopis (W, f.48^r; B(HT), 288; C(RE), 108).

1. B(HT), 289, hoc etiam quibusque > renunciaverint; C(RE), 110, ll.1669-1673.

2. B(HT), 289, et ut sermone > suscepti; C(RE), 108, ll.1680-1684.

3. B(HT), 289, in his omnibus > 290, plagebant; C(RE), 108, ll.1684-1686.

4. B(HT), 290, sicut quemdam > uttuli; C(RE), 108, l.1687.

5. B(HT), 290, incertis > gravat; C(RE), 112, ll.1698-1703.

XXXVI. De quadam archiepiscopo (W, f.48^v; B(HT), 290; C(RE), 112).

1. B(HT), 290, strenuus > pretantissimus; C(RE), 112, ll.1708-1709.

2. B(HT), 290, in regione latissima; C(RE), 112, l.1710.

3. B(HT), 291, quod > 292, laborabat; C(RE), 112, l.1722[quod etiam]-114, l.1757.

4. B(HT), 292, intitulum > profecta est; C(RE), 114, l.1761-116, l.1768.

The section starting sacerdotes (f.48^v; B(HT), 290) is treated by the scribe of W as a new chapter, but follows the B text to verum, before the start of the next chapter.

XXXVII. Quedam description monachi de quibusdam hominum generibus et de eorum penis (W, f.48^v; B(HT), 293; C(RE), 116).

1. B(HT), 293, longum > exponere; C(RE), 116, ll.1786 – 1789.

2. B(HT), 293, taceo > cum; C(RE), 116, l.1792 [from homicidas] – l.1796.

3. B(HT), 293, quod > indico; C(RE), N/A.

XXXVIII. De veneficis (W, f.49^r; B(HT), 294; C(RE), 118).

This chapter is copied in its entirety into the W redaction.

XXXIX. De feneratoribus (W, f.49^r; B(HT), 294; C(RE), 120).

This chapter is copied in its entirety into the W redaction.

XL. De fugitivis (W, f.49^r; B(HT), 294; C(RE), 120).

B(HT), 294, et post uotum > repetentes; C(RE), ll.1839-1840.

XLI. De quodam principe (W, f.49^r; B(HT), 296; C(RE), 120).

B(HT), 296, colligat > 297, edoctus; C(RE), 124, ll. 1902-1918.

NB. Essentially this chapter remains intact apart from this omission at the end.

XLII. De quodam episcopo qui licet in penis esset, tamen miraculis coruscauit (W, f.49^v; B(HT), 297; C(RE), 126).

1. B(HT), 297, que > inimica; C(RE), 126, ll.1928-1929.
2. B(HT), 297, nitebatur > 298, agimus; C(RE), 126, ll.1930-1933.
3. B(HT), 298, sicut > placuissent; C(RE), 126, ll.1938-1946.
4. B(HT), 298, qui > exempla; C(RE), 126, ll.1948-1951.

XLIII. De quodam abbate (W, f.49^v; B(HT), 298; C(RE), 128).

1. B(HT), 298, si quem fame > 299, implebatur; C(RE), 128, ll. 1957-1966.
2. B(HT), 299, plane > predictus; C(RE), 128, l.1974-130, l.1994.
3. B(HT), 300, multus >intendebam; C(RE), 130, l.2007-139, l.2054.

XLIV. De quadam abatissa (W, f.49^v; B(HT), 301; C(RE), 134).

1. B(HT), 301, spe felici > perventum; C(RE), 134, ll.2054-2056.
2. B(HT), 301, suo > anhelantes; C(RE), 134, ll.2057- 2060.
3. B(HT), 301, quibusdam > 302, percepisse; C(RE), 134, ll.2062 - 2065.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

XLV. De duabus monialibus leprosis (W, f.49^v; B(HT), 301; C(RE), 136).

1. B(HT), 302, referebat > 303, erumpnosam; C(RE), 134, l.2072-136, l.2096.

NB. This omission removes all of chapter XLV, bar the final sentence.

XLVI. De quodam milite simoniaci (W, f.49^v; B(HT), 303; C(RE), 138).

1. B(HT), 303, peruatione > nefaria; C(RE), 138, l.2105.
2. B(HT), 303, satagens > renumerans; C(RE), 138, ll.2122-2123.

3. B(HT), 304, animadvertendum > incognita; C(RE), 140, ll.2139–2145.

XLVII. De monacho sacrista (W, f.50r; B(HT), 304; C(RE), 140).

B(HT), 304, mos > 306, satisfactione; C(RE), N/A.

XLVIII. De quodam clerico schlastico qui sancte vixerat (W, f.50r; B(HT), 306; C(RE), 144).

1. B(HT), 306, crebras > perennis; C(RE), 144, ll.2209–2194.

2. B(HT), 307, et > digessimus; C(RE), 144, ll.2221–146, 2231.

3. B(HT), 307, post > restituerit; C(RE), N/A.

4. B(HT), 307, dignum > seculorum; C(RE), N/A.

XLIX. De paradiso & hominum multitudine quam monachus in illo vidit (W, f.50r; B(HT), 308; C(RE), 146).

1. B(HT), 308, nunc igitur > predictus; C(RE), 146, ll.2237–2239.

2. B(HT), 308, multorum interim > de paucis; C(RE), 146, l.2252.

L. De quadam abbatisa (W, f.50r; B(HT), 309; C(RE), 148).

1. B(HT), 308, transeo cetera > infirmitas. Hoc sibi; C(RE), 148, ll.2264–2268.

2. B(HT), 309, tanta quoque > auditis; C(RE), 148, l.2278–149, l.2299.

LI. De quodam priore qualiter sancte obierat (W, f.50v; B(HT), 309; C(RE), 150).

1. B(HT), 310, abstinentiam > impensis; C(RE), 150, l.2311–153, l.2322.

2. B(HT), 310, verum ut ait Salomon > intentus; C(RE), 152, ll.2326–2336.

3. B(HT), 311, longum > in eo; C(RE), 152, ll.2343–2347.

4. B(HT), 311, in cinere > beate Virginis; C(RE), 152, ll.2347–2354.

5. B(HT), 311, tantum et talem > devotissime; C(RE), 152, ll.2355–2356.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

LII. De quodam sancto adolescente monacho (W, f.50v; B(HT), 311; C(RE), 154).

1. B(HT), qui sacre > commutaveret; C(RE), 154, ll.2359–2363.

2. B(HT), dixit transit > commutaverat; C(RE), 154, l.2367.

3. B(HT), hic meus fuit > ad celum; C(RE), 154, ll.2368–2369.

LIII. De quodam venerabilis uite sacerdote (W, f.50^v; B(HT), 312; C(RE), 156).

1. B(HT), 312, vidi quoque > inenarrabilis; C(RE), 156, ll.2380–2397.
2. B(HT), 312, cur autem > vidi?; C(RE), 156, ll.2400–2402.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

LIV. De representatione dominice passionis inter agmina bonorum facta (W, f.50^v; B(HT), 312; C(RE), 156).

1. B(HT), 313, hec michi > 314, ignore; C(RE), 158, l.2424–160, l. 2450.

LV. De ingresso porte paradise et de Gloria Domini que intro apparuit (W, f.50^v; B(HT), 314; C(RE), 160).

1. B(HT), 314, nunc ima petens > negabat; C(RE), 160, ll.2469–2470.
2. B(HT), 315, micabat quidem > coaptabat; C(RE), 162, ll.2491–2493.
3. B(HT), 316, videtur > gravat; C(RE), 164, ll.2519–2520.

LVI. Qualiter monachus egressus est ianuam paradise (W, 51^r (col.II); B(HT), 316; C(RE), 164).

1. B(HT), 316, diligenter > admitti; C(RE), 166, ll.2541–2543.

In the W redaction there is no gap between this chapter and the next one.

LVII. De classico quod monachus audivit et qualiter ad se reversus fuerit (W, 51^v; B(HT), 317; C(RE), 166).

1. B(HT), 317, putabam me > aut scivi; C(RE), 166, ll.2561–2565.
2. B(HT), 317, hec ego vobis > intueri; C(RE), 166, l.2569–168, l.2577.

LVIII. Argumentum ad visionem monachi confirandum (W, N/A; B(HT), 318; C(RE), 168).

This chapter is omitted in its entirety from the W redaction.

II. A note on the later dissemination of the vision of Gunthelm

There is a later account of the vision of Gunthelm which is worth considering briefly. John of Tynemouth (sometimes known as Johannes Anglicus, John of York, John, vicar of Tynemouth or John of Tinmouth) included the vision in his *Sanctilogium Angliae*, compiled sometime in the middle decades of the fourteenth century. The *Sanctilogium* is a compilation of the lives of the English saints arranged according to the calendar of their feast days. It is only extant in one badly burned copy in the British Library.¹ In this manuscript, a redacted version of the vision of Gunthelm appears in a *narratio* following the life of Saint Gilbert of Sempringham, the founder of the Gilbertine order (d.1190) who was canonized in 1202 by Innocent III.² His feast day is on the fourth of February. John of Tynemouth extracted the vision from VG(V), copying some of the small number of additions that Vincent made to the VG(H) and noting that the visionary entered a Cistercian monastery.³ This redaction deserves a thorough analysis in its own right.

The *Sanctilogium* was later re-organised into a new collection in the fifteenth century known as *De Sanctis Anglie*. This re-editing replaced the calendar-based structure with an alphabetical one and is thought to have been the work of John Capgrave (1393-1464).⁴ If so, he was responsible for the removal of several of the stories that accompanied the saint's lives in the *Sanctilogium*. The vision of Gunthelm was one of these deleted stories and two longer journeys to the otherworld – the vision of Tundale and St. Patrick's Purgatory – were also removed.⁵ The text underwent several more changes before being printed as the *Nova Legenda Anglie* by Wynkyn de Worde in 1516 and translated and printed by Richard Pyson in the same year as *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande*. Neither of these texts contains the vision of Gunthelm.⁶ The

¹ London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius E i.

² *ibid.*, ff.37^v-38^r (item #15). The text of this *narratio* can be found in *Nova legenda Anglie, as collected by John of Tynemouth, J. Capgrave, and others*, Carl Horstman ed., 2 vols. (London, 1901), I, pp.473-475. Although the text in this edition is accurate, the volume is an unreliable guide to the way the vision actually appeared in the manuscript, as will be discussed below.

³ John of Tynemouth copies Vincent's amended list of the various religious people that the visionary encounters: 'Post hec uidit diversas personas religiosas, monachorum, monialium, episcoporum, presbiterorum, et clericorum', *Nova Legenda Anglie*, p.474. Other extracts from the *Speculum* elsewhere in John's collection, notably the lives of Saints Boniface and Dunstan. He notes the Cistercian context of the vision as follows: 'ordinem cisterciensem intrans', *ibid.*, p.473.

⁴ It is not certain that John Capgrave was personally responsible for the rearrangement. See, J. Lucas, 'John Capgrave and the *Nova legenda Anglie*: a survey', *The Library*, 5th ser., 25 (1970), pp.1-10.

⁵ For the account of St. Patrick's Purgatory, see: London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius E i., f.65^v (item #31) and the VT, *ibid.*, f.68^v (#32).

⁶ Helen Birkett discusses a vision that was actually resurrected in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*. The vision of the Walter is recorded in: *Nova Legenda Anglie*, II, p.410. See: Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Woodbridge, 2010), p.130.

Nova Legena Anglia was the basis for Carl Horstman's edition of the text.⁷ This edition placed the deleted extracts from the *Sanctilogium* manuscript back into the text as the 'T' interpolations. It is possible that this unconventional arrangement led to the incorrect attribution of the vision of Gunthelm in Albert Poncelet's guide to Marian miracles and to Giles Constable's incorrect statement that the vision was "among the *Legenda* of John of [sic] Capgrave."⁸ If anything, it seems likely that John Capgrave was responsible for removing it from his collection. Manfred Görlach has alleviated some of this confusion in his introduction to an edition of *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande*.⁹ Here he notes John Capgrave's omission of several of the stories accompanying the saints' lives (although he does not mention the vision of Gunthelm specifically) and argues that the other changes to the text were "rather superficial".¹⁰

⁷ *Nova legenda Anglie*, as collected by John of Tynemouth, J. Capgrave, and others, C. Horstman ed., 2 vols. (London, 1901),

⁸ VG(A), 98. Constable takes the misattribution from: A. Poncelet, 'Miraculorum B. V. Mariae quae saec. VI-XV latine conscripta sunt index (Initia miraculorum B. Virginis Mariae)', *AB* 21 (1902), 241-360, no. 730.

⁹ *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende of Englande*, ed. Manfred Görlach (Heidelberg, 1994).

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 10.

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