ROBERT GROSSETESTE AS MENTOR TO
WILLIAM OF SHOREHAM

THESIS

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The problem scrutinized in this thesis is the relationship between Robert Grosseteste, mentioned in the colophon of William of Shoreham's "Song to Mary," and the author of said poem. The influence of Grosseteste on William of Shoreham appears to be extensive. Many similarities of organization, diction, and, especially, imagery, exist in the works of both men. The images of the windowpane, the mirror, and Mary as a castle are found in more than one instance in both Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour and in several of Shoreham's poems. Moreover, the borrowed imagery in Shoreham's poetry is unquestionably superior to any other in his works. It is the conclusion of this thesis that Robert Grosseteste was a considerable influence on the works of William of Shoreham.
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CHAPTER I

WILLIAM OF SHOREHAM: THE MINSTREL PRIEST OF KENT

Among the numerous didactic treatises of the English Medieval Period, there appeared in the fourteenth century an innovation of form. Moving away from the short couplet, the usual form for homilies, a small group of Kentishmen began to use the ballad meters of the minstrels. The inspiration for this departure from a perhaps more logical wedding of form and theme is not known. Perhaps the nearness of Kent to France brought wind of a cycle of homilies, based on the works of Maurice de Sully, in the lyrical form.¹ Perhaps in Kent for the first time musicians were allowed to perform in the abbeys, influencing those who heard them to imitate the rime couée and septenarius in an effort to make catechetical themes more appealing to the common people. One such event occurred in the year 1309 at the installation of a new abbot at St. Augustine's in Canterbury. Six thousand guests were entertained by paid minstrels who sang to the

¹Bernard ten Brink, Early English Literature, 3 Vols., trans. from German by Horace M. Kennedy (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1883), 1, 283.
accompaniment of harps.² Among the guests were doubtless many Augustine canons from the county of Kent. One of them might likely have been William of Shoreham.³ Whatever the source of inspiration, lyrical homilies appeared only in Kent. Dan Michel of Northgate was one of the originators of this movement; another perhaps earlier was William of Shoreham.

Using a variety of ballad-like meters, William of Shoreham dressed in lyrical form such treatises as "The Seven Sacraments," "The Seven Deadly Sins," "The Ten Commandments," and "The Trinity." In addition, he wrote three devotional poems more suitable to the ballad form. "Shoreham's favorite metre is the septenarius, with variations of one kind or another, now with a short one-accent tag at the end of the second long line, now with middle as well as end rhyme."⁴ An example of this style in which each line contains fourteen syllables of iambic parameter, is his first poem, "The Seven Sacraments":

³Ibid., p. 387. ⁴Ibid.
In "The Seven Sacraments" Shoreham used the septenary form in combination with a modified bob-wheel. The bob-wheel stanza, popularized by such poets as the so-called "Pearl Poet," contained one line of two syllables followed by four rhymed lines. As far as known, Shoreham was the only writer to employ this particular stanza. Other poems used the six-line stanza of the rime couée. The rime couée is a six-line stanza containing two short lines which rhyme. Usually, the four longer lines are written in tetrameter, with the two shorter lines in trimeter. "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary," the "Song to Mary," and "The Trinity" follow this pattern, although the two short lines occur in varying positions. The last poem is most true to the form, with two lines of tetrameter followed by one line of trimeter.

William of Shoreham lived, wrote a respectable body of lyrical homilies, and died, leaving little information about his own life. He was doubtless a native of

\[^{5}\text{ten Brink, p. 282.}\]
Shoreham, a small village near Oxford, in the vicinity of Sevenoaks. A member of a priory of canons regular established at Leeds, Kent, in 1119, he is thought to have been the first vicar of Chart-Sutton, a parish attached to the priory and convent at Leeds. Speculation is that upon the resignation of Johannes Haukynge in 1320, Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury, allowed the vicarage to be attached to the priory at Leeds, providing that a permanent vicar should be appointed and maintained. Judging from the colophon at the close of "The Seven Deadly Sins," Shoreham must have died before 1333, as the inscription at the close of the poem allows an indulgence of forty days to any who read Shoreham's poem. The indulgence was granted to readers of the poem by Archbishop Simon Mepham, who held the see of Canterbury from 1327-1333.

In spite of the scarcity of knowledge about Shoreham's life, the body of his writing appears reasonably intact.

7 ten Brink, p. 281. 8 Konrath, p. xiv.
9 Schofield, p. 387. 10 Konrath, p. xi.
His works reveal the mind and spirit of the man quite clearly. He reveals himself as a pious and learned theologian, well read in the writings of the ecclesiastical authors most reputed in his day; sometimes, it seems, even resorting to remoter sources (see, for instance, his discourse on the origin of evil); well versed in canon law (see the treatise on Matrimony); of a scholastic turn of thought though not without a learning towards interpreting matters in a mystical and allegorical way. At the same time we recognize the practical Churchman, who had the cure of souls; who knew the spiritual wants as well as the capabilities of those bat lewed beb; and who, as a faithful shepherd, earnestly endeavoured to minister to them to the best of his ability. 11

In short, Shoreham might well have served as a pattern for Chaucer's parson in The Canterbury Tales.

That William of Shoreham had some difficulty in writing for the common people, however, is apparent to the reader. If the state of the church during the fourteenth century was that described in Chapter II of this paper, certainly few uneducated people could have been enticed by the intricacies of his arguments. Schofield describes him as "no ignorant person writing for the populace, but an educated and thoughtful theologian, trying to win the cultivated by ingenious argument." 12 One work in particular, "The Trinity," could only be appreciated by educated people of the upper class. This work attempts to win the educated doubter to Christianity

11Ibid., pp. xiv-xv. 12Schofield, p. 387.
by logical explanation of the existence of God, the Trinity, the revolt of Lucifer, the origin of evil, and the fall of man.\textsuperscript{13}

The sole copy of Shoreham's works is contained in Additional MS. 17,376 in the library of the British Museum. The volume contains 220 leaves of vellum, beginning with works in Latin and English not belonging to Shoreham. These articles, including the Athanasian Creed, the book of Canticles, and a prose version of the Psalms, are in the handwriting of the same scribe who copied William of Shoreham's poems. It is far from a clean copy, the scribe being apparently ignorant of what he was transcribing, perhaps even unable to read, for some lines are totally unintelligible.\textsuperscript{14} It is difficult to date Shoreham's works by the manuscript because copyists apparently used their own dialects in rewriting Shoreham's poems. Thus, a variety of dialectal forms occurs in the poems, making it quite impossible to say which belong to Shoreham's period of West Kentish and which have been changed by later copyists. The dialect of the manuscript seems later than that of Dan Michel's A\textit{\textsuperscript{3}enbite of Inwyt} of 1340, for instance, but whether this is a reflection of differences in Shoreham's West Kentish dialect, of a

\textsuperscript{13}Konrath, p. xii. \textsuperscript{14}Ibid., p. xi.
later scribe's dialect, or of a later dating of Shoreham's authorship is unknown.

Contained in the MS. are seven poems attributed to Shoreham, in the following order:

I. De septem Sacramentis. De psalmo 'Exercitatus sum et defecit spiritus.'

The colophon at the end of it runs: "oretis pro anima domini Willelmi de Schorham quondam vicarii de chart iuxta Ledes. Qui composuit istam compilationem de septem sacramentis."

II. The Hours of the Cross, combined with Hours of the Compassion of Our Lady.

III. De decem preceptis.

IV. De septem mortalibus peccatis.

Colophon at the end of it: "Oretis pro anima domini Willelmi de Schorham quondam vicarii de chart iuxta ledes qui composuit istam compilationem de septem mortalibus peccatis. Et omnibus dicentibus oraciøgem dominicam cum salutacione angelica xltz dies venie a domino Symone Archiepiscopo cantuarie conceduntur."

V. The Five Joys of the Virgin, composed at the request of a 'soster.'

Colophon at the end of it: "Oretis pro anima Willelmi de Schorham quondam vicarii de chart iuxta Ledes.

VI. On the Virgin Mary.

Colophon: "Oretis pro anima domini Roberti Grosseteyte quondam Episcopi Lincolnieoe."

VII. A didactic poem on the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith: a sort of "Summa Theologiae," treating of the ground of our belief in the existence of a Deity, the
Trinity, the creation, the revolt of Lucifer in heaven, the origin of evil, and the fall of man. 15

Of these seven works only No. VI is sometimes questioned as authentic work of William of Shoreham. The colophon at the close of this poem may imply that it is a poem written by Robert Grosseteste, translated either by the hand of Shoreham or by an unknown author. The poem shows, however, basically the same West Kentish forms used in Shoreham's other poems, though there are some variances. The duplication of images found both in this poem and others by Shoreham also indicates that the "Song to Mary" was at least translated by Shoreham. The mechanical quality of the scribe's work in the MS. does not indicate his taking the initiative of placing a foreign work in the midst of Shoreham's poetry. The poem is definitely superior, however, to Shoreham's other poems. The conclusion of all critics of Shoreham's works thus far has been to assume that he translated a poem written by Grosseteste, or at least based this poem on one by Grosseteste, and intended by the colophon to dedicate his efforts to the revered Bishop of Lincoln. 16

A number of facts support the latter contention. For a variety of reasons, Robert Grosseteste, thirteenth century Bishop of Lincoln, was a man worthy of Shoreham's

15 Ibid., pp. xii-xiii. 16 Ibid., p. xiii.
especial veneration. Grosseteste served as the first Chancellor of Oxford University and was still in Shoreham's day the most famous scholar that university could boast, being compared in Europe with such an eminent scholar as Thomas Aquinas. Whether or not Shoreham studied at Oxford, his scholarly bent would have acquainted him with the thought and works of Grosseteste. Furthermore, in his position as vicar to a church attached somewhat loosely to a priory, Shoreham owed his perhaps precarious independence to the crusading of the late Bishop of Lincoln, who viewed the interference of such priories to be the foremost cause of the lack of adequately educated parish priests.

In both temperament and background, Grosseteste was a man to suit the tastes of William of Shoreham. A fearless reformer who insisted that clergymen practice what they preached, Grosseteste was a man of simple tastes who wished piety and knowledge of the scriptures and of church law to be wedded in the teaching of the secular portion of English society. One of his major concerns was for Christian instruction of the laity. Although active in high civil and church circles, Grosseteste nevertheless retained a simplicity of manners and a directness in his relationships with people that are much
in evidence in the writings of Shoreham. Grosseteste's foremost concern was always the common people and their care.

In addition to Grosseteste's stature as a scholar and churchman, the veneration accorded him in the century after his death (1253) inspired numerous translations of his works and many literary allusions to the late Bishop of Lincoln. Attempts at canonization began immediately after his death and continued into the following century. In spite of the lack of success of this venture, he was most typically referred to as "Seynt Roberd." Not only was Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour, a popular Roman de la Rose, translated from Norman French into English, and his Templum Domini translated from Latin to English during this period, but many of his Dicta and other short works inspired notable authors of the fourteenth century. Handlyng Synne was a translation of what Mannyng supposed to be a work by Robert Grosseteste. Richard Rolle's Pricke of Conscience was partially based on some of Grosseteste's Dicta.


19 Ibid., p. 39.
The contention of this thesis is that William of Shoreham saw himself as a part of this school of imitation and veneration of the renowned Bishop of Lincoln, that he not only translated the "Song to Mary" from a lost poem by Grosseteste, but that he also borrowed heavily, for organization, themes, and imagery, in all of his works, from Grosseteste's writings. Chief among these is the Chasteau d'Amour, which existed in numerous copies in the fourteenth century, and the Templum Domini, although other Grosseteste sources unknown today may have also served. The evidence for this thesis is most clear in the similarities of imagery in the work of both writers, but an excellent case may be offered that Shoreham selected the topics of his works from the instructions for priests laid down by Grosseteste, and that he in every way followed the pattern set for priests in both his life and his writings.

The various reasons that may have led to Shoreham's emulation of Robert Grosseteste as a mentor will be explored in Chapter II. Grosseteste's vigorous campaign to secure independent vicarages is certainly chief among these. His stature as a scholar coupled with his practicality as a theologian made him an ideal source for the parish priest who wished to improve the level of Christian understanding of his flock. The integrity of
Grosseteste, at one time leading even to his excommunication, would also have appealed to one of Shoreham's stamp, concerned as he was with observing the intent and not merely the letter of Christian moral law. The veneration of Grosseteste as a saint in the fourteenth century, his orderly yet literate presentations of all that was necessary that "lewed man has nede for to knawe,"\textsuperscript{20} as well as his supposed love of music and his good humor,\textsuperscript{21} would have recommended him to William of Shoreham as an excellent pattern.


\textsuperscript{21}"I shall you tell as I have heard--Of the Bishop Saint Roberd:/His to-name is Grossetest--Of Lincoln; so saith the jest./He loved much to hear the harp/for man's wit it maketh sharp." \textit{Handlyng Synne}. In Boulter, p. 32.
CHAPTER II

ROBERT GROSSETESTES: A VENERABLE MENTOR

That William of Shoreham was both influenced in his writing and inspired by the work of Robert Grossetests has several foundations. The initial and most obvious connection is the colophon found at the close of "On the Virgin Mary," or, as it is sometimes titled, "Song to Mary." The colophon reads, "Oretis pro anima domini Roberti Grosseteste quondam Episcopi Lincolniae" [Pray for the soul of Robert Grosseteste, formerly Bishop of Lincoln]. Both ten Brink¹ and Schofield² accept the colophon as evidence that William of Shoreham translated his hymn to Mary from a poem written by Grosseteste. Although no such work by Grosseteste has been

¹"But we can only judge of his talent for form, since he worked after an original of Robert de Grosseteste," in Bernard ten Brink, Early English Literature, 3 vols., trans. from German by Horace M. Kennedy (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1883), 1, 283.

²"As an example of a homilist using lyric verse for didactic purposes, we may take the case of William of Shoreham, who in the early fourteenth century wrote several pleasing poems . . . including a fine Song on the Joys of the Virgin, translated, it is said, from a hymn by Grosseteste." William Henry Schofield, English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1906), p. 387.
found, the quality of the hymn is much superior to the other works by Shoreham. Whether or not Grosseteste actually composed the original, it seems evident that Shoreham was working with an original which he believed to have been composed by the Bishop of Lincoln. Even if there is not sufficient evidence to show borrowing from Grosseteste by Shoreham, as Konrath suggests, the colophon certainly discloses Shoreham's reverence for him, and a desire to honor a well-known clergyman.

Why might William have been drawn to the writings of Grosseteste, a bishop of another diocese, dead for at least sixty years when Shoreham attained his position as vicar of Chart-Sutton and completed his sum of writings? There are a number of reasons, chief of which relates to Shoreham's attainment of the post of vicar. This position, a common one today, had a very tenuous existence in the early part of the medieval period in England. Both the position and the financial security of parish priests appear to have been firmly established during Anglo-Saxon times. The principle of division of tithes by apportionment of one-third for the vicar and two-thirds for the monastery was codified in England "in the sixth article

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4 Ibid.
of the so-called Church Grith law of 1014, passed by
Ethelred II with the consent of his witan . . . ."\(^5\)
This division coincided "with the old canonical principle
that one-third of the tithes should go for the Church,
one-third for the poor, and one-third for the priest."\(^6\)
This arrangement for the support of vicarages almost
completely died out, however, with the Conquest. Early
in the twelfth century, monasteries appropriated in
excess of two-thirds of all vicarages.\(^7\)

The reasons for this situation were several. First
with the coming of Norman rule, French, and later other
foreign priests, staffed many vicarages.\(^8\) A large number
of these men could not even speak English and made no
attempt to learn the vernacular spoken by the people they
were intended to serve. Many others continued to live in
their own lands and to allow their churches to lie vacant
or to be served by beneficed persons of no education and
scant moral recommendations.\(^9\) How common this situation
had become is told by Matthew Paris as by many other

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\(^5\) Thorpe, Anglo-Saxon Laws, i.p. 342. in Francis
Seymour Stevenson, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln

\(^6\) Stevenson, p. 142. \(^7\) Ibid., p. 138.

\(^8\) Ibid., p. 143.

\(^9\) B. C. Boulter, Robert Grosseteste: The Defender
of Our Church Liberties (London: Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge, 1936), pp. 36-37.
chroniclers of this period. The Great Interdict of 1209-1214 caused many other priests and bishops to be absent from their posts for long periods of time. Robert Grosseteste, chancellor of Oxford at this time, served six other posts in addition to that of the See of Coventry, vacated in 1210. Later Grosseteste was to resign all obligations except the prebendary of Lincoln, declaring such multiplicity of duties to be disastrous to the well-being of individual parishes as well as to the health of the harassed pastor. Grosseteste's situation was not uncommon, except in the conscientious manner in which he carried out his duties.

The situation of numerous vacant and ill-tenanted churches led to so-called farming of churches. This was a system in which churches were appropriated by nearby monasteries who were supposed to hire competent vicars to tend the parish. In the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, however, it had become a very unsatisfactory solution.

To save expenses in an age when religious houses were

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11 Stevenson, p. 27. 12 Boulter, p. 37.
heavily taxed by unscrupulous Papal legates,\textsuperscript{14} or, through greed in some cases, these churches were often allowed to remain vacant upon the death of the pastor. The monastery then simply appointed one of the monks to say mass and attend to whatever duties he might find time for. This arrangement was harmful in one of two ways: either the duties to the parishioners, such as confession, baptisms, weddings, etc., were ignored largely or altogether, or the monk's monastic life was strictly curtailed.\textsuperscript{15}

Various attempts were made to relieve this situation, most notably by Robert Grosseteste during his term as Bishop of Lincoln. The farming of churches to monasteries he sufficiently opposed to the point of risking excommunication. In a letter to John Romanus, Sub-dean of York, in regard to a request from the Pope's nuncio that a church at Chalgrave be farmed in this manner, Grosseteste wrote:

\begin{quote}
To put a church to farm is not freely to dispose of it, but rather to reduce the free faith of Christ to a servile condition; and the necessity of residing elsewhere does not prevent you from having a faithful deputy. When the Oxford Council laid down [1222] the rule that a church may only be farmed by "an individual who must
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{14}Matthew Paris, 3, 218-219.

\textsuperscript{15}Stevenson, p. 138.
be honourable and in holy orders," it evidently intended by that definition to exclude religious corporations.16

In the wake of the Council of the English Church of November, 1237, held in St. Paul's Church, London, Grosseteste published and circulated a Constitution, as did many other bishops, in which he laid down rules for relieving many instances of abuse in the English church. Article Fifteen states that "churches and matters appertaining to churches must neither be put out or taken to farm, except in the special cases in which exceptions are allowed by the Councils."17 Article Eighteen states that "a priest is entitled to receive such salary as will provide him with an adequate and an honourable livelihood."18 "The farming of church property to laymen," Grosseteste asserts in Article Nineteen, "is forbidden except in special cases . . . ."19 This was not a novel idea; the Canon of the Lateran Council of 1179 "required religious houses to establish vicars in their churches,"20 as did the Council of Westminster in 1200 and the Council of Oxford in 1222, which was attended by Stephen Langton, who introduced several

16 H. R. Luard, Epistolae. Letter 18 probably written in 1236. In Stevenson, p. 139.
17 Stevenson, pp. 134-135. 18 Ibid., p. 135.
19 Ibid. 20 Ibid., p. 140.
articles concerning the care of vicarages. No man, however, appears to have acted so strongly in regard to vicarages as Robert Grosseteste, both in his own diocese and in the country at large.

So devoted was he to the principle of independent vicarages that his vigorous attempts to secure them for the See of Lincoln led to his excommunication. This occurred because of Grosseteste's revival of the rights of visitation, one method he used to enforce his ideals. His attempts to inspect monasteries led to open opposition and even violence in one instance. After being refused an invitation to visit Bardney Abbey (Benedictine), Grosseteste sent members of his familia to carry out visitation. They were met with the admonition that if they did not withdraw, the abbot could not prevent violence on the part of the people. The servants reported to Grosseteste that they were driven away with arms and cudgels in a most unchristian manner. Grosseteste then wrote to the Pope asking for confirmation of his right to visitation, and in 1243 the Bardney monks appealed to the chapter house of Canterbury to act on their behalf.

In the absence of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who

\[21\] Ibid., pp. 140-141.

\[22\] Mathew Paris's English History, 1, 449.
was in exile in France, they issued a writ of excommunication on the Bishop of Lincoln. Upon receiving the writ Grosseteste shocked those who delivered it by treading it underfoot, grinding the seal of Thomas à Becket into the ground and remarking that "I do not ask that the monks should pray otherwise for my soul to all eternity."^{23}

It was not until 1251 that the issue was finally resolved with a papal bull from Pope Innocent IV endorsing Grosseteste's provisions for vicarages. The letter stated,

\[\text{Whereas in your city and diocese certain monks and others forming communities hold possession for their own benefit, of the parochial churches, in which the vicarages are either too small or non-existent: we, by this apostolic mandate, authorise you to institute vicarages in the said churches out of their revenues, or, if need be, to augment them from the same source in order to make them less poor, in accordance with the will of God and the custom of the country.}^{24}\]

Stevenson states that in regard to the farming of vicarages, Grosseteste's

strenuous opposition to new appropriations, and his insistence that, in the case of existing appropriations, adequate financial arrangements should be made by the establishment of vicarages, earned him the hostility of the monastic bodies, even more than any other action he took in the course of his lifetime.^{25}

\[^{23}\text{Ibid., I, 450.}^{24}\text{Stevenson, pp. 282-283.}^{25}\text{Ibid., p. 144.}\]
Even more resistant to the establishment of free vicarages than the Benedictines, though perhaps less violent, were the Austin Canons, the order to which William of Shoreham belonged. Their houses are repeatedly named in papal bulls written to Grosseteste. The Dunstable Annals relate the extreme difficulty they incurred in retaining their farmed churches during a three-year period. Grosseteste apparently visited the Dunstable Priory of Austin Canons on at least three occasions and reported that bad administration and the establishment and maintenance of vicarages were the reasons for his visits. In a letter to the abbot of the Austin Canons of Missenden (1240), Grosseteste reproves them for their lack of care in the selection of vicars for the churches which they farm:

When you have to choose someone to look after your swine, you make diligent search for a person possessing the proper qualifications: you inquire whether he is willing to take them into fitting pastures in the morning, to see that they get their food during the day, to preserve them from thieves and wild beasts, to bring them safely home in the evening, and to watch over them by night. And are not your souls of more value than many swine?

26 Ibid., p. 150.
27 Ibid., p. 140.
29 Stevenson, p. 152.
Even though friction continued between Robert Grosseteste and the Austin Canons, at least two members of his familia had connections with the order: Benedict de Bruga, who was admitted to Dunstable Priory as a canon on May 9, 1252, and John de Crakehall, who was with Grosseteste when he died and whose loan of a sum of money to Dunstable in 1272 was repaid by their taking in a blind man in his memory. Nevertheless, it is perhaps ironic that William of Shoreham, a member of a priory of Austin Canons regular, established in 1119 at Leeds, in Kent, should owe, in good part, his appointment as vicar of Chart-Sutton to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. This post, which he may have been the first to hold, he served admirably and apparently freely for the rest of his life. William, an ardent and educated reader of ecclesiastical writers of his day, as evidenced by his works and knowledge of canon law, scholastic thought, and theology, would almost certainly have had some knowledge of the copious writings of Grosseteste, and, in light of Shoreham's appointment as vicar and the instability of that post even in his day, might well have

31 Ibid., p. 225.
32 Konrath, p. xiv.
looked upon the late Bishop of Lincoln as something of a patron saint.

That Robert Grosseteste was a scholar of stature worthy of Shoreham's admiration is clearly evidenced by writers of his day. Both during his life and in the century succeeding his death, Grosseteste enjoyed a reputation recognized by few contemporary scholars, excepting theologians. His stature in the field of theology was perhaps surpassed only by that of Thomas Aquinas, who wrote his Summa Theologica some ten years after the death of Grosseteste. The roots of these two theological giants touch in several ways: both became acquainted at the University of Paris with Aristotelian logic as well as the Sentences of Peter Lombard. This work spoke out against the excessive application of systems of logic to theology employed by the successors of Abelard and attempted "to reconcile reason with authority, rather than authority with reason." Grosseteste was to lean more heavily upon the methods of Lombard and the logic of St. Augustine; Aquinas, on the logic of Aristotle.

Grosseteste was one of the most prolific writers of theology in the Middle Ages. A list of his works includes

33 Stevenson, pp. 19-20. 34 Ibid.

two to three hundred sermons; more than sixty longer treatises on subjects such as the seven sacraments, confession, the seven deadly sins, reparation from the fall, and the ten commandments, as well as commentaries on Genesis, Job, and Jeremiah; 147 dicta, or shorter discourses; as well as the Chasteau d'Amour, a French romance widely read in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and many other poetic treatments of religious subjects attributed to him, some perhaps erroneously.36

Grosseteste's education afforded him a broad and far more modern scholarship than could be claimed by even the most renowned scholars of his day. Of lowly birth, he once said that the characters of Holy Scripture were his first teachers and that they acquainted him with nobility of spirit and mind.37 He may have studied at Lincoln at the time Giraldus Cambrensis was there; at any rate, Cambrensis read his works at Oxford in 1186 or soon after and wrote a letter of recommendation for Robert Grosseteste to the then Bishop of Hereford around the year 1199.38 (In all likelihood Grosseteste had arrived at Oxford sometime before the year 1196.)39 Cambrensis' letter attributes to Grosseteste mastery of the seven liberal arts (grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic,
geometry, music, and astronomy), as well as medicine, canon law, theology, physical science, and ancient languages.\textsuperscript{40} His extraordinary knowledge of canon law, for which he was justly famous, he in all likelihood received from Thomas de Marleberge, later abbot of Evesham, who taught at Oxford during this period.\textsuperscript{41}

The death of William de Vere, Bishop of Hereford, in December, 1199, probably caused Grosseteste to travel to Paris for the next part of his education.\textsuperscript{42} The reputation of that university was at this time considerable, for both Abelard and William of Champeaux were there. It still retained, until 1219, an international character that must have helped to correct Grosseteste's insularity. At any rate, the travel back and forth of scholars between Germany, Italy, England, and France, as well as contacts with Greek and Hebrew scholars, considerably deepened his scholastic methods.\textsuperscript{43} Stevenson felt that

\begin{quote}
in the domain of intellectual activity Grossetests must . . . be regarded as the founder and inspirer of what may be termed the encyclopaedic school of the thirteenth century, imputing it to unity of purpose and a loftiness of conception to which those who followed him hardly ever attained, although in particular branches and on specific
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{40}Ibid., p. 13. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{41}Ibid., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{42}Ibid., pp. 14-15. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{43}Ibid., pp. 16-17.
subjects they advanced beyond his teaching.44

Also at the University of Paris he learned both Hebrew and Greek, the latter probably through a Greek named Nicholas, a student at both Oxford and Paris, later to become a clerk at St. Albans. It is thought that his study of Hebrew was accomplished at the hands of certain Jews, quite an unpopular method at the time, as it was feared that such contact would bring contaminating ideas to the Christian scholar.45 How unusual this knowledge of original texts had become is shown by the fact that only a handful of Western scholars could read Greek: John of Salisbury (a lone Englishman), Macaire, and a few others in France, including Abeldard and Heloise, who were reported to have some knowledge of the subject, and Bourgoudion, an Italian who translated several works of early church fathers from Greek to Latin about the year 1150. The smallness of this band contradicts sadly the statement of the Venerable Bede that "many scholars of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, knew Greek as well as their mother tongues."46

His knowledge of the languages of the original documents led Grosseteste to endorse a method of

44 Ibid., p. 23.  
theological study that the most modern student of hermeneutics would applaud. He cited the need (1) to resort whenever possible to the original text, rather than to a translation or abridgment, (2) to acquire a knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek, (3) to know the value of physical science and mathematics in the study of theology (he felt it could not be studied in isolation), and (4) to develop more exact classifications for departments of knowledge.\footnote{Ibid., p. 20.} It is today generally thought that only in modern times have such techniques as carbon dating, knowledge of ancient languages, and archeological findings afforded such a degree of scholarship. In the scientific realm this may be true, as Robert Grosseteste did not enjoy the benefit of scientific advances such as carbon dating or archeological findings. His approach to the study of the Scriptures, however, is exactly that followed by modern Bible scholars.

Grosseteste's renown as a scholar is known to us through several sources. He was, in all probability, the first chancellor of Oxford University,\footnote{Callus, preface.} coming to that office by appointment of Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln. The first mention of chancellorship is found in the Legative Ordinance of 1214, the earliest Charter of the University; it is assumed that Grosseteste accepted
this position sometime prior to that date, but certainly not before 1209. He likely continued in this post until his election as Bishop of Lincoln in 1233. During this time not only did he complete the bulk of his writings, but he was foremost in bringing about the connection between the university and the Friars. The Franciscans and Dominicans, who arrived in England during 1224-1226, exhibited high scholarship and Christian ideals, both of which Grosseteste saw as requisites for the English church. He became a lifelong friend of Adam Marsh, the leader of the Franciscans at Oxford and a renowned scholar of his day. Roger Bacon credited Grosseteste with important astronomical research which enabled Bacon to make many of his discoveries, and said of him that "one man alone had really known the sciences, namely, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln . . . ." He placed the influence of Grosseteste above that of Alexander de Hales, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas (this before St. Thomas had written his best works, however), and on a par with that of Adam Marsh.

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49 Stevenson, pp. 24-25. 50 Boulter, p. 15.
51 Roger Bacon, Opus Tertium, p. 33. In Stevenson, p. 51.
52 Stevenson, pp. 49-50.
In tribute to the scholastic ability and practical Christianity of the works of Robert Grosseteste, Stevenson said,

They devote, as a general rule, more attention to the practical, pastoral, and ethical side of Christianity than to its purely doctrinal aspects; in fact, the more abstruse doctrines are generally introduced for the purpose of enforcing moral precepts, or explaining and emphasizing the personal application to the reader. The writer never succumbs to the temptation, to which most contemporary theologians are prone, of writing religious treatises in the spirit and often the manner of dialectical disquisitions; and he dwelt rather, if the phrase may be permitted, upon the dynamics than upon the statics of theology. At the same time it must not be imagined that he deviated in any degree from the received faith of the Church because he accentuates certain features in its teaching more than others; and, indeed, the contrary might easily be proved by reference to his works . . . .

Thus, not only was Robert Grosseteste an ardent reformer, concerned first for the establishment of vicarages and the improvement of the clergy, but also an internationally respected scholar and theologian. In addition, his statesmanship not only within the church but without made his name one to be respected by all educated men, not only during his lifetime but for centuries to come.

There exist, then, several parallels between William of Shoreham and Robert Grosseteste which would have

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53 Ibid., pp. 36-37. 54 Ibid., p. 337.
caused William to adopt the Bishop of Lincoln as a pattern for his writing. First, William, as shown by his literary works, was an educated man, whose practical values would have drawn him to emulate one of Grosseteste's scholarship. Second, Grosseteste was a man of unflinching moral and spiritual character; judging from what is known of Shoreham and from his works, he possessed these qualities also. Third, both were practical theologians who showed little interest in the involuted dialectics of their day, but who wrote simply and clearly, basing their arguments on the Bible and Church doctrine for the edification of their people. Although Grosseteste wrote many works in Latin for his churchmen, when he wrote for the laity, he used the vernacular, popular literary forms, and imagery to appeal to the senses of common men.55 These characteristics were certainly true of Shoreham's works also. His writings were intended to teach the basics of the Christian faith, and in the case of "The Trinity," to renew the faith of doubting Christians as to the existence of God. He wrote in verse forms familiar to the laity of his day, using mainly minstrel meters such as the septanarius, rime couée, and, in the case of

55 Ibid., p. 32.
"The Seven Sacraments," the bob-wheel stanza. Thus Shoreham, imitating the popular minstrel's arts, "sugar-coated theology with agreeable rhyme," much as did Grosseteste in his popular Roman de la Rose, the Chasteau d'Amour, "and men swallowed it without distaste . . . ."  

The century following the death of Robert Grosseteste marks a period in which his reputation was perhaps higher than during his life. Those who had striven with him in life appear to have forgotten past quarrels in the advent of his sainthood. Legends surrounding his death immediately sprang up, including one concerning miraculous bells described by Matthew Paris. This story, related to Paris by John de Crackale, a trusted clerk to the bishop, involved bells of "a supernatural sound, like that of a great convent-bell, ringing a delightful tune in the air above," heard by Faulkes, Bishop of London, on the night Robert Grosseteste died. As he was staying near Buckdon out of hearing of any such bells, he was astounded at the sound. He surmised that ringing to be a message announcing the death of the Bishop of Lincoln, and upon inquiry, found that the Bishop had indeed died. On the

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56 The use of the bob-wheel stanza by William of Shoreham was unique in Kentish, and almost surely pre-dates the revival in the West Midland part of England by the Pearl poet and others.

same night some Minorites traveling to Lincoln through the royal forest of Vauberge became lost and heard "In the air sounds as of the ringing of bells, amongst which they clearly distinguished one bell of a most sweet tune, unlike anything they had heard before." Upon meeting with foresters later and asking the site of the bells they had heard, they were told none such existed in the forest. Coming to Buckdon, they found that Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, had died at the very hour of the night that they had heard the bells.60

The sainthood of Robert Grosseteste was accepted almost immediately in England. Roger Bacon wrote of him as Saint Robert, as did the royal chronicler Wykes.61 Matthew Paris, describing the miracles attending his death, refers to him as "santus Lincolniensis episcopus Robertus secondus."62 The Annals of Burton and of Tewkesbury both refer to him as St. Robert, the latter in 1257 giving an account of his canonization in Rome.63

59 Ibid., p. 51. 60 Ibid., pp. 50-51.
61 Stevenson, p. 57.
63 Ibid., pp. 243-244.
Indeed, the process of canonization was less formal than in modern times. Only in 1234 had it become the prerogative of the Pope, and so inconsistent was this practice and so many were the unofficial saints venerated that in 1634 a promulgation was published forbidding printing of books recording miracles of persons not approved by the Holy See.64 Thus even though the canonization of Robert was never actually recognized by the Pope, he was in England afforded this distinction, and it was felt that official recognition of his sainthood was only a matter of time.

The canonization of the Bishop was repeatedly sought. Within the years following his death, many miracles were associated with his tomb, which had become an object of pilgrimages. It was visited in 1255 by Richard, Earl of Cornwall and brother to the King. During the year 1286 letters were sent to the Pope urging the sainthood of Robert by John Romanus, Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Worcester and St. David, abbots and covents of Grimsby, Newhouse, Thornton, Hagnaby, Osney, St. James, Northampton, Revesby, Peterborough, Louth, and Bardney, as well as by some prominent laymen. (It will be noted that many of these had maintained less than perfect relations with Grosseteste during his life, namely, Romanus and the

64 Ibid., pp. 242-243.
abbey of Osney and Bardney.) A similar attempt was repeated in 1288, and again in 1307, when a personal emissary was sent from the See of Lincoln. In 1300 Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, sent petitions asking King Edward and Queen Margaret for their support in the matter. Such efforts continued until at least 1330, when John de Schalby, Canon of Lincoln, wrote that "The efforts have not been successful previous to the writing of the present treatise—for what reason God only knows." Nevertheless, Robert Grosseteste was widely venerated as a saint. In October, 1314, Bishop Dalderby granted an indulgence of forty days to any one who would visit the tomb of St. Robert. October 8, the feast day of St. Pelagia and the anniversary of St. Robert's death, was celebrated in honor of the late Bishop of Lincoln; on that day the dawn mass was to be a *missa de reliquiis*.

The possession of supernatural powers was attributed to Robert Grosseteste by John Gower in his *Confessio*

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Amantis. Special knowledge of science was suspect in the Middle Ages, and many who were learned in that field were thought to have magical powers or to be in league with Satan. The Faust legend which grew up in Germany may have stemmed from Albertus Magnus, a renowned scientist and scholar and a contemporary of Grosseteste. Both of these men were believed to possess powers of the brazen head, a magical source of knowledge.70 Gower writes:

For of the grete clerk Grostest
I rede how redy that he was
Upon clergy an hede of brass
To make and forge it for to telle
Of such thynges as befelle;
And seven yeres besinessse
He layde but for the lacknesse
Of half a mynute of an houre,
For fyurst that he began laboure
He lost all that he had to do.71

The making of the brazen head later centered in England around Roger Bacon and may have resulted initially from a confusion over the similarity of the two men's names (Robert and Roger). Bacon's identity with this matter was strengthened by Greene's use of the idea in his play, Histoire of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.72

In the literary field Grosseteste was also acclaimed after his death. His works were widely read, translated,
and imitated during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Chasteau d'Amour, a French romance attributed with a degree of certainty to Grosseteste, was translated into English in the early part of the fourteenth century, probably by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, whose Lincolnshire origin may have attracted him to the former Bishop of Lincoln. It was widely read during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and many manuscripts survive, both in English and French. The Pricke of Conscience, by Richard Rolle, earlier attributed to Grosseteste, is partly based on some of his dicta. The French Manuel des Péchés, believed by Mannyng to have been written by Grosseteste and perhaps partly based on his "Seven Deadly Sins," was translated by Mannyng into Handlyng Synne. In this work Mannyng tells affectionately of "the bysshop seynt Roberd" and his love for the harp and his "delyte in mynstrelsy." Handlyng Synne was begun in 1303 and must have been completed before 1338. Dr. Laurd stated in his Roberti Grosseteste: Epistolae that

75 Ibid., pp. 334-335.
probably no one has had a greater influence than Grosseteste upon English thought and English literature for the two centuries which followed his time; few books will be found that do not contain some quotations from Lincolniensis, The great clerk Grostest.\footnote{Laurd, introduction to the Letters, p. 1.}

The latter half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century was a continuation of Grosseteste's influence in the literary field. Although some contemporary scholars omit Templum Domini from lists of Robert Grosseteste's works for lack of sufficient evidence, multiple copies exist of the Latin tract attributed to him. The translation is listed in Carleton Brown's \textit{Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse} as "an Englishing of Robert Grosseteste's tract of the same title."\footnote{Roberta D. Cornelius, introduction to Templum Domini. In \textit{The Figurative Castle} (Bryn Mawr, Penna.: Bryn Mawr, 1930), p. 90.} The sole manuscript of the English version dates from the fifteenth century.\footnote{Ibid.} Wycliffe and Tyssington in their theological quarrels both appealed to the authority of Grosseteste more than a century after his death, Wycliffe placing him "above Aristotle"\footnote{Wycliffe, \textit{Trial}, iv. chap. 3, p. 330. In Stevenson, p. 335.} and Tyssington stating that "to compare Grosseteste with
modern doctors is like comparing the sun to the moon, when the latter is eclipsed." 81

Thus it is quite credible that William of Shoreham in translating a Latin poem he believed to have been written by Robert Grosseteste, and in the use of both ideas and imagery from the Chasteau d'Amour and Templum Domini and perhaps other works of Robert Grosseteste, saw himself as paying tribute to an English holy person. It is likely that he was aware of the work being done in this area by others, for he was also, with Michel of Northgate in his Agenbite of Inwyit, a traditional Kentish poet who, copying the meters of the troubadours, as did Maurice de Sully in France, wrote didactic poetry in a lyrical style. Although this was a purely Kentish phenomenon, other areas using rhymed couplets for such poetry, it is unlikely that Shoreham originated didactic ballad verse. 82 If he was familiar with Handlyng Synne, he might have been further encouraged in the use of a metrical style, thinking it to be pleasing to St. Robert, the lover of harpists and troubadours. With only a cursory study of William's work, it is clear that he was a follower, not an innovator, in both theme and style. An educated and dedicated man, he strove to add his mark to literature by

81 Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. 135. In Stevenson, p. 335.
82 ten Brink, pp. 282-283.
following in the footsteps of those he admired. Although it is not known that he studied at Oxford University, his scholastic abilities indicate a background that would most typically have been obtained, in Shoreham's area of England, at Oxford. In such case he would have had ample opportunity to read the works of Grosseteste, whose connections there have already been pointed out and who left his library to the Franciscans there.\(^{83}\) Both circumstantially and internally, a great deal of evidence points to Shoreham's use of Robert Grosseteste as a pattern for his life and literary works.

Chapter III will focus on the parallels found internally in the works of Grosseteste and Shoreham. Both men emphasized a life of holiness. Preaching and teaching, firmly based on the Scriptures, were emphasized as the most vital work of the clergy. In order to instruct the laity properly, proper training of the clergy was deemed essential. In each of these areas, in preaching and teaching the laity in knowledge of the Scripture, and in lives of holiness, Shoreham and Grosseteste clearly concurred, as their writings amply attest.

\(^{83}\) Stevenson, p. 327.
CHAPTER III

GROSSETESTE AND SHOREHAM: PARALLEL VIEWS

With the exception of the colophon to "Song to Mary," the connections between Robert Grosseteste and William of Shoreham discussed in Chapter II are circumstantial. There exists, however, within the works of both men a large body of evidence to support the perhaps slender thread of circumstance. Konrath points to the similarity between Shoreham and Chaucer's parson, that "lerned man, a clerk,/That Cristes gospel trewely wolde preche;/His parissens devoutly wolde he teche."¹ Not only could Shoreham have served as a pattern for Chaucer's parson, but both men represented the epitome of the priesthood as Grosseteste viewed that calling. All three of these men exemplified spiritual integrity by pointing out human failings and corruptions of Christ's gospel without regard for their own gain, by preaching to and teaching those in their care, and by living lives of eminent holiness far beyond the average. As Matthew Paris said, Robert Grosseteste was "an open confuter, the director of priests, the instructor of clerks, the supporter of

scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, the unwearied student of the Scriptures . . . ."² To a somewhat lesser extent, but boldly in the same vein, William of Shoreham displayed these same ideals in his writings.

The example of Shoreham's life was rare in his time, if somewhat more familiar than in Chaucer's day. Although the state of the clergy had improved somewhat from the nadir of the twelfth century, Grosseteste's letters contain repeated references to the poor examples furnished by the clergy:

The multiplicity of evils from which the people are suffering, and the errors and sins into which they are led, owing to the negligence of their rectors, the carelessness of their pastors, and often (a subject for tears rather than for a letter) the bad example and open wickedness of those who ought to be their spiritual guides . . .³

prompted him to make one of the main thrusts of his episcopacy the improvement of both the literacy and the moral fiber of parish priests. In addition to his efforts to establish independent vicarages, he often relieved individual priests of their churches or placed them on probation for a time if they failed to rectify moral

lapses for which they had been reprimanded.\textsuperscript{4} He demanded more than summary obeisance to duties and expected deficient priests to work to correct their lack of knowledge or spiritual failings. Grosseteste was ever willing to help in these endeavors; he often lent money for books and writing materials, sometimes to men outside his own diocese,\textsuperscript{5} and one of the excuses he considered acceptable for hiring beneficed vicars was to allow the permanent vicar to further his own education during a leave of absence.\textsuperscript{6}

If, as Grosseteste believed, independent vicarages and higher standards of education were the solution to the low state of the clergy,\textsuperscript{7} William of Shoreham was proof of his insight. Both men were well aware of the sad state of morals, lack of education, and superstition of many clergymen. Grosseteste, being in a position to exercise some relief, naturally spoke out more strongly, but William provided not only ample evidence that he saw the more flagrant vices, but instances of living out the letter of the law rather than the intent.

\textsuperscript{4}Several instances include (1) Walter de Houton, vicar of Sixhills for immoral conduct and lack of progress in learning, (2) William of Careby, postponement of appointment to advance learning, (3) Reynot, foreign, must hire assistant rector until he should learn English, and (4) Hervey of Taynton, same condition. Callus, p. 158.

\textsuperscript{5}Stevenson, p. 80. \textsuperscript{6}Ibid., p. 146.

\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., pp. 145-146.
William of Shoreham wrote for laymen, not for the clergy, but, nonetheless, he was frank in speaking out against immoral priests. He portrayed the priest as a physician of souls who heard confessions, lancing the sores of vice and letting out the filth:

\[3ef\ he\ be\ schel\ anoye\ a_{3}t,\]
\[Hyt\ wyle\ of-benche\ hym\ sore;\]
\[And\ ober-wyl\ anoye\ he\ mot,\]
\[Wanne\ he\ schewe\ be\ lore\]
\[Of\ helpe,\]
\[Ase\ mot\ be\ leche\ ine\ voule\ sores,\]
\[Wanne\ he\ roynep\ be\ folpe.\]

["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 967-73]²

Shoreham insisted that the efficacy of the sacraments is blunted when they are administered by immoral servants. Although the sacrament has value for the recipient, the administering priest incurs great detriment not only to his own soul but to the reputation of the clergy.

\[Ac\ ba_{3}\ hyt\ he\ never\ be\ wors,\]
\[Pat\ sacrement\ an\ honde\]
\[Pe\ bone\ pat\ swych\ prest\ ber\ by_{3}t\]
\[Ne\ stel\ ne\ schel\ hym\ stonde,\]
\[Ac\ dreye;\]
\[For\ he\ despyse\ ihesu\ cryst,\]
\[Wanne\ he\ hym\ scholde\ herye.\]

["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 745-49]

Grosseteste saw not only the flagrant violations, but the failure of the priests to live up to the spirit of

²This and all other quotations from William of Shoreham's works from M. Konrath, ed. The Poems of William of Shoreham (London: Early English Text Society, 1902, LXXXVI).
their vocation. He cautioned them "to avoid pride, to appreciate one's own weakness, to recognize the needs of weaker brethren. Pride is the shadow of power; the reality of slavery."\(^9\) Shoreham also pointed out the lack of humility in many clergymen. In his poem, "The Seven Deadly Sins," he spoke of the pride which hides under the rags of many religious:

`Under covele and cope  
Pe foule prede lybe;  
Pe, man go gert wyþ rope,  
3et prede to hym swyþ.  
Prede syþ under ragge  
Wel cobeþ and wel balþ;  
Pat keþþ wordes bradde  
And countenaunces 3alþ.`

[11. 245-52]

In fact, he saw pride as a special problem of churchmen.

`Nys non, by, som myt wene,  
Pat some prêde ne takeþ,  
Ne none so proud, ich wene,  
As he pat al for-sakeþ.`

[11. 253-56]

Although Shoreham did not criticize those in Holy Orders at length, perhaps because he wrote for laymen whose faith he wished not to diminish but to increase, nevertheless he did acknowledge that all was not perfect. Just as had Grosseteste, who instructed that priests "should be of age, of moral life, of some learning, able to speak English, willing to come to England and do their

\(^9\)Boulter, p. 38.
Shoreham stressed the need for each order to have sufficient education to carry out its duties. Knowledge was necessary, he thought, to command respect in one's old age, and the lack of it sadly demeaning.

\[\text{"The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1422-28}\]

Apparently faulty education was common, as he gave special instructions that those appointed as readers for the mass should demonstrate the ability to read and to understand what they read.

\[\text{"The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1296-99}\]

The fruits of this education, so vital to the priesthood, were to be the instruction of those in its care. Both Grosseteste and Shoreham saw preaching to be the most vital duty of the priesthood. The excellence of the friars as preachers and the soundness of their education was one of the main reasons why Grossetests championed their cause, urging that they be allowed to preach in

\[10\text{Ibid., p. 11.}\]
areas where priests were already available. He hoped that the friars' example might improve the quality of the local priests' preaching and that those laymen who heard the friars would benefit by the superiority of their teaching. In a letter to Pope Gregory IX, about the year 1238, he wrote to assure the Pope of the great benefits brought to England by their presence:

They illuminate the whole country with the light of their preaching and learning . . . .
If your Holiness could see with what devotion and humility the people run to hear the word of life from them, for confession and instruction in daily life, and how much improvement the clergy and the regulars have obtained by imitating them, you would indeed say that "upon them that dwelt in light of the shadow of death hath the light shined."11

Such, then, was the pattern which the Bishop of Lincoln wished his priests to follow.

Grosseteste's instructions to the clergy, in abundant examples, stressed the importance of preaching and teaching in an educated manner. He even wrote a series of questions to determine the education and morality of clergymen.12 In his Constitution of 1236, almost a copy of letters he had sent to rectors, vicars, and parish priests in earlier years, he listed foremost that the clergy must have enough education to instruct

11Luard, p. 67, Letter 34. Stevenson, p. 79.
12Boulter, p. 53.
their parishioners in the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, the nature of the sacraments, the three creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the salutation to the Virgin, and the sign of the cross. \(^{13}\) His hundreds of Dicta, many of them concerning these items of faith, were widely available and were used as the basis of literary works. Grosseteste constantly urged the teaching of these tenets of faith and the Bible as fundamental knowledge for every layman.

The doctrines inclusive in Grosseteste's lists were by no means extraordinary, being those which would comprise the average catechism, but apparently the instruction given to laymen was frequently much scantier. How fragmentary the knowledge of the average layman had become in this age, it is difficult to appreciate, but judging from the abuses mentioned in almost all literature of the time, it must have fallen to a level that necessitated instruction of the most basic kind. William of Shoreham, whether influenced by Grosseteste's instructions, either from published sermons available to monasteries or through examples such as the Chasteau

\(^{13}\) Stevenson, pp. 133-34.
d'Amour,\textsuperscript{14} did include these items in his writing. Templum Domini also contains essentially the same.\textsuperscript{15} (As will be shown in Chapter IV, many parallels exist between both of these works and the writings of William of Shoreham.) A list of Shoreham's known works contains (1) "The Seven Sacraments," (2) "The Hours of the Cross" combined with "Hours of Compassion of Our Lady" (to be read as an accompaniment to the Pater Noster and the Hail Mary), (3) "The Ten Commandments," (4) "The Seven Deadly Sins," (5) "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary," (6) "On the Virgin Mary," a hymn of praise to Mary, and (7) "On the Trinity," which includes the fall and reparation, the three creeds (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian), as well as an attempt to answer the cause of suffering in the world.\textsuperscript{16} It will be noted that these works parallel almost exactly the requisite information for laymen as outlined by Grosseteste.

\textsuperscript{14}The Chasteau d'Amour includes the fall, the reparation, the ten commandments, the seven sacraments, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles' Creed, the seven works of mercy, as well as sections devoted to devotion to Mary and to the sorrows and joys of Mary.

\textsuperscript{15}Templum Domini contains the Apostles' Creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven virtues, the Lord's Prayer, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

\textsuperscript{16}Konrath, p. xii.
Both the Chasteau d'Amour and Shoreham's "Seven Sacraments" and "Seven Deadly Sins" stress the importance of the teaching of laymen. The preface of the Chasteau d'Amour states that it contains "al that a lewed man has nede for to knawe for hele of soule." 17 In Shoreham's "Seven Deadly Sins," he stresses the need for "gre3t sarmoun/To hame pat lewed bepe . . ." [ll. 67-68], so that man might recognize his sin and the need for forgiveness. In "The Seven Sacraments" he told of the importance of the order of deacons:

And at ordres avangeb hy
Pe bok of be godspelle,
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
For pan, to redeb be gospel,
And sarmoun for to telle,
To-wak
Hy pat slepeb ine senne slep,
Amendment to maky.

[ll. 1408-14]

In the same treatise he stated that priestly candidates have a duty "be puple for to teche " [l. 1465], so that "of sennes he was leche " [l. 1467]. Grosseteste stated in the Chasteau d'Amour that "with the ten commandements god forbed all synne/And taght man how he my3t him gret mede wynne " [ll. 73-74]. Similarly, Shoreham's "Ten Commandments" says that to the person who keeps these ordinances "meche hys be mede pat hym worbe " [1.5]. To

keep the commandments, however, it is first necessary that they be taught to those who cannot read for themselves.

Both Grosseteste and William of Shoreham were adamantly insistent that preaching and teaching of the Christian faith should be soundly based on a thorough knowledge of the scriptures. Article Seven of Grosseteste's Constitution [1237] states that priests "are to be diligent in prayer and reading of the Scriptures, in order that they may thereby be enabled to give inquirers rational answers on matters affecting their hopes and their faith." Grosseteste's reputation as a scholar of the scriptures gave weight to his words. Dr. Luard stated that "Grosseteste's reverence for Scripture as the ultimate appeal in all controversies is unbounded." Grosseteste spoke of the "auctoritas irrefragabilis Scripturae" and acted on that principle throughout his life. His skillful interpretation of the Bible in the hundreds of Dicta, each interpreting various Christian concepts in the light of scripture, drew the admiration of biblical scholars not only in the centuries following his death, but again in the seventeenth century, when his works were widely read and revered. "His constant appeals to the authority

18 Stevenson, p. 134.
19 Letter 2, p. 18. In Stevenson, p. 34.
20 Ibid.
21 Stevenson, pp. 34-45.
of the Scriptures as the paramount authority in matters of faith, mark him as a pioneer and precursor of the movement which led to the Reformation," and certainly as an unusual man in his own century. His reputation in this matter sufficiently survived him to lead the translator of his *Chasteau d'Amour* to state in the preface that "here is no thing sayd bot as haly writ says and grete doctours . . . ." In his instructions to clergymen on how to preach a sermon, he advised them to choose a definite subject and to develop it with illustrations and quotations from the scriptures.

William of Shoreham was equally careful to substantiate his works with a strong biblical basis. In fact, he was even reluctant to inject imagery or allegorical allusions without pointing out biblical parallels to justify them. For instance, when he spoke of the sacraments as ladders to heaven, he felt called upon to cite the parallel of Jacob's dream of a ladder leading to heaven:

Man, þe laddre nys naût of wode  
Pat may to hevene lestê;  
Ac on þer his, þat Jakok isei̋e  
Per he sleppe inne hys reste.  

["The Seven Sacraments," 11. 43-46]

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23 Preface, *Chasteau d'Amour*.  
24 Stevenson, p. 36.
Although this compulsion to explain all imagery in biblical measures seems in the modern sense to weaken Shoreham's poetry, it was quite ordinary in Medieval literature, as many existing literary examples attest. Shoreham, in fact, seems more restrained in this area than many writers of his day, appearing to be more concerned with strengthening the faith of the common people by showing them the scriptural basis for the church's teachings. In "The Seven Sacraments," he carefully explains the prescribed command for each sacrament by citing scripture. He wished to "tele hou hyt was þer,/
And hou hyt hys now here " [11. 1259-60].

Thus, he tells us that extreme unction was prescribed by St. James:

For seint jame, in hys bok,  
Wysse wyd gode mende  
Pat, 3yf eny by-falbe ry,t syke,  
Pe þrest he scholde of-sënde  
To hys ende;  
And he schel elye him wyp ele,  
Hys savement to wynne.

[11. 1114-20]

Matrimony, also, "by-gan ine paradys,/Are Adam were y-wonne/To senne . . ." [11. 1592-94].

25 Compare with the Exegete of Ormulum, written in the twelfth century: even the names of the towns connected with Christ take on special symbolism. Nazareth means blossom; Gailee, wheel; Bethlehem stands for the bread of life contained therein. All this becomes a wheel of blessing that carries us to heaven. In Mossé, p. 168.
He particularly justified each step of holy orders by citing the biblical parallel. All members of holy orders were singled out by God, as was the tribe of Levi in the Old Testament:

God ches folk specialliche
Hys holy folk amonge;
Pat was the kendred of levy
. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
For to serve in godes house . . .

[11. 1219-24]

The order of doorkeepers, who were to keep out animals, tradesmen, jesters, or any who would use the church for lewd purposes, were also ordained in the Bible:

Ine be temple swete Jhesus
Pyse ordre tok at ones,
Po pat he makede a baleys
And bet out for the nones
Ymene,
Po pat bou3te and sealde ine godes hous,
Pat hys a hous of bene.

[11. 1282-88]

Readers also were ordained by Christ, as he took this duty upon himself. This "bou my3t se/Ine seynt lukes god-spelle " [11. 1308-0921]:

Pyse ordre swete Jhesu cryst
Kedde wel bat he hadde,
Whanne he take ysais bok
Ine be synagoge, and radde
Wet welle.

[11. 1303-07]

The order of exorcist Jesus ordained when he "drof develyn out of men/bat hym wel sore dredde" [11. 1333-34]. It was
even provided for in "be ealde laȝe . . . by Kyng salomon, be wyse" [11. 1336-37]. Acolytes give light to the church, just as did Jesus when he said, "ich [a]m bat lyȝt/Of alle þer worlde rounde/A-boute;/Wo-so looke, ne geþ he nauȝt derk,/Ac lyȝt in lyves route" [11. 1354-58]. Certain men were also appointed to give light to the faithful in the "boke of exode" [1. 1365]. Deacons, or preachers, in the Old Testament bore "þe hoche of holy crefte [the Ark of the Covenant]" [1. 1402], and were ordained by Christ as he preached to the people and chose his apostles:

```
. . . þo he prechinde þet folk
To ryȝtte weye ledde;
þe þridde
Was, þo he wakede hym self
þe apostles for to bydde.
```

[11. 1417-21]

Likewise, the order of the priesthood was ordained both by the "elde lawe" [1. 1448] and by Christ's death on the cross. The priest performed the sacrifice of the mass, just as Christ sacrificed his body and blood through crucifixion:

```
Cryst kedde þat he hys a prest
Ryȝt in double manere:
Þat on, þo he sacrede hy body,
Þer he set atte sopere;
Þet oper,
Þo he an rode offrede hys body
For ous . . . .
```

[11. 1448-56]
Examples of biblical allusion abound in Shoreham's other works, also. Many support imagery, which will be treated in Chapter IV, but others support Christian beliefs. In "The Seven Deadly Sins," these fatal flaws are cited as the same as those forgiven Mary Magdalene by Christ:

\begin{verbatim}
Pat sevene certeygne
Pat Cryst kest out, hyt seyb
Of marie maudeleyne
Pat gospel bat ne weyb.
\end{verbatim}

[11. 229-32]

The assumption of Mary into heaven he substantiates by biblical accounts of holy persons at their death being carried to heaven by angels. Shoreham's account states,

\begin{verbatim}
Hyt hys y-wrote pat angeles brytte
To holy manne deabe aly\textsuperscript{3}te
[bet] her an er\textsubscript{3}e leye;
In holy bok hys hyt inone
Pat god hym self a-wolde come,
Wanne he scholde deye.
\end{verbatim}

["The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary,"
1l. 313-18]

Shoreham wished to go further than to simply prove the validity of the Church's laws; he also wished to promote a fuller understanding of the benefits to the people of carrying out those laws completely. Thus, he cited scripture to show that a true understanding of Christ's teaching would lead to a fuller life. In his explanation of communion, he cautioned against taking the sacrament when not in a state of grace, lest the partaker
receive a curse rather than a blessing, as did Judas Iscariot:

And as gode ber his hole mete,
And sike hyt by-swikeþ,
So his be mete dampnacion
To hem be senne likeþ
To holde;
So he hyt tok and his lore,
Judas, þat Jhesus solde.

["The Seven Deadly Sins," ll. 848-54]

He pointed out the necessity for confession, so that people "by nauþt ine wanhope,þat made Judas to spylle . . . " ["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 850-51]. Rather, they should imitate the thief crucified with Christ, who "iked wel" that Christ was innocent, "and hym [thief] gelty gan þelde/Mid sourwe;/He deide and come to paradys . . . " ["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1093-98]. Exorcists were necessary "to dryve out develyn out of men . . . banne he mot habbe a clene gost" ["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1319-23]. God's plan, as outlined in the scriptures, would lead one to a happy and blessed life.

As important as education and scriptural knowledge were to both Grosseteste and Shoreham in teaching and preaching, corresponding holiness of life was equally necessary. As Chaucer's parson says, "For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste;/No wonder is a lewed man to ruste."26 The example of the priest's life speaks as

26George Chaucer, Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, ll. 503-04.
loudly as, or more loudly than, his educated words. Grosseteste's letters, Dicta, and other writings are full of admonitions to the clergy to lead exemplary lives. One Dictum, on the subject of united prayer, outlines the benefits of a holy and prayerful life:

\[\ldots\] so many individuals joined together by the bond of love and prayer are moved upwards more easily and swiftly, as the prayer of each of them has its influence upon that of each of the others. For as polished objects, when placed close together and illuminated by the power of the sun, in proportion to their number, shine with greater brightness on account of the multitude of the reflections of the light's rays, so too the more souls that are illuminated by the rays of the sun of righteousness, the more they shine by reason of the reflection of their mutual love.\(^7\)

In a letter to the Abbot and convent at Peterborough, he wrote that "the greatest beauty of this corporeal tabernacle [the monastery] is the glory and the holiness which it receives in its dedication to Him."\(^8\)

Grosseteste went further than to urge holiness; he constantly instructed his clergy in the ways to holiness and the pitfalls to avoid. He wrote:

Everything should be kept down to strict necessities. In you people should see the poverty and humility of Christ. There should

\(^7\)Printed in Edward Brown's appendix to his edition of the Fasciculus of the Ortuinus Gratius. trans. into English by Dr. Perry in The Life and Times of Robert Grosseteste. In Stevenson, pp. 34-36.

\(^8\)Ibid., p. 167.
be no superfluity; no lust of the flesh; no worldly ambition. Remember in your habit men read the Word of Christ.\textsuperscript{29}

He warned them to avoid all wealth and ostentation, for it would "impoverish rather than enrich their owners whose minds are blinded and atrophied."\textsuperscript{30} In the Constitution of 1237, distributed to all priests, he stipulated that the lives of the clergy must be pure. They must not marry, or visit nunneries, or keep in their houses even kinswomen whose presence might lead to gossip. They should not "frequent taverns or give way to drunkenness, but ... be sober and abstemious, ever remembering the sacred character of their calling."\textsuperscript{31}

They should not engage in trade or usury.\textsuperscript{32}

In response to a request that he accept into the priesthood a candidate he thought unsuitable, Grosseteste lashed out at the instigator, saying

How dare you, you with your sacred habit and solemn vows, present for the cure of souls one who is more likely to kill than to cure them? You would not hand over to the wolves a sheep which had cost you a shilling, and yet you would willingly hand over to such a destroyer as this many souls which Christ has purchased with His precious Blood.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{29}Boulter, p. 22. \textsuperscript{30}Ibid., p. 38.
\textsuperscript{31}Stevenson, pp. 134-135. \textsuperscript{32}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33}Boulter, p. 50.
Shoreham, likewise, in his teaching urged holiness and true devotion to Christian principles for both clergy and laymen. Those who took the vow of chastity should be clean of heart in order to carry out their duties:

Clene schel he in herte be
Pat schal be chalys diȝte.

["The Seven Sacraments," 11. 1378-79]

In "The Seven Sacraments," Shoreham constantly stressed the need for true contrition and holiness of spirit in the reception of the Church's sacraments. Coming to the communion table in an unworthy manner causes the person even more harm:

Per-fore, ʒef pat be fredeþ ʒou
pat be ne bē nauȝt digné
For to be housled wyp þys body
Ine þisse holy signe,
Wyp-draweþ;
For, wo þat hyȝt takeþ ondygneliche,
Hys jugement hē gnaȝþþþ.

[11. 596-602]

In explaining the sacrament of confession, he stressed the need for true contrition, that the recipients might be restored to holiness. He cautioned that "ʒef þou woldest for deȝ þyt do, þy sorȝe hys al too lyte"

["The Seven Sacraments," 11. 860-61]. One must have the intention of never repeating the sin. One should approach the sacrament "myȝ herte 10ʒ, ʒef þou myȝþt,þy þyn eȝene wepynge . . . þet þer be non y-pocryseþ,þy Bote repentaunce
and reupe" ["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 955-59]. The sinner must also be willing to do penance for his sins:

.. . be nau\textsuperscript{t} l\textsuperscript{b}o
To do penaunce here;
For \textsuperscript{3}et oer hys here som reles,
So n\textsuperscript{ys} nau\textsuperscript{t} ine be vere
Areyned . . . .

["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1066-70]

Prayer (bene) is the proper penance for sins of the spirit, such as envy, and fasting (vestyng) for sins of the flesh, but alms (almsdede) are acceptable for both kinds of sins.\textsuperscript{34}

In order to attain holiness, Shoreham urged that one must place God above all other concerns. As Grosseteste wrote earlier, an appetite for wealth is the primary obstacle to one attempting to live a life of holiness. Shoreham wrote,

For \textsuperscript{3}yf by wyl reio[ye]\textsuperscript{b} more
In e\textsuperscript{n}yes kennes \textsuperscript{b}ynges,
Be hyt by childe, o\textsuperscript{p}er \textsuperscript{b}e best,
Land, brouches, o\textsuperscript{p}er rynges,
O\textsuperscript{p}er a\textsuperscript{3}t elles, wat so \textsuperscript{b}e,
Bote god \textsuperscript{p}at hys kynge of kynges,
Pou ne a nourest god ary\textsuperscript{3}t,
Ac dest is onderlynges.

["The Ten Commandments," ll. 169-76]

As was usual in the medieval age, Shoreham distrusted gluttony, for it "norysse lecherye,/As e fer, be brondes hotc" ["The Ten Commandments," ll. 273-76]. From lechery

\textsuperscript{34}"The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1008-13.
follows a multitude of sins, all destructive to holiness: "wreche, foul speche, and foul deynt, commune hordom, spousbreche, / Incest, and sodomyt" ["The Seven Deadly Sins," ll. 393-96].

One of the recurring themes in William of Shoreham's writing, especially in "The Seven Sacraments" and "The Ten Commandments," is that of people who are content with the outward appearance, or sign of holiness, but ignore the essence. Such shallowness of life, he contended, is the reason why the Christian life has failed to transform so much evil into good. The person who thoughtlessly goes through the rituals of the Church without living up to the ideals signified by the sacraments experiences a quite temporary change of life, if, indeed, there is any benefit. After detailing the benefits of the rite of confirmation to a life of holiness, Shoreham dealt with the continuing existence of sin, even though almost everyone in his experience had been confirmed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ach ou his hit, be bepe so fele} \\
\text{Confermed of mankenne,} \\
\text{And ber so feawe stondeb styf} \\
\text{To fytte a\'enes senne} \\
\text{Maligne?} \\
\text{For he ne fongeb nau\_t \_bat \_bing,} \\
\text{Bote \_be bare signe.}
\end{align*}
\]
Likewise, many receive communion thoughtlessly and carelessly, again losing the real benefits of holiness:

likewise, many receive communion thoughtlessly and carelessly, again losing the real benefits of holiness:

Similarly, those who receive the sacrament of penance without contrition may appear to the world to have fulfilled their duty, but they have not actually received the benefits of holiness:

Receiving the sacrament of extreme unction "myd by leve of devocioun and repentaunce" ["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1137], one experiences an accompanying benefit of holiness and grace, but "3yf he hyt 3bere wyse fangeb, Ne takeb ha bote 3be syngne" ["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 1130-41].

62
Just as education and knowledge of the scriptures are not sufficient to produce a life of holiness in the clergy, neither are they sufficient for the laity. Shoreham continually preached that one who hopes to attain holiness must not only know and understand the tenets of the Christian faith, but must also adopt them as guides to his daily life. In regard to the ten commandments, which Shoreham and Grosseteste both attested contain all that is necessary for a life of holiness, Shoreham cautioned,

3et somman hys þat passioun-lyche
Can telle hy myd þe beste,
Ac in e hys dedes vares he
Ase he nauȝt of hem heste.

["The Ten Commandments," 11. 137-40]

Thus, Shoreham taught that it "nys lyȝt nauȝt ynoȝt" simply to know and recite Christian teachings; one must "telle and werche wel þer-by; þanne hys hyȝȝt all y-wonne"


For wel to conne, and nauȝt to don,
Nys naper rawe ne þe-sponne;
Lytel hys worp, bote hyt endy wel,
Oynȝ þat hys wel by-gonne.

["The Ten Commandments," 11. 149-52]

Another similarity between the works of Grosseteste and the poetry of Shoreham exists in the familiarity which both writers show with canon law. As has already been

35See pp. 65-66 in this chapter.
established in Chapter II, Robert Grosseteste was renowned for his knowledge in this area, having studied under one most expert in that field at the University of Oxford. From arguments raised by him at a conference in 1236, at which time he attempted to change English practice to legitimize children of subsequently married parents and to exclude clergymen from serving in the dual capacity of civil and church justices, he showed himself to be exceedingly familiar with the Decretum of Gratian, only recently available in England. As always, he based his arguments strongly on scripture, accusing Henry III of the sin of Uzziah in his attempts to control church appointments and decisions of church courts. 36 That William of Shoreham was also an expert in the field of canon law is amply displayed in his works. He clearly explained the intricacies of religious laws to the uneducated, for, as he said, "feawe of ham conne the skele/Hou senne aboute com," and it was the duty of priests to enlighten them so that they "ne falle to depe/For wane . . . of wit" ["The Seven Deadly Sins," 11. 69-70, 79-80].

The best example of his careful explanations of canon law is to be found in "The Seven Sacraments." The information given therein most likely was intended for the

36 Stevenson, pp. 173-76.
instruction not only of lewed men, but of minor orders of clergy, and possibly even of priests whose education was inferior to Shoreham's own. Although his treatment of all sacraments affords good examples of his knowledge of canon law, two suffice: The sacraments of baptism and matrimony.

He stressed that christening should make use of "ine kende water," but "non oþer licour[e]" [11.202-03]. Neither wine, ale, cider, nor any combination of water and other liquid could be used, although sea water was acceptable. This should present no problem, as "In londe/Nis non oþat habben hit ne may:/oþat habbe hit wile, founde" [11. 243-45]. The words should be spoken in English:

'Ich cristni oþe ine oþe vader name,  
And sone, and holy gostes;'  
And more,  
'Amen!'  

[11. 248-51]

These words must be used without "wane and eche" [1.254] and might be spoken in any language, so "oþat everich nam hi segge mōþe,/And cristny for nede" [11. 258-59]. Since baptism is a sacrament, however, it should take place in a church and at the hands of a priest. The priest dips the head of the person in the font three times, in honor of the Trinity. The baptism is valid if it is "ikest on oþer leme," but should be on the head, where "beo be wittes
fyve" [ll. 281, 283-84]. One cannot be baptised before birth, but midwives should not delay if there is doubt that the child might live. If it is not certain whether the child has been baptised, a conditional christening may be bestowed. In extreme cases, other baptisms are acceptable: baptism by desire "wanne hi wolde icristned be,/And mo3e mid none ginne . . ." [ll. 321-22]; baptism by martyrdom "wanne suche bledep for criste" [l. 324]; or baptism by the Holy Ghost. Baptism, like the marriage ceremony spoken of in regard to Chaucer's Wife of Bath, took place "atte cherche dore" [l. 330] since it was the sacrament that initially separated one from the bondage of Satan.

In regard to matrimony Shoreham was especially thorough, for as he said, "some weneb ligge in spoushop,/And li3e ine hordome" [ll. 1623-24]. He covers in detail the difference between plighting troth (which could be broken) and taking of the marriage vows, acceptable ages for both plighting of troth and marriages, impediments in marriages, duties of husband and wife to each other, engagement customs, unlawful marriages, circumstances under which the couple might live in chastity, and such special cases as marriages with lepers. In particular, he stressed the unlawfulness of marriages with persons in religious orders:
Robert Grosseteste found it necessary to forbid marriages with the religious in his constitution of 1237;\textsuperscript{37} apparently the practice continued in Shoreham's time as well.

Shoreham also spoke out against those who attempted to circumvent the church's laws on chastity by simply delaying the taking of vows. It is difficult to judge how many people took up abodes in monasteries without actually taking vows, thus enjoying a measure of security while exempting themselves from the burdens of poverty, chastity, and obedience; but the practice must have been rather widely accepted. Shoreham explicitly states that such persons, voluntarily remaining in monasteries beyond the time of probation, should accept the rules of the order and might not marry. It is obvious what a deleterious effect a more lenient attitude would have on the normal life of the religious houses. In regard to persons who wished to enjoy such privileges, Shoreham stated,

\textsuperscript{37}Stevenson, p. 134.
Another direct similarity between Shoreham's instructions for matrimony and Grosseteste's has to do with persons who wished to avoid their duties toward their spouses, and thus took refuge in religious orders. Shoreham prohibited partners in marriage from joining religious orders to avoid their obligations to one another.

This practice was one of the first abuses Grosseteste took action against during his term as Bishop of Lincoln. Against married men, tired of their obligations, who took refuge in monasteries, Grosseteste inaugurated proceedings at the request of the wives, requiring such persons to return to married life.

Although in the main, Shoreham accentuated the positive far more than is usual to medieval writers, he

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38 Boulter, p. 60.

39 Bliss, Calendar of the Papal Registers, i. p. 209 (1244). In Stevenson, p. 153.
nevertheless held a very realistic view of humanity. Living as he did among the common people, he must have daily witnessed shortcomings of every sort. "The Ten Commandments," the third work found in MS 17,376, is far more skeptical in tone than any of Shoreham's other works and seems to reflect a period of depression and temporary pessimism in an otherwise optimistic life. The work appears to be an elaboration of the section on the ten commandments from the Chasteau d'Amour, containing similar tone, ideas, and in some cases, similar phrasing. The form is different, Grosseteste writing in the familiar rhymed couplets, and Shoreham in the minstrel meter of the septenarius.

Grosseteste opened this section of the Chasteau by stating that in the ten commandments "god forbede all synne/And taght man how he my3t him gret mede wynne" [ll. 73-74]. Likewise, Shoreham promised "Meche hys be mede bat hym worpe,/By so bat he na-drylle . . ." ["The Ten Commandments," ll. 5-6]. The closing of the Chasteau d'Amour repeats the formula for holiness, but voices skepticism that anyone exists who is capable of living up to the goal:
Him behoved be a man that myȝt noȝt synne
And he most ay fulfille alle goddes wille
And never in thoght word ne dede don non ille
Slik on myȝt if he wald a gode raunson wage
And bye agayn both man and heritage
Bot slik a man in erth myȝt never be made
If he of all creatours all vertues hade.

[11. 140-46]

Very similar lines exist in Shoreham's "The Seven Deadly Sins":

He hat ne bynketh nauȝt bote wel,
And speketh and doeth all ryȝt,
Pe man hys sckere of actuel,
Ac ho hys here so bryȝt?

[11. 181-84]

Similarly, in writing on the ten commandments, Grosseteste cautioned against "mamettrie/And also all maner of sorcerie" [Chasteau d'Amour, ll. 77-78], Shoreham against "wychecraft" and "teliinge" ["The Ten Commandments," ll. 177-78]. In regard to images of saints, Grosseteste wrote:

A seint sal thou worschip for he is his derlyng
Ymages in the kirk that thou on lokes
Are to the as to the clerk are his gode bokes
Thou sal not worschip thaim bot for thair sake
That thei bring to thi mind thi prayer to make

[Chasteau d'Amour, ll. 82-86]

Shoreham, also, cautioned against idolastry and urged following the Church's teaching in regard to saints, that they be used as examples to "make þyne worþyng" ["The Ten Commandments," l. 182]:
Ne fore inne none ymage self,
Pa pat be great botninge;
Bote as al holy cherche pe tak
Pou make Byrne worpynge,
For gode nele nau3 t pat pou hyt do,
Bote by bere wyssyng.

["The Ten Commandments," 11. 179-84]

Both men warned against working on the Sabbath, dishonoring parents and Holy Church, ruining the reputation of others by "bakbityng" [Chasteau d'Amour, l. 109] or "myssegge," "mys-do," or "fouleche at-wyte" ["The Ten Commandments," 11. 243-44].

Shoreham, however, gave way in this poem to an unprecedented, for him, low opinion of his fellowman. He saw men who "ny3t and day . . . by soyled beb . . ." [11. 191-92], as Grosseteste observed that man "never wele withouten syne spendes on days" [Chasteau d'Amour, l. 1021]. Shoreham prefaced "The Ten Commandments" by condensing all laws to the law of love, but despaired "Ac lasse love ber hys wyb men/pane by wyb wylde bestes . . ." [11. 61-62]. In regard to love of God he remarked,

Ac al to fewe lovyeb ham,
And wylleb bat ober wolde;
Alas! wat schal be hare red
Whanne hy bep under molde?

[11. 109-12]

Shoreham observed people who instead of thinking on how to be holy spent their hours in wickedness:
In the closing stanza of "The Ten Commandments," Shoreham challenged his readers to avoid the vileness of those around them, and, instead, to live by God's laws:

Nou ich _ou bydde for pe blode
Pat ihesüs blede on pe rode,
Pat in te herte take pys two
To oure soule fode;
And fo[1] _eb nau't in pys wordle
Pe vyle commune floude
Pat flew in-to pe fendes moube;
And so seibe iop [sic] be gode Amen.

Grosseteste, likewise suffered a period of severe depression because of poor church administration. In May, 1250, the Bishop appeared before the Pope at Lyon with a detailed and powerful address on the existing evils of the church. It was read before the Pope and assembled Cardinals by John Cardinal de St. Nicholas, 40

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40 Stevenson's footnote says, "The memorandum is printed in the Appendix to Brown's Fasciculus, ii. 250-258, with an introductory note by Robert Marsh, who was present. It is partly translated, partly paraphrased by Archdeacon Perry, pp. 207-223. Portions are quoted by Wycliffe in his De civili dominio, I, 43. pp. 385-394." In Stevenson, p. 285.
and although its scathing criticism must have aroused dissension, it did not prevent Innocent from granting Grosseteste the rights of visitation he sought in order to secure vicarages. In this address Grosseteste lamented the sad example of the leaders of the church, in particular the pastors, who unlike the Apostles who were "elders not so much in years as in wisdom and virtue," lived lives of heresy and vice, leading by their examples many more into perdition. Although Grosseteste was allowed the rights of visitation he sought, the many examples of the Holy See's attention to money as a decisive factor in settling disputes of this kind filled the Bishop with little hope for real changes. So depressed was he upon leaving Lyon that he even considered for a time abdicating the See of Lincoln for a quiet life of scholarship in the face of what seemed to him unsurmountable odds against reform. He was only deterred in this resolve by the fear that his seat would remain vacant, as so often happened, and that the situation of the clergy would thereby further deteriorate. 41

41 Stevenson, p. 285. Compare with Shoreham's statement from "The Seven Sacraments" in regard to elders: "Pe prest... icleped be ealde,/Bote nau.t of 3eres, ac of wyt... /For 3eres/Ne makeb so nau.t Bane prest ald,/Ac sadnesse of maneres." [11. 1422-28]

42 Stevenson, pp. 284-87.
Although both Grosseteste and William of Shoreham were inflexible in their desire for an educated and spiritual following they could not often have realized, both men were far from being humorless and despondent. Grosseteste disapproved of excessive austerity and thought three things necessary for a good life: "food, sleep, and good humour." The accounts of Matthew Paris that he was a host "hospitable, eloquent, courteous, pleasant, and affable," as well as the letters of Adam Marsh which describe his friendliness and pleasantness to men from all walks of life show him to have been a man happy and content with what life had dealt him, though he was ever conscious of the great responsibility he held for others. Likewise, Shoreham spoke of the joys of the sacraments which made one "so merie/Ine goste . . . ."

["The Seven Sacraments," ll. 368-69]. The introduction of "The Seven Deadly Sins," which is composed of a series of antithetical parallels, counters the sorrows of sinning with the joys of holiness:

Senne makeb by-webe
Pat sommon er by-lo

. . . . . . . . .
And senne bryngeb men in grame,
Pat er was game and gle.

[11. 9-10, 19-20]

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43 Ibid., p. 333. 44 Ibid., p. 332. 45 Ibid.
Grosseteste's fondness for music is cited in Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*,\(^4^6\) which mention may have struck a chord with Shoreham, who also must have been familiar with minstrel singers and who used their meters exclusively in his poetry. This poetry abounds with descriptions of Shoreham as a humble songster; In "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary," written at the request of a nun, Shoreham said, "And |ou me beñe, soster, synge . . ." [ll. 34]. Thus, he "alle in-to one songe brynge . . . of hyre |at al mankinde glede" [ll. 35, 2]. He wished to add his song to those many who had preceded him with "murye sounge . . ." [l. 5]. In the closing stanza of the "Song to Mary," he humbly devotes his song to her who brought joy to mankind:

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Have, levedy pys lytel songe  
Pat out of senfol herte sprong . . . .
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[ll. 79-80]

Thus, Shoreham appears in his poetry, like Grosseteste, to be a man happy and content with his chosen life and the solace of his religion, although alert to the failings of his flock and his duties to them.

Emphasizing preaching and teaching, the scriptures, a life of holiness, and care for his flock, William of Shoreham struck a common chord with Robert Grosseteste in

\(^{4^6}\) In Stevenson, p. 334.
each of these areas. Obviously, their lives paralleled each other on many points, and their standard for the priesthood was identical. If Shoreham was somewhat milder in tone and manner, the limitations of his authority and the audience for which he wrote account for the difference. If he did not consciously pattern his life and writings after those of the Bishop of Lincoln, at the very least they were kindred souls, working in the same milieu. As will be shown in Chapter IV, similarities between imagery, structure, and form make it almost certain that Shoreham was familiar with the Chasteau d'Amour, and probably with the Templum Domini also. It would seem reasonable to assume that when he translated the "Song to Mary" from what he believed to be a poem by Robert Grosseteste, he was merely capping a lifetime in which he had followed a great master's thinking. He had taught what Grosseteste thought necessary for the faithful to know, adopted his method of preaching and citing the scriptures, lived the life of holiness outlined by Grosseteste for the priesthood, and shared his depression as well as his joy.
CHAPTER IV

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN ORGANIZATION, DICTION, AND IMAGERY

So many similarities exist between Shoreham's poetry and Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour and Templum Domini that it is almost certain that Shoreham was familiar with these two works. Probably he possessed or had read other Grosseteste works, for although a good deal of similarity exists between the "Song to Mary" and one section of the Chasteau, the former could not be said to be simply a translation of the latter. It is also likely that many shorter works of Grosseteste's contain some of the same images and ideas that are found in both the Chasteau and the Templum Domini and that these were available to Shoreham. The availability of both these works in Shoreham's day, however, points to them as primary sources for his works. Fifteen manuscripts of the Chasteau d'Amour survive.¹ It was translated in the fourteenth century and widely read during both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Since it was written for the common man and

fashioned after the romances of the troubadours, Shoreham must have found it a more than adequate pattern for what he intended to accomplish in his works. Only one copy of the English version of Templum Domini remains, but numerous copies of Robert Grosseteste's Latin text exist. The similarities between this work and William of Shoreham's poems point to knowledge of at least one version of Templum Domini. Parallels between the organization, the theological arguments, and the literary devices (in particular, the similarity of the imagery) can be cited in these popular works of Grosseteste and the poetry of William of Shoreham.

The similarities between Grosseteste's organization in the Chasteau d'Amour and Shoreham's works leads one to think that this romance exerted a primary influence over Shoreham. In the first place, the order of subject matter is exceedingly similar. Comparing the Chasteau and Shoreman's "The Trinity," one sees both of these works as a kind of summa theologica. The Chasteau contains, as the preface states, "al that a lewed man has nede for to knawe for hele of soule." In this work Grosseteste treated the creation, the fall, the ten commandments, the

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2 Stevenson, p. 38.
3 Introduction, Templum Domini.
4 Preface, Chasteau d'Amour, p. 133.
arguments for restoration to grace by Christ, the sorrows of the Virgin, the seven sacraments, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the end of the world, the joys of heaven and pains of hell—a rather lengthy work containing both the Christian rationale for belief in God and the means of achieving grace. Shoreham seems to have had in mind a somewhat more concise organization of these same ideas in various shorter works. The means to grace he covered in separate works on the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, the seven sacraments, the hours of the cross (sorrows of Mary), and the five joys of Mary. These he treated in much greater detail than did Grosseteste, but there are many similarities between organization, ideas, and word choice. His arguments for Christian belief he covered in "The Trinity" (sometimes called the Creed), perhaps a system more aesthetically pleasing than that found in Grosseteste's work. Another reason Shoreham chose to write of the means of grace under separate titles may be attributed to his concern in "The Trinity" not only for the untutored, but the "ylered man" for whom he seems to have written this work in particular. Shoreham's "The Trinity" is incomplete, as he covered only the creation, the fall, and the role of Satan in the world. Of Christ and redemption he apparently intended to write later, as he stated in lines 794-96:
Por2 be schedyng of be blode
Of godes sone,
Ase ich her-after telle may . . .

Had he completed this work, he would have covered virtually
the same theological ground which Grosseteste did in the
Chasteau d'Amour.

Shoreham apparently had two ideas in mind as he wrote
"The Trinity": first, the inclusion of the three creeds--Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian--outlined by Grosseteste
as necessary for the teaching of all Christians,5 the only
article of faith in Grosseteste's instructions not included
in Shoreham's other works, and second, a sort of summa
theologica, or rationale for belief in the Christian faith.
Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour begins with an exhortation
to belief in the Trinity and a brief explanation of the
document of the triune God. The rest of the creed,
however, containing belief in the virgin birth, the death
on the cross, descent into hell, and the resurrection he
treated in lines 898-915. One might speculate that
Shoreham had a similar organization in mind and that he
intended to include these beliefs in another work or in a
second section to be added to "The Trinity." The Trinity
is, of course, the first article of faith expressed in the
three creeds. Shoreham, as was his nature, spent some

5Stevenson, p. 133.
129 lines on an explanation of the Trinity; he cited the Athanasian Creed:

Ine a song ofte by note
'Quiconque uult' pet hys y-hote,
Ry3t ase me singep . . .

[11. 112-14]

the Nicene Creed:

Pat holy cherche singep a daye
A pryme longe:
'be holy [gost] of [be] fader ryche
And of be sone, of ober ylyche,
So he for[b] come[b];
No er by-ete, ne forbe i-wro[t]
O of a3t be hys, ne forbe3 of no3t . . .'

[11. 179-792]

and the Apostles' Creed:

Nou we habbeb vader and sone,
Ase hye bbe ry3t ine persone,
And ban-cheysoun.
Wat may be holy gost nou be?
Persone brydde in trynyte . . .

[11. 139-43]

In a larger sense, however, the entirety of "The Trinity" is an explanation of what occurred before the birth of Christ (the creation and the fall) and the need for the Trinity and its benefits to man. Shoreham defined the components of the Trinity as "my3t, wysdom, and eke love . . ." [1. 193].
That Shoreham may have dealt with an increasingly more skeptical people than did Grosseteste is evident in his concern for proof of the existence of God and for logical explanations to such phenomena as sin and suffering. David wrote, "The fool says in his heart, 'There is no God . . .'," and Shoreham feared

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pat } & \text{bare be wexe of } \text{b} \text{are route} \\
\text{Mani a fol,} \\
\text{Pat weneb ryt, wyp-oute myssse,} \\
\text{Pat } & \text{ber nys god ine hevene blysse,} \\
& \text{Ne helle pool.}
\end{align*}
\]

[11. 8-12]

Shoreham, in "The Trinity," attempted to instruct those who doubted because of ignorance and to win through logic those who were honest doubters. In this guise he addressed himself to the questions that most learned men used as arguments against the existence of God.

Most of "The Trinity" parallels two sections of the Chasteau d'Amour, lines 15-72, in which Grosseteste detailed the creation and fall. Grosseteste said that "God in VI dayes made bothe earthe and heven . . ." [1. 15], Shoreham that "Ine dayes sixe he made hyt ry\textsubscript{3}t:/Hevene and erthe and wolkne bry\textsubscript{3}t . . . ."

\[\text{Psalms 14, quoted by Shoreham in Stanza I.}\]
Both stressed the perfection of God's creation. Grosseteste wrote:

When god had the world so perfite made
That no partie of hit defaut hade
Then of erth he made Adam of man age . . .

Shoreham saw man as part of God's perfection:

And a last, man:
So bat hyt was god and sad,
Al pys world, bat was ymad
Of hym bat can.

Grosseteste saw the angels "bothe sunne and mone bri3t
thai ware . . ." [l. 21], and Shoreman "Bry3t ande
schene . . ." [l. 389]. But Lucifer fell through pride:

That thrugh pride of Lucifer and his feres voyde
was . . .

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That thrugh pride of Lucifer and his feres voyde
was . . .

Eve, being the most likely to be tempted, was led astray:

The fende for he hade that joye bost envy had
to their delice
When he come in neddir liknesse to eve with a
woman's face . . .

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Ac sore hym drade for to faylly,
And dorste nau3t adam assaylly,
Al for to waye:

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And dorste nau3t adam assaylly,
Al for to waye:
But Shoreham lengthened his discourse considerably by additions of both argumental and stylistic devices.

He addressed first of all the problem of sin in the world:

\[\text{3ef [quead] so were of gode y-mone,}\]
\[\text{By ry\textsubscript{3}tte he my\textsubscript{3}tte be wy\textsubscript{2}-nome}\]
\[\text{Ry\textsubscript{3}t āse a [que\textsubscript{2}d];}\]
\[\text{De\textsubscript{2}-fore ne my\textsubscript{3}tte he nau\textsubscript{4}t do wro\textsubscript{1}be:}\]
\[\text{Ac [schrewadne\textsubscript{2}se] bē\textsubscript{5}hym lō\textsubscript{5}be,}\]
\[\text{And hys for-beade.}\]

[[11. 307-12]]

The possibility of sin is necessary if man is to have free will. So also suffering is necessary if man is to distinguish bliss:

\[\text{Ac o blysse hys, nys nau\textsubscript{3}t folfeld,}\]
\[\text{War-fore bat hevene hys āl ydueld,}\]
\[\text{And 3et nou word . . . .}\]

[[11. 337-39]]

He also attempted to explain why Satan's sin was unforgiveable by saying:

\[\text{And hare-vore dampnable hy hys,}\]
\[\text{For he was glad to don amys,}\]
\[\text{Po bat he mytte . . . .}\]

[[11. 475-77]]

Stylistically, Shoreham's account of the fall is far more interesting than Grosseteste's; his use of dialogue between the characters involved reminds one of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In fact, the entire section is quite similar in theological tone to Milton, with references to predestination, the war between God and Satan,
Lucifer's unrepentant attitude, and good from evil through God.

Both Grosseteste and Shoreham, however, disclaimed the ability to explain all mysteries. In relation to the Trinity, Grosseteste admitted that it is difficult for man to comprehend one God in three persons:

Our mede is to trowe this with stable thoght
Al be hit that mannes skil proves it noght
Bot when we sal se God clerly
Than sal we knawe this witerly . . . .

[11. 11-14]

Shoreham, too, admitted that he could not explain why God grants grace to some and not to others:

Ac wy he graunteb grace to one,
And soche and oberyen grauntyeb none,
Segge ich ne kanne;
Bote bet hys [hys] privete
Of hys domes in equyte,
Wyb wyl to þanne.

[11. 511-16]

There are similarities between the Chasteau d'Amour and other Shoreham poems, also. Parallels between Grosseteste's section on the ten commandments and Shoreham's treatise on this subject have already been pointed out in Chapter III (see pp. 69-71). Shoreham's "Hours of the Cross" parallels Grosseteste's writings in several ways also. First of all, the "Hours of the Cross" fulfills Grosseteste's instructions that the faithful be
taught the Lord's Prayer and devotions to Mary. Both the Pater Noster and the Rosary were to accompany Shoreham's "Hours of the Cross" at the various canonical hours of the day. The "Hours of the Cross" contains alternate verses addressed first to Christ and then to the Virgin. A similar section extolling the sorrows of Mary is found in the Chasteau d'Amour in lines 499-511. As usual, Shoreham greatly elaborated on the theme, treating each of the segments of Christ's passion separately as it affected both Christ and his mother. As in Shoreham's poem, Grosseteste's Chasteau contains a section (lines 430-98) devoted to the passion and suffering of Christ, directly followed by paralleling sorrows of our lady (lines 499-511). Grosseteste's poem begins with an apostrophe to the sorrows of Mary:

What sorowe hopes thou then hade his moder Mary
When thing that has no resonn for him was so sary

[ll. 499-500]

Shoreham began each segment of his devotional address to Mary with a similar apostrophe:

O swete levedy, wat be was wo . . .

and named the particular facet of the passion being treated in a second line. Both Grosseteste and Shoreham spoke of the sword passing through Mary's body as it inflicted

7Stevenson, p. 133.
Christ's wounds. Grosseteste spoke of "symond swerd past throught out thi hert/And the paynes of thy son were in full smert . . ." [ll. 501-02], while Shoreham mentioned "bat swerde perced þyne saule þo . . ." [l. 123].

In Shoreham's "Song to Mary," the clearest connection to the works of Robert Grosseteste, Shoreham addressed "Marye, myde mylde and fre;/Chambre of oe trynyte . . ." [ll. 1-2]. In line 663 of the Chasteau, Grosseteste called Mary the "moder of mercy and qwene of pite" and the castle wherein "crist tok of the maykynd . . ." [l. 682]. Shoreham called her "be ryche castel,/þar resteo alle werye . . ." [ll. 57-58]. She stands between mankind and Satan, as Grosseteste stated:

Hope of help me made hider for to fle
When three gret enemys fast pursued me . . . .

[ll. 668-69]

Shoreham avowed likewise:

A3ens þe feend þou make me strong,
And þyf me þy wyssynge;
And þa3 ich habbe y-do þe wrang,
Pou gräunte me amendynge.

[ll. 81-84]

The most interesting parallel between the "Song to Mary" and the Chasteau d'Amour, however, exists in the metaphor of Mary as the staff of Aaron. Shoreham's "Song to Mary," supposedly a translation of a poem by Robert Grosseteste, consists primarily of a series of such
metaphors. Mary is "pe colvere of noe," "pe bosche of snyay," etc. Lines 686-88 of the Chasteau d'Amour read,

Thou art the zeit of aaron that bar the faire flour
When thou in clene maydenhede bar the creatour
Thou art the stegh of jacob thurgh wham is gate
to heven

One of the metaphors in Shoreham's "Song to Mary" states that

\[
\text{Pou ertz be } \text{3erd al of aaron}
\text{Me drye is3e spryngynde} \ldots
\]

[11. 27-28]

The image of Jacob's stairway as a means to heaven

Shoreham used in "The Seven Sacraments":

\[
\text{Ac hevene his heibe, and we beo hevy,}
\text{Howe scholde we beider banne?}
\text{Bi leddre.}
\ldots
\text{Man, be laddre nys nau3t of wode}
\text{Pat may to hevene lest3;}
\text{Ac on peer his, pat iakob isei3e}
\text{Peer he sleppe inne hys reste.3}
\]

[11. 38-46]

Likewise, many parallels exist between the organization and theological ideas of Grosseteste's Templum Domini and Shoreham's poems. In many cases Shoreham seems to have taken ideas from both -- never merely copying Grosseteste, but borrowing and changing or elaborating to suit his purpose. In general, the explanations of the ten commandments, seven deadly sins, etc., found in the Templum Domini are more discursive and, therefore, more like Shoreham's poems. One of the theological ideas found
in both *Templum Domini* and Shoreham's "The Seven Sacraments" is that of the priesthood of all believers. Grosseteste explained the triune nature of Christ as king, priest, and man: king in the resurrection, priest in suffering, and man by birth. These same dimensions are open to all Christians:

And ilka cristyn man i-wisse
May take þes greys in ilka thynge . . . .

[ll. 368-69]

Man becomes king by destroying "by fendis engyne/Be contemplacion day & night" [ll. 380-81], priest "... if he his flesch can wele chastice/And with penaunce his flesch restrayne/ffro alle synnys & all folice . . . ."

[ll. 374-76], and man in that he is new-born in baptism. [ll. 369-72]. Shoreham, also, in "The Seven Sacraments" said that "crystene man hys godes hous . . . .," just as a priest is [l. 1501]. His five wits allow his conscience to change him just as holy orders change a priest:

Per-fore ech man þat crystene hys,
Hys wyttes loky fyve,
And þenche ob-an þe lore of god,
And fendes from hym dryve,
And ly3te
Myd gode bewes al hys lyf,
And þer-to do hys my3te . . . .

[ll. 1541-47]
Another similarity between *Templum Domini* and Shoreham's "The Seven Sacraments" occurs in the section on penitence. Both Grosseteste and Shoreham used the example of Judas to illustrate despair. Grosseteste spoke of "Dispayre on Judas it was sene/pat hanged hym selve for his tresoun . . ." [*Templum Domini*, ll. 407-08], and Shoreham cautioned Christians to "be nauʒ in wanhope,/pat made Judas to spylle . . ." [*"The Seven Sacraments,"* ll. 850-51].

The ten commandments of both Shoreham and *Templum Domini* [ll. 481-520] contain similar organization in that both reduce the commandments to the law of love followed by the laws of Moses. Grosseteste wrote,

```
Bus is love als I have tolde
Partyde in thre maners sere
To god þat formes man of molde
Pe seconde [sic] to þi selve here
Pe thryde þat ilka man is holde
Till his neightbor as brothyre dere
And he þat dos þus may be bolde
Pe hevene is his own outyn were . . . .
```

[ll. 505-12]

Shoreham likewise commanded,

```
O þyng hyt hys . . .

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

And þat hys leve, man, syker þou be,
To lovye wyþ þou þiȝte.
```

[*"The Ten Commandments,"* ll. 41-44]
This love consists of two parts: "to lovye god . . . , and "to lovye alle men . . ." ["The Ten Commandments," 11. 51, 53].

Thus, it would seem that whatever other sources William of Shoreham may have used, Templum Domini and the Chasteau d'Amour lay foremost among them. The similarity of stylistic devices, however, reveals the use of Grosseteste as a source most clearly. Of these, the similarity of imagery is most startling. The use of antithetical parallelism found in both the Chasteau d'Amour (section on the ten commandments, 11. 73-146) and Shoreham's "The Seven Deadly Sins" and the "Song to Mary" was a common device of the Old Testament, especially in Psalms. Therefore, it is hardly conclusive proof of the influence of Grosseteste's poetry. There is little likelihood, however, that the repeated use of various images by both Grosseteste and Shoreham is coincidental.

The first of these images is the mirror image, used by Robert Grosseteste in both prose and poetry. In a letter to the Abbot of Peterborough, he used it as a measuring stick to the possibilities of virtue:

These sentences I have extracted from the treatise I have mentioned, and have placed them before you, in order that you may see in them, as in a small mirror, a miniature reflection of the form of monastic life. Just as young maidens delight in a variety of mirrors, so do your virgin minds find enjoyment
in the contemplation of intellectual presentiments of their own state. In the Rule of St. Benedict you have been able frequently to contemplate, as in the plane surface of a large mirror, the beauty of the life you lead. You have also been able to do so in the yet brighter mirror supplied by the rules of St. Basil, and by the example and teaching of the lives of the Fathers; and if, therefore, you turn for a little while to look at this small mirror brought from a foreign region of the earth, the task ought not to be thought tedious by you.

Another instance of mirror imagery in Grosseteste's prose occurs in his dictum on united prayer. In this work he described individual prayers as small "polished objects," which, when joined together, unite to reflect the rays of the sun.

Grosseteste used mirror imagery three times in the Chasteau d'Amour, once in the preface, and twice in the body of the romance. In the preface the translator begged, "And if thou covayt to love God and to plese him, take mirour and loke oft ther inne." Describing the joys of heaven, Grosseteste explained that "Man sal be in god as in a myrour" [l. 1182]. The close of the Chasteau again reminded mankind that precepts of God are like a mirror of goodness:

Here endes the myrour of lewed men
A munk made this myrour onlye for lewed mennes sake
Thou that wille se saul hele this thi myrour thou take . . . .

[ll. 1278-80]

---

8 Ibid., p. 166. 9 Ibid., p. 36.
William of Shoreham used the image of the mirror twice: once at the close of "The Seven Deadly Sins" and again in "The Seven Sacraments." The closing of "The Seven Deadly Sins" reads,

And her-by þou myȝt man, y-seo
Hou here ende hys'sour;
Nou loke her-in, pur charite,
And make hyt þy myrour.

[11. 421-42]

Again, in "The Seven Sacraments," Shoreham used the mirror image to express the miracle of the broken pieces of communion wafers representing the wholeness of Christ's body:

Þeȝ þer te-breke aȝt ine þe mouȝ,  
Obȝer ine þyne hondȝn,  
Hyt nas nauȝt he þat hys to-broke;  
Ensample þou myȝt fondȝn:  
To-slyftȝe  
A [l þy] myrour þou myȝt fol wel,  
Bote nauȝt þe image schifte.

[11. 722-28]

Another perhaps more unusual metaphor found in the works of both Grosseteste and Shoreham is that of the sun's rays shining through glass without harm to the glass. Both men see a parallel between this image and the miracle of the virgin birth. It is found twice in the Chasteau d'Amour, once in Shoreham's "Song to Mary," and again in "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary." The Chasteau d'Amour, in a discussion of the seven virtues
found in Mary, spoke of her as a castle, the window of which let in the light of Christ:

No wonder if this castel were ful fair in sist
When god the sonne of ri3twisnes wald ther in l1t
He come thurgh the cloise ate and when clois it was
Ri3t as the bri3t sonne beme comes and goos thurgh the glas
Al that man nede has of in this ilk castelle
He that help has of hit has ynogh of wele

[11. 653-59]

Doubtless the pun on "sun" and "son" was not lost on medieval readers in appreciation of the appropriateness of this metaphor.

Again, in a section on the joys of heaven, Grosseteste employed the same image. These joys, characteristics of the sun, were likened to four doors: perfection, brilliance, cleverness, and buoyancy. The third door, "sutilness," was paralleled to the sunbeam passing through glass:

The third dower of the boye sal be sutilnes
For hit sal be so clensid of alle rudenes
That non erthlye bodye may lette hit to passe
More than the sunne beme is lettid be the glas

[11. 1164-67]

In his "Song to Mary," William of Shoreham used not only the image of Mary as "be riche castel" [1. 57], but also that of the virgin birth as a ray of sunlight passing through glass. Just as sunlight shines through a window-pane without breaking the glass, Mary gave birth to Christ without destroying her maidenhead:
In "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary," Shoreham again used the sunbeam metaphor for the miracle of the virgin birth. He stressed the conception of Christ without taint of sin, or "flesches lykyinge" [1. 123]:

Pet ober ioye of hyre ycore
Was of ihesus, of hyre ybore
A crystemasse ny,u te,
Wŷp-oute sor,e, wŷp-oute sore;
And so ne schal þer never more
Wymman wŷp childe di3te.

For so hy hyne scholde ferst avonge,
þer nes no sëns þer amonge,
Ne noe flesches lykyngē;
Perfore of hyre y-bore he was,
Ase þe sonne passe,t þor,þe glas
Wŷp-outen on openyngē.

[11. 115-26]

The dominant image of Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour is that of Mary as the castle wherein Jesus dwelt; the milieu is that of chivalry. In Templum Domini he used the imagery of the priest, and, therefore, Christians, as churches or temples of God; the milieu is that of the church. Mary is the source, or quelle of all mercy, hope, and peace; the church of the law and the gospel. Shoreham employed the same divisions of imagery in his poetry; in Mary "hys wreche by-come myld, pat unicorn
bat was so wyld/Aleyd hys of a cheaste . . ." ["Song to Mary," ll. 62-64]. She is "emaus, þe ryche castel" [l. 57], where Jesus rested, and where also all weary may find rest. Sister Marie Virginia, O. P., explains the suitability of the image of Mary as a castle:

Before considering this title it may be well to recall why Mary is called a "castle." A castle is the residence of a king, and Christ, who is the king of kings, took up his abode in Mary; a castle is beautifully furnished with ornaments of gold and silver, and so the soul of Mary is adorned with all virtues; a castle is usually a fortified structure, and so those who seek Mary will be fortified against evil; a castle is ordinarily constructed on an elevated site, and so Mary is raised by her dignity as Mother of God above all creatures.

Mary is called the "Castle of Emmaus" because just as Christ rested at Emmaus and there revealed to his two disciples his identity as Christ (and therefore, king), so also in his journey from heaven to earth Christ found a resting-place in Mary and through her revealed himself to the world. Consequently, Mary is the house or castle of Emmaus, where all who seek Christ find him and through whom he reveals his identity as Christ (and therefore, king) to the world.¹⁰

This explanation of Mary as the castle of Christ is very similar to Grosseteste's description in ll. 371-429 of the Chasteau d'Amour. He describes Mary as "this castil of solas and socour" whose "blissed body . . . bar oure saveour . . ." [ll. 406-07]. Mary he painted

¹⁰Sister Marie Virginia, O. P. "William of Shoreham's 'A Song to Mary,'" The Explicator, XXV (October, 1965).
as a castle impregnable to human forces, with four towers and three baileys to secure her fortress: "Seven barbicans are sette so sekirly about/That no maner of shoting may greve fro without . . ." [ll. 384-85]. The colors of the scene depict Mary arrayed as a beautiful "castil . . . ever ful of love and grace . . ." [l. 378]. The red colors flying from the towers signify the "brennand love of gode and man that gyves mykil li3t . . ." [l. 612], the green of the grass below the "treuthe of our ladye that aye was stedefast . . . [l. 608], and the white walls "blaunched als whit as any driven snaue . . . [l. 393], the hope of mankind "to come to grace that save mankynde salle . . ." [l. 610]. The moat of this castle is composed of "four streams" fed by "a welle springes/Fro myddes the hegh tour thai fille the dykinges . . ." [ll. 394-95]:

So far and so gode that liquor ther is
That he that drank oght ther of my3t have mekel blis . . . .

[ll. 396-97]

This fair castle ". . . the kinges sone has made it for his owne se/Was ther never nos so fair ne never more sal be . . ." [ll. 404-05].

This image of Mary as the well from which streams all joy, goodness, and mercy is one frequently used by Shoreham also. In "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary,"
he compared the four earthly joys of Mary with the four streams of Eden. The wells of joy stem from her well of bliss, Christ:

Four manere ioyen hy hadde here
Of hyre sone so lef and dere,
Wytnes oban þe godspelle;  
And al [le] comeb of þe blysse
Pat hye hep nou, wyp-oute mysse,
So stremes of þe welle.

Þe wylle þat hys in paradys
Fol wel by-tokneþ þys avys,
Wyp here stremes foure,
Þet orneþ out oder al þat londe,
Nys never erþlyche man þat fond
Hou fele come of þe stoure.

[11. 49-60]

"þys walleþys god self man by-come" [l. 61], and furnished water for the four streams of Mary's joy: the conception of Christ, the birth, the resurrection, and the ascension into heaven. Also in "The Seven Sacraments," Shoreham spoke of Mary as the spring of salvation for mankind, just as matrimony removes the sting of sin from "strenying of þe mane" [l. 1603]:

In wlessche ioyneþ man and wyf,
Children to multeþlye;
And god hab taken oure flesch
Of þe mayde marye;
    Wel ferren
Þer-of springeþ þet holy stren
I-lykned to þe sterren.

[11. 1583-89]

Although Shoreham did not mention the well or four streams in "The Hours of the Cross," he nevertheless spoke
of Mary as the source of mercy and defender of man against Satan. Because she endured the sorrow of Christ's passion, she would "... defend ous, wanne we dede be\(\text{\textit{p}}\)/pat noe fende ous ne take" [ll. 49-50]. As she watched as "me bete hys bare flesch," [l. 65], so she might "... schelde ous.../Fram alle feenden meystrye" [ll. 69-70]. She also shields us from sin "pat we ne hongy in helle" [l. 110], and cleanses us that "we clene be,/Whanne we scholle wende hennes" [ll. 149-50]. Because she witnessed Christ's resurrection, she is our help "a domesday,/\textit{pat} we aryse mytte brytte" [ll. 169-70]. Likewise, in the Chasteau d'Amour, Grosseteste saw Mary as the gate before which he lay, "... thi help and mercy for to crye..." [l. 665]. She strengthened him when "thre gret enemys fast pursued" him [l. 669]. She was the "welle of mercy" and he pleaded,

Lady let me lye in the castel dyke  
And wasch me wele therto thi servant like ... .  

[ll. 678-79]

She is the means to grace: "The kinges sone of al this world lighe the with ynne/For to save and socour wel al synful man of synne..." [ll. 690-91].

As Grosseteste's portrayal of the relationship between Mary and mankind was that of the knight and his lady in the tradition of courtly love, so the relationship between mankind and God or Christ was that of
ruler and thrall, in the tradition of feudalism. God is
king; mankind the prisoner of sin. Christ is the prince,
or knight, who fights to free mankind from the seven
deadly sins. Shoreham employed this same analogy. In
"The Seven Deadly Sins," he states that "... senne make
many pral, bat scholde be wel fry ..." [ll. 1-2]. The
devil is captain of sin; his princes, or knights, are the
seven deadly sins in the battle of good and evil:

Ac cheveteyn of senne
Ich wot bat be fend hys,
For wyse, and alle kenne
Arayeo hys amys.

And ase bere in bataylle
0 kyng berep be
Po heyt were a gret faylle
3ef be host were em-be\).

Per-fore me makep prynces
be host to governi;
...
Of senne all manere
Seve develyn prynces bep ...

[ll. 213-22, 227-28]
Although man is naturally thrall to sin, he must
fight against it:

And be bou siker bat mannes lyf
Is ri\)t a knight-hod ine londe;
...
Now mote we banne stonde
To fi\)te:
Be feend, bat flesch, and eke be wordle,
A\)eins our bep idi\)te.

"The Seven Sacraments," [ll. 344-50]
Man may become a knight through Christ, as Shoreham showed in "The Seven Sacraments." At confirmation he is dubbed a Christian knight, able to fight against sin:

A prince longeþ for te do
pe gode kniþtes dobbynge;
And so a prince of godes ost
Schel do þe confermynge,
Non loþer;
þer-fores hit mot a bisschopp be
Nis non þer-to y oþer.

[ll. 379-85]

The imagery of Templum Domini, however, is that of the church with its laws and means of grace. In this poem Robert Grossetesteste built an elaborately extended metaphor of the priest's body as God's temple. The foundation of this building was the seven virtues; the four walls were strength of will, steadfastness, reason, and faithfulness; the roof was wisdom and the five senses. All this was nourished by the creed, the seven sacraments, and the ten commandments. William of Shoreham used the same imagery in one section of "The Seven Sacraments." "For cyrstene may hys godes hous . . ." [l. 1501], Shoreham states at the close of the section on holy orders. The construction of his house is somewhat similar in that conscience, or "ine-wyt," poses as the doorkeeper, and the five wits are the doors (rather than the roof, as in Templum Domini [ll. 1506-07]. Shoreham continued the analogy to explain how conscience takes on all the duties of the priesthood.
thus making each Christian who knows and understands the
sacraments of the church a priest of sorts:

On inwyt mey al | pys wel do,
And ine | be manne werche,
Ase on may al | pys ordres have
Ryt wel in holy cherche;
    Ase here,
3ef her nys suiche mnystre non,
| pys temple stent ivere.

[11. 1534-40]

In conclusion, the parallels between Shoreham's works
and Grosseteste's Templum Domini and the Chasteau d'Amour
in particular point to borrowings from the famed twelfth-
century author. While it is possible that Shoreham copied
Grosseteste's ideas similarly stated in other works, the
congruity between the Chasteau d'Amour and Grosseteste's
instructions for the clergy makes the Chasteau the most
likely source. It contains everything outlined by
Grosseteste as necessary to be taught the faithful, and
Shoreham carefully covered the same scope in his poetry.
The similarities of subject matter, work choice, and
organization in the works of both men show more than
chance might allow for. The repetition of imagery in
the works of both men certainly could not occur
haphazardly. It would seem that William of Shoreham not
only admired the works of Robert Grosseteste, but chose
them as patterns for his own poetry, following the
organization and adopting often the best imagery for inclusion in his own poems.

As Chapter V will show, the "Song to Mary," the closest connection between Shoreham's poetry and that of Robert Grosseteste, is far superior to any of Shoreham's other poems. The incidence of metaphors is significantly higher in the "Song to Mary" than in any other Shoreham poem, and Shoreham's most striking metaphors are found in the works of Grosseteste as well as in his own. The use of antithetical parallels, most successful in "The Seven Deadly Sins," is found also in the "Song to Mary," and may be a borrowing from Grosseteste. Furthermore, there is a marked progression away from didacticism in the Shoreham poems which contain Grosseteste influences.

The conclusion is clear; Shoreham borrowed extensively from Robert Grosseteste, and his poetry became conclusively higher in quality as he did so.
CHAPTER V

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE "SONG TO MARY"

That the poetry of William of Shoreham bears the stamp of Robert Grosseteste's influence in many instances seems clear. In philosophy almost identical, in organization exceedingly similar, Shoreham's poetry makes use of obvious borrowings of metaphor and simile. The superior quality of the "Song to Mary" strengthens the belief that Shoreham was not the author of the poem, but rather the translator. Many of the best qualities found in Shoreham's poems exist in the "Song to Mary." Although similar in meter, form, and style to Shoreham's other poems, in intensity, imagery, and absence of didacticism, it far outranks any other work in Shoreham's collection of poems. Written in rime couée, the "Song to Mary" is strikingly superior to Shoreham's other poetry. The high incidence of metaphor and simile alone mark the poem as the work of a more skillful poet than Shoreham. Its eighty-one lines employ no less than eighteen metaphors and similes— an average of 1.29 per stanza. The poem opens with a series of metaphors depicting the Virgin Mary as the mother of all Christian doctrine; Mary is the
"chambre of the trynyte" and the "quene of paradys." She bore Christ without taint of sin:

Ase the sonne take|b hyre pas
Wy`oute breche por-out |oat glas,
By maydenhod, on-wemmed hyt was
For bere of byne chylde. . . .

[11. 73-76]

She is likewise the fulfillment of the Old Testament; the blessed symbols of all the major stories of the Hebrews point to her. She is the "colvere of noe, bat broute |e braunche of olyve tre," "|e bosche of synay," and "|e slinge, be sone |e ston/bat davy slange golye up-on.

. . ." The fruition of all the great women of the Bible, she was foreshadowed by Judith:

. . . bat fayre wyf,
Pou hast abated al |at stryf,
Olofernes whyb hys knyf
Hys hevede pou hym by-nome;
Pou hest ysaved here lyf
|at to |e wylle come.

[11. 37-42]

Likewise, Esther, whom "assever [Ahasuerus], |e ryche kynge, |ey he ychose to hys weddyng," by saving her people from Haman, just as Mary's giving birth to Christ saved mankind, was a forerunner of the Virgin Mary. Also, "|e rytte sarray" as well as "rachel,/Fayrest of alle wymman" point to her fruitfulness.

Mary is viewed also as a building in which dwelt Christ, the saviour. She is "|e temple salomon;" she "hest
ygladed symeon . . . in be temple atte auter ston, Wyp ihesus, hevene kynge." Also, she is "emaus, be ryche castel, par rested alle werye . . . ," just as in her "restered emanuel . . . ."

By comparison, Shoreham's "Hours of the Cross," a poem of 130 lines, contains only two metaphors. One portrays Mary as our shield from damnation; a variation of the image appears at the end of each stanza devoted to her:

I-scheld ous, wanne we dede beþ From alle fendene Iewyse.

[11. 29-30]

A second metaphor depicts Christ's death as a sword which pierced Mary's soul:

Pat swerde persed þyne saule þo, And so hyt dede wel ofter; Pat was þy sorwe for þy child: Deþe adde be wel softer.

[11. 123-26]

Another lyrical poem, "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary," although longer (354 lines), contains only five metaphors. The well of bliss, found as an extended metaphor in the Chasteau d'Amour, is employed in "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary" for four consecutive stanzas:
Four manere iuyen hy hedde here
Of hyre sone so lef an dere,
Wytnes opan be godspelle;
And al [le] come of be blysse
Pat hye heb nou, wyb-oute mysse,
So stremes of be welle.

[11. 49-54]
This well of joy is foreshadowed by that in Eden; Mary's well is Christ, from whom spring all joy and blessing.

Another metaphor in this poem is a repetition of the virgin birth depicted as sunlight shining through glass, found also in the "Song to Mary" and in Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour. Earlier in the poem Shoreham mentions the virgin birth twice in straightforward fashion; Mary conceived Christ without means of "mannes mone;" later in the poem Shoreham employs Grosseteste's metaphor:

Per-fore of hyre y-bore he was,
Ase be sonne passe3t þor3 be glas
Wyb-outen on opeynge.

[11. 124-26]
Another metaphor found in both the "Song to Mary" and "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary" is that of the wild unicorn being tamed by Mary. In the "Song to Mary" Shoreham writes, or probably translates:

Dat unicorn þat was so wyld
Aleyd hys of a cheaste:
þou Mary hast y-tamed [hyt], and i-styld,
Wyb melke of þy breste.

[11. 63-66]
In "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary," he uses the same image to describe the mildness of her maternity.

\[\text{Per-inne }\text{bet unicorn weks tame}
\text{Pat er }\text{pan was so wylde.}\]

[11. 113-14]

Just as in "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary" the finest metaphors occur also in the poetry of Grosseteste; "The Seven Deadly Sins," perhaps Shoreham's best poem (barring the "Song to Mary"), contains little original imagery. Shoreham's imagery in this poem comes from two sources: the Bible and Robert Grosseteste. One of the biblical images is that of evil portrayed as a snake. Through Adam, man "bereb [a] dea[wound]/And feny [h]are amonge" [ll. 83-84]. Another biblical image compares the foolishness of man's blaming God for his sinful state to that of a pot protesting its state of existence to the potter who formed it:

\[\text{Wat help }\text{h}y\text{t be crokke}
\text{Pat hys to felpe ydo}
\text{A, }\text{be crokkere to brokke:--}
\text{"Wy madest }\text{bou me so?"}
\text{Pe crokkere my,ye segge:--}
\text{"Pou proud erp of lompet,}
\text{Ine felpe }\text{bou schelt lygge,}
\text{bou eart nau e elles ne,t."}\]

[11. 129-36]
From Groesseteste, Shoreham borrowed the image of the mirror. Just as the translator of the *Chasteau d'Amour* used the image of the mirror in both the introduction and conclusion, imploring the reader to use the work as a mirror in which to read good and evil, Shoreham concludes "The Seven Deadly Sins" with a similar injunction:

> And her-by |hou my₃t, man, y-seo  
> Hou here ende hys sour;  
> Nou loke her-in, pur charite,  
> And make hyt by myrour.

[11. 421-24]

The only other important image in the work is that of the devil as captain or "cheveteyn" of an army of evil, and the seven deadly sins as the "seve develen prynces" [1. 228]. This imagery might be strongly suggested by Grosseteste's *Chasteau d'Amour*, for the imagery of chivalry pervades a large portion of that romance.

It must be concluded, then, that William of Shoreham, whatever his attributes as a man of God and as a poet with certain skills, borrowed the most effective images in his poems. Outside of the metaphors cited here, only a few others of any merit whatever exist in his works. The most effective of these are found in "The Seven Sacraments." Shoreham exhorted man to confess his sins openly, to "... ne wynd |hou by senne inne selke,/Ac telle out al
bat rou₃e . . . " [11. 913-14]. In the same section of that poem, he cautions against ignoring sins for too long a period, lest they multiply "As wed schel growen over be corn . . . " [1. 871]. Outside of these two examples, however, all other noteworthy images are recognizably biblical ones or metaphors existing in the writings of Robert Grosseteste.

Another similarity between the "Song to Mary" and "The Seven Deadly Sins" is the use of antithetical parallels. In the "Song to Mary," the second stanza contains a series of opposites:

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Pou bere pæne kyng of blys,} \\
&\text{Wyوط-oute senne and sore;} \\
&\text{Pou hast y-ry₃t bat was amys,} \\
&\text{Y-wonne bat wàs y-lore.}
\end{align*}\]

[11. 9-12]

Shoreham's "The Seven Deadly Sins" begins with a similar series of antithetical parallels:

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Senne makev many bral,} \\
&\text{Pat scholde be wel fry;} \\
&\text{And senne makev many fal,} \\
&\text{Pat he ne mote iby.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Senne bryngëb man a-doun,} \\
&\text{Pat scholde sitte a deys;} \\
&\text{Senne makev storbylo[u]n,} \\
&\text{Par scholde be gode peys.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
&\text{Senne makev by-wepe,} \\
&\text{Pat somman er by-lo₃;} \\
&\text{Senne bryngëb wel dëpe} \\
&\text{Pat hym wel ly₃e dro₃,}
\end{align*}\]
Senne hys swete and lykeðo,
Wanne a man hi deðo;
And al so soure hy brykeðo,
Wanne he veniance y seþ.

Senne makeð nywe schame,
Pa a hy for-sete be,
And senne bryngë men in grame,
Pa t er was game and gle.

[11. 1-20]

Is it merely coincidence that Shoreham chose this elaborate
system of antithetical parallels to begin what is perhaps
his best original poem? Or did he perhaps borrow the
technique, along with the windowpane, mirror, and
chivalric imagery, from Robert Grosseteste as he translated
the "Song to Mary"? Such speculations cannot be

1 Sin makes many thrall,
That should be free;
And sin makes many fall,
That might not [otherwise] do so.

Sin brings many down,
That should sit erect;
Sin makes troubled
What should be at peace.

Sin causes weeping
Where there should be laughter;
Sin makes a deep well
Of what should be easily drawn.

Sin is sweet and tempting
When a man does it,
But it tastes sour
When he penance says.

Sin makes shame anew,
Though it be forgotten;
And sin brings man in sorrow,
That ere was happy and gay.
conclusively resolved, but it is evident that William of Shoreham's most successful works remain those with closest connections to the poetry of Grosseteste, that his most effective images and poetic devices are found in the works of the Bishop of Lincoln. Not only can these elements be cited in known works by Grosseteste, but they exist in the "Song to Mary," believed to be Shoreham's translation of a Grosseteste poem.

Not only are the "Song to Mary" and those Shoreham poems most closely related to the poetry of Grosseteste superior in imagery, but these poems also show a marked progression away from didacticism. "The Seven Sacraments," the first poem in the Shoreham collection, and probably the earliest of the works, is wholly didactic. Although it shows the influence of Robert Grosseteste in a similarity of ideas, there is no borrowed imagery. It is by far the longest of his works, and contains such concentration of detail and intricacy of canon law as to make it totally unsuited to the form Shoreham chose. The second and third works of MS. 17,376, "The Hours of the Cross" and "The Ten Commandments," although far more concise, nevertheless show no duplication of Grosseteste's imagery. Of these two poems "The Ten Commandments" is decidedly didactic. "The Hours of the Cross," although not overly moralistic because of the nature of the poem, is perhaps Shoreham's
poorest work. It contains no fresh imagery and simply recounts the events of Christ's passion. A devotional piece, its emotional discourse and repetition are not enough to raise it above what might be found in any ordinary book of prayers.

The later poems show a better balance between form and subject matter. Of these the "Song to Mary" is the best example. It displays an absence of Shoreham's earlier didacticism and is purely lyric in quality. The author portrays Mary as the symbolic fruition of the Old Testament and the vessel or instrument from which flowed redemption, first in the person of Old Testament characters, and later through Jesus Christ. The poem closest in tone and poetic quality to this is "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary." Although by no means equal in quality to the "Song to Mary," Shoreham's fifth poem in the MS. does pay orderly tribute to Mary with a minimum of moralizing. It is perhaps significant that this poem shares the two most striking metaphors, that of the mirror and the windowpane, with Shoreham's translation of the "Song to Mary." A third metaphor, the well of bliss, is found also in Robert Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour.

Shoreham's two other poems, "The Seven Deadly Sins" and "The Trinity," show many instances of borrowings from the works of Robert Grosseteste also. Both are of a
strictly didactic nature. They do not, however, display the heavy style of Shoreham's earlier pieces. "The Seven Deadly Sins" is pleasing in form and imagery and contains none of the belaboring of obscure theological points so typical of "The Seven Sacraments," for instance. Beginning with a series of antithetical parallels as does the "Song to Mary," it presents the devil and his band in chivalric guise. Although "The Trinity" takes a purely rational argument, it includes vivid description absent from Shoreham's earlier works. The passages describing Satan's revolt in heaven and the temptation of Eve, especially, lift the poem above didacticism.

Logical speculation concludes, then, that William of Shoreham, although familiar with the history and ideals of the late Bishop of Lincoln as he wrote "The Seven Sacraments," gradually became more aware of the superior style of Robert Grosseteste. Through studying the works of the late Bishop and through translating his poems as Shoreham did in the "Song to Mary," he added the superior imagery and other lyrical qualities he found in Grosseteste's poetry to his own.

In summation, then, William of Shoreham projects the influence of Robert Grosseteste's ideals for the clergy in matters of education, knowledge of the Bible, preaching, and personal holiness, as is demonstrated in
"The Seven Sacraments." Both men held as their primary concern the instruction of lewed men. Shoreham followed the instructions of the Bishop of Lincoln that laymen be taught the sacraments, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins, the three creeds, the Lord's Prayer, and the salutation to the Virgin.\(^2\) Organization, word choice, and poetic devices in Shoreham's works indicate that he was familiar with Grosseteste's discussion of these items in the Chasteau d'Amour and Templum Domini. Much of Grosseteste's best imagery, especially that found in the "Song to Mary," is used also in Shoreham's other later poems. The lyrical superiority of the "Song to Mary" and of Shoreham's later works, which have most in common with Grosseteste's translated poem, supports the conclusion that William of Shoreham was influenced by Grosseteste far beyond the mere borrowing of one poem.

Various internal facts support this contention. First of all, although no original version of the "Song to Mary" has been found, several lines in Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour are almost identical with those in the "Song to Mary," indicating the author of that poem to be Robert Grosseteste, as Shoreham suggested by his colophon. Besides the use of the image of the virgin birth as glass

\(^2\)Stevenson, pp. 133-34.
unbroken by the sunlight, found in both the Chasteau d'Amour and the "Song to Mary," another line in the Chasteau reads:

Thou are [sic] the zeit of aaron that bar the faire flour. . . .

[1. 686]

The "Song to Mary" states:

\[\text{?ou ert be \_erd al of aaron} \]
\[\text{Me dreye is\_\_ spryngynde. . . .} \]

[11. 27-28]

Thus, it seems most likely that Shoreham translated the "Song to Mary" from a poem written by Robert Grosseteste. Furthermore, the similarities between the imagery and poetic devices in both the "Song to Mary" and other Shoreham poems, most specifically "The Seven Deadly Sins" and "The Five Joys of the Virgin Mary," indicate that Shoreham borrowed the imagery and devices which he especially admired in Grosseteste's works. Chief among these are the use of antithetical parallels and the metaphors of the sunlight passing through a windowpane and the unicorn tamed by Mary's milk. These same poems also contain images found not in the "Song to Mary" but in Grosseteste's Chasteau d'Amour: specifically, the images of the mirror and the well of bliss. Such evidence points strongly toward Robert Grosseteste as a primary source for the poetry of William of Shoreham.
This solid proof underlines, in turn, the many similarities in thought, word choice, and sequence of subject matter between Shoreham's earlier works and Robert Grosseteste's poetry and his instructions for priests.

It may be true, as Konrath observed, that William of Shoreham was no poet in the true sense of the word.\(^3\) Certainly his best poem, the "Song to Mary," was without doubt only a translation of another's work. His earlier efforts especially would have been better in prose, so exhaustively did he treat his subjects. Nevertheless, his poems are not without interest. In each the man Shoreham shines clearly. His intelligence, his innate goodness, and his concern for his fellowman are apparent in everything he wrote: "He looked deep into the human heart and at the same time he had a decided leaning to a mystical and allegorical interpretation of scriptural passages and forms of worship. . . ."\(^4\) His devotion to the Gospel led him toward increasingly more lyrical and philosophical methods of expounding the doctrines of the Christian life to the faithful as well as to the skeptical. His poetry has a charm that might well have led medieval man to a belief in God.

\(^3\) Konrath, xvi.  \(^4\) ten Brink, p. 282.
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