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a number of human bones were found by no means forming the full complement of a perfect skeleton but purposefully arranged in their proper places. Of the head only the *ossa temporalia,* portions of the bones of the base of the skull and the lower jaw were found. . . . Bede's bones, or what purported to be his bones, were freely distributed in this country and even on the continent, and Durham probably never had many of them." Battiscombe, *Relics,* (note 1 above), pp. 76-77, note 7.

79. Battiscombe, *Relics*, p. 52.

80. The first twenty-three on the list of monks professed at Durham (Arnold, I, 4-6) came from Jarrow. Turgot is sixth on the list. Symeon was not professed at Jarrow, but had been there. See Arnold, I, x-xii.

81. *Relics,* p. 45.

82. The story of a successful plot to steal the relics of a famous saint, involving years of deceptive activity to lull the suspicions of the guardians of the body, can be paralleled in the legend of Ste. Foy, the virgin martyr of Agen, whose relics were supposed to have been stolen by the monk Ariviscus in the ninth century. Ariviscus spent ten years at Agen, until eventually he was given charge of the relics. Then one dark night, while the brothers were dining in the refectory, he decamped with them and sped away to Conques, where they have been ever since. *Acta Sanctorum,* Oct., III (Paris and Rome, 1866), verse *Translatio,* cols. 289-92. Geary, *Furta Sacra* (note 18 above) pp. 169-70, dates both the verse and prose *Translationes Sanctae Fidei* from the mid-eleventh century.

SAWLES WARDE: *A RETELLING OF* DE ANIMA *FOR A FEMALE AUDIENCE*

Anne Eggebroten

Early in the thirteenth century, perhaps in A. D. 1210, an English writer sat down to translate part of Hugh of St. Victor's *De Anima* into the vernacular of the West Midlands.[1] We know the resulting text as *Sawles Warde,* one of five pieces found in the *Katherine* group. This group is closely related to *Ancrene Riwle,* which has been tied to Wigmore Abbey in Herefordshire by the work of E. J. Dobson.[2] Since Wigmore was founded by canons of St. Victor and its first abbot was Andrew of St. Victor (d. 1175), the biblical scholar, we can imagine that our English author was translating this Victorine text either at Wigmore or under the influence of this house of Augustinian canons. At any rate, our author chose chapters thirteen through fifteen of Book IV of Hugh's famous treatise and began reworking them.

The great surprise is that a work of this genesis should end up in the *Katherine* group. The five early thirteenth-century texts that comprise the group are closely knit in theme, audience, and manuscript history. They were all written in the West Midlands in a rich, alliterative English prose and are contained in varying combinations in three manuscripts: Bodley 34, Royal 17 A.xxvii, and Cotton Titus D.xviii. The three women saints' lives (Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana) are complemented by *Hali Meidenhad,* a treatise that describes and extols the life of the vowed virgin. In addition to their common devotional purpose, these four works have the following unusual characteristics in common: they contain women characters and women's lives as their primary content, they are closely directed toward a female audience, and they are designed as propaganda that will encourage women to choose maidenhood and will support women who have made that choice.[3]

Given these characteristics of the *Katherine* group, we cannot help but wonder how a translation of part of *De Anima* could become the fifth

member of the group. Certainly it seems an unlikely choice. These chapters of *De Anima* have nothing to do with women per se; they contain no women characters, they are not directed at a female audience, and they have no emphasis on maidenhood. "Fratres" are addressed twice during the text, whose primitive plot illustrates how to live a holy life conserving and protecting virtues from invading vices. Yet this translation, or more accurately "free expansion" as R. M. Wilson describes it in his edition, appears in all three manuscripts of the *Katherine* group, while *Hali Meidenhad* and the lives of Margaret and Juliana appear in only two of the three manuscripts.[4] Those who collected the *Katherine* group saw *Sawles Warde* as clearly belonging; it was in no way peripheral.

Thus we have a real puzzle: the *Katherine* group on the one hand, *De Anima* on the other, and the knowledge that somehow they have been knit together. Let us begin by asking why a person reading *De Anima* might choose to translate these chapters for a popular audience (leaving aside for the moment the question of the female audience of the *Katherine* group). First, Hugh of St. Victor's vividly didactic passages on heaven and hell are appealing. They are full of rhetorical wonders designed to stretch the imagination to approach infinite bliss and infinite woe. The other clearly appealing feature is the metaphor of guarding the virtues within an enclosed house (taken from Luke 12:39). Although the *Sawles Warde* author copies the passages on heaven and hell more or less verbatim, he expands and strengthens the castle metaphor, dramatizing it with a fuller case of characters. This aspect of *De Anima* was of great interest to the English translator, and naturally so. The castle allegory is well established in Old English literature, notably in *Vainglory* and *Juliana*, and Old English texts were being copied and read in the West Midlands into the second half of the twelfth century (thus during the lifetime of our author).[5] *Pe Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iuliene* in the *Katherine* group features a passage on the soul as a fortress, and *Ancrene Riwle* frequently uses this imagery, the most memorable example being the extended passage in which a lady beset by foes in her castle is rescued by Christ the knight/lover.[6] These Old and Middle English texts all reflect Gregorian influence on the English homiletic analysis of sin, for it was Gregory who first described the act of sinning in four steps and, using the biblical image of the battle against sin and patristic images of the heart as a fortress against the devil (notably Prudentius's *Psychomachia*), became a principal elaborator of the soul-as-fortress allegory.[7] With the

monastic renewal of the twelfth century there was renewed interest in the psychology of sin expressed in this metaphor. Hugh of St. Victor and the *Sawles Warde* author take up the topic with zest. In fact, castle allegories had become standard fare in courtly circles by the thirteenth century, which saw the writing of *Chasteau d'Amour* by Robert Grosseteste and *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris.[8] It was perhaps because expectations were so well defined that Jean de Meun's less than idealizing appropriation of the castle metaphor was so offensive and led to such a great controversy.

The soul-as-fortress allegory explains why this part of *De Anima* might be translated for popular reading, but Hugh's text in itself still would not qualify for inclusion as an integral part of the *Katherine* group. There are no women characters and no discussion of maidenhood in this story. It is clear that *De Anima* became a candidate for the *Katherine* group not on its own merit but because of its potential as a framework into which could be woven the female characters, the emphasis on maidenhood, and the earnest exhortation that would make it equal to the rest of the group in its appeal to religious women. Whether *Sawles Warde* was written specifically for the *Katherine* group or whether it was written earlier and collected into the group when the manuscripts were composed does not matter. What matters is that some author or authors adapted *De Anima* into a work designed for a female audience, *Sawles Warde*.

Chapters thirteen through fifteen of *De Anima* in their original form were a spare and sober dialogue based on the words of Jesus, "But know this, that if the householder had known at what hour the thief was coming, he would have been awake and would not have left his house to be broken into."[9] In twenty-seven lines the author, probably Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096-1141), establishes the setting of the dialogue: A father ("animus") with a large and rebellious family ("cogitationes," "motus," "sensus," and "actiones") dwells in a house ("conscientia") that contains a treasure ("virtutum"). The house is threatened by a thief ("multiplex": "diabolus" and "vitia"). At the door of the house the father has placed Prudentia, with Fortitudo and Iustitia nearby. After Prudentia lets in the first messenger, Timor Mortis, the dialogue begins, and such minimal description and characterization as there have been cease. From this point to the end the alternate speeches are broken only by the name of the speaker, without any accompanying verbs, adverbs, or adjectives such as "ait" or "dixit vero ei." The setting, including the father, the house,

and the treasure, is never mentioned again. Instead, questions and answers continue alternately in a pattern that hovers between a catechism and a drama. The concluding line of dialogue is spoken not by any of the allegorical persons but by the "auctor," who instead of recalling the house or treasure simply cites the moral: "Sic debet quisque torporem suum excutere, et a timore ad coelestis patriae desiderium transferre" ("Thus each one ought to get rid of his sluggishness and with proper fear turn to longing for the kingdom of heaven").[10]

Before showing how *Sawles Warde* was adapted to fit the *Katherine* group and upgraded into a consistent, lively allegory, let us give Hugh of St. Victor his due. These chapters of *De Anima* attracted the attention of two Middle English authors, each of whom translated them as a unit. The other translator was Dan Michel of Northgate, who presents a word-for-word translation in the last few folios of the manuscript that contains *Ayenbite of Inwyt,* written in 1340.[11] Dan Michel appears to be unaware that a previous translation into English exists. These two translations, over a hundred years apart in different areas in England, show that this excerpt of *De Anima* was popular, perhaps read aloud in monastic houses often enough to become a familiar work, and deemed useful for teaching in the vernacular. There was a great emphasis on popular religious education following the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, Langton's Council of Oxford in 1222, and the various bishops' statements that followed it, such as Grosseteste's *Constitutions* c. 1238.[12] These translations of *De Anima* reflect the popularizing of spiritual advice in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Now let us observe the ways in which the author of *Sawles Warde* changed the content of the text that he was translating. In *De Anima* the virtues (Prudentia, Fortitudo, and Iustitia, later joined by Temperantia) are barely personified. They are given no sex (aside from grammatical gender), and they never address each other by name or do anything but speak their lines. Of course, the whole tradition of personification of the virtues, most notably by Prudentius, stands behind the four names, giving them a human dimension even without any personal pronouns, adverbs, or gestures. But the author of *Sawles Warde* transforms these shadowy figures into four amiable and admirable daughters of God. He makes them God's daughters, not just holy females, because the allegory of the Four Daughters of God, based upon Psalm 84:11 ("Misericordia et Veritas obviaverunt sibi; Justitia et Pax osculatae

sunt") had become very popular since its use by Hugh of St. Victor and Bernard of Clairvaux.[13] The Four Daughters of this allegory, however, are different from the virtues mentioned briefly in *De Anima,* and their plot is different; the Four Daughters debate before God over the redemption of humanity, Veritas and Justitia opposing Misericordia and Pax in Bernard's version. There is no defense of a castle.

By transforming the four barely personified virtues of *De Anima* into the Four Daughters of God, the *Sawles Warde* author capitalizes on interest in a popular allegory but takes only what he needs. He ignores the allegory's plot and the difference in names between it and *De Anima.* Three times he calls the characters of *Sawles Warde* the daughters of God (ll. 39, 210, 218), but on most occasions they are simply referred to as "sustren" (ll. 47 twice, 52, 167, 189, 197, 200, 217, 222, 384, 394).[14] Their initial portrait is twenty lines long in the English compared to four lines in *De Anima.* In these twenty lines, we find details like Warschipe looking "warliche" about and warning Strengðe "þet is hire suster" (43, 47). The emphasis on their being sisters and the frequent use of the pronouns "hire" and "ha" present the reader with a picture of competence and cooperation among female characters. Meað is set as "meistre" over the crowd of servants in the house, and Rihtwisnesse judges them all; "for dret of hire" each of the servants takes care of his duties (48, 54). Thus in their opening portrait the maidens who are the central characters in *Sawles Warde* possess both "mihte" (power) and "menske" (honor), two qualities emphasized in the other works of the *Katherine* group.[15]

Throughout *Sawles Warde,* the sisters are given more characterization than in *De Anima.* After introducing the virtues at their posts, *De Anima* merely gives an admonition to the father of the house: " . . . Omni hora timeatur" ("Let him be fearful at all hours"). *Sawles Warde,* however, shows us the hushed and watchful house with Warschipe worrying: "As þis is ido þus. & is al stille þrinne'. warschipe þet áá is waker is offearet lest sum fortruste him. & feole o slepe. & forȝeme his warde" (58-60) ("As this is done in this way and all is still within, Wariness, who always is watchful, is afraid lest someone trust himself too much and fall asleep and neglect his guard"). Here the *Sawles Warde* author may be drawing on the parable of the five wise and five foolish virgins, which occurs in Matthew only a few lines after the example of the householder on which *De Anima* is based.[16] When Warschipe speaks with Fearlac, their

natural conversational style contrasts greatly with the formal questioning of the Latin. Instead of "Qualis est infernus?" (39) ("What is hell like?"), the English presents the following courteous and animated exchange:

> Hweonene cumest tu fearlac deaðes munegunge.
> Ich cume he seið of helle.
> Of helle ha seið warschipe. & hauest tu isehen helle?
> ȝe seið fearlac witerliche. ofte & ilome.
> Nu seið þenne warschipe forþi trowðe treoweliche
> tele us hwuch is helle. (82-86)[17]
>
> "Whence do you come, Terror, memory of death?"
> "I come," he said, "from Hell."
> "From Hell!" Wariness said. "And have you seen Hell?"
> "Yes," said Terror, "Indeed, often and familiarly."
> "Now," said then Wariness, "In good faith, tell us truly what Hell is like."

Entreating news and descriptive tales from visitors must have been a common experience for gently bred young women.[18] The atmosphere in this scene and others suggests that *Swales Warde* was written for women of landed families, familiar with courteous life centered on the great hall of a manor or castle. After hearing Fearlac's message, the four sisters discuss what to do, calling each other by name in a loving manner: "Do nu quoð strengðe. warschipe suster þet te limpet to þe. . . . " (167) (" 'Do now, Wariness, sister,' said Strength, 'what it belongs to you to do' ").

During this long discussion, the author becomes so involved in his characters as persons and as examples for religious women that they speak as fully human women; the stance as virtues is transformed. Rihtwisnesse says that only if they consider themselves "eðeliche & lahe . . . demeð he us muche wurð & gode & halt for his dehtren" (208-10) ("worthless and low . . . he judges us as being of great worth and good and considers us his daughters"). Next she says that even if one be wary, the other strong, the other temperate, and herself righteous, "bute we wið al þis milde beon & meoke. & halden us wake. godd mei mid rihte fordemen us of al þis þurh ure prude" (212-14) ("Unless we,

along with all this, be mild and meek and consider ourselves weak, God may rightfully condemn us and all our good works because of our pride"). These two statements make sense for nuns and other virtuous human women who can gain status as daughters of God through humility and can lose that status through pride. But Warschipe, Strengðe, Meað, and Rihtwisenesse *are* the daughters of God according to the opening of *Sawles Warde* and need not worry about gaining or losing that status. In this passage we see the author of *Sawles Warde* transforming his allegory to meet the needs of his audience. These sentences spoken by Rihtwisnesse could almost be lifted from *Hali Meidenhad* with its advice to real women:

> ȝef þu hauest, wið meiðhad, meokelec & mildschipe, godd is i þin heorte. ah ȝef þer is ouerhohe oðer ei prude in, he is utlahe þrof . . . þeos . . . leoteð ham lahe & eðliche. . . .[19]
>
> If you have, with maidenhood, meekness and mildness, God is in your heart. But if there is presumption or any pride in your heart, he is an outlaw from it . . . These [other women] . . . consider themselves low and worthless. . . .

This expanded portrait of the virtues as sisters and daughters of God, even to the point of echoing other texts in the *Katherine* group, is our foremost evidence for the deliberate shaping of *De Anima* into a work consonant with the goal and themes of the *Katherine* group.

The second dramatic change made by the Middle English author is the addition of the housewife into the plot.[20] The wife ("wil" is a comic figure whose actions are foolish. This domestic humor derives from early medieval homilies and from fabliaux; it later appears in mystery plays with characters such as Noah's wife. By adding "wil," our translator fills in Hugh's sketchy allegory and creates lively action within the house:

> Þe monnes wit i þis hus is þe huse lauerd. ant te fulitohe wif. mei beon wil ihaten. Þet ga þe hus efter hire'. ha diht hit al to wundre. bute wit ase lauerd chasti hire þe betere. & bineome hire muchel of þet ha walde. ant tah

walde al hire hird folhin hire ouer al'. gef wit ne forbude ham.[21]

In this house the reason of man is the lord, and the will may be called the undisciplined wife, so that if the household goes after her, she brings it to ruin, unless Reason as lord restrains her for the better and takes from her much of what she would desire. And in fact, all her household servants would follow her everywhere if Reason did not forbid them. (9-14)

In the next passage on the housewife we find that the servants are not only prone to "cwemen wel þe husewif '. aʒein godes wille" ("please well the housewife, against God's will"), but also "swerieð somet reaðliche. Þet efter hire hit schal gan" (22-23) ("swear together readily that everything shall go according to her desire"). The husband, Wit, cannot always be present and maintain control over this mutinous bunch; it is the four daughters of God and the first messenger, Fearlac, who get the household under control:

Þe willesfule husewif halt hire al stille. ant al þet hird þet ha wes iwunet to dreaien efter hire'. turneð ham treowliliche to wit hare lauerd. & to þeos fowr sustren. (220-22)

The willful housewife holds herself all still, and all these household servants that she was used to drawing after her now turn themselves truly to Reason, their lord, and to these four sisters.

In this scene the housewife stands apart in mute and confused defeat as the servants that used to follow her turn to the husband and to the four sisters. She never speaks or affirms a new obedience to Wit. The prominence of the sisters here is interesting; respect and obedience are owed to them as well as to the husband. In fact, the husband has just thanked God "ʒeorne wið swiðe glead heorte of se riche lane as beoð þeos sustren his fowr dehtren þet he haueð ileanet him on helpe forte wite wel & werien his castel" (216-19) ("eagerly with a very glad heart

for so rich a loan as are these sisters, his four daughters, which he has loaned him as a help in order to guard well and protect his castle"). We have God and the powerful sisters helping Wit and Will, the husband and wife. Thus distinctly female characters are included in both the heavenly and the human elements of this allegory as revised by the Middle English author.

Having made these two critical additions to the cast of characters, the Middle English author shows us interaction among the characters as often as possible. Twice he interrupts the dialogue to reveal action going on among Wit, Will, the servants, and the sisters. Hugh of St. Victor's interest is primarily in the content of the dialogue; he mentions the household only once at the beginning in order to establish the setting for his dialogue. But the Middle English author is primarily interested in the dynamics of the household, adding new characters and describing the household scene a total of five times. *Sawles Warde*'s first return to the household scene occurs after Fearlac and the sisters have spoken, when we see that "þe willesfule husewif" and the servants have been subdued into obedience. The third household scene occurs when Liues Luue arrives. In the Latin source, Prudentia announces the second messenger, Iustitia orders him to be let in, and Prudentia begins interviewing him; the dialogue is not broken, and the only speakers are the virtues and the messenger. In the English, however, Wit is the one who order Liues Luue to be let in. Once he enters, there is a merry and courteous scene including the whole household:

he gret wit þen lauerd. & al þet hird seoðen. wið lahhinde chere. ant ha ʒeldeð him his gretunge. & beoð alle ilihtet igleadet ham þuncheð of his onsihðe. for al þet hus schineð. & schimmeð of his leome. he easkeð ham ʒef ham biluueð to heren him ane hwile. ʒe quoð ha rihtwisnesse. wel us biluueð hit, & wel is riht þet we þe liðeliche lustnin. (227-32)

He greets Reason, the lord, and afterwards all the household with laughing cheer. And they return him his greeting and are all freed from depression, and it seems that they are gladdened by his appearance, for all that house shines and shimmers from his light. He asks them

if it would please them to listen to him for a while. "Yes," says Righteousness, "It would please us well, and indeed it is right that we listen meekly."

After Liues Luue's description of heaven, the *Sawles Warde* author presents the household scene two more times. First we see the inhabitants of the house reacting to the message about heaven. Each of the virtues speaks, and the author reports that Will is "al stille," Wit is teaching his household, and the servants are all listening and taking care of their proper duties. (After *De Anima*'s description of heaven, there are only closing statements by the virtues and the one-sentence moral from the "auctor"; the terms of the allegory—house, treasure, pater—are not reviewed.) In place of *De Anima*'s final moral, the author of *Sawles Warde* writes a fifteen-line conclusion, including a final idealized household scene that reviews each character by name: "hinen. Þet beoð his limen alle," "wil þe untohe lefdi," "wit . . . þet is husebonde," "þe fowr sustren'. þerfore þe fowr heued þeawes. Warschipe. Strencðe in godd. ant Með. ant Rihtwisnesse" (390-95) ("the servants, which are all his limbs"; "Will, the undisciplined lady"; "Reason . . . which is the husband"; and "the four sisters, which are the four chief virtues: Wariness, Strength in God, and Temperance, and Righteousness"). He then urges his reader, with the help of all these forces within, to "witen godes treosor þet is his ahne sawle. i þe hus of þe bodi" (395-96) ("guard God's treasure, which is his own soul, in the house of the body").

As the household's inhabitants are reviewed again and again, those that stand out are the housewife and the sisters. Wit is a colorless character, and the servants are only supporting actors; the real struggle is between "fulitohe wil" (the poorly disciplined will) and the four holy virtues. Each time the wife's defeat is mentioned, the sisters are mentioned. This contrast between the housewife and the maidens of God is an important theme in *Hali Meidenhad* and the other works of the *Katherine* group and cannot be coincidental in *Sawles Warde.* The translator who added these characters deliberately contrasts the "mihte" and "menske" of the daughters of God (concepts presented at length in *Hali Meidenhad*) with the low status of the housewife. He assumes that the marital relationship includes the husband's governance of the wife; the husband must chastise the wife and take control away from her (12-13). In fact, the *Sawles Warde* author plays to the fullest the rebellion of the

housewife and her complete defeat by the daughters of God: "Nv is wil þet husewife al stille. Þet er wes so willesful. al ituht efter wittes wissunge þet is husebonde" (379-80) ("Now is Will, that housewife, all still. She who was formerly so obstinate is now all instructed according to the guidance of Reason, that is the husband"). A few lines later he calls her "wil þe untohe lefdi" (391) ("Will, the undisciplined lady"). This lively subplot of competition between wise and foolish women (potential role models) may reflect influence from the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. In *Sawles Warde*, however, all the virgins are wise; only the housewife is foolish. The action of this story enforces the idea that virginal authority is greater and more worthy than that which is accorded to the wife, even if she is lady of a great house (a theme presented at length in *Hali Meidenhad*).

In addition to the housewife-versus-virgins conflict, any glance at the structure of *Sawles Warde* shows that contrast is central to the author's modus operandi. The descriptions of heaven and hell are opposite, yet similar rhetorically and in the extremeness of their subjects. The domestic humor of the household of the self contrasts with the serene beauty of heaven (following the housewife/virgin contrast), and the household also contrasts with hell. Wit and Will are a contrasting pair. The behavior of Will and the servants before the messengers and their behavior after each messenger provide still more contrasts. In sum, all of these pairs reveal a strong dualism, a choice between good and evil pervading the thoughts of the author.

The third piece of evidence for the deliberate revision of *De Anima* for a female audience is the omission of direct address to a male audience. On two occasions in *De Anima,* one of the virtues uses the word "fratres" to address the listeners. After hearing Timor Mortis, Prudentia says, "Deus quid faciemus? Nunc, fratres, audite consilium meum, et date vestrum. . . . " (55-56) ("God, what should we do? Now, brothers, listen to my counsel, and give yours. . . . "). Later, after Desiderium Vitae Aeternae has spoken, Timor protests being thrown out, and Temperantia says, "Fratres, dico non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem. Tu vero egredere, Timor. . . . " (164-65) ("Brothers, I say that we ought not to think about these things any more than it is necessary to think, but to taste them in moderation. In fact, you get out of here, Fear. . . . "). In each case, one virtue is addressing the others as "fratres," but the slight allegorical framework provided by

Hugh has in fact disappeared at these junctures, and the virtue is simply addressing the monastic audience. Dan Michel in his translation makes one of his few changes at these points, modifying "fratres" to "broþren and zostren" in each case.[22] This change is dramatic, given his otherwise strict adherence to the text; he substitutes an appropriate form of address for his fourteenth-century, secular audience, including both sexes. Dan Michel's treatment of "fratres" as an address to the audience shows that the *Sawles Warde* author probably perceived it in this way also. In order to omit it, our author first had to notice it in both places (which someone writing for a male audience would be unlikely to do). Second, he had to decide how to handle it. He could have left it—a flaw in his carefuly amplified allegory of the sisters and a jarring male address in the otherwise uniformly female address of the *Katherine* group. He could have changed it to "sustren," although there are no references elsewhere in *Sawles Warde* to an exclusively female audience. *Ancrene Riwle, Hali Meidenhad,* and *Seinte Marherete* all address women (sisters, gentlewomen, or "widewen, iweddede & meidnes"), but *Sawles Warde,* like the lives of St. Katherine and St. Juliana, does not directly address a female audience.[23] Our author chose the diplomatic middle course of omitting the address, indeed a follower of the "meað" (moderation) and "meosure" (measure) that he advises (48, 49).

Changes in the description of the various souls in heaven constitute the final evidence for the revision of *De Anima* for a female audience. *De Anima* lists the heavenly host beginning with God, Christ, Mary, and the angels and continuing with the prophets, partriarchs, apostles, martyrs, and confessors. The confessors are further divided and described:

> . . . respexi gloriosam multitudinem confessorum, inter quos viri apostolici, et doctores, qui sanctam ecclesiam doctrinis suis munierunt, flugent quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates. Sunt ibi monachi, qui pro claustris et cellis angustis immensa et sole clariora palatia possidentes, pro asperis tunicis nive candidiores; omnique suavitate molliores vestes induti, ab oculis quorum abstersit Deus omnem lacrymam. Regem in decore suo vident. (108-15)

> . . . I looked back at the glorious multitude of the confessors, among whom the apostolic men and the doctors, who gave Holy Church their teachings, shine like stars in perpetual eternity. There are in that place monks, who in place of enclosures and narrow cells are occupying immense palaces brighter than the sun, and in place of rough clothes have shining garments whiter than snow. They have put on clothing softer than all silkiness, and from their eyes God has wiped away all tears. They see the King in his beauty.

The *Sawles Warde* author leaves out the apostolic men, the doctors, and the monks with their particular glories. Instead the confessors as a whole are briefly mentioned, and all are allowed to shine like stars (rather than just the apostolic men and doctors). It is striking that the monks, who receive four lines of description in the Latin, are completely left out by the English author. He gives some of the monks' lines to the confessors in general.

At the end of his description of heaven, the Latin author states, "Postremo ad chorum virginum respexi . . . " ("At last I looked back to the chorus of virgins . . . " or "In the rear I saw the chorus of virgins . . . ") before describing the virgins in four lines. While "postremo" could simply mean "hindmost, last . . . the rear," it also carried the connotation, "of rank or preference, lowest, worst."[24] In this context of the hierarchical ranking of heaven, "postremo" is not a complimentary way to introduce the virgins.[25] The author of *Sawles Warde* ignores "postremo" and simply begins, "Ich iseh þet schene & þet brihte ferreden of þe eadi meidnes . . . " (290 ff.) ("I saw that beautiful and that bright company of the blessed maidens . . . "). The description of the maidens is the only place where the Middle English author expands on the Latin description of heaven, writing ten and a half lines compared to the four lines of the Latin. He begins by saying that the virgins are "ilikest towart engles. ant feolohlukest wið ham blissin & gleadien" ("most like angels, and best fitted as companions to rejoice and be glad with them"), thus giving the virgins a higher status than any of the other saints in heaven. He continues in an expanded and highly complimentary description. Where the Latin mentions the sweet odor that follows the maidens, the English author says it is so sweet "þet me mahte libben aa bi þe swotnesse"

(297-98) ("that one might live forever by that sweetness"). Then the English author adds the ultimate evidence of the "mihte" and "menske" of the virgins: "hwam se heo bisecheð fore'. is sikerliche iborhen. for aȝein hare bisocnen'. godd him seolf ariseð þet alle þe oðre halhen sittende iherеð" (298-300) ("Whomever they intercede for, is surely saved, for in the presence of their petitions, God himself stands up, who hears all the other saints while sitting"). The virgins' requests, like Mary's (263-65), are always granted. Surely it is not an accident that the author of *Sawles Warde* expands and elevates the description of the virgins while leaving out the apostolic men, doctors, and monks. In this passage above all others we see *De Anima* being carefully revised to please and instruct an audience of religious women.

This description of the preeminence of the virgins in heaven echoes the other texts in the *Katherine* group and fits into the medieval English literary tradition of honoring Mary and other virgins. Among the *Katherine* group texts, we see Katherine in her scorn of the King's threats eagerly awaiting her heavenly reward: "beon ibroht se bliðe bimong mine feolahes, þe folhið him oueral i þe feire ferredene of uirgnes in heouene" ("to be brought so joyfully among my equals, who follow him everywhere in the fair company of virgins in heaven").[26] In *Seinte Marherete* the readers are exhorted:

> . . . libben in meiðhad, þat him is mihte leouest; swa þat ha moten þurh þe eadi meiden þat we munnið to-dei wið meiðhades menske, þat murie meidenes song singen, mit tis meiden ant wið þe houeneliche hird, echeliche in heouene.[27]
>
> . . . to live in chastity, which is the virtue dearest to him, so that they may with the honor of maidenhood, through the blessed maiden that we remember today, sing that merry maidens' song with this maiden and with the heavenly host, forevermore in heaven.

In *Hali Meidenhad* there are innumerable examples of praise of virgins in this kind of alliterative, rhythmic prose. Maidenhood is the highest of all virtues: "Meidenhad is heuene cwen, & worldes alesnesse, þurh hwan we beon iburhen. mihte ouer alle mihtes, & cwemest crist of alle"[28]

("Maidenhood is the queen of heaven and the redemption of the world, the means through which we are saved, virtue above all mighty virtues, and most pleasing to Christ of all of them"). *Ancrene Riwle* reports of the anchoress: "beoð heo ouer alle oþre'. leouest to ure louerde. & swetest him þuncheð ham" [29] ("She is above all others dearest to our Lord, and they seem sweetest to him "). When we consider other works of early English literature honoring maidens, the *Pearl* comes first to mind. The poet's lost pearl has become a queen of heaven, glorious among other virgin queens; he describes their shining garments, their joy, the beauty of their song, and the sweet incense that surrounds them.[30] Of course, the beauty of Mary and other holy virgins is extolled in many religious lyrics. "I Syng of a myden þat is makeles" is one of the most well-known.[31] Another fifteenth-century lyric begins, "Mary, moder of mercy & pyte, / And seynt Kateryn, pray for me. . . " and includes routine praise of "alle virgynys good & swet."[32] Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* is another example of a set of poems honoring virgin women.[33]

In summary, we have reviewed four ways in which *De Anima* was altered to make it a work appropriate to the *Katherine* group: the four virtues were personified as daughters of God and sisters; the housewife was added; words addressing a male audience ("fratres") were left out; and the heavenly hierarchy was altered, leaving out the apostolic men, the doctors, and the monks but elevating the virgins. These changes could have occurred over the years from *De Anima*'s composition before 1141 to *Sawles Warde*'s composition after 1200, perhaps as *De Anima* was read aloud in women's monastic houses. The accumulated evidence, however, particularly the handling of the sisters and of the housewife, indicates that one author deliberately set out to rewrite *De Anima*. This author was writing from a perspective very close to that of the other authors of the *Katherine* group and for an audience similar to that of *Hali Meidenhad* and the lives of Sts. Katherine, Margaret, and Juliana. It is entirely possible that he — or she — was writing a companion piece intended to complement the other works already collected as one group.

The final result of the adapter's efforts is that *Sawles Warde* is a work very different from *De Anima* and very similar to the rest of the *Katherine* group. Female characters fill the major roles, except for Wit and the two messengers. There is a strong contrast between the noble maidens and the foolish housewife. The "menske" and "mihte" of maidenhood are portrayed through the deeds of the sisters and through changes in

the description of heaven. In these ways *Sawles Warde* demonstrates the imprint of the Katherine group on a work that originally had no ties to a female audience.

Thus our translator/adaptor has created an unusual literary artifact. We can examine it before and after its contact with the *Katherine* group, almost as if it were a controlled laboratory experiment. Our examination reveals the adaptor's great sensitivity to the needs of a unique audience. This audience was female, English-speaking, and literate c. 1200 — remarkable in these qualities alone. It consisted of women interested in guarding their souls, perhaps in some cases women who had entered orders. Their status was high enough for them to appreciate and identify with bold and powerful religious virgins, but tenuous enough that they needed the reinforcement of an uplifting ideology. Women who had chosen the religious life (either in an order, in an anchorhold, or in their own homes) needed to know that maidenhood was indeed full of "menske" and "mihte" both on earth and in heaven.

Another more nebulous quality of *Sawles Warde* when compared to *De Anima* gives us a final insight into our author and his relationship to his audience. We see throughout *Sawles Warde* an earnest tenderness and concern for the individual soul of the reader or listener. He takes the "thesauros virtutum" ("treasure of virtue") mentioned once casually by Hugh of St. Victor (11-12), translates it "þe tresor þat godd ȝef himself fore. Þat is. monnes sawle"[34] ("the treasure that God gave himself for, that is, man's soul"), and makes the guarding of the soul his major theme, the title of his work. The *Sawles Warde* author adds tender spiritual counsel for "godes tresor" (the soul) in Warschipe's speech after the description of hell, in her speech after the description of heaven, and in his conclusion.

Let us look briefly at each of these three passages. Hugh of St. Victor enjoys the rhetorical impact of his description of hell but ignores its emotional effect on the reader. Prudentia's 28-word comment is exceedingly dry: "Estote fideles, prudentes, et vigilate in orationibus . . . " (56-57) ("Be faithful, prudent, and watch in prayer . . . "). Warschipe, however, responds to the description of hell in a 14-line speech, of which the most moving and consoling segments are:

> ȝef we wel werieð & witeð ure hus & godes deore tresor þet he haueð bitaht us'. cume deað hwen he wule. Ne þurue we nowðer beon ofdred for hire. ne for helle. for ure deað bið deore godd & inȝong into heouene of þeos fikelinde world'. . . . for al wurðeð to noht bute þet deore tresor godes deorewurðe feh þet is us bitaht to witene. (155-62)
>
> If we guard well and protect our house and God's dear treasure that he has entrusted to us, let Death come when she will. We need not be afraid, neither of her nor of hell, for our death is dear to God and is the entrance to heaven from this deceitful world. . . . For all changes to nothing except that dear treasure, God's precious faith, which is entrusted to us to guard.

Similarly, after the description of heaven, Prudentia simply comments, "Vere in coelo te fuisse, vera vidisse, vera narrasse te intelligimus" (155-56) ("We understand that you have truly been in heaven, that you have seen truths and spoken truths"). Warschipe, on the other hand, gives another full speech commending the person who considers "hu he mahe best halden his hus þet godes tresor is inne . . . for þet schal bringen him þider as he schal al þis þet tu hauest ispeken of'. & hundret siðe mare of blisse wiðuten balesið fohlen an finden" (356-60) ("how he may best keep his house, in which is God's treasure, for that shall bring him to the place where he shall experience and find all this that you have spoken of and a hundred times more of bliss without baleful times"). At the end of his allegory Hugh of St. Victor placed the brief moral: "Sic debet quisque . . . " (see above). The *Sawles Warde* author wrote a fifteen-line conclusion about the ideal household of Wit and Will (as we have already observed) and presses toward this conclusion:

> Þvs ah mon te þenchen ofte ant ilome. ant wið þulliche þohtes awecchen his heorte. Þe i slep of ȝemeles forȝet hire sawle heale. . . . witen godes treosor þet is his ahne sawle. i þe hus of þe bodi. from þe þeof of helle. þulli þohte. . . ontent his heorte toward þe blisse of heouene. (368-88, 395-97)
>
> Thus ought one to think often and frequently, and with thoughts like these awaken his heart, which in the sleep

> of slothfulness may forget his soul's health. . . . to guard God's treasure, which is his own soul, in the house of the body from the thief of hell. Thoughts like these . . . inflame his heart toward the bliss of heaven.

Particularly when compared to the Latin, these words are notable for the tenderness with which the author expresses the high value of the soul of the individual who is his audience. In fact, the emphasis on "his ahne sawle" sounds almost modern in its concern for the individual.[35]

This repeated emphasis on the soul as "godes treosor" and on the potential loving intimacy between the individual soul and God adds a mystic dimension to *Sawles Warde* which is only hinted at in the corresponding chapters of *De Anima.* The *Sawles Warde* author's final goal is to promote love for God (or "Desiderium vitae aeternae" (74-75), "desire for eternal life," the name of Hugh's second messenger) a goal that certainly reflects the author's contact with the Victorines and with the works of Bernard of Clairvaux. To attain this goal, he or perhaps she takes the theme of the value of one's "ahne sawle" and revises the text in several major ways to impress upon women readers the value of their own souls. As the other *Katherine*-group texts would put it, our author presents the readers with the "mihte" and "menske" of maidenhood.

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NOTES

1. For fuller details on date and dialect, see the introduction to *Sawles Warde,* ed. R. M. Wilson, Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs, No. 3 (Kendal, 1938). Wilson's text includes the corresponding chapters of *De Anima* reprinted from *Patrologia Latina,* 177:185 ff. For the purposes of this paper I will refer to Hugh of St. Victor as the author of *De Anima,* though his authorship has not been proven and may be only traditional.

2. E. J. Dobson, *The Origins of the Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford, 1976).

3. These characteristics of the *Katherine* group are discussed at length in my dissertation, "Women in the *Katherine* Group and *Ancrene Riwle,*" University of California at Berkeley, 1979.

4. Wilson, p. xxxiv.

5. James F. Doubleday, "The Allegory of the Soul as Fortress in Old English Poetry," *Anglia,* 88 (1970), 503-08. On the copying of Old English texts see Wilson, pp. vii-xvi.

6. The motif of Christ the lover-knight is closely related to the castle allegory. The knight sends messengers and finally comes himself to die for his lady. The two messengers in *Sawles Warde* are from God and thus from Christ, though the motif of lover-knight does not appear in *Sawles Warde.* See Rosemary Woolf, "The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature," *Review of English Studies,* NS 13 (1962), 1-15. See also Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968).

7. For further information see C. Abbetmeyer, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin* (Minneapolis, 1903). Gregory's four steps in the process of sinning are *suggestio, delectatio, consensus,* and *defensionis audacia.* Biblical images of the battle against sin can be found in Ephesians 6: 10-19 among other places.

8. See Roberta D. Cornelius, *The Figurative Castle: A Study in the Medieval Allegory of the Edifice with Especial Reference to Religious Writings* (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1930).

9. *De Anima* is based on Luke 12:39, but the *Sawles Warde* author uses Matthew 24:43.

10. All quotations from *De Anima* refer to Wilson's text, in this case p. 42, ll. 168-69.

11. Wilson prints Dan Michel's translation of *De Anima.* See also *Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt or Remorse of Conscience,* ed. Richard Morris (1866), rpt. with Pamela Gradon, EETS, OS 23 (London, 1965), pp. 263-69.

12. Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform: 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 94-95.

13. See Hope Traver, *The Four Daughters of God,* Bryn Mawr College Monographs, 1st ser., Vol. XI (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1907), pp. 5-18. See also Samuel C. Chew, *The Virtues Reconciled: An Iconographic Study* (Toronto, 1947).

14. Wilson prints the texts of each of the three manuscripts, Bodley 34, Royal 17 A.xxvii, and Cotton Titus D.xviii. My quotations are taken from the Bodley manuscript in his edition, except where otherwise noted. After line 357, where the Bodley manuscript hiatus begins, I use the Royal manuscript.

15. The concepts of "mihte" and "menske" are discussed in my dissertation (see note 3 above).

16. Matthew 25: 1-13.

17. I have spaced the conversation on separate lines to make it more easily readable.

18. For example, see the scene at the end of *Gawain and the Green Knight* where Arthur's court entreats Gawain for news of his adventures (ll. 2492-2504), or Shakespeare's description of Desdemona asking Othello for tales of his travels (*Othello*, Act I, sc. iii. 128-68).

19. *Hali Meidenhad,* ed. Oswald Cockayne, EETS, OS 18 (Oxford, 1866), rev. F. J. Furnivall (Oxford, 1922), p. 58, ll. 626-27; p. 60, ll. 647-49.

20. The Middle English author alters the other terms slightly, so that "hus" represents the self; "huse lauerd" the wit; "husewif" the will; "rechelese hinen" the senses and desires; and "tresor" the soul.

21. For the opening punctuation of this quotation I follow MS. Cotton Titus D.xviii instead of MS. Bodley 34.

22. Wilson, p. 17, l. 67, and p. 41, l. 197 (ff. 82v - 84v of *The Ayenbite of Inwyt*).

23. *Seinte Marherete,* ed. Frances M. Mack, EETS, OS 193 (Oxford, 1934), p. 4, l. 8. Other examples of direct address to a female audience are cited in my dissertation.

24. Thus *Cassell's* summarizes Lewis and Short, which gives "the last, lowest, basest, meanest, worst" (*Cassell's New Latin Dictionary,* D. P. Simpson [New York, 1959], p. 459; *A Latin Dictionary,* Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short [1879; rpt. New York, 1907], p. 1405).

25. These texts, like other medieval works, cite confessors of the faith as male and virgins as female, although from a modern perspective both groups should include both sexes. The virgins should be a particular variety of confessing Christian (as the martyrs are), who in addition to following Christ kept their virginity.

26. *Seinte Katerine,* ed. S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne and E. J. Dobson, EETS, SS 7 (Oxford, 1981), p. 120.

27. *Seinte Marherete,* p. 5, ll. 10-14.

28. *Hali Meidenhad,* p. 15, ll. 143-44.

29. *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwle ed. from Cotton MS. Nero A.xiv,* ed. Mabel Day, EETS, OS 225 (Oxford, 1952), p. 87, ll. 19-21.

30. *Pearl,* ed. E. V. Gordon (Oxford, 1953), pp. 40-41 (Stanza-group XIX).

31. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric,* p. 287.

32. *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century,* ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1939), pp. 190-91.

33. Osbern Bokenham, *Legendys of Hooly Wummen,* EETS, OS 206, ed. Mary S. Serjeantson (Oxford, 1938).

34. I am here quoting from MS. Cotton Titus D.xviii, p. 5, l. 28 in Wilson's edition, because there is a copyist's error in MS. Bodley 34.

35. The individualism of "his ahne sawle" is so striking that it resembles Kierkegaard's concept of "hiin Enkelte." See Søren Kierkegaard, *Purity of Heart Is To Will One Thing,* trans. Douglas V. Steere (New York, 1938), pp. 5, 14.