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SIGNPOSTS ON THE PAGE: READING DEVOTIONAL TEXTS
THROUGH SCRIBAL SIGNS AND SYMBOLS*

Abstract. Medieval authors used an elaborate system of tools and techniques to organize texts in a transparent and orderly way. Toward the beginning of the 13th century, scribes adopted some of the old tools and put them to use in new functions. These measures are discernible, *inter alia*, in pastoral works devised to aid the clergy to carry out their duties more effectively. The goal of this paper is to analyse how the techniques were used on a micro-scale – in short texts of doctrinal importance – to convey complex theological notions in a visually clear and practical way.

Keywords: medieval English manuscripts, Latin, scribal techniques, pastoral care, *Pater Noster*.

In the course of the 12th and 13th centuries medieval authors developed a system of tools and techniques that helped them organize texts in a more transparent and orderly way. The tools were not new, but they were put to new functions and some of them evolved into new forms. The repertoire of such didactic and searchable devices included alphabetization, different ways of indexing, cataloguing, and compiling collections of distinctions, and concordances, all of which were devised to make the contents of complex or long works more accessible and easily searchable. According to Rouse and Rouse, [t]hese tools epitomize an effort to get at material, to gain access, to locate and to

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retrieve information¹. However, the technical apparatus was not used just to facilitate access to the vital information in a book, but also to arrange the contents of texts in a visually conspicuous and self-explanatory way. Hence, substantial elements of elaborate treatises were often compressed in the form of stratified diagrams, tables, charts, trees or *rotae*. Different visual cues, such as running headlines, letters of the alphabet or numbers, *rubrica*, alternating colours, braces, and division marks, separated or linked various components. They helped to visualize the conceptual framework of the whole work, or its parts. Colour, size of letters and spacing guided readers through the text, highlighting the important elements, and compact diagrams enabled [them] to see at one glance the text's full, multi-linear structure².

The goal of this paper is to look at how some of these techniques and tools were used on a micro-scale – in shorter texts of special significance. To this end, several variants of the *Pater Noster* and related catechetical texts are examined in their manuscript context. This paper mainly focuses on Latin materials from manuscripts of English origin. However, reference is also made to vernacular texts and non-English manuscript sources for the sake of comparison³. The significance of the Lord's Prayer for the Christian faith has been recognized from the very beginning, and it is well-documented by manifold testimonies⁴. The way in which the text of the prayer is rendered in medieval manuscripts not only supports its unique status, but also gives insight into its unifying role as a component of a theological doctrine based on the system of septenaries. My intention is to determine how medieval scribes used the state-of-the-art tools to convey the meaning of the text and to display its relation to other tenets. The examples discussed below come from manuscripts dated to the 13th and 14th centuries, which include pastoral and didactic material devised to provide instruction for the unlearned clergy and the laity. Many of these texts proliferated in the aftermath of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), which enjoined obligatory confession at least once a year and obligatory preaching, among other things. The Council laid emphasis upon clerical education and the

¹ R. H. Rouse & M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia and sermons ...*, p. 24.

² A. Even-Ezra, *Seeing the Forest beyond the Trees ...*, p. 180. The problem of the interface between texts and images in medieval manuscripts has been discussed in many works, including the seminal studies by F. Yates, *The Art of Memory* & M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*. For a selection of medieval primary texts on visualization as a mnemonic aid see M. Carruthers & J. Ziolkowski (eds.), *The Medieval Craft of Memory*. More recently on the phenomenon of the visualization of knowledge in medieval and early modern Europe, see M. Kupfer, A. S. Cohen & J. H. Chajes (eds.), *The Visualization of Knowledge ...*; especially relevant to this paper are A. Even-Ezra, *Seeing the Forest beyond the Trees ...*, L. F. Sandler, *Religious Instruction and Devotional Study ...* & A. S. Cohen, *Diagramming the Diagrammatic ...*, included in this volume. See also M. Evans, *The Geometry of the Mind* & K. L. Scott, *Tradition and Innovation ...*, pp. 87–117.

³ Many prose and verse translations and paraphrases of the *Pater Noster* were composed throughout the medieval period in England. For extant texts dealing with the prayer see R. R. Raymo, *XX. Works of Religious ...* & M. W. Bloomfield, *Incipits of Latin Works ...*. For an overview and a selection of some Old and Middle English variants see, for example, A. Cook, *The evolution of the Lord's Prayer in English.*, G. H. Russell, *Vernacular instruction of the Laity ...*, F. G. A. M. Aarts, *The Pater Noster in Medieval Literature* & M. Opalińska, *Continuity and innovation ...*.

⁴ See A. Haddan & W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical ...*, vol. 3, pp. 314–326, F. G. A. M. Aarts, *The Pater Noster in Medieval literature* & R. Hammerling, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*.

foundation of cathedral schools. Hence, many authors wrote treatises and manuals for clergy, devised as an aid in conducting their pastoral duties. The *Pater Noster* was typically included in such compendia, since, along with the Creed and the *Ave Maria*, it was the minimum requirement of Christian knowledge and priests were obliged to examine penitents on their acquaintance with the prayer¹.

An excellent example of a practical manual that embraces the *Pater Noster* within its conceptual framework is the thirteenth-century treatise *Templum Dei* by Robert Grosseteste². The treatise is presented in a mnemonic form and based on a temple's model. The pillars of the Decalogue and the Christian tenets, strengthened by the *Pater Noster* petitions, support the roof of the temple, which symbolizes overarching Love. The roof (i.e. Love) shields the structure beneath from the seven deadly sins and their three ministers: devils, the world and the flesh. Christians build the temple with one hand and protect it with a sword held in the other³. The building process rests on three theological virtues – faith, hope and love – while the defence on four cardinal virtues: fortitude, temperance, justice and prudence. These seven virtues are aligned with six other lists of septenaries from the Scripture and presented in tabular forms. Seemingly, the metaphorical building has a simple structure, confined to the foundations, walls and roof, but the visual connections between different elements of doctrine furnish it with an intricate internal frame of reference. As the editors of the *Templum Dei* put it:

*Nearly three quarters of the text consist of charts, lists and diagrams. Formally, these schemata serve to break up the text and highlight the important elements. Easily distinguished on the page, they serve as a means of quick reference and as an aid to study similar to the table of contents and the systematic subject index, two other contemporary experiments designed to make written texts effective and efficient educational tools.*⁴

The Lord's Prayer is explicitly invoked in the treatise several times. First, Grosseteste refers to the prayer in part VI, *De templo aedificando et custodien-*

¹ There is ample literature on the pastoral care and the minimum requirements for a medieval Christian in England at the time. See e.g. L. Boyle, *Pastoral care ...*, L. Boyle, *The Fourth Lateran Council ...*, J. Shaw, *The Influence of Canonical ...*, N. Tanner & S. Watson, *Least of the Laity ...* & K. Rider, *Lay religion and pastoral care ...*.

² R. Grosseteste's, *Templum Dei* survives in a large number of medieval copies. The text was edited from Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. 27 by J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, who had examined sixty-five manuscripts: [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello. The data quoted in this paper come from their edition and from another thirteenth-century copy of the work in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson A. 384.

³ See Nehemiah 4, 17 & [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, pp. 10–14.

⁴ [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 7.

do¹, in which he explains the relation between different groups of septenaries:

3. *Patet igitur quod in hoc septenario virtutum consistit tota vita hominis, <scilicet> fidei, spei, caritatis, fortitudinis, prudentie, iusticie, et temperamencie. Ad harum vij virtutum interpretacionem sunt vij petitiones in Oratione Dominica, et earum confirmaciones sunt vij dona Spiritus Sancti. Harum preparaciones sunt que in Euangelio nominantur, scilicet pacificus, mundus corde, misericors, esuriens iusticiam, lugens, mitis, et pauper spiritu. Propter has vij habemus septem dotes in corpore et anima ex glorificacione, et eciam vij beatitudines que sunt in comparacione ad ea que extra nos sunt.*

4. *Statuas igitur Deum ut medicum, peccatorem ut infirmum et uulneratum, petitiones vij [ut] planctus infirmi, cui dabit medicus preparaciones, medicinam, et post sanitatem et confirmacionem sanitatis, deinde gaudia in se et ad alios. Huius medici sacerdos est minister, cui periculosissimum est ignorare officium magistri.*²

This explanatory passage is followed by a chart or a table (see Fig. 1³), which collates all the elements and contains, in Grosseteste's own words, *tota cura officii pastoralis*⁴. Similar collations occur in works of other authors, too, and can be found in many manuscripts from the period. As shown below, they may differ with respect to the order of the elements, the internal linking between them or even the components themselves.

For the sake of illustration, the same chart from another witness, namely, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson A. 384, is given in Il. 1. In general, this table is organized in the same way as the one in Fig. 1 above. The terms (in abbreviated forms) used inside the cells are the same and they are listed in the same order. Only *Infirmitas*, is represented to the left of the *Vicia* column, rather than in the left-hand top corner cell, as in Fig. 1. This alternative arrangement seems to have been caused by technical reasons: there is simply not enough space at the top of the first column to enter the word. Note that in MS. Rawlinson A. 384 the passage directly preceding the chart (i.e. *Inquire [...] non uiuificat*) belongs, in fact, to the next chapter of the treatise, that is, chapter VII of *Examinatio de Fide*, and the editors of *Templum Dei* printed it below the

¹ Chapter divisions and headings are editorial. There are no clear section boundaries in the manuscripts of *Templum Dei*. See the explanatory remarks in [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 9.

² [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 37. In the quotation, I have omitted superscript letter symbols used by the editors to denote additions introduced by medieval correctors of Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. 27, and editorial footnotes, but see [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 37 and textual notes, p. 69.

³ All Figures and Illustrations are at the end of the paper, pp. 72–77.

⁴ See [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 38.

table¹. It is possible that the Rawlinson A. 384 scribe copied the passage in the wrong place by mistake only to realize that he should have reproduced the chart first. The opening phrase of the next paragraph – *In hac tabula* [...] – may have reminded him to do it at this point. In any case, the formal rearrangement of the first column does not infringe the conceptual framework of the whole. *Infirmitas* is still superordinate to the seven vices, only the hierarchy is expressed differently: via a horizontal tree diagram in which the subordinate vices are linked to the central, dominating node by means of branches². That *Infirmitas* has the overarching status and is parallel to other root terms (i.e. *Planctus*, *Preparatorum*, *Medicina*, *Sanitas*, *Gaudium Intra*, *Gaudium Extra*) is also visually accentuated by the use of coloured ink and the underlining (see Il. 1).

Returning to the elemental composition of the *Templum Dei*, in part X, *Examinatio de virtutibus cardinalibus*, Grosseteste embeds *Oracio Dominica* into a diagram of the seven cardinal virtues³. Along with the *Credo* and *Ave Maria*, the *Pater Noster* forms part of *Scientia necessaria laico*. The prayers are each annotated by their respective functions, relating to the three theological virtues: *Pater Noster* – *ad caritatem*, *Simbolum* – *ad fidem*, and *Ave Maria* – *ad spem*, and linked to another node which states that *hec tenetur quilibet laicus scire, saltem in lingua materna*. Finally, towards the end of the treatise, *Oracio Dominica* is included in yet another diagram, which represents the requirements of baptism (XX, *Examinatio specialis de baptismo*)⁴, and listed among other septenary groups of Christian tenets in the concluding section of the treatise (see Fig. 2).

To sum up, Grosseteste uses the state-of-the-art techniques, such as diagrams, charts or tables, and horizontal trees, to represent the complexity of moral theology with the *Pater Noster* as an essential component. His treatise must have been addressed to readers who were already familiar with the basic contents but needed to gain further proficiency. He provided that by building a network of cross-references and associations between different elements of the system. According to Goering and Mantello⁵, discrete blocks and schemata, which visualize interrelations between elements of doctrine, were more useful and important for contemporary readers than the overall structure of the treatise. Given this, *Templum Dei* might be regarded as a book designed to be used rather than to be read in its entirety. This assumption seems plausible in the light of the fact that the development of the tools and techniques referred to above yielded a *distinctly utilitarian and aggressive attitude toward the book from the early thirteenth century*⁶. According to Rouse and Rouse, this attitude was a

¹ See [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 39.

² Different types of horizontal trees attested in medieval manuscripts are discussed in A. Even-Ezra, *Seeing the Forest beyond the Trees ...*.

³ See [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 50.

⁴ See [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 65.

⁵ See [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 9.

⁶ R. H. Rouse & M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia and sermons ...*, p. 36.

natural consequence of an earlier change which sprang from the difference between reading the Fathers through extracts rather than in the whole. The authors claim that the changes taking place at the verge of the 12th and 13th centuries emerged first in the communities engaged in pastoral ministry and preaching¹. The frequency with which isolated blocks of schemata and diagrams appear in manuscripts containing pastoral materials supports this conclusion.

By way of example, consider some data from two thirteenth-century manuscripts: Salisbury Cathedral Library MS. 62 and Biblioteca Universitaria, Pavia MS. Aldini 69. The former is a book of gospels with commentaries, glosses and marginalia of various hands and dates². Folios 23v–24r contain a passage from St. Matthew 6. 9–13 with the canonical text of the *Pater Noster* and a commentary to each petition. A blank spot at the beginning of the prayer on fol. 23v suggests that the scribe intended to fill in this space with a larger initial, thus visually marking the opening words. It was customary to highlight the beginning of the *Pater Noster* in this or another way. Owing to this scribal convention, the prayer can usually be easily distinguished on a manuscript page. Not in this case, however. At the bottom margin of fol. 24r, a simplified septenary schema has been scribbled, possibly as a means of a conveniently abridged practical aid for a preacher (see II. 2 and the reading in Fig. 3). Not only is this chart much simpler than the one included in *Templum Dei*, but its implementation is different. To begin with, the captions are reduced to five – *peticiones*, *dona*, *virtutes*, *beatitudines*, *vitia* – and their order is different (see Fig. 1). Although they are placed at the top, the sequencing of the *Pater Noster* requests indicates that the diagram was intended to be read from bottom to top, which is opposite to the one in the chart from *Templum Dei* (see Fig. 1). The terms inside the cells are also different and they are heavily abridged. Compared to other tables of the same type, this one seems a little idiosyncratic regarding the choice of terms (e.g. *in lugenti* or *esurie*, instead of the more typically used *plorat* and *sitiens*, respectively) and their forms³. The overall structure gives an impression of a hasty note drawn from memory for a practical purpose. The author must have been familiar with the idea – he may have remembered it from one of Augustine's commentaries on the *Pater Noster*, or perhaps adjusted a template he had seen elsewhere to his own didactic needs. Uneven division lines suggest that the scribe first put the itemized lists and then separated each row by carelessly delineated boundaries, thus giving the figure a semblance of a chart⁴.

The other manuscript, namely, MS. Aldini 69 from the Biblioteca Universitaria in Pavia, includes similar, albeit more carefully executed, schemata. Although the codex is currently housed in Italy, it originated in England, most

¹ See R. H. Rouse & M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia and sermons ...*, p. 6 & p. 36.

² A brief codicological description of the manuscript is given in: *Salisbury Cathedral Library Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 63–64. See also E. M. Thompson, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, p. 17.

³ Note, however, that some of these terms are close to those used by Grosseteste (see Fig. 1).

⁴ The lines may have been added later by another person.

probably, in the area of Lincoln¹. It contains a miscellaneous collection of religious treatises and pastoral works by various authors, for instance, Richard Weatheringsett, Robert Grosseteste, Richard of Wedinghausen, William de Montibus, and Innocent III. There are a number of glosses and annotations in Italian, dated to the 14th century, and several in Middle English. One of the Latin annotations at the top of fol. 40v – *nota nota expositio orationis dominice secundum librum Augustini* – pinpoints a horizontal tree diagram which fills the lower margin of two facing folios: 40v and 41r (see Il. 3a and 3b, respectively). In this figure, the *Pater Noster* requests are juxtaposed against the seven cardinal vices in a series of short propositions (see Fig. 4). The vices follow the general concatenation model introduced by Gregory the Great with some minor modifications². The word *contra* is the central node which binds the petitions by means of wavy branches and links them to the respective *vice* clauses on the right. On the right-hand edge of the horizontal tree wavy braces are used to bind the vices. Although the diagram is compressed and heavily abbreviated, the scribe found a way to improve the legibility and distinguish one line from another. First, he placed rubricated paraph symbols at the beginning of every second line, highlighting the *Pater Noster* incipits. Second, he used capital initials in the remaining lines and, additionally, highlighted some of the letters with touches of pigment to isolate them from the surrounding text. The way in which the scribe applied pigment within and beside letters indicates that he intended to represent the figure as a unified whole, marking the significant transition points inside. This seems to be the reason why on fol. 40v the touches of pigment are discernible in the *Pater Noster* incipits, whereas on fol. 41r – in the names of the vices. In general, rubrication, capitalization, association lines (or branches), braces, and paraphs help the reader to navigate through this short but condensed diagram. The Aldini 69 scribe uses all of these devices efficiently to highlight individual components, on the one hand, and to indicate relations between correlative elements, on the other. His horizontal tree transforms particularized items into a unified whole.

The location of this diagram in the manuscript is not random for it coincides with the *Pater Noster* section of *Summa Qui bene presunt*, a pastoral treatise by Richard Weatheringsett. Chronologically earlier than *Templum Dei*, composed shortly after the Fourth Lateran Council, it is believed to have influenced Grosseteste's work³. Weatheringsett also uses schemata to enclose some elements of the Christian doctrine⁴. One part of his *Summa*, devoted to the discussion of the

¹ See L. de Marchii & G. Bertolani, *Inventario dei manoscritti ...*, H. S. Thomson, *A XIIIth century Oure Fader ...* & H. S. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*. The English texts from this manuscript and their relation to other components of the book are discussed in: M. Opalińska, *Mnemonic verses and pastoral care ...*. The mnemonic underpinnings of the diagrams included in it are referred to in: M. Opalińska, *Continuity and innovation ...*.

² See M. W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins ...*, S. Wenzel, *The Seven Deadly Sins ...*, R. Newhauser, *The Treatise on Vices and Virtues ...* & R. Newhauser & S. J. Ridyard (eds.), *Sin in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*.

³ See J. Goering, *The Summa 'Qui bene presunt' ...*, p. 145.

⁴ See J. Goering, *William de Montibus ...*, p. 9.

Lord's Prayer, aligns the petitions with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the virtues and the beatitudes in the form of a linear scheme (see Fig. 5). Consecutive verses begin with an incipit from the Lord's Prayer (*Sanctificetur, Adveniat, Fiat [...]*), followed by one of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit (*timet, pius et mitis, scit [...]*) and a phrase extracted from one of the seven beatitudes (*est pauper, regnat, terram tenet, plorat, solatur [...]*). Each sequence is then closed by an equally brief expression pointing at one of the seven deadly sins (*perit inde superbus, ira recedit, et invidus exit [...]*). The components are visually separated from one another by punctuation marks¹. Thus, in the horizontal dimension, the schema is made of seven logical propositions the elements of which are bound by causal relations. The vertical order indexes four groups of septenaries: *Pater Noster*, the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, Beatitudes, and Vices.

Incidentally, another token of the same generic schema can be found in Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek MS. 117, a thirteenth-century manuscript, which contains the *Aurora*, a versification of the Bible by Petrus Riga, and the dialogue *Synodus*, by a cleric Warnerius of Basel. This manuscript, unlike the preceding ones, does not come from England. It seems that it was made in a Swiss monastery². The presence of the mnemonic schema, attested among a handful of other notes at the beginning of this book (fol. 1v), seemingly unrelated to the texts inside the volume, suggests that it was a popular type of representation in general. As shown in Fig. 6, the formula is even more condensed than the one in the Royal MS. 9 A XIV (see Fig. 5). A striking feature of this figure is the apparent absence of the *Pater Noster* petitions. Instead, each line (with the exception of line 5) has been marked by a letter of the alphabet from *a* to *g*³. The letters seem to have a two-fold function: first, they divide the formula into seven consecutive parts, and, second, they act as notational substitutes for the *Pater Noster* incipits. The basic division of the prayer into seven parts, which goes back to St. Augustine, was well-grounded in medieval exegesis and the scribe who added this annotation seems to have relied on this general understanding⁴. Sequential numbering was used even in very simple translations of the prayer where each petition takes no more than a short line, as in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 549, fols 78r–78v⁵.

¹ Goering's edition of the septenaries is based on the text from the British Library, MS. Royal 9 A XIV, fol. 30ra–b. See J. Goering, *The Summa 'Qui bene presunt' ...*, p. 149, n. 25. In Fig. 5, I follow Goering's reading, including the use of angle brackets for expanded abbreviations and modernized punctuation marks. In the manuscript, the elements of each group are separated by mid-line points (i.e. *puncti*, see below) inside lines, but there is no final punctuation at line ends. The unity of the entire block is indicated by crudely drawn converging branches in red. Unfortunately, the manuscript has not been digitized and no image of the figure can be given here for comparison at present.

² For a description of the manuscript see B. Gottwald, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum ...*, pp. 125–127.

³ For comparison see also the digital image of the folio available online at <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bke/0117> [retrieved on Oct. 14, 2021].

⁴ See Augustine, *De Sermone Domini in Monte ...*. See also R. Hammerling, *St. Augustine of Hippo*.

⁵ See M. Opalińska, *Continuity and innovation ...*

In addition to the technical devices, discussed above, the repertory of tools that helped to understand the meaning and structure of texts included additional symbols and punctuation marks. Although medieval punctuation system was based on relative rather than universal values¹, some symbols were used consistently by most scribes. For instance, a known relation existed between two division symbols, namely *punctus* and *punctus elevatus*. The former usually indicated a minor pause. However, regardless of the conventional practice, both symbols could be used to denote other nuances within texts, depending on the individual training and preferences or the type of text that was copied².

In the examples presented above, *punctus*, or a single point (here represented by a mid-line dot •), is the most common punctuation type. Placed at the mid-line or at the bottom-line, it indicates a minor pause or separates sub-units. For instance, in Fig. 4 it is used to isolate the name of each vice and to mark the end of a given clause³. In Fig. 6, on the other hand, it separates the elements of different septenaries from one another. However, as shown in Fig. 3, it is not always used in a coherent or systematic way.

A major medial pause is typically indicated by *punctus elevatus* (here :). The difference between the two symbols is discernible in a short versified paraphrase from Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. 27 – the same manuscript which was used by Goering and Mantello for their edition of *Templum Dei* (see Fig. 7 and II. 4). The paraphrase forms part of a group of basic prayers in rhyme where punctuation is used, in the first place, as a guideline to the rhythmical contour. This is a plain paraphrase but relatively well-balanced, both rhythmically and semantically. Its author laid more emphasis on cadence and meaning than on stylistic refinement, which is not uncommon in popular religious instructional poems. Essentially the same punctuation pattern, sensitive to rhythm but also allowing for an identification of the basic syntactic units, characterizes the entire group of religious poems on fol. 162r.

Verse punctuation, in general, was metrical rather than syntactical or rhetorical, but in this case – as in many others – the two functions go hand in hand. Parkes demonstrated that *punctus elevatus* marked the transition to second halves of various balanced structures, indicating the beginning of a complementary unit⁴. The distribution of the symbol in the paraphrase from Emmanuel College MS. 27 is compatible with this finding. As shown in Fig. 7, *punctus elevatus*, posited in the middle of each line, separates self-contained units of the prayer – phrases and clauses (e.g. line 1: *ure fader in heuene*; line

¹ See M. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 72 & p. 106.

² See D. Sawyer, *Reading English Verse ...*, p. 112.

³ *Punctus* is also used here (as elsewhere) to indicate abbreviated forms.

⁴ See M. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, p. 69, p. 73 & p. 153.

6: *fforgif us ure sunnes*) – and complementary components, extrinsic to the original text, signaling the critical juncture between the two line halves¹.

Puncti or single points, on the other hand, separate minor lexical groups within verses (e.g. line 7: *al so wis*; line 4: *ac lus us*), but not consistently. *Punctus* is also used in between *blessinge* and *Amen* in line 11. Note that *blessinge*, moved to that line for lack of space in line 10, visually distorts the final couplet: *fondinge – blessinge*. The scribe must have used this *punctus* to indicate the unfortunate displacement. A closer look at the last three lines reveals further details showing how the scribe tried to amend the fractured sequence. First, the overall architecture of the text tells us that the last line should begin with a paraph. The scribe used this symbol in the headline incipit *Pater Noster* and in every second line to mark the beginning of a new sentence and, doubtless, also to provide the necessary alignment. If he had not miscalculated the space in line 10 and managed to fit *blessinge* in it, he would have maintained the alignment to the end. Since he could not do this due to his lapse, he decided to use a simple expedient instead. Namely, he placed a half-paraph symbol just before *Amen*, as if to signal that it was meant to be the first word in this line from the start (see Il. 4)². Second, still in the same line, after the Middle English phrase – *so mote hit boe* (an equivalent of the Latin *Amen*) – the scribe posited a *punctus* to indicate the text's end. Finally, he visually distinguished the faulty open couplet (line 9–10) by a single oblique stroke, as if to warn the readers that the syntactic unit carries over to the next line (see Il. 4). In the remaining lines, the couplets are singled out by v-shaped braces, represented by curly brackets (see Fig. 7), on the right.

The way in which the Emmanuel College Ms. 27 scribe used punctuation in the *Pater Noster* shows that he followed a non-random system in which symbols formed a relational network. The paraphs help him to align the text at the left margin and to highlight major syntactic divisions. They are counterbalanced by the braces which tie the relevant metrical units at the right margin. Syntactic and metrical transition from the first to the second half-line is consistently marked by *puncti elevati*. The scribe adheres to the system consistently, but he readily departs from it when it is necessary to avoid confusion. In other words, he uses the punctuation in a creative way, adapting the signs whenever he needs to clarify the relationship between different elements of the text at the syntactic and metrical level.

The scribe who copied the group of religious verses on folio 162r of Emmanuel College MS. 27 was not the only one to use braces for linking the rhyming words in a *Pater Noster* paraphrase. Incidentally, the use of braces as markers of a rhyming pattern is attested in many English variants of the prayer. They may have different forms – from squiggly and irregular, through straight

¹ Mid-line punctuation is omitted in line 2. Judging by the lighter shade of ink and a more compact script, line 2 must have been erased and rewritten (see Il. 4). In Fig. 7, this line has been represented in a smaller font size.

² In Fig. 7, the half-paraph is rendered in grey to indicate that it is graphically different from the standard character. For the actual signs used by the scribe see Il. 4.

lines with a loop at the centre, to angular and symmetric ones – but, fundamentally, they have the same role: to bind related items into functional units. In the oral tradition of the Middle Ages this must have been a convenient tool, especially when the rhyming template was more complex than a series of couplets¹. A good example of this practice is a *Pater Noster* lyric by James Ryman from Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12, fol. 61v, composed of two seven-line stanzas in rhyme royal: ababbcc. In this case, the versification pattern has been rendered by means of elegant right-angled branching braces².

The paraph mark was equally widespread. By 1200, it had moved from the margin to the interior of the column and assumed a relatively stable shape with several sub-variants³. At that time, it was usually executed in a different colour than the main text (but see, for example, Emmanuel College MS. 27, Il. 4). It was used to distinguish sections and units within texts. In short *Pater Noster* translations it is often introduced at the beginning, next to the title or in lieu of the title. It could be used to indicate the beginning of a syntactic or a rhythmical unit. In bilingual texts paraphs were used to highlight the boundaries between Latin lemmas and vernacular passages. Such signposts were especially conspicuous when executed in alternating colours – blue and red – as in, for example, Cambridge University Library MS. Gg. 4. 32, fol. 21r⁴. Colour, in general, was an effective guide especially in texts composed of different units, bilingual or expanded paraphrases. Used in conjunction with initials, paraphs and other distinguishing symbols (e.g. crosses or *maniculae*), it would not only divide the text into relevant components, but also instantaneously catch the reader's eye.

Many pastoral works which flourished in England in the aftermath of the Fourth Lateran Council were devised in such a way as to provide practical aid for preachers. To this end, scribes rendered the material via graphic schemata, charts and lists, either embedded in the traditional, linear form of text, or presented as separate figures outside the text – in manuscript margins or on flyleaves. The diagrams enabled readers to see the same notion from different perspectives, dependent on the correlative elements and the system of cross-references. They helped to space things apart and, at the same time, elucidate relations among them in a visually conspicuous way. Among the types commonly used for the representation of the *Pater Noster* petitions were charts (or tables) and horizontal tree diagrams.

Charts typically collate the petitions with other groups of septenaries in such a way as to index the components of each group in vertical columns, on the one hand, and to elicit logical correlation between elements of different

¹ For a recent discussion concerning the use of braces in rhymed medieval English texts see D. Sawyer, *Reading English Verse ...*, pp. 123–139 and references given there.

² The manuscript has not been digitized, as of yet. For further details on its content see Ch. Hardwick & H. R. Luard, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts ...* & an unpublished description by H. L. Pink available online at: <https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/320516> [retrieved on Oct. 14, 2021].

³ See R. H. Rouse & M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, florilegia and sermons ...*, p. 30 & B. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, p. 72.

⁴ See the reproduction in: M. Opalińska, *Utracone w edycjach ...*, p. 46.

groups in horizontal rows, on the other. In some charts the material is arranged into causally related sequences, which are intermediate between a linear text and a condensed graphic synopsis. One such example is the lavishly decorated *Pater Noster* table from the Vernon Manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. a 1). In its horizontal dimension, this chart – an exquisite work of art – links one theological notion to another through connective phrases, thus enabling readers to construct the logical relations between the elements¹. Other types of graphic representations (though not strictly speaking charts) that maintain linear and syntactic integrity between their constituents, include the *Pater Noster rotae*². More common, however, were simpler, compact tables and lists in which the material was maximally condensed. This type has been exemplified above by a figure from *Templum Dei* (see Fig. 1 and Il. 1) and another, more abridged, variant attested in Salisbury Cathedral Library MS. 62 (Il. 2). Somewhere on the graphic spectrum are forms with no columns or cells (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6). In such cases, the boundaries between individual components may be marked by punctuation. The compact form of such representations implies that they were used by readers who were already familiar with the underlying theological notions but needed a visually prominent recapitulation for quick reference.

Horizontal tree diagrams also range from relatively simple figures, like the one in MS. Aldini 69 from the Biblioteca Universitaria in Pavia (Il. 3) to complex ramified networks, like those in Grossetsetse's treatise (see the detail in Fig. 2). Irrespective of their internal complexity, horizontal trees hinge on the same underlying principle: first, they organize groups of matters that share a subset of features and, second, they clarify the relationship among discrete and yet related items. In the example from MS. Aldini 69 the horizontal trees, added to the lower margin, help to explicate how consecutive *Pater Noster* petitions annihilate each of the seven deadly sins. Thus, reading a horizontal tree diagram involves attentiveness to the graphic design, on the one hand, and to the syntactic structure of the text, on the other.

The arrangements and relationships encoded in diagrams are often additionally enhanced by different size of letters, the use of variable colours, punctuation, paraps, and braces, to name just a few. These visual cues guide the reader, enabling him to interpret the overall architecture, just as they help to establish boundaries and meaningful elements in linear texts. As illustrated by the example in Fig. 7, even simple punctuation marks and symbols, rendered in

¹ For a description and a full digital facsimile of this impressive manuscript dated 1380–1400 see Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. a. 1 [available online at <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/52f0a31a-1478-40e4-b05b-fddb1ad076ff/>; retrieved on Oct. 14, 2021]. See also A. Henry, 'The *Pater Noster* in a table *ypeynted*' ... & W. Scase, *The Making of the Vernon Manuscript*.

² For an overview of compendia with groups of different diagrammatic figures see e.g. M. Evans, *The Geometry of the Mind*, F. Saxl, *A Spiritual Encyclopedia ...* & K. L. Scott, *Tradition and Innovation ...*, pp. 87–117. A digital facsimile of a *Speculum Theologiae* from a late thirteenth-century or early fourteenth-century collection of mnemonic devices in Yale, Beinecke MS. 416 is available online at: <https://brbl-archive.library.yale.edu/exhibitions/speculum/> [retrieved on Oct. 14, 2021]. See also the image of a *Pater Noster rotae* from a fourteenth-century miscellany from Cambridge (CUL MS. Gg. 4. 32, fol. 12v), reproduced in: M. Opalińska, *Utracone w edycjach ...*, p. 47.

the same non-distinctive colour as the rest of the text, can be convenient markers of rhythm and syntax when used methodically.

The handful of examples discussed in this paper shows that graphic elements were used as instruments of division or structured decomposition of texts into smaller, meaningful units¹. Visually salient, they helped to grasp the material and identify significant elements on a manuscript page. This ancillary role of graphic details is overt in manuscript witnesses of the *Pater Noster*. Even in plain, non-ornamental devotional books, the prayer is readily discernible among other texts. Typically, the opening letter or the first words of the prayer are written in large coloured initials that stand out from the background script or in larger initials with a blob of pigment inside the bow of the letter *P*. Sometimes, rubricated lemmas, headline titles and additional symbols introduce the text cumulatively. For example, in Friar John of Grimestone's prayerbook, written in 1372 (Edinburgh, The National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS. 18. 7. 21), the prayer is marked by an abbreviated incipit *Pāt Nŕ*, which has been underlined and decorated by a small red diamond-like figure to the left and another diamond figure with a dotted black cross inside to the right². Braces in thick red colour bind the lines of the prayer at its right edge. Within the text, letters tinted with red pigment and red points guide the reader from one small unit to another. Essentially the same design has been adopted by the scribe in the adjacent prayers on the same folio as in the entire codex, for that matter. Nonetheless, the *Pater Noster* is highlighted with more vividly delineated branching braces, the title in bold and the underlining. In other manuscripts, one or several Latin tag lines, usually in a dissimilar colour, are entered in the margin next to the prayer or inserted in between the lines of the vernacular text. Occasionally, an abbreviation *Pāt Nŕ*, a symbol of a small decorative cross, a *manicula* or a dotted line mark the presence of the text inside a column. These signposts, left behind by scribes and later manuscript readers in and between the lines of this sacred text, are a visual testimony to the unique place of the *Pater Noster* in medieval Christianity. They have evidential value, complementary to the data gathered from ecclesiastical documents and religious literature. They guide us through the intricacies of handwritten pages and help us read the prayer, both within the immediate manuscript context, as well as against the contemporary theological and devotional background.

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¹ See A. Even-Ezra, *Seeing the Forest beyond the Trees ...*, pp. 175–176.

² A digital facsimile of the prayerbook is available online at: <https://medievalsong.yale.edu/manuscripts/3> [retrieved on Oct. 14, 2021].

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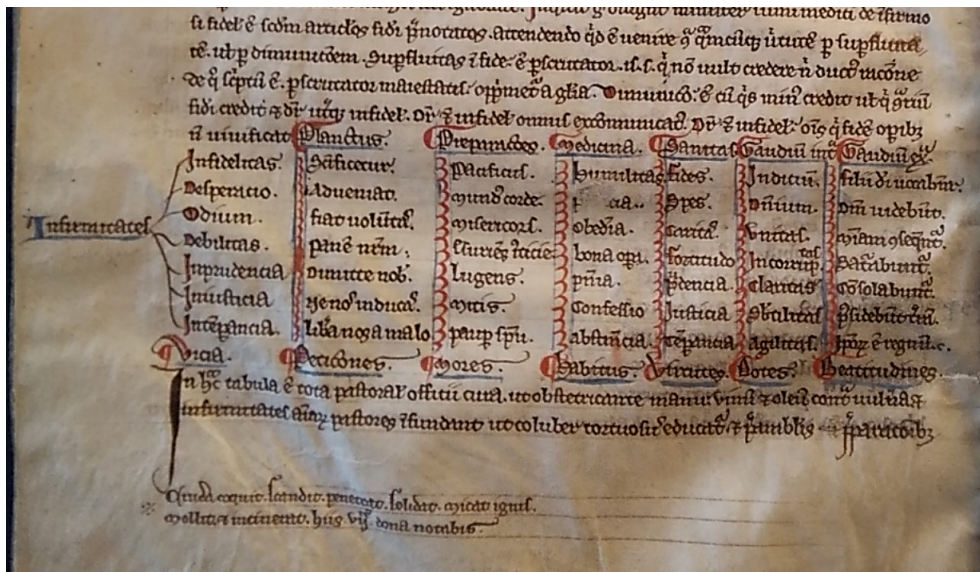
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Figures & Illustrations

<i>Infirmitas</i>	<i>Planctus</i>	<i>Preparacio</i>	<i>Medicina</i>	<i>Sanitas</i>	<i>Gaudium intra</i>	<i>Gaudium extra</i>
Infidelitas	Sanctificetur nomen tuum	Pacificus	Humilitas	Fides	Iudicium	Filii Dei uocabantur
Desperacio	Adveniat regnum	Mundus Corde	Paciencia	Spes	Dominium	Deum uidebunt
Odium	Fiat uoluntas	Misericors	Obediencia	Caritas	Vnitas	Misericordiam consequentur
Debilitas	Panem nostrum	Esuriens iusticiam	Bona Opera	Fortitudo	Incorrupti-bilitas	Saturabuntur
Inprudencia	Dimitte nobis	Lugens	Penitencia	Prudencia	Claritas	Consolabuntur
Iniusticia	Ne nos Inducas	Mitis	Confessio	Iusticia	Subtilitas	Possidebunt terram
Intemperancia	Libera nos a malo	Pauper spiritu	Abstinencia	Temperancia	Agilitas	Ipsorum est regnum celorum
<i>Vicia</i>	<i>Petitiones</i>	<i>Mores</i>	<i>Habitus</i>	<i>Virtutes</i>	<i>Dotes</i>	<i>Beatitudines</i>

Fig. 1. Different groups of septenaries in a chart from Grosseteste's *Templum Dei* (based on: [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 38).



II. 1. Different groups of septenaries in a chart from R. Grosseteste's *Templum Dei*, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson A. 384, fol. 100v (detail). The explanatory remark on the significance of the table's contents appears directly below the tabula: *In hac tabula est tota pastoralis officii cura*. By kind permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

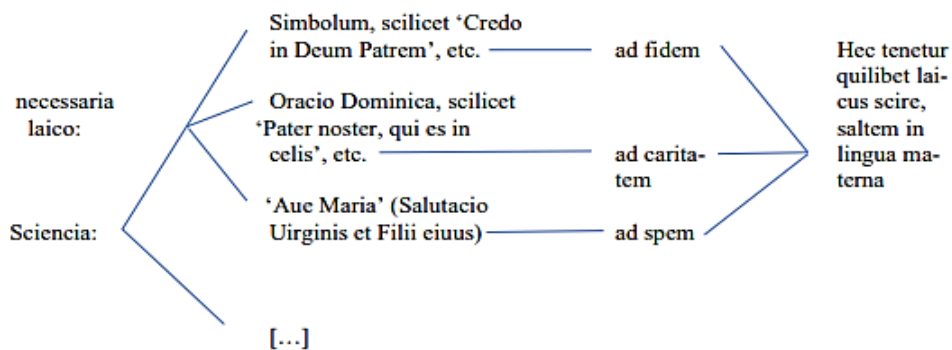
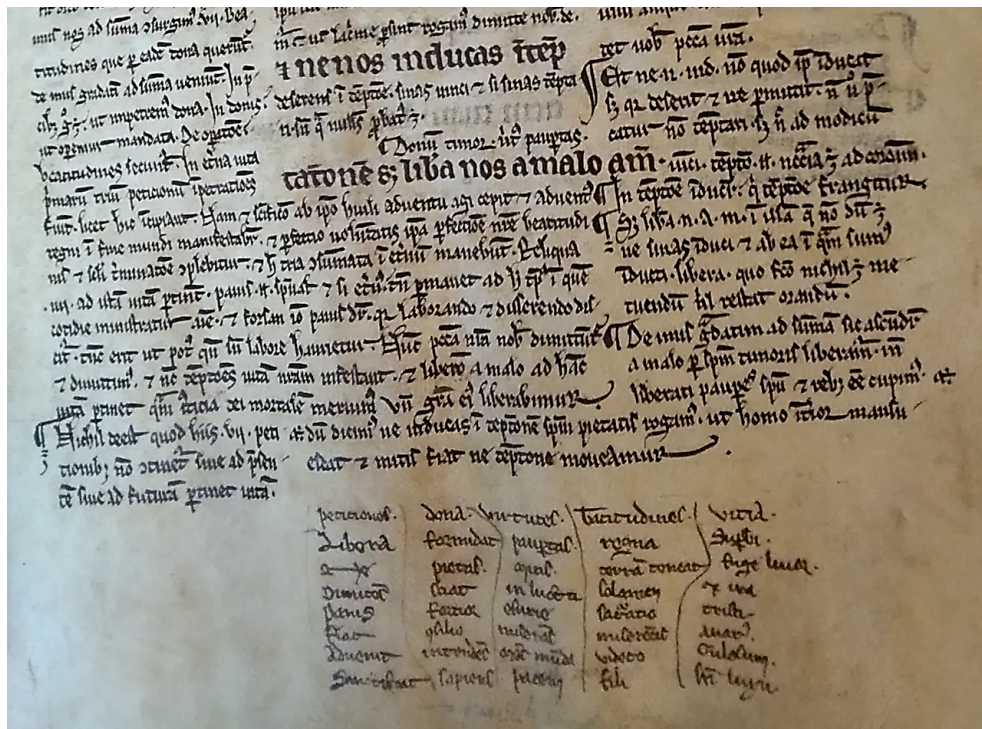


Fig. 2. The *Sciencia* diagram (fragment) in *Templum Dei* (based on: [R. Grosseteste], *Templum Dei ...*, (eds.) J. Goering & F. A. C. Mantello, p. 50).



II. 2. A group of septenaries, Salisbury Cathedral Library MS. 62, fol. 24r.
Above the chart, central column: the last petition of the *Pater Noster* with commentaries.
By kind permission of the Salisbury Cathedral Library.

petitiones•	dona•	virtutes•	beatitudines•	vitia•
libera	formidat	pauupertas•	regna	superbi •
Ne	pietas•	mitis•	terram teneat	fuge livor•
dimittens	sciat	in lugenti?	solamen	ex(it) (?) ira •
panis	fortior	esurie	satiation (?)	tristi•
fiat	consilio	miserat (?)	miserentis	avarus•
adveniat	intendens (?)	mens (?) munda	videte (?)	gulosum
sanctificat	sapiens	pacem	fili	hi[c] luxu (?)•

Fig. 3. Groups of septenaries in a chart from Salisbury Cathedral Library MS. 62, fol. 24r¹.

¹ I am grateful to Agnieszka Fabiańska and her colleagues from the Old and Rare Book Studies Research Unit at the Polish Academy of Sciences for their help in reading this chart. In this paper the abbreviations have been silently expanded, and reconstructed elements and textual omissions are rendered in square brackets. Uncertain forms are represented in parentheses and marked with a question mark.

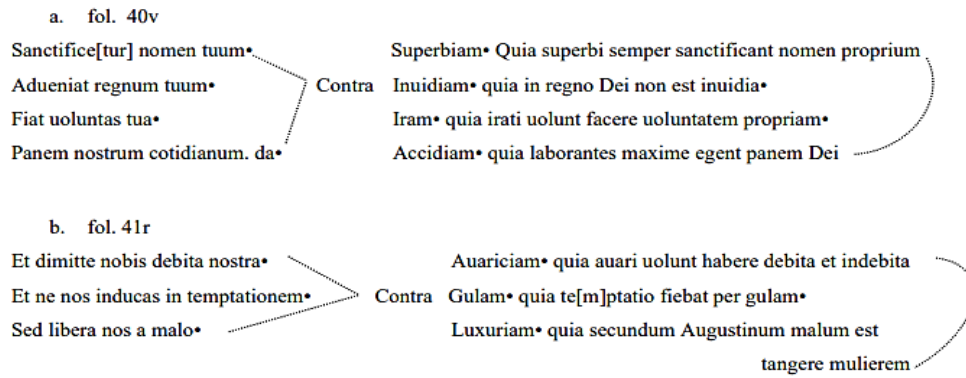


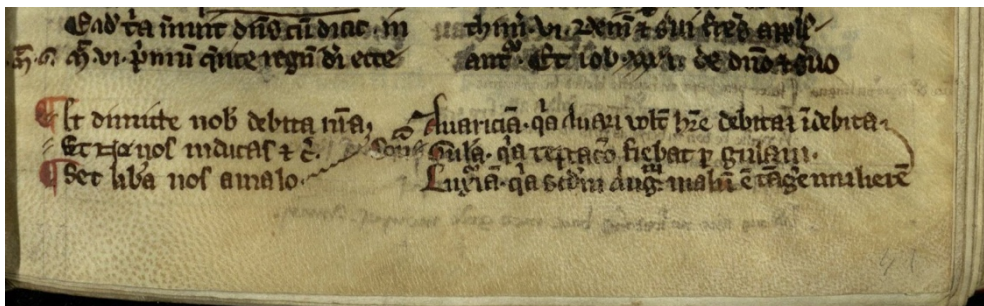
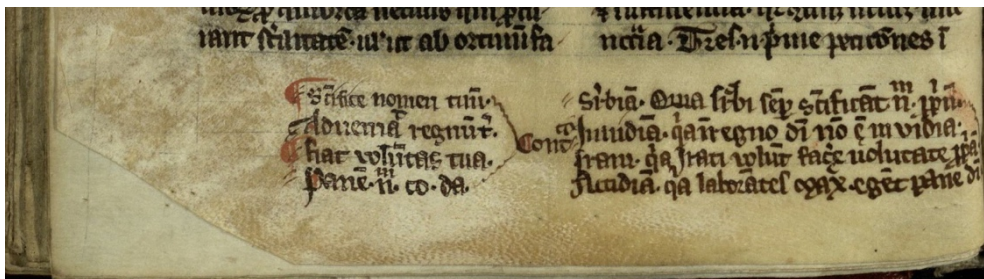
Fig. 4. *Pater Noster* diagram, Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria MS. Aldini 69 fol. 40v & fol. 41r.

Sanc<tificetur>, timet, est pauper, regnat, perit inde superbus;
 Ad<ueniat>, pius et mitis, terram tenet, ira recedit;
 Fiat, scit, plorat, solatur, et inuidus exit;
 Pan, fortis, sitiens satiatus, tristia pellit;
 Di<mitte>, dat consilium, miseris miserans, flet auarus;
 Temp<tationem>, intellectum mundat, uidet, et gula transit;
 Li<bera>, sapit, est pacis, est filius, et uenus exit.

Fig. 5. The *Pater Noster* schema from *Qui bene presunt* by Richard Weatheringsett (based on: J. Goering, *The Summa 'Qui bene presunt' ...*, p. 149, n. 25).

- a • timet • et regnat pauper • perit inde superbus
- b • pius et mitis • terram tenet • invidus exit
- c • qui scit • plorans solatur • ira recedit
- d • fortis siciens saciatur • tristia pellit
- [] consulit • et miseretur miseris • exit auarus
- f • intellectum mundat uidet et gula transit
- g • sapit • et pacis est filius • hic fuge luxus

Fig. 6. A septenary schema from Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek MS. 117, fol. 1v.

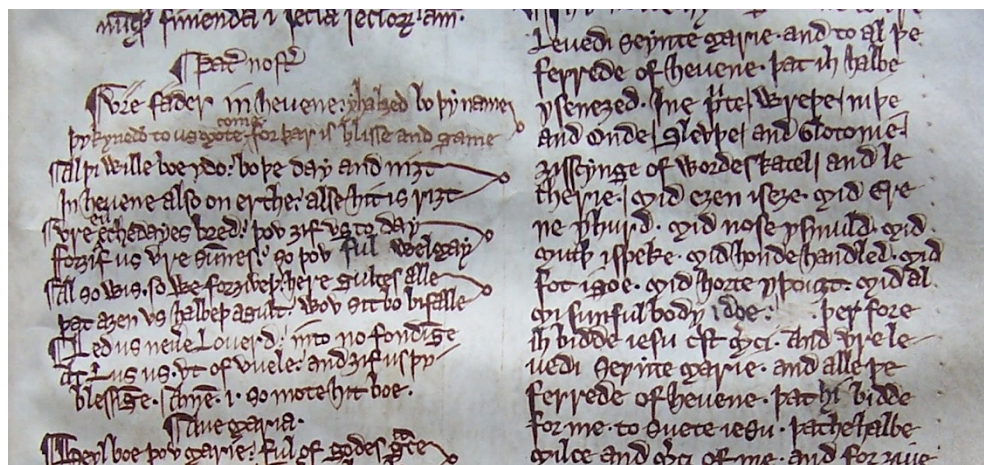


Il. 3. *Pater Noster* horizontal tree diagram in Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria MS Aldini 69. Courtesy of the University Library of Pavia – MiBACT. (a) fol. 40v & (b) fol. 41r.

¶ Pater Noster

- ¶ Vre fader in heuene : yhalzed bo þy name }
 By kynedom to us mote come for þar is blisse and game }
- ¶ Al þi wille boe ydo : boþe day and nizt }
 in heuene also on erthe : also hit is rizt }
- ¶ Vre euer echedayes bred : þov zif vs to day }
 Fforgif us vre sunnes : so þov ful wel may }
- ¶ Also wis . so we forgiveþ : here gultes alle }
 þat azen vs haweþ agult : wov sit bo bifalle }
- ¶ Led us neuere Louerd : into no fondinge
 ac lus . us vt . of vuele : and zif us þy
 blessinge . ¶ Amen / so mote hit boe .

Fig. 7. Versified *Pater Noster* paraphrase in Middle English from Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. 27, fol. 162r.



II. 4. Versified *Pater Noster* paraphrase in Middle English from Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS. 27, fol. 162ra.

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