

# Reading *Dives and Pauper* in Lisbon, 1465

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## Abstract

This essay discovers new contexts for a manuscript of *Dives and Pauper* copied, according to its colophon, in Lisbon in 1465. I connect the making of this Middle English book (now New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, MS 228) to the Lisbon confraternity of Santa Catarina, which counted six English merchants among its members. First, I consider the book as an artifact of the culture of lay religious reading and book charity in these merchants' ports of origin, London and Bristol. I then contextualize the making of the book in the resident English community of fifteenth-century Lisbon. Membership in Santa Catarina brought these merchants into contact with the bureaucrats and chroniclers of new Portuguese ventures of settlement and enslavement along the African coast. These contexts open up new questions about how this work of Middle English instruction in Christian charity and obedience served those of its late medieval readers visiting Lisbon, a place periodized as the launching point of transatlantic modernity.

## Keywords

*Dives and Pauper*; Middle English literature; manuscript studies; merchants; Portugal; Bristol; slavery; periodization

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**O**NE MANUSCRIPT of the Middle English treatise *Dives and Pauper* (now New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 228) concludes with a colophon proclaiming the circumstances of its production: “1465 Sancta katherina in lixboa.” This colophon locates the book’s making rather precisely at a “Saint Katherine in Lisbon,” yet the few tentative attempts by modern scholars to identify such a St. Katherine in fifteenth-century Lisbon have yielded no plausible candidates among the city’s parishes and monasteries.<sup>1</sup> This St. Katherine in Lisbon, it would seem, was no brick-and-mortar religious institution, but a social one: the Confraria de Santa Catarina de Ribamar. In 1460, the brotherhood recorded its statutes in a document called a *compromisso*, which lists some of the Lisbon lay confraternity’s most distinguished members: they include Pero Vasques de Mello and Luis d’Azevedo, both members of the king’s council; Gomes Eanes de Zurara, royal archivist and chronicler; and a learned lawyer named Pero Sanches.<sup>2</sup> Appearing among these Portuguese are the names of six “English merchants, resident in the city of Lisbon” (“mercadores ingleses estantes na cidade de Lixboa”). Taken together, the colophon of Beinecke, MS 228 and the surviving *compromisso* of Santa Catarina place the making of this copy of *Dives and Pauper*, a sprawling Middle English treatment of proper

<sup>1</sup>New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 228, fol. 199r. Neither Priscilla Heath Barnum, the editor of *Dives and Pauper*, nor Barbara Shailor, cataloguer of Beinecke manuscripts, found a “St. Katherine’s” in medieval Lisbon to match the colophon; I propose the connection to Santa Catarina here for the first time. Priscilla Heath Barnum’s edition of *Dives and Pauper* (henceforth *D&P*) was published in three installments: Volume 1, containing the text, was released in two parts (London: Early English Text Society o.s. 275 [1976]; o.s. 280 [1980]); Volume 2 contains an expanded introduction and notes (o.s. 323 [2004]). Barnum’s description of MS 228 is found in *D&P*, 2:lxii–lxiii, where it is MS Y. For Shailor’s catalogue description of MS 228, see *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, 3 vols. (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984), 1:321. A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available at <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/bibid/9794989> (accessed July 3, 2021).

<sup>2</sup>Afonso V of Portugal confirmed the *compromisso* in 1462. The document is now in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (henceforth ANTT), *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, livro 35, fol. 55r. It is transcribed and printed in Saul A. Gomes, “Notas e documentos sobre as confrarias portuguesas entre o fim da Idade Média e o século XVII,” *Lusitania sacra*, 2nd series 7 (1995): 89–150 (127–30); introductory remarks are on 94–95. See also Maria José Mexia Bigotte Chorão, “A confraria de Santa Catarina de Monte Sinai: De Ribamar a Lisboa; dos letrados aos livreiros,” *Memória* 1 (April 1989): 69–90. While the confraternity sponsored masses at its namesake parish church in the coastal town of Ribamar, its membership lived in Lisbon.

obedience to the ten commandments, amongst a community of lay English readers living in Lisbon, fraternizing with the local elite, and sharing books of religious instruction in their native vernacular.

Whoever copied *Dives and Pauper* in Lisbon seems to have read along during the task: a couple of Portuguese details have been inserted into the typical text at opportune moments. The scribe is twice prompted to add a little local flavor. Three citrus species are added to a list of English ever-green trees: “orange tree, citrons, lemons” sprout up among the hollies and yews in this Portuguese copy.<sup>3</sup> Later in the text, this copyist interrupts a diatribe against the sin of perjury with a digression describing its punishment in Portugal. The scribe claims to have personally witnessed the gruesome spectacle of this punishment in the streets of Lisbon:

Also in som landes for periury, as in Portugale, þei shall have a sharp yren put thorow thar tong & be lede with a rope about her neke & so be soted [mocked] þorout þe stretts full grevously with open proclamacion before þam and þan degradede out of þe reame, and in som cas þay shall be soted with that yren in þar tong as befor & þar tong kute out of þar mouth & be degradede foreuyr; þis I haue seen her in Luxbon in Portugall diverse tymes.<sup>4</sup>

This little report on a foreign land’s law and custom is offered as if to prove the gravity of the perjurer’s crime to English readers: “in Luxbon in Portugall,” perjury earns public ridicule (by “open proclamation” and parade) and a grisly mutilation (“a sharp iron put through the tongue”). In these two instances, features of Lisbon life are written into the text of *Dives and Pauper*; it is as if, in copying out this text, the scribe’s thoughts strayed away from his desk to the flora and the commotion of the city outside. Such roving thoughts might have discovered any number of connections between the Middle English copy-text and the novelties of local experience in Lisbon. Only these two found their way onto the page, interpolated as textual souvenirs recalling the book’s Lisbon origins and suggesting this scribe’s interest in his, and his text’s, alien environs. What else might the scribes and readers of *Dives and Pauper* have seen there, “in Luxbon in Portugall diverse tymes,” as they looked outside in 1465?

<sup>3</sup> “[S]om [trees] be ordeynede in tyme to lese here leues & her grenehede, som to be grene wynter & somer, as lorele box holme orange tre sydrone lymones yue & many mo”; MS 228, fols. 24v–25r.

<sup>4</sup> MS 228, fol. 56v.

Beinecke, MS 228 documents Middle English literary culture as it traveled to its medieval extremes: to a southwestern geographic extreme in Lisbon where, in 1465, the Portuguese lived on the belated extreme of the European Middle Ages. Its making there is an exceptional case: to my knowledge, it is the only surviving Middle English manuscript to be produced in Iberia. As such, MS 228 is a unique artifact of book production and reading by Englishpeople living in Lisbon and other foreign outposts along the trade routes of the medieval Atlantic. My essay, in grappling with this exceptional case, comes in two parts. In each I try to do justice to questions provoked by the newly drawn connection between the “Sancta katherina” colophon to the *compromisso* of Santa Catarina. The first section attends to those six “English merchants resident in Lisbon” named in the *compromisso*. Who were they, and why might they want to copy and read *Dives and Pauper*? From their life-records in English and Portuguese documentary sources, I outline their careers and commitments. I do so to situate the reading of *Dives and Pauper* in Lisbon within a culture of investment in books of lay spiritual instruction among the mobile mercantile elite of London and Bristol. The second part of the essay raises the questions provoked by the names of the Portuguese brothers found along with them in the *compromisso*. These bureaucrats, sea captains, and court chroniclers of Santa Catarina built the administrative and ideological apparatus of colonization and enslavement in the moment of their emergence in Portugal. In that novel institutional context for *Dives and Pauper*, I reappraise its rhetoric of obedient servitude and its theory of servitude’s scriptural origins against a parallel rhetoric and theory of race newly expressed in Zurara’s account of early Portuguese slaving. So the reading of *Dives and Pauper* in Lisbon plays out here as a scene of untimely and uncommon convergence: one of medieval English readers confronted by early modern slavery and witness to Black life as it was lived in its wake. Such a scene of reading might prompt some rethinking, as this manuscript object of medievalist study intrudes into territory cordoned off from the medieval and periodized as a staging ground of transatlantic modernity: Lisbon in an age now remembered as the “Portuguese discoveries” (*descobrimentos portugueses*). I do some of this rethinking in the space of this essay. But my first ambition is to do the work of historicist description, working with manuscript and archival evidence to bring this peripheral scene of reading in Lisbon into Middle English scholarship’s field of vision.

## I

*Dives and Pauper* means “Rich One and Poor One,” and the treatise gets this clumsy Latinate title in part thanks to its opening scriptural quotation from Proverbs: “rich and poor encounter themselves in one another; God is maker of both.”<sup>5</sup> *Dives and Pauper* is so-called, too, thanks to its dialogic structure. It unfolds as a lengthy conversation between one speaker named Dives, a well-off layman, and the more talkative Pauper, a learned man sworn to holy poverty. Together, this “Rich One” and “Poor One” scrutinize the meaning of each of the ten commandments to define the particular form of obedience proper to Christians of various stations. Little is known of the precise origins of *Dives and Pauper* or of its author. Internal clues would date its composition to within a few years of 1405. Pauper sounds like a friar: so much so that its modern editor, Priscilla Heath Barnum, conjectures that its author was, too.<sup>6</sup> For his part, Dives resembles a broader class of prosperous lay readers at the turn of the fifteenth century whose desire for spiritual guidance spurred a proliferation of Middle English texts such as *Dives and Pauper*. As Nicole Rice argues, vernacular authors produced lengthy “plans for devout living” written for these “readers in the world.”<sup>7</sup> Rice’s persuasive account focuses upon a set of devotional texts that cultivated spiritual self-regulation and -correction amongst a lay readership; texts such as *The Life of Soul* and *Book to a Mother* enabled access to the discipline of professional religious life for those living outside the cloister or anchorhold. As a plan for devout living, *Dives and Pauper* shares its dialogic form and its inscribed address to a lay audience with these texts. But rather than teaching inward-looking practices of spiritual self-discipline, *Dives and Pauper* teaches obedience to the commandments as part of an active life lived very much “in the world” and in relation to fellow Christians. In the Gospels, after all, Christ advises the rich man who cannot bring himself to imitate Christ’s perfect poverty to

<sup>5</sup>This is Proverbs 22:2: “Dives et pauper obviaverunt sibi utriusque operator est Dominus.” *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969), 2:976.

<sup>6</sup>On the dating of *Dives and Pauper*, see *D&P*, 2:xviii–xx; and Anne Hudson and H. L. Spencer, “Old Author, New Work: The Sermons of MS Longleat 4,” *MÆ* 53, no. 2 (1984): 220–38 (222). On the particular profession of the *Dives*-author, see *D&P*, 2:xix–xxv.

<sup>7</sup>Nicole Rice, *Lay Piety and Religious Discipline in Middle English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. x.

do his best to “follow the commandments.”<sup>8</sup> For Middle English readers enjoying worldly success in the mercantile economy, *Dives and Pauper* is a treatise-length elaboration upon what that less-than-perfect obedience of the active life would precisely entail. Having settled for a lay life of worldly possessions, Dives looks to Pauper for guidance on how best to obey God’s commandments and live with charity toward one’s neighbors.

*Dives and Pauper* compounds genres and authorial poses into a dialogic treatise that resists easy categorization. It sometimes reads as a debate, with Dives posing questions to Pauper and proposing counterarguments. At other points, Dives is happy to drop his oppositional posturing or to change his mind. Sometimes he simply prompts Pauper’s further elaboration. Often, there is no hint of a dialogue at all. The treatise can get preachy. Pauper regularly addresses Dives as “dear friend,” exemplifying Pauper’s habit of adopting a preacher’s register in starting to sermonize. Tags of spoken address like that introduce long stretches of homiletic monologue. Indeed, many chapters only consist of Pauper’s first addressing a “dear friend”—or even “dear friends”—and then discoursing upon a topic with no reply from Dives at all.<sup>9</sup> Amidst all this sober instruction, Pauper makes judicious use of some relatively more gripping fare. He recounts the lives of saints Cecilia, Agnes, Agatha, and Katherine (1.1:349–50); he retells an exemplum from the *Gesta Romanorum* (1.2:99–100); he offers the story of fair Rosamund, lover of a king, so as to warn that beauty is a passing thing. He interpolates poetry in English and Latin as tools of instruction and for dramatic emphasis.<sup>10</sup> Rosamund’s tomb is marked by a Latin epitaph in “vers”; a father teaches his son a lesson through a quatrain of English from the grave, found written on a scroll in a locked chest.<sup>11</sup> These generic tactics meddle small entertainments and drama into the prosaic work of devotion and study of the Scripture.

Readers of *Dives and Pauper* thus encountered its doctrinal instruction in many forms: dramatized as debate, declared in a sermon, or punctuated by narrative and verse. One might imagine that the treatise’s range and

<sup>8</sup>This Gospel episode from Matthew 19 is retold in the B version of the prologue to *D&P*, 1.1:75–76.

<sup>9</sup>In Book IV, for instance, only Pauper appears in Chapters iii, x, xii, and xiii, addressing the plural “leue frendes” in Chapter x.

<sup>10</sup>On poetry and verse in *Dives and Pauper*, see Julia Boffey, “Some Middle English Sermon Verse and Its Transmission in Manuscript and Print,” in *Preaching the Word in Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval England*, ed. Martha Driver and Veronica O’Mara (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 259–75.

<sup>11</sup>*D&P*, 1.2:97, 1.1:312–13.

flexibility made it variously useful to different types of readers. It was useful to the laity as an accessible guide to actively contested theological questions of the time; it was useful to curates as a storehouse of varied pedagogical tactics for pastoral care. Nicolette Zeeman argues that *Dives and Pauper* anticipates its own reading by a great diversity of dispositions and commitments among the contemporary laity, a state of affairs she calls “lay multiplicity.”<sup>12</sup> In response, Zeeman argues, *Pauper* employs this “rich range of readerly, rhetorical, and logical techniques of scholasticism” in conceptualizing questions of proper obedience to God’s law. The treatise’s hybrid generic program, then, cooperates with those techniques of argument in anticipating a multiple readership: its textual variety invites various kinds of reading, by people of various commitments, to instruct them in the particular obedience proper to them.

However multiple and various the commitments of these eventual readers were, *Dives and Pauper* nevertheless personifies its audience within the text as the singular Dives: the unnamed rich man subject to its instruction, correction, and chastisement. One could think of Dives as a figure of broad readerly identification. The work’s merchant and gentry readers could imagine themselves into this scene of pastoral guidance, as the curious and sometimes opinionated parishioner whose questions, put to clerical authority, are attended to with special care. But the figure of “Rich Man” also circulated throughout Middle English devotional culture as an eminently reproachable kind of stock character, introduced to have his notions disabused. He was often a shorthand for a vain and self-regarding type about to learn his lesson. In the Gospel parable of Dives and Lazarus, Rich Man cannot believe he will not be enjoying the kingdom of heaven in the afterlife, while the pitiful leper Lazarus will.<sup>13</sup> In popular proverbs, Rich Man can afford to say foolish things and still be thought wise.<sup>14</sup> It is harder to imagine such caricatures inviting any readerly identification at all. Rather, the figure of Rich Man could encourage

<sup>12</sup>Nicolette Zeeman, “Pastoral Care by Debate: The Challenge of Lay Multiplicity,” *JMEMS* 48, no. 3 (2018): 435–59 (435). I am grateful to Professor Zeeman for sharing her work with me in unpublished form.

<sup>13</sup>Luke 16:19–31. For a Middle English retelling, see *The Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Livingston (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011), lines 14713–24.

<sup>14</sup>“A ryche mannes worde ys holden wys, thogh hyt be halfe with foly knyght,” one of the *Proverbs of Solomon* in the London Thornton manuscript (British Library [BL], Additional MS 31042) and Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.II.38, fols. 10r–14v; “The world favourith ay the ryches sawe/Thogh that his conseil be nat worth an hawe,” in Thomas Hoccleve, *Regiment of Princes*, ed. Charles R. Blyth (Kalamazoo: Medieval

rich readers to cultivate a receptiveness to correction and a conscientious humility about the meaning of their worldly wealth.

A scene from *The Book of Margery Kempe* exemplifies how this Rich Man type could be mobilized within devotional texts to figure for the educable reader, and how this use appealed specifically to a merchant readership traveling between England and continental ports. Margery tries to disembark on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela from Bristol, but she must wait there for six weeks for a ship. In this wealthy port city, Margery's affectively intense devotional mode collides with some Bristolians' more subdued forms of worship. She responds to their "solemn procession with many lights and great solemnity" on the feast of Corpus Christi with great weeping and boisterous sobbing.<sup>15</sup> Margery describes the variety of responses her expressive devotion provokes in Bristol. Many "wondered upon her," and had "gret merveyl." With some, her wondrously effusive love of Christ forges friendship. One merchant of Newcastle comes forward to sponsor her pilgrimage, and a fellow spectator reaches out to her with a touching word. But others in Bristol scorn her. In her answer to their criticism, Margery's manner is consummately composed. One rich Bristolian comes to stand in for all of her Bristolian critics:

Than was ther a riche man of Bristowe which wolde not late the creatur seylen in that schip, for he held hir no good woman. And than sche sayd to that ryche man: "Syr yf ye put me owt of the schip, my Lord Jhesu schal put yow out of hevyn, for I telle yow, ser, ower Lord Jhesu hath no deynte of a ryche man les than he wil be a good man and a meke man."

(13579–88)

Margery recalibrates her rhetoric to her audience here, catering to the tastes of this judgmental "riche man of Bristowe" standing between her and passage to Santiago. She draws salvation into the transactional present, from the abstract and far-off future: "cast me from this ship and you'll be cast from heaven" as recompense. Margery follows that up with a concise dressing-down of the rich man—"Lord Jesus has no liking for a rich man unless he should be a good man and a meek man." Her argument is

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Institute Publications, 1999), lines 4885–86. Both are vernacularizations of Ecclesiasticus 13:28.

<sup>15</sup>"On Corpus Cristi day aftyr, as the prestys born the sacrament abowte the town wyth solempne processyon, wyth meche lyth and gret solempnyte . . ."; *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Barry Windeatt (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), lines 3547–49.



declarative, economical, and self-possessed. It is also effective: “those who were against her at Bristol made her good cheer,” and she punches her ticket to Compostela. This rich shipowner—plying the profitable trading run between Bristol, Galicia, and very likely onward to Lisbon or Seville—is the model of unspeaking self-correction, as administered by a poorer creature. He is chastened into a proper meekness and toward proper acquiescence to Margery’s spiritual authority.

The episode of the “rich man of Bristowe” in *The Book of Margery Kempe* condenses the lessons on wealth and salvation taught in the preface of *Dives and Pauper* into an epigrammatic dockside exchange. So situated on the quays of Bristol, the episode addresses such lessons to a rich man of a particular class: wayfaring merchants much like Margery’s own son, whose involvement in Baltic trade brought him from East Anglia to Danzig, and much like those “six English merchants resident in Lisbon” enrolled in the Santa Catarina *compromisso*.<sup>16</sup> Traveling in MS 228, *Dives and Pauper* was brought along by such rich readers to Portugal in 1465. Its immediate community of readers there moved along those routes of exchange which tied Lisbon into an Atlantic trading network running to Bristol, London, Bayonne, Cork, and Bruges to the north, and Andalusia and Genoa to the south and west. The passage of *Dives and Pauper* into Iberia in mercantile hands runs on a course parallel to another route taken by Middle English literature to an audience in Iberia. Some decades before, the Englishman Robert Payn translated John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* into Portuguese. The *Livro do Amante* was subsequently read at royal court and colonial outposts. It was soon translated into Castilian.<sup>17</sup> Yet whereas the *Confessio Amantis* came to circulate among an Iberian readership of high and low aristocracy, MS 228 attests to how some Middle English literature brought to Lisbon circulated among a small cadre of English merchant readers,

<sup>16</sup>Sebastian Sobceki, “‘The wryting of this tretys’: Margery Kempe’s Son and the Authorship of Her Book,” *SAC* 37 (2015): 257–83.

<sup>17</sup>On Robert Payn’s translation of the *Confessio*, see P. E. Russell, “Robert Payn and Juan de Cuenca, Translators of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *MÆ* 30 (1961): 26–32; Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, “*O Livro do Amante*: The Lost Portuguese Translation of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *Portuguese Studies* 13 (1997): 1–6; and Joyce Coleman, “Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal—and Patron of the Gower Translations?,” in *England and Iberia in the Middle Ages*, ed. Maria Bullón-Fernández (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 135–65. Most recently, Tiago Viúla de Faria proposes the connection between Philippa and Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, as the likely channel of the text’s passage, in “From Norwich to Lisbon: Factionalism, Personal Association, and Conveying the *Confessio Amantis*,” in *John Gower in England and Iberia*, ed. Ana Sáez Hidalgo and R. F. Yeager (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), 131–38.

who copied it in their native vernacular there rather than attempt to render its doctrine into the local one.

Priscilla Heath Barnum and Barbara Shailor both identify two hands in the text, and both assign them to two different scribes.<sup>18</sup> The first scribe copies most of *Dives and Pauper* in a secretary hand of a thin gauge.<sup>19</sup> Some letter forms are typically English fare: the deeply forked, long-tailed “r,” the always-backwards “e,” the single-compartment secretary “a” (with the anglicana “a” used as a capital). The English language gives this scribe few problems; he followed along well enough while copying *Dives and Pauper* to insert those two additions of his own, listing Lisbon citrus trees and describing the city’s public punishments.<sup>20</sup> His cursive hand suggests he did most of his writing not as a working scribe, but as a more practical notetaker accustomed to jotting things down while working in some commercial capacity. Whoever copied *Dives and Pauper* in MS 228 did so in the running hand of a mid-fifteenth-century English merchant, likely only moonlighting as a scribe during spare hours in Lisbon, and whose expeditious cursive—carefully executed—was promoted to serve as a bookhand.

The second scribal hand appears at only six places in the text, making sporadic and rather minimal contributions.<sup>21</sup> This cursive hand is more shaded, upright, and compact than that of the primary scribe, who does most of the copying of MS 228. It, too, has some telltale features of the script current among English merchants at the time: the sigma-shaped, round “s,” the round cursive “e,” an occasional deeply forked “r.”<sup>22</sup> This

<sup>18</sup>*D&P*, 2:lxii–lxiii; Shailor, *Catalogue*, 1:321.

<sup>19</sup>Barnum compares the script to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Poetry 32, fol. 65v, dated to 1470 and printed as Plate 12(ii) in M. B. Parkes, *Early Cursive Book Hands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). I see very little resemblance, however, between MS 228 and that plate. For a very close comparison, see the 1465 letter by John Wykys in BL, Add. MS 34889, fol. 25r, reproduced in *The Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Norman Davis, EETS s.s. 20–21 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), Part 2, Plate XX. I thank Barbara Shailor and Pamela Robinson for their advice on the script and its features.

<sup>20</sup>These insertions are on fols. 25r and 56v of MS 228, discussed above. This scribe may have even corrected an eyeskip error that every other scribe of surviving *Dives and Pauper* manuscripts duplicated, though it is possible that the copy-text did not record that erroneous reading already. See *D&P*, 2:lxix.

<sup>21</sup>The contributions of the second copyist are found on fols. 2v (full page), 4v, 7v, 14r–v (full pages), and 36v, and the colophon on fol. 199r. See Barnum’s description of MS 228 in *D&P*, 2:lxiii.

<sup>22</sup>See Jane Roberts, *Guide to Scripts Used in English Writings up to 1500* (London: British Library, 2005), for a discussion of fifteenth-century *currents* anglicana script (163–64), and its “intermingling” with the imported continental secretary script (212–13). This second

scribe is responsible for the manuscript's macaronic colophon which places and dates the manuscript: "Deo gracias et sue matri marie amen 1465 Sancta katherina in lixboa and þer bith writyn with þe calander ii<sup>d</sup> x levis" (This calendar is now missing, along with the eleven leaves it was written on). In her description of MS 228, Barnum proposes that the second scribe may be "Spanish or Portuguese-speaking," citing the colophon's Portuguese spelling of "Lisboa" (*sic*) (whereas the first scribe calls the city "Luxbon"), and a perceived tendency of this scribe to write "b" in place of "u," as in "Diues."<sup>23</sup> But it may be that this scribe rounds out the bottom of tall "u" letter forms like a "b," as do other fifteenth-century Englishpeople in their script.<sup>24</sup> The scribe, in fact, spells Lisbon as "lixboa"; spelt with an "x," the scribe puts an English twist on Portuguese speakers' name for their city. The paleographic evidence suggests that MS 228 was a co-production of two English hands working in tandem, with one of these contributing intermittently and not very much before supplying its illuminating colophon.

The more committed first scribe took pains to produce an orderly, navigable copy of *Dives and Pauper*. Red running titles on recto pages in the top margin indicate to readers the number of the commandment treated on each page (though, as the paper has since been cropped at a slight angle, they pull into complete view only at the end of the book).<sup>25</sup> Simple, two-line red initials decorate and mark the beginning of the text's

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hand and the script of Portuguese chancery scribes do share some other letter forms—looped "d" and a single-compartment "a" among them—but we should attribute such resemblances to a broader coincidence between current scripts in England and Portugal, rather than take them as traces of local Lisbon influence on the personal hand of a scribe. The near-contemporary script of an English letter written for Margaret Paston is comparable in its preference for looped "d," single-compartment "a," and single-stroke "x," along with sigma "s" and round "e" (BL, Add. MS 34888, fol. 18r, reproduced in *Paston Letters*, Part 1, n.p.). For examples of a contemporary script of Afonsine chancery scribes in Portugal, see Eduardo Nunes, *Album de paleografia portuguesa*, vol. I (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1969), plates 51–52, 56–58. For further comparisons, see Avelino de Jesus da Costa, *Album de paleografia e diplomática portuguesas*, 3rd ed., Vol. 1 (Coimbra: Faculdade de Universidade de Coimbra, 1976), plates 121–26.

<sup>23</sup>*D&P*, 2:lxiii.

<sup>24</sup>For an English hand that writes "v" in this rounded fashion in a word-medial position, see how Margery Brews writes to her "lovyng valentyne" John Paston in the 1477 letter preserved in BL, Add. MS 43490, fol. 24r.

<sup>25</sup>"Primum preceptum" appears in black in the top margin on fol. 1r of MS 228 in the hand of the first scribe, though this marks the beginning of the prologue on holy poverty and not a discussion of the first commandment. Evidence of red running titles noting the "preceptum" of the page appears on, for instance, fols. 8r, 35r, 87r, and 130r; a complete "10" appears on fol. 190r and from fol. 194r to the end.

preface and the ten sections devoted to each commandment. The first scribe also provides chapter numbers in the left margin of the single text column to aid readers further in navigating the text (though cropping lops off these numbers on the verso sides). Red underlining marks quotations as well as the speaker tags for both *Dives* and *Pauper*. It appears the first scribe took a more active, programmatic role in the production of the book, with the second scribe stepping in occasionally and closing with the colophon. MS 228 bears no direct textual relationship to any existent copies of *Dives and Pauper*, but these scribes certainly copied from an exemplar. At least one other manuscript of the text, we can presume, had been brought to Portugal. Evidence suggests that MS 228 did not stay in the local orbit of Santa Catarina for very long. On the verso of its final leaf, a later owner records some details “of the deliverance of yarns to Richard Yevan, weaver, the feast of All Saints” in a rough merchant scrawl (one only roughly datable to the Tudor period).<sup>26</sup> The delivery of “Kenet wurpus,” or Kennet yarn, hints at some association with the river of that name running through Wiltshire and Berkshire. English wool usually arrived in Portugal already woven and fulled into cloth, and a weaver named “Richard Yevan” or “Evan” would be more typical of the West Country and Wales.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that this record was written after the book made a journey back to Britain not too long after 1465.<sup>28</sup>

Both Barnum and Shailor admit to finding no parish or monastery named for St. Katherine in late medieval Lisbon. I could not either. St. Katherine of Sinai did indeed figure faintly in the geographic and institutional toponymy of the area just to the west of the old city, as a name attached to a gate in Lisbon’s outer wall.<sup>29</sup> While the colophon’s reference

<sup>26</sup>“Off the deliuerance of yarnse to Rychard Yeuan wever the ffeft of All Sayntes”; fol. 199v. I am very grateful for Margaret Condon’s substantial assistance in making sense of this later owner’s mercantile hand. This document being undated, and “Richard Evan” being a common name, I make no specific claim to identify this weaver more precisely.

<sup>27</sup>Wendy R. Childs, “Anglo-Portuguese Trade in the Fifteenth Century,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 2 (1992): 195–219 (200).

<sup>28</sup>For more on the provenance of MS 228, see Shailor, *Catalogue*, 1:321. The manuscript appears to have passed among a number of English gentry owners in the centuries between this Tudor yarn delivery and the manuscript’s sale to the Beinecke Library in 1954.

<sup>29</sup>See Luís Chaves, “Santa Catarina no culto e na toponímia cidadina,” *Olisipo* 29 (1966): 117–27. The Porta de Santa Catarina formed a part of the Cerca Nova, a wall built in the 1370s. This neighborhood just inside the gate came to be known as the “Vila Nova” (New Town), and occasionally, when specificity required it, “Vila Nova á cerca do muro da Porta de Santa Catarina” (New Town close to the wall of the gate of Santa Catarina); see Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *O Carmo e a Trindade*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Publicações Culturais da

could feasibly refer to some other namesake of St. Katherine, I take the noteworthy English presence recorded in the 1460 *compromisso* to be proof positive of the manuscript's affiliation with the confraternity of Santa Catarina, rather than with an informal suburban zone. In the ensuing decades after 1460, this brotherhood of Santa Catarina, composed initially of Lisbon merchants and high bureaucrats, would transform from a professionally heterogeneous confraternity into a homogeneous one constituted to protect the specific interests of a commercial cartel. By 1567, Santa Catarina was the city's guild of bookmakers, when they submitted their *compromisso* to the Crown once again.<sup>30</sup>

Those "six English merchants resident in Lisbon" comprised a formidable foreign mercantile bloc in the otherwise Portuguese membership of Santa Catarina. The *compromisso* itself admits that the brotherhood had too many members to enumerate; that they were named at all suggests the Englishmen's heightened prestige. Or perhaps their appearance confirmed the cosmopolitan self-conceits of their fellows. The Portuguese scribe does his level best to transcribe the strange foreign names of these Englishmen, recording these members as "Guilhelme Tilher," "Richarte Guybam," "João Guilhibert," "João Cocam," "Richart Fisem," and "João Darrest". The first four men were almost certainly William Tyler, Richard Gibbon, John Gilbert, and John Cogan. "Richart Fisem" is very possibly a Richard Fisher.<sup>31</sup> I have had mixed success in piecing together the lives of these six

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Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1939), 107. The neighborhood thoroughfare was the Rua Direita a das Portas de Santa Catarina (Road Straight to the Gates of Santa Catarina). See Mapa 3, of Lisbon in the fourteenth century, in Carlos Guardado da Silva, *Lisboa: A organização e a estruturação do espaço urbano* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2008). On the gate and the wall, see Silva, *Lisboa*, 192 and 179, respectively. The Santa Catarina toponym can be traced back to a chapel and hospital founded by Trinitarian friars in 1218; a Trinitarian convent built nearby, the Mosteiro da Trindade, had a nave devoted to the saint in its conventual chapel. On the foundation of a chapel of Santa Catarina and the Mosteiro de Trindade, see Sequeira, *O Carmo e a Trindade*, 1–14. According to one eighteenth-century historian, a Trinitarian friar there assisted Lisbon bookmakers in founding a confraternity attached to the chapel in 1480; this would be the earliest suggestion of the brotherhood's affiliation with bookmakers. But more recently both Guedes and Chorão have found this less credible. See Fernando Guedes, *Os livreiros em Portugal e as suas associações desde o século XV até aos nossos dias* (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1993), 49–58, 61–64.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 52–53.

<sup>31</sup>This "Richart Fisem" may have been the Richard Fisher who was purser of the Bristol ship *Mary Redcliffe* when it returned home from Andalusia in 1472. The *Mary Redcliffe* belonged to the immensely wealthy Bristol merchant William Canynges, and was recorded trading with Lisbon and a number of other ports on the Iberian run in the 1460s and 1470s; E. M. Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1967), 138.

men from documentary records. On “João Darrest,” I have found nothing. Gibbon and Gilbert, it would seem, made permanent homes in Lisbon, leaving little evidence of their lives in England. One Richard Gibbon was admitted to the drapers’ company of London in 1429, and in 1436, “Richard Gybon” exported five yards of cloth from London on a ship captained by John Perys of Portugal.<sup>32</sup> He was granted the right to carry arms in Portugal in 1449.<sup>33</sup> “João Guilhibert” is pardoned by King Afonso V in 1464 for any injuries he may have caused in an altercation with the Carlyle brothers, fellow Englishmen, in a Lisbon suburb. He is described therein as a resident of Lisbon, an Englishman (“ingres”), and a royal gentleman (“cavaleiro régio”).<sup>34</sup> John Gilbert and Richard Gibbon, it seems, made their careers in Portugal, and were thriving there.

The lives of William Tyler and John Cogan left more substantial documentary traces in England, both in London as well as in Bristol, which flourished as a hub of Atlantic trade in their lifetimes. They would have been well placed in Lisbon, as England’s southerly trade shifted toward Portugal upon English defeat in Gascony in 1453.<sup>35</sup> William Tyler, alias “Guilhelme Tilher,” trained and traded in London as a member of the Mercers’ Company. By 1427 he had started his apprenticeship under John Chirche, a London Mercer with longstanding Portuguese connections.<sup>36</sup> Tyler actively traded the typical commodities of Anglo-Portuguese exchange: buying wine and oil for sale in the English market, and selling English woolens.<sup>37</sup> He may have lived in Portugal on and off, visiting in stints before and after 1460 as one of the London Mercers’ agents in this

<sup>32</sup>Percival Boyd, *Roll of the Drapers’ Company* (Croydon: J. A. Gordon, 1934), 74. This cloth shipment is recorded in Kew, The National Archives (TNA), E 122/76/34. I thank Professor Wendy R. Childs for this particular reference.

<sup>33</sup>ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, livro 24, fol. 139v; cited in Chorão, “A confraria de Santa Catarina,” 71.

<sup>34</sup>ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, livro 8, fol. 188v. Chorão notes Gilbert is credited with being at the king’s side in the “tomada de Ceuta”; this likely refers to Afonso’s North African campaigns in the late 1450s (Chorão, “A confraria de Santa Catarina,” 71).

<sup>35</sup>See Wendy R. Childs, “The Overseas Trade of Bristol and Its Region in the Mid-Fifteenth Century,” in *The World of the Newport Ship*, ed. Evan T. Jones and Richard Stone (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018): 163–79 (168–70).

<sup>36</sup>Lisa Jefferson, *The Medieval Account Books of the Mercers of London*, 2 vols. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 1:480. Chirche acted as the factor for the king of Portugal in London in 1438. When a Portuguese crew were rescued from pirates off the English coast in 1443, the stranded Portuguese were sent to Chirche and three other London merchants as friendly contacts in London. See Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, 74ff.

<sup>37</sup>Tyler imports oil on a ship “coming from Portugal” in 1443 (TNA, E 122/77/4), and oil and wine in 1457 on the ship of Nicholas Irish (TNA, E 122/203/4); and he exports cloth in 1463 (TNA, E 122/194/12).

city. After 1460, records show that he enjoyed high standing within the Mercers' Company, that richest of the rich London retail guilds. From 1461 to 1464, Tyler made annual payments to become a liveried member, suggesting that he was living in London then, in good repute.<sup>38</sup> There is a possibility, however, that the "Guilhelme Tilher" in Lisbon in 1460 was the London Mercer's son of the same name. In a will drawn up in 1463, Tyler *père* gifts a son named William a gold signet ring.<sup>39</sup> The elder Tyler left bequests to the parish of St. Martin Vintry in London and—tellingly—the parish of St. John the Baptist in Bristol; Tyler, though a Londoner, had some personal Bristol connections.

His fellow brother of Santa Catarina, John Cogan, alias "João Cocam," is called a Mercer of Bristol in his will of 1473, drawn up when he was also serving as the city's mayor. At first, he wished to be buried in the Bristol church of St. Nicholas;<sup>40</sup> he made bequests to the fraternities of St. John the Baptist (the Bristol guild of the merchant tailors) and Our Lady of the Assumption on the Bridge. As a merchant, he pursued substantial commercial interests in Iberia: in 1465 Cogan imported wine, oil, and honey from Lisbon; from Bristol he sent cloth south first to Bordeaux, and possibly forward on to Lisbon.<sup>41</sup> His sons, William and Thomas Cogan, also traded actively from Bristol, with records of William trading from 1461, and Thomas from 1471.<sup>42</sup> The Cogans, like the Tylers, had family ties spanning between London and Bristol.<sup>43</sup> William was apprenticed as a

<sup>38</sup>Jefferson, *The Medieval Account Books*, 2:932.

<sup>39</sup>TNA, PROB 11/5/53, fol. 23r. Little else can be gleaned about the younger William Tyler. He did not apprentice as a Mercer, as one might expect of capable sons, and the token gift of a ring may signify disfavor. On the other hand, if he had resettled in Portugal as a young man, and had emerged as a leader among the English merchant community there, leaving him with a substantial legacy to administer in England would pose its own problems.

<sup>40</sup>Cogan curiously amends his will later, arranging for burial at the churchyard of St. Paul's in London and leaving a bequest to the parson of Mary Magdalene of Milk Street. It could be that he fell ill and died unexpectedly—and quickly—while in London. Cogan's will is TNA, PROB 11/6/232.

<sup>41</sup>TNA, E 122/19/3, 4. Port records only record the immediate destination of outgoing ships. I again thank Professor Childs for these references. The 1465 Bordeaux exports were on the *Mary Redcliffe*, on which one Richard Fisher—possibly a brother of Santa Catarina—served as purser (see n. 31 above).

<sup>42</sup>See Carus-Wilson, *Overseas Trade*, 213, 220. Thomas Cogan, for instance, imported wine, sugar, and fruit from Lisbon and the Algarve, and exported grain and cloth south.

<sup>43</sup>One John Cogan imported wine from Lisbon through London in 1443 on the same ship as William Tyler. This John Cogan may be an older relation, the "merchant of Bristol" who left a will in 1464. This Cogan leaves his estate to his wife, Margaret, makes no mention of children, and names a brother, William Cogan, his executor. It may be that

London Mercer with Thomas Fyler, and kept a storefront in London in 1459 and 1460. John Cogan's daughter married another Fyler apprentice, Robert Cobold. John's other son, Thomas, stayed in Bristol, taking an active role in the lay administration of the parish of All Saints.<sup>44</sup> John leaves his son William a fine robe of medley cloth, and leaves Thomas his books: precisely, he wills him his "6 bokes and mateyns book and a Englishsh book of pater noster."<sup>45</sup> John Cogan also made provision for a library at his parish church, St. Nicholas; their accounts record that in 1468, he "arranged for a library next to the vestibule door, with the proper books, and chests, and chains."<sup>46</sup> Having left one library to his son and another to his church, Cogan was a patron of reading as a familial and parochial enterprise. Cogan's contacts in London apparently shared his literary investments: his son apprenticed in the Fyler household, the owners of a compilation of Thomas Hoccleve's poetry written by Hoccleve himself.<sup>47</sup>

Cogan's personal legacies of books and a parish library accord with a larger pattern of lay investment in London and Bristol, where such provision of access to books had become a communal enterprise in the fifteenth century. By 1465 both cities could boast well-funded "common libraries,"

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this William Cogan is the father of the younger John Cogan, and namesake of his grandson William.

<sup>44</sup>Thomas Cogan's parish is the subject of Clive Burgess's in-depth study of fifteenth-century religion, *The Right Ordering of Souls: The Parish of All Saints' Bristol on the Eve of the Reformation* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018).

<sup>45</sup>The Cogan's English book was very possibly the *Speculum vitae*, a verse treatise on virtuous living written for lay reading or pastoral care. On the *Speculum vitae*, see A. I. Doyle, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and Early 16th Centuries", Ph.D. diss., 2 vols. (Cambridge University, 1953), 1:77–91; Doyle accounts for a great number of "Paternoster books" left in fifteenth-century wills by the laity and clergy alike; 1:87–89. No surviving manuscripts of the *Speculum vitae* suggest themselves as the book left in Cogan's will. See Ralph Hanna III, "The Manuscripts," *Speculum Vitae: A Reading Edition*, 2 vols., EETS o.s. 331 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1:xiv–lx. A prose redaction of the *Speculum vitae* also circulated in the West Country; see Venetia Nelson, *A Myrour to Lewde Men and Women* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1981).

<sup>46</sup>"Ordinauit unam librarium iuxta hostium vestibuli cum libris et almarijs et cathentis pertinentibus." The records of St. Nicholas were destroyed in World War II, but this gift is documented in E. G. Cuthbert F. Atchley, "On the Mediaeval Parish Records of the Church of St. Nicholas, Bristol," *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society* 6 (1906–10): 35–67 (47).

<sup>47</sup>This is now San Marino, Huntington Library, MS HM 744. Thomas Fyler was himself born into a Bristol merchant family before finding commercial success in London, a life course analogous to those of William Tyler and William Cogan. See Clive Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead': Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *EHR* 405 (1987): 837–58 (843–44).



founded by civic and ecclesiastic benefactors working in cooperation. In London, the estate of the fabulously wealthy Mercer Richard Whittington funded the establishment of a library at the Guildhall by 1425; its foundation was directed by one of his executors, the city clerk John Carpenter.<sup>48</sup> Common libraries came to the West Country later; in Bristol, a library operated by the chantry priests of the Guild of Kalendars and housed at the parish church of All Saints was in the works from at least 1455.<sup>49</sup> The driving force behind this Bristolian library was a different John Carpenter, the bishop of Worcester (1443–73).<sup>50</sup> The chantry chaplains at Kalendars were required by its 1464 ordinances to open the library for two hours in the morning and two more in the afternoon to “anyone who wished to enter for the purpose of study.”<sup>51</sup> They were to supervise the library’s collections as well as its readers, as the ordinances stipulated that they answer questions on “uncertain and obscure” passages of Scripture. Upon his death, Bishop Carpenter left some of his own books to the older Guildhall library in London, to be at the disposal of those “discouring to the common people” (“sermonizantium communi populo”).<sup>52</sup> The intended visitors to these libraries were certainly parish priests and other professed religious who ministered to the common people; their study would inform their preaching and pastoral care. There is some evidence that these libraries opened their doors to a broader literate class: the lay bureaucrat William Worcestre, for instance, records a visit to Kalendars in 1480 to consult a rare historical text.<sup>53</sup> Such institutional foundations for libraries coincided with the production of common-profit books: a scheme of book charity on a smaller scale. Sponsors funded the making of books of

<sup>48</sup>See James Willoughby, “Common Libraries in Fifteenth-Century England: An Episcopal Benefaction,” in *After Arundel*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Kantik Ghosh (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 209–22.

<sup>49</sup>The 1455 will of William Okeborne, dean of the nearby college at Westbury-on-Trym, donates one of his books to a “new library to be built in Bristol.” Nicholas Orme, *The Kalendars: Bristol’s Oldest Guild and Earliest Public Library* (Bristol: Avon Local History & Archaeology Books, 2016), 21.

<sup>50</sup>Carpenter set up another library, with a chaplain-librarian and mandated opening hours, at Worcester Cathedral; see Willoughby, “Common Libraries,” 213.

<sup>51</sup>Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service, Vol. 1 of the Register of Bishop John Carpenter, ref. 716.093/2648/6/ii, fols. 197r–198r. Translated in William Barrett, *History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* (Bristol: W. Pine, 1789), 453–55.

<sup>52</sup>Quoted in Wendy Scase, “Reginald Pecock, John Carpenter, and John Colop’s ‘Common-Profit’ Books: Aspects of Book Ownership and Circulation in Fifteenth-Century London,” *MÆ* 61, no. 2 (1992): 261–74 (269).

<sup>53</sup>*William of Worcestre: The Topography of Medieval Bristol*, ed. Francis Neale (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2000), 152–53.

religious instruction for readers who could not otherwise afford them, to be passed from one custodian to the next.<sup>54</sup>

Common libraries and common-profit books realized a program of lay education and reading advocated by Reginald Pecock, bishop and vernacular polemicist. Pecock had personal connections to these projects: the clerk John Carpenter appoints him to distribute his books in his will; his fellow graduate from Oriel College, Oxford—Bishop John Carpenter—appointed an embattled Pecock ally as prior of the library at Bristol Kalendars.<sup>55</sup> The prologue to Pecock's *Book of Faith* vociferously promotes the making and circulation of English books as the proper remedy to correct error among the laity (and in particular the "heresie in the lay peple whiche ben clepid lollardis").<sup>56</sup> He reasons:

If prelatys and othere myȝty men of good have greet zele and devocioun into the hasty turnyng of the seid erring peple, forsothe thei musten, at her owne cost, do tho now seid bokis to be writun in greet multitude, and to be wel correctid, and thanne aftir to be sende, and to be govun and lende abroad amonge the seid lay persoonyes, where nede is trowid to be. Wel were the man which had riches, and wolde spende it into this so greet goostli almes, which passith ful myche the delyng abroad of clothis to greet multitude of pore persoonyes.<sup>57</sup>

This is a call to action addressed to Pecock's fellow clergymen of rank and to laypeople of great means alike ("prelatys and othere myȝty men of good"). His program makes sponsorship of the "writing of a great multitude of well corrected books" an expression of devotion. The wide dispersal of such corrective books "abroad [far and wide] among the lay people" is a necessary second step. Pecock advocates putting more of the right books in the hands of the right readers, better to combat the heresies of the Lollards fomenting among the laypeople with access to uncorrected English books.

The two scribes of MS 228 together copied *Dives and Pauper* in Lisbon at some distance from England and from this broader English movement of institutional innovation and ideological enthusiasm for the provision of

<sup>54</sup>Scase, "Reginald Pecock."

<sup>55</sup>Connections between John Carpenter and Pecock are described at greater length in *ibid.*, 267–70. On Carpenter's appointment of the Pecock acolyte John Harlow as prior of Kalendars in 1457, see Orme, *The Kalendars*, 21–22.

<sup>56</sup>*Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith*, ed. J. L. Morison (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1909), 114.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 116–17.

books. Yet the English brothers of Santa Catarina could claim full membership of that elite social echelon of the “my3ty men of good” back at home, among those whose wealth funded common libraries and whom Pecock exhorted to endow a great multitude of books for lay education.<sup>58</sup> William Tyler apprenticed as a London Mercer in 1426, becoming a member of the company of the departed Whittington, great benefactor of the Guildhall library. The Mercery remained deeply involved in another of his educational foundations, Whittington College; Reginald Pecock was made the first master of the college in 1431, when the Mercers hired a boat to Lambeth Palace upon his presentation to the post.<sup>59</sup> In Bristol, the ordinances of the Kalendars assured that the mayor and commonalty of the city have a hand in the library’s supervision. The mayor would need swear an oath to support and defend the prior of Kalendars upon election; each year the mayor was to appoint someone to help audit the library holdings. Bishop Carpenter’s ordinances clearly acknowledge the merchant class’s vested interests in the good government of Kalendars. The Bristolians we find passing through Lisbon in the 1450s and 1460s regularly served as officials in the city’s civic government; John Cogan himself was mayor in 1473, and sheriff in 1465.<sup>60</sup> The English merchants who made MS 228 in Lisbon, then, had left behind a culture of elite lay participation in these burgeoning endeavors of book charity, pursued in cooperation with like-minded clergy for the saving of more souls (and their own).

Pecock’s call for more good books in English concludes with a sententious reproof of a familiar figure: “wel were the man which had riches and wolde spende it into this so greet goostli almes.” This warning to a Rich Man, imagined as the object of corrective address, has that epigrammatic savor of Margery’s response to the “riche man of Bristowe” sailing to Spain. But Pecock’s program elsewhere advocates for the longer-form, reasoned persuasion of the dialogic *Dives and Pauper*. Pecock argues for open and free debates with the laity whose reading has set them against Church teaching: “I have spoke oft tyme, and bi long leiser, with the wittiest and

<sup>58</sup>For a fuller account of this mid-fifteenth-century milieu and Pecock’s principal role in its shaping, see Kirsty Campbell, *The Call to Read: Reginald Pecock’s Books and Textual Communities* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

<sup>59</sup>Anne F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London* (London: Routledge, 2016), 164. For more on Mercers’ education and reading, see pp. 164–71.

<sup>60</sup>Bristol merchants John Jay (sheriff during Cogan’s mayoralty) and John Hawkes (Cogan’s predecessor both as mayor in 1472 and as sheriff in 1464) are granted the right to bear arms in Portugal in April 1463. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, livro 8, fol. 149r.

kunningist men of thilk seid soort, contrarie to the chirche, and whiche han be holde as dukis amonge hem, and which han loved me for that y wolde patiently heere her evidencis and her motives, without exproba-cioun.”<sup>61</sup> Pecock recollects a productive kind of conversation with the laypeople: long and leisurely, patient with and tolerant of counter-arguments, and ultimately even affectionate. *Dives and Pauper* resembles one such recollected conversation put to paper, allowing Dives, as it does, to give voice to occasional heretical positions only to abandon them; and allowing Pauper to respond in a spirit of pastoral supervision rather than policing. Pecock’s strategy of lay education through open discourse parallels the textual strategy of addressing “lay multiplicity” as enacted in *Dives and Pauper* and outlined by Nicolette Zeeman. Both might explain the doctrinal shiftiness of Dives; as Zeeman notes, “his arguments are so diverse that at times it seems hard to think of him as a coherent figure at all.”<sup>62</sup> Reading Pauper respond to these arguments might prepare the clerical reader to meet that range of argument, and rehearse before the lay reader a model of proper back-and-forth in learned discussion with the more broad-minded and patient advocates of orthodox religion.

Pauper and Pecock share a willingness to entertain Lollard “evidences” and “motives,” coupled with an enthusiasm for vernacular instruction, and so each aroused ecclesiastical suspicion. Pecock was convicted of heresy in 1457 despite his outspoken zeal for its correction, and he died shortly thereafter.<sup>63</sup> *Dives and Pauper* was denounced by the bishop of Norwich as both erroneous and heretical during the 1430 trial of the chaplain, and he accused Lollard Robert Bert, who owned a copy.<sup>64</sup> Yet these suspicions did not prevent an irreproachably orthodox abbot of St. Albans, John Whethamstede, from ordering it copied for his abbey’s library around the same time. These two historical anecdotes have come to serve as the touchstone cases for the scholarly understanding of the reception of *Dives and Pauper*, so as to make the crosswinds of Lollard controversy seem the prevailing context for its circulation.<sup>65</sup> But most fifteenth-century readers encountered

<sup>61</sup>Pecock’s *Book of Faith*, 202; quoted in Campbell, *Call to Read*, 75–77.

<sup>62</sup>Zeeman, “Pastoral Care by Debate,” 440.

<sup>63</sup>Wendy Scase, “Pecock, Reginald (b. c. 1392, d. in or after 1459), Bishop of Chichester and Religious Author,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21749> (accessed September 16, 2020).

<sup>64</sup>Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Heresy Trials in the Diocese of Norwich, 1428–31*, Camden Society, 4th series, no. 20 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 98–102.

<sup>65</sup>These twin appearances in the documentary record are cited and discussed in Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 417–18; Kathryn

*Dives and Pauper* in relative calm: Doyle's survey of them shows how most surviving copies spent uneventful years in gentry and mercantile hands. In the very same year of Bert's trial, an East Anglian gentryman left "a book called *Dives and Pauper*" to his wife in a will registered in the prosecuting bishop's consistory court at Norwich.<sup>66</sup> Pauper's polemical grouching about corrupt churchmen and restraints on vernacular preaching and translation, after all, co-exists in the text with his orthodox defenses of church music, miracle plays, and sacramental doctrine.<sup>67</sup> Whether and to what extent it was even controversial was then and remains now an open question.

The Portuguese situation of MS 228 as uncovered and described here, then, shows *Dives and Pauper* and its merchant owners taking a different course as the text navigates the politics of vernacularity. First, it witnesses to its reading by some of those "my3ty men of good" answering Pecock's call to proliferate books of good doctrine in the language of the laity, situating it amid a burgeoning culture of book charity. The merchants of London and Bristol endowed libraries, parish chaplains, and schools so as to supply and staff a project of spiritual education. In a roundabout way, the glimpse we get of *Dives and Pauper* passing through Lisbon's Santa Catarina is a glimpse at the text's circulation on the margins of this project under way in England. Research into the biographies of Tyler and Cogan have led this essay not to a sure identification of an individual owner or scribe of MS 228, but instead to a recognition of its affiliation with a broader culture of communal book provision. This affiliation can better explain why its colophon attaches its making in Lisbon in 1465 to the confraternity of Santa Catarina rather than to an individual. Someone saw fit to bring a copy abroad, and someone saw fit to copy it and inscribe this institutional—rather than personal—affiliation. The copying and reading of *Dives and Pauper* in Portugal were done under the sign of an elite lay community. Thus this little initiative accords with the endowment of

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Kerby-Fulton, *Books under Suspicion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), 101; and Alastair Minnis, *Translations of Authority in Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 34.

<sup>66</sup>For Doyle's account of the circulation of *Dives and Pauper*, see Doyle, "Survey," 95–97.

<sup>67</sup>For its charges of clerical absenteeism and simony, see *D&P*, 1.2:163, 180; on the restrictions on preaching culminating in the Constitutions promulgated by Archbishop Arundel in 1407, see *D&P*, 1.2:22. The *Dives*-author has more to say about these restrictions in the opening of the sermon collection in Longleat, Marquess of Bath MS 4, fol. 1rv. For a subtle treatment of Pauper's critique of images in the context of Lollard controversy, see Elizabeth Harper, "'A tokene and a book': Reading Images and Building Consensus in *Dives and Pauper*," *YLS* 28 (2014): 173–90.

books made for the common profit and then made commonly accessible in institutional collections in England by “mighty men of good” in London and Bristol.

Englishmen, we learn from Dives, thought highly of their country’s communal religious life: “as men seyn, God is in non lond so wel seruyd in holy chyrche ne so mychil worchepyd in holy chyrche as he is in þis londe, for so many fayre chirchys ne so good aray in chyrchis ne so fayr seruyce, as men seyn, is in non oþir lond as is in þis lond.”<sup>68</sup> In Portugal, they would have found English people worshipping in their customary high style, as they sojourned in Lisbon for business for a term of days, months, or years. The resident English there worshipped and fraternized at the Dominican convent and church of São Domingos, which housed Lisbon’s English confraternity in its chapel of São Jorge (St. George). The English Fellowship of São Jorge was a prosperous guild, as the beneficiary of a share of the tax levied on imported cloth.<sup>69</sup> Duarte I (1433–38) donated lavishly to the English chapel; Duarte was the son of Philippa of Lancaster, grandson of John of Gaunt, and a proud knight of the Order of the Garter.<sup>70</sup> The six English brothers of Santa Catarina were likely members of São Jorge as well as of Santa Catarina. This English chapel was the center for Lisbon’s English community. In 1471 it was decreed that Portuguese laws be posted there “for the information of English merchants and seaman”—presumably in English, or at least where they might be translated and relayed to them in congregation.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, Lisbon’s São Jorge was an enviable institution. Years later, the sizeable English merchant colony in the Andalusian port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda emulated them in founding an English church, San Jorge, there in 1517.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup>*D&P*, 1:188.

<sup>69</sup>Harold Livermore, “The Privileges of an Englishman in the Kingdoms and Dominions of Portugal,” in *Essays on Iberian History and Literature, from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 57–77 (73). His authority is the learned Dominican Luis de Sousa’s *História de São Domingos*, Vol. 1 (Lisbon, 1623), 400.

<sup>70</sup>Anglo-Portuguese relations in the fifteenth century have largely been understood in the context of these close familial ties between the English Lancasters and the Portuguese House of Avis. See Coleman, “Philippa of Lancaster.”

<sup>71</sup>Livermore, “Privileges of an Englishman,” 74.

<sup>72</sup>Gordon Connell-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake* (London: Longmans, Green, 1954), 84. The Englishmen trading the Iberian run cultivated connections with Franciscan friars as well as Dominicans. John Balsall, the purser of the Bristol *Trinity*, records a donation to the Franciscan friary of Santa María la Rábida in Seville: “to the ffryres at our lady of Rebedewe to pray ffor us.” See “The Accounts of John Balsall, Purser of the Trinity of Bristol, 1480–1,” ed. T. F. Reddaway and Alwyn A. Ruddock, in *Camden*

While the fair church and services at São Jorge made a trip to Lisbon more pleasant, commerce made it worthwhile to English merchants. Take the case of John Cogan: during a stint in Lisbon, he could advocate for his English associates' commercial interests, act on their behalf as a trusted agent, and cultivate valuable new contacts with Portuguese and other expatriate Englishmen. These contacts included London Mercers such as William Tyler; drapers such as Richard Gibbon; and John Gilbert, the immigrant Englishman esteemed as a *cavaleiro* by the Portuguese king. Cogan's Portuguese contacts traveled north to England, too. The merchant Luís Eanes, a brother of Santa Catarina, had visited London in 1441, where he stayed with the Mercer Peter Alfold. Eanes was sent back to England by the king in 1457–58, to sell some produce of royal properties.<sup>73</sup> But Anglo-Portuguese commerce was not without difficulties. The English merchants of Lisbon informed the Crown of a number of their grievances in 1454, and again in 1458. Their petition narrates their many problems and provides modern scholars with a rare view into life in Lisbon for Cogan, Tyler, and their countrymen.<sup>74</sup> In their petition's telling, their personal belongings are routinely confiscated by customs officials as they arrive at port, forcing them to wear the "filthy shirts" ("camizas lixosas") they wore throughout their voyage.<sup>75</sup> Ordinary business moves slowly and, in the opinion of the English, unfairly. Customs officials shorten hours of operation at their whim, do not deal with shipments in any order, and busy themselves with other tasks and visitors. The porter at the Lisbon customs house slams the door in their faces and beats them with a stick. Such rough treatment alienates these proud men: "For we in our country," they protest, "are men of substance, albeit we are not known here."<sup>76</sup> The strangeness of business at the Lisbon customs house, compared to their

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*Miscellany*, Vol. 23, Camden Society, 4th series, no. 7 (London: Royal Historical Society, [1969]), 1–28 (27).

<sup>73</sup>Wendy R. Childs, *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile, and England*, Textes et études du Moyen Age 70 (Porto: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 2013), 130: "At London in April 1441 six Portuguese merchants, named Nicolas Esteves, Martim Afonso, Gonçalo Lourenço, João Gonçalves, Luís Eanes and 'Fonsu Martin' were all sent to lodge with Peter Alfold, the regular Lisbon trader." The king's commission is ANTT, *Leitura Nova*, Livro de Extras, fols. 67–68v; cited in Chorão, "A confraria de Santa Catarina," 71.

<sup>74</sup>For a transcription of the merchants' grievances and the royal accommodations in response, see Francisco Salles Lencastre, *Estudo sobre as Portagens e as Alfândegas em Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1891), 44–71. This document is described in detail in Livermore, "Privileges of an Englishman."

<sup>75</sup>Lencastre, *Estudo sobre as Portagens e as Alfândegas*, 45.

<sup>76</sup>Translated in Livermore, "Privileges of an Englishman," 69.

own country, was felt in other ways. Their petition complains about the closure of the customs house on both Saturdays and Sundays for the Sabbath. It was closed on Saturdays because the Crown had sold the right to raise customs revenues to members of Lisbon's Jewish community.<sup>77</sup> The English merchants suspect that further import delays were arranged among chummy Portuguese officials, local merchants, and Jewish revenue-farmers, all working together against English interests.<sup>78</sup>

The English leveraged their network at Santa Catarina to their advantage in the bureaucratic process. The English merchants trusted a legal advocate called a *procurador* to represent those interests on appeal through judicial channels. Beginning in 1450, the post of English *procurador* was held by a brother of Santa Catarina: that learned lawyer Pero Sanches named in the 1460 *compromisso*.<sup>79</sup> The most difficult cases were referred to the presiding governor (*regedor*) of the Casa do Cível, a court of appeals.<sup>80</sup> In 1460 the sitting *regedor* was Pero Vasques de Mello, the most eminent brother of Santa Catarina. Such appeal proceedings took time. In their petition, merchants complain of long delays—of up to two or three years—waiting for a judgment. These hold-ups could turn a short trading stop into an unplanned Portuguese residency. Meanwhile, goods readied for export on the docks required merchants' constant vigilance, lest armed thieves rob them of the fruit, wine, and dyes destined for English customers. To a pious English merchant stuck in Lisbon, casting about for things to read and things to do, reading and copying out *Dives and Pauper* must

<sup>77</sup>“O juiz da dita alfandega não nos quer dizimar nossos pannos aos sabbados. Este é, senhor, um dia por que os judeus então não compram, nem dizimam os pannos que teem comprado, que é mais desoccupado para o juiz poder dizimar, dar aviamento aos mercadores de todos os outros dias da semana. E ainda, senhor, a maior parte de nós outros são mais desoccupados em este dia que em outro dia nenhum. E porque nós entendemos que o dito juiz faz esto por contemplação de alguns rendeiros que são judeus, e a nós vem d'ello mui grande desajuntamento e perdo, nós pedimos.” Lencastre, *Estudo sobre as Portagens e as Alfandegas*, 70–71.

<sup>78</sup>Their petition calls them “in league and familiar” (“tanto conjunctos e affeioados”) with one another (*ibid.*, 53). On the whole, evidence suggests that many English merchants trading in Lisbon knew little Portuguese themselves; their ignorance of the local language would have only heightened these suspicions. Yet trade there was still a “translingual enterprise,” to borrow Jonathan Hsy's term: they likely communicated with Portuguese counterparts in French, and shared certain Latin textual practices with them. The Lisbon customs house was another medieval “contact zone” proper to English merchant life, where languages and cultures met one another in situations of cooperation and conflict. See Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism, and Medieval Literature* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2013).

<sup>79</sup>João Martins da Silva Marques, *Descobrimientos portugueses*, supplement to Vol. 1 (Lisbon: Edição do Instituto Para a Alta Cultura, 1944), 539 (no. 1025).

<sup>80</sup>Livermore, “Privileges of an Englishman,” 71.



have seemed as good a pastime as any. From the scant documentary evidence of English merchant life in Lisbon, a picture emerges of a community of lay religious practice in Portugal not all that dissimilar to that in Bristol or London. In Lisbon, Englishmen such as Cogan and Tyler owned and copied books of spiritual instruction in the vernacular; they participated in the communal ritual life of the confraternities of Santa Catarina and São Jorge, instead of the London Mercery or Bristol's guild of Kalendars as in England.

## II

These English merchants resident in Lisbon lived in relative worldly comfort then; reading *Dives and Pauper* confronts such comfortable readers with some uncomfortable truths. In its preface, Pauper debunks the theory that material wealth is a blessing in itself or a sign of divine favor over the protests and counter-arguments of Dives. Instead, wealth is an obstacle to salvation, and so the rich man must properly detach himself from his wealth: “he moste wȳdraw his herte and his loue from al þat he haþ . . . . For who þat wole be saued he moste be pore in spirit and in wille.”<sup>81</sup> This is good news for the prosperous readership of *Dives and Pauper*: through a little affective disinvestment and poverty of spirit, they might manage to squeeze the proverbial camel through the eye of a needle after all.<sup>82</sup> At the same time, the preface recognizes a cruel irony inherent in the sorting of humanity into rich and poor, and reminds readers of that irony with rhetorical verve. In a passage that gestures back at the Solomonic wisdom of the treatise's title, as well as to its eponymous dialogic pair, Pauper asserts the fundamental likeness between rich and poor, however different their worldly fortunes:

Both riche & pore comen into þis world nakid & pore, weping & weilynge, and boþe þei wenden hennus nakid & pore wȳ mych payne. Neþeless þe riche & pore

<sup>81</sup>*D&P*, 1.1:77. For more on its economic theory, see Elizabeth Harper, “‘The ryche man hatz more nede thanne the pore’: Economics and Dependence in *Dives and Pauper*,” in *Money, Commerce, and Economics in Late Medieval English Literature*, ed. Craig E. Bertolet and Robert Epstein (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 47–58.

<sup>82</sup>Manuscript evidence suggests that fifteenth-century readers of *Dives and Pauper* were indeed a wealthy group on the whole. Doyle and Barnum have identified other merchant readers of the text: readers such as John Welles, a London grocer, warden of Norwich, and owner of BL, MS Royal 17 C.XX; and John Russhe, who underwrote Richard Pynson's print run of *Dives and Pauper* in 1490 (printing the text from Bodleian Library, MS Eng. th. d. 36); see *D&P*, 2:lxxxiii.

in her lyvyngis in þis world in many þingis ben ful vnlijk. For þe riche man aboundiþ in tresoure, gold & silver & oþir richessis. He haþ onouris greete and earthly delices, where þe pore creature lyueþ in greet penurie & for wantyng of richessis suffriþ coold and hungur and is ofte in dispijt.<sup>83</sup>

This crosswise mode of expression pairs like things in intensifying apposition (as above, with the “weeping and wailing,” “gold and silver and other riches”) and mismatches things “full unlike” and opposing (coming and going, riches and penury). Rhetorical apposition illustrates a picture of social life rich in contrast. Pauper first asserts an essential, human equivalence between rich and poor, only then to describe the great disparity of their experiences living in mutual society. *Dives and Pauper* imagines Christian society as composed out of so many such relations of inequality between fellow Christians: “richessis” for some, and “beggerie” for others; so too with “aboundance” and “poverté,” “governance” and “servage,” “freedom” and “thraldam.” These disparate conditions of life are taken as facts of a divinely ordained political economy, in which one’s born social condition entails its own peculiar obligations, pleasures, and hardships. Obedience to God meant the proper enjoyment or suffering of these without protest.

The medieval rhetorical tradition had many names for the pairing of opposed terms and of equivalent ones, out of which Pauper’s crosswise style of expression is composed here. *Antitheton*, *contrapositum*, and *contentio* all feature as ornaments of contrasting style in classical rhetorics such as Quintilian’s *Institutions* and the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, on through their medieval successors.<sup>84</sup> Isidore of Seville, for instance, defines the figures of antithesis and synonymy in his encyclopedic *Etymologies*; the contraposition of unlike terms (*contrapositum*) and the connection of synonymous ones are both pleasing figures of beautiful style.<sup>85</sup> In *Dives*

<sup>83</sup>*D&P*, 1.1:70. The author here is expanding on the theme of Wisdom 7:5–6.

<sup>84</sup>See for instance the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: “Antithesis occurs when the style is built upon contraries [Contentio est cum ex contrariis rebus oratio conficitur],” ed. and trans. Harry Caplan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), 376–77. See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 9.3.81.

<sup>85</sup>“Antitheses [antitheton] are called ‘oppositions’ [contrapositum] in Latin. When these are set in opposition they make for beauty of expression, and among the ornaments of speech they remain the most lovely . . . Synonymy [Synonymia] occurs whenever in connected speech we signify one thing with several words.” Isidore, *Etymologies*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), II.xxi.5–6. He also defines antithesis as a grammatical point of style in *Etymologies*, I.xxxvi.21.

*and Pauper* antitheses and appositions cluster in densely stylized passages like the one quoted above as a recurrent habit of its style. This makes for dynamic Middle English prose with its own very peculiar eloquence. Unsubtle, immoderate, and playfully incoherent, this prose has few of the stylistic attributes appreciated in prose today, and so modern scholarship on the text has had little to say about its style.<sup>86</sup>

Yet reading the contraposed style of *Dives and Pauper* against medieval aesthetic theory reveals how this style accords with its expressed understanding of a counterposed world set in balance. Augustine, in his *City of God*, acknowledges the natural aesthetic appeal of *contraposition*, figures of eloquence that are so appealing to the ear that they ornament every language.<sup>87</sup> But he expands upon this principle of eloquence to propose a more general theory of contraposition as it is inscribed in nature: “So just as the contrast between opposites makes for beauty of language, in the same way the beauty of this world is assembled by an eloquence, so to speak, not of words but of things, achieved by the contrast of opposites.”<sup>88</sup> Out of the many oppositions between worldly things, God composes “a most beautiful poem from what we may call a series of contrasts.” But even as divine rhetorical style writes so many antagonisms into Creation, they resolve into a balance with everything assembled into proper place. Later in the *City of God*, Augustine argues that all of Creation enjoys a “tranquility of order,” an order he defines as “the arrangement of things equal and unequal in a pattern which assigns to each its proper position.”<sup>89</sup> The fabric of the world is of a motley pattern, woven such that the warp and woof of like and unlike things contrapose one another just so.

<sup>86</sup>For an exhibit of this, witness how Pauper instructs Dives to live both “sadly and gladly” in keeping the Sabbath holy (*D&P*, 1.1:298): “But two þingis, leue frend, mustyn ben kept in Godis seruyse & in good lyuyng, sadnesse & gladnesse, sadnesse in chere & in doynge & gladnesse in herte-þinkyng, sadnesse withoutyn sorynesse of malyce, of wretthe, hate & of enuye and gladnesse withoutyn folye and ribaudye. And þerfor, leue frend, Y 3ou preye, saddith wel but baddith nout. Beþ alwey glad but neuer mad be no folye; alwey sad, alwey glad, so þat 3our gladnesse & 3our sadnesse be alwey medelyd with lykyng and loue of God & with deuocion.”

<sup>87</sup>“Such contrasts, called *antitheta*, are most seemly figures amongst the adornments of eloquence. They could be called in Latin *opposita*, or more expressly *contrapositiona* . . . indeed the languages of all nations use these adornments of style.” Augustine, *De civitate dei*, ed. and trans. P. G. Walsh (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2016), XI.18.1–2.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., XIX.13; this from the translation of Henry Bettenson, *City of God* (New York: Penguin, 2003), 870. On the centrality of antithesis to Augustine’s philosophy of aesthetics, see Mary Carruthers, *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chap. 2.

In Augustine's account, the grammar of antithesis and similitude structures Creation into its proper and beautiful pattern and into order. In *Dives and Pauper*, the same grammar animates an eloquent description of the variety of human experience: treasure, gold, and silver *contra* penury and want; honor and delight *contra* wretchedness and hunger. In the preface, Pauper describes a society composed out of these unlikenesses and inequalities, divinely inscribed into Creation as if in rhetorical antithesis; this vision of a properly obedient social order is articulated more fully in the later treatment of the fourth commandment, "worchepe þu þin fadir & þin moodir."<sup>90</sup> This commandment, says Pauper, obligates readers to "worship and help" their parents as well as their "even-Christian" more generally. He goes on to argue that this commandment enjoins a broader obedience to one's godparents, elders, parson, bishop, master, secular officers, and sovereigns. Even the worst "shrews and tyrants" are owed the same obedience as good and virtuous rulers are.<sup>91</sup> While Pauper mandates a rather inflexible obedience to worldly authority—however tyrannical—he also obligates his readers to regard others with sympathy and humility regardless of their station: "iche man owith to demyn oþer bettir þan hymself, þerfor iche man owyth to worchepyn oþer as fadyr in godnesse."<sup>92</sup> This mutual esteem has material ramifications: "Be þis comandement princypaly we ben boundyn to helpyn alle nedy folc up our power, for be þis precept we ben boundyn to schewyn pyte to alle men."<sup>93</sup> The fourth commandment, then, binds all Christians together through reciprocal relations of mutual worship and help—obedience, respect, pity, and generosity—while preserving those structuring differences among Christians which produce "needy folk" among them.

Pauper's scriptural authority for such hierarchy and inequality is the post-diluvian episode of the curse of Ham. Noah's son Ham ("Cam" in Middle English) looks upon his father in a state of slovenly, drunken nakedness, and mocks him. Noah later metes out a punishment:

<sup>90</sup>This is the first and foremost "precept of charity" written on the second tablet. As Pauper explains, "[b]e þe precepties of þe secunde table he [God] techith us to louyn our euene Cristene as ourself. And forasmychil as charite is mest schewyd be worchepynge and helpynge of oure euene cristene, þerfor he begynnyth be techyng worchep þat owyth to ben done to hem þat we owyn be weye of charite mest to worchepen aftir God & mest to helpyn, þat is fadir & moodir." *D&P*, 1.1:304.

<sup>91</sup>*D&P*, 1.1:334: "Be 3e soget for Godis sake nout only to good lordis & wel-reulyd but also to schrewys & tyrauntis."

<sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, 355.

<sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, 354.

Whan Noe wook & wyste what his myddyl sone, Cam, hadde don to hym he was wroþ with hym and cursyd his sone Canaan & al þat schulde comyn of hym & made hym þral & bonde to Sem & Iaphet & to her childryn aftir hem. And þus for scornynge & vnworchepe þat þe sone dede to his fadir began first bondage & þraldam & was confermyd of God.

(I.1:305)

The episode of the curse of Ham justifies Pauper's argument for the fourth precept's broad mandate. The first man made "þral and bonde" was a bad son, so those cursed to servitude must play the good son and render unto their masters the proper worship demanded of them. Unfreedom back then was born of an original act of filial disobedience; unfreedoms now recollect it. Thus *Dives and Pauper* resigns some Christians to lives of servitude, to play their assigned role in the social order as arranged by their maker. Theirs is the lot of Canaan and his sons: penury and want of riches, "full unlike" the earthly pleasures and honors enjoyed by their earthly superiors.

In this, *Dives and Pauper* reproduces a line of medieval thought that cast Ham as the "progenitor of European serfs"; Paul Freedman tracks how the burden of this curse was believed to fall heavily upon the peasant in an intellectual tradition running from patristic theology to late medieval didactic and literary works in the vernacular.<sup>94</sup> The Middle English *Cursor mundi*, for instance, links the three estates with Noah's three sons:

Knyht, and thral and fre man  
of these thre britheren bigan;  
of Sem fre mon, of Iapeth kniht,  
thral of Cam, waryed wihte.<sup>95</sup>

Noah's curse thus disposed human society into classes who each enjoyed the privileges of freedom and nobility, or else suffered wearily under their yoke. The writer of the anonymous *Chronicles of Englonde*, printed at St. Albans in 1485, points back to Augustinian authority in accounting for the beginnings of servitude: "And his son Cham for his skornnyng and his unreuerens he cursed. And heer aftir Sent Austeyn is made first mencion of bondage and of nobulnes contrary to hit. For Noe sayd that Cham shuld

<sup>94</sup>Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 86–104. *Dives and Pauper* is briefly mentioned in this account (100).

<sup>95</sup>*Cursor mundi*, cited in Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, 99.

be seruant in bondage to Sem & Japhet for his unreuerens.”<sup>96</sup> The *Chronicles* refers readers back to the *City of God*, and Augustine’s theology of natural order composed out of antitheses such as “bondage” and “nobleness contrary to it.” For Augustine, the curse of Ham illustrates that servile bondage is “a punishment . . . ordained by that law which enjoins the preservation of the order of nature, and forbids its disturbance.”<sup>97</sup> This episode inscribes servitude in opposition to nobility into that Augustinian order of things assembled out of contraries arranged just so.

The curse of Ham not only furnished medieval culture with a scriptural etiology to confirm present conditions of “bondage and þraldam,” as it does in Pauper’s argument for hierarchies of worship instituted among even-Christians. In late medieval England, the episode founded a popular understanding of global demography. In Genesis, the curse of Ham segues into a census of the generations of Shem, Japheth, Ham, and Canaan as they settled in and around ancient Palestine.<sup>98</sup> Medieval writers extended that account to map the resettlement of their known world after the Flood, as it was divided among Noah’s offspring.<sup>99</sup> A map in one late fifteenth-century Carthusian miscellany depicts a conventional version of this post-diluvian division, described by its caption: “The thre sonnes of Noe dyuyded þe world in þre partes emange þaim after þe gret flode. Þis ar þair names: Sem, Cham & Japhet. Sem in Asia, Cam in Affrica, Japhet in Europa.”<sup>100</sup> William Caxton’s translation of the *Golden Legend* follows suit, with some further observations:

And after his [Noah’s] deth his sones deled alle the world bytwene hem. Sem had all asye, Cham Affryke, and Japhet all Europe. Thus was it departed. Asye is the best part and is as Moche as the other two and that is in the eest. Affryke is the south part and ther-in is cartage and many ryche contre. Ther in ben blew and black men. Cham had that to his parte Affrica. The thyrd parte is Europe whiche is in the north & west. Therin is grece, Rome, and Germanye.

<sup>96</sup>*Chronicles of Englonde* (St. Albans, 1485), *STC*, 9995, fol. A6v.

<sup>97</sup>Augustine, *City of God*, XIX.15, trans. Bettenson, 875.

<sup>98</sup>Beginning at Genesis 10:32, “Hae familiae Noe iuxta populos et nationes suas ab his divisae sunt gentes in terra post dilivium;” *Biblia sacra*, 1:16.

<sup>99</sup>On the many and various medieval geographies of Noah’s generations, see Benjamin Braude, “The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1997): 103–42, esp. 111–19.

<sup>100</sup>This is BL, Add. MS 37049, fol. 2v; transcribed in Chet Van Duzer and Sandra Sáenz-López Pérez, “*Tres filii Noe diviserunt orbem post diluivium*: The World Map in British Library Add. MS 37049,” *Word and Image* 26, no. 1 (January–March 2010): 21–39 (28).

In Europe regneth now moste the crysten lawe and faith wherin is many ryche Royame.<sup>101</sup>

This passage of the English *Legenda aurea* reflects the manifold cultural work the Noachite division of the world was made to perform in the Middle Ages. Caxton's geography is fascinated by Asia's preponderous scale and by Europe's regnant Christianity. Africa fascinates too: it is praised for its "ryche contre" despite Canaan's curse to servitude; classicized, through Carthage, as the setting for the epic past; and made home to marvelous races of "blue and black men" reported as fleeting subjects of European readerly curiosity, as in medieval travel writing.<sup>102</sup> While the *Golden Legend* gestures toward the wondrous anthropologies found, for instance, in *The Book of John Mandeville*, these two works offer readers irreconcilable geographies. Mandeville assigns the descendants of "Cam" not to Africa but to Asia, in a fanciful etymology of the word *khan*.<sup>103</sup> Readers of Juliana Berners's *Boke of Seynt Albans* found a more disoriented geography amongst its material on hawking, hunting, and heraldry: Japheth's generations inhabit Asia in the West (*sic*); Sem's, Africa in the East; and Ham's, Europe in the North.<sup>104</sup> For Berners, Europe was the

<sup>101</sup>William Caxton, *Legenda aurea sanctorum* (Westminster, 1483), *STC*, 24873, fol. 40v. A similar partition of the world is found in John Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, which cites Isidore and Augustine: "Isidorus, libro octavo, capitulo tertio. Pan men þat come of Sem, Noe his firste sone, hadde þe souplond from þe rysynge of þe sonne anon to þe Fenices . . . . Þey þat come of Cham helde þe londe by þe souþ oþcean anoon to the see Gaditan . . . . Augustinus, libro sexto. Þey that come of Iapheth helde þe lond from þe hil þat hatte mons Taurus of Asia, and al Europa anon to þe British see, þat is þe Engliche see." *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden monachi Cestrensis*, trans. John Trevisa, Vol. 2, ed. Churchill Babington (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1869), 253.

<sup>102</sup>On this last point, see Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "The Diversity of Mankind in the *Book of John Mandeville*," in *Eastward Bound*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 156–76.

<sup>103</sup>*The Book of John Mandeville*, ed. Tamarah Kohanski and C. David Benson (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007), Chap. 16, lines 2020–27: "Noe had 3 children: Sem, [fol. 46v] Cham and Japhet. And Cham was he that unkeverede his fader and skorned hym when he slepe, and therfore he was acursed. And Japhet covered his fader agayn. Thes thre bretheryn hadde all the londe for to parte. Cham toke the best partie estwarde that is called Assye, and Sem toke Affrik, and Japhet toke Europe. Cham was the myghtiest and the richest of his brethren, and of hym bycom the paynymes and the dyverse maner of men of yles, som hedles and other men defigured. And for this Cham, the emperour called hem after hym 'Cham,' and lord of all."

<sup>104</sup>Juliana Berners, *Boke of Seynt Albans* (St. Albans: n.p., 1486), fols. 45v–46r. "And whan Noe awoke he sayde to Cham his sonne: knowyst not thow how hit become of Cayn Adam soon and of his churlish blode. All the worlde is drownede saue we viii and now of the to begynne ungentilnes and a cause to destroye us all. Upon the hit shall be & so I pray to god that it shall fall. Now to the I gyue my curse wycked kaytife foreuer. And I

worst possible inheritance, and most fit for the cursed son. There, Ham would have to eke out a living from the land in the harshest climate; so Berners calls Europe the “contre of churlys.” Others in late medieval England believed the curse of Ham could explain nothing about modern division of the world. In his *De servitute civili et Dominio seculari* (1378), John Wyclif wonders how some descendants of Shem and Japheth found themselves in states of bondage, and how the Pharaohs—sons of Ham—came to rule despite the curse.<sup>105</sup> This is all to say that the curse’s legacy was an unsettled issue for fifteenth-century popular and intellectual culture as a matter of geography and of cultural interpretation. English readers could, at turns, impute the curse upon themselves and local servile classes (as in Berners and *Cursor mundi*), upon the great Khans of the Mongol empire (as in Mandeville), and upon Romanized subjects of Africa’s Mediterranean littoral or the “blue and black men” of its southern climates simultaneously (as in Caxton’s *Golden Legend*).

Such theorizing upon Noachite genealogy and geography was one field of medieval discourse upon human difference—and what difference signifies—among the many that came to co-produce a medieval European concept of race *avant la lettre*. Geraldine Heng argues for a critical understanding of medieval race-making as a process unfolding as “specific historical occasions in which strategic essentialisms are posited and assigned through a variety of practices and pressures.”<sup>106</sup> The curse of Ham occasioned just such suppositions and assignations across discourses of medieval cartography, exegesis, and didactic literature, in the variously strategic service of aristocratic self-superiority, spurious etymology, or wondrous narrative. Equally, the curse is an instructive exhibit of an ability Heng attributes to racial logic “to stalk and merge with other hierarchical systems.”<sup>107</sup> Noah curses Ham to servile subjection in Genesis, but the curse accumulates more meanings in medieval culture: his

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gyue to the the north parte of the worlde to draw thyn habitation for ther shall it be where sorow and care colde and myschef as a churle thow shalt haue in the thirde part of the worlde wich shall be calde Europe that is to say the contre of churlys. Jafeth . . . I make the a gentilman to the Weste parte of the worlde, and to the Occident ende, where as welth and grace shall be . . . which shall be calde asia, that is to say the contre of gentilmen. And Sem my son also a gentilman I the make . . . the oryent thow shal take that other theirde parte of the world which shall be calde affrica, that is to say the contre of tempurnes.”

<sup>105</sup>Cited in Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant*, 103.

<sup>106</sup>Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 27.

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*, 20.



servitude merges with medieval concepts of Africanness, of unbelief, and—eventually—of blackness, thought to be a somatic stamp of Canaan’s cursed inheritance.

Histories of European race-making debate when a pernicious racial logic of antiblackness did eventually “stalk and merge” with Noachite hierarchies of bondage and nobility.<sup>108</sup> Ibram X. Kendi locates the foundational moment of the “recorded history of anti-Black racist ideas” in a Portuguese chronicle; this novel Iberian conjunction of blackness and Hamitic inheritance eventuates in the *Crónica dos feitos da Guiné* by Gomes Eanes de Zurara, brother of Santa Catarina.<sup>109</sup> Written c. 1453, the *Crónica* tells how, in the early 1440s, Portuguese voyages sponsored by Prince Henry raided settlements of the Idzāgen, a North African Berber people, along the West African coast, abducting whomever they could.<sup>110</sup> One seemingly noble captive (Zurara calls him a “cavaleiro”) promises his captors “five or six Black Moors” (“mouros negros”) in exchange for his freedom.<sup>111</sup> His offer prompts Zurara to articulate a theory of racial difference that might distinguish between the noble *moro-cavaleiro* and the *mouros negros*, as predicated upon color and biblical genealogy:

And here you must note that these black ones were Moors like the others, though their slaves, in accordance with ancient custom, which I believe to have been because of the curse which, after the Deluge, Noah laid upon his son Caym, cursing him in this way:—that his race should be subject to all the other races of the world. And from his race these black ones are descended, as wrote the Archbishop Don Roderic of Toledo, and Josephus in his book on the Antiquities

<sup>108</sup>Much of that debate has attempted to ascribe the beginnings of racist thinking to one or other of the Abrahamic traditions. See, for instance, Winthrop Jordan’s tendentious argument for its roots in Jewish thought in *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1968). For thoroughly researched correctives to Jordan, see David M. Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham: Race and Slavery in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); and *Black and Slave: The Origins and History of the Curse of Ham* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).

<sup>109</sup>Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (London: Bodley Head, 2016), 22–25. Evidence from Goldenberg’s *Curse of Ham* shows that this statement is not strictly true, as he collects a few references to Ham’s blackness paired with his servitude in western European texts that predate 1453 (Goldenberg, *Black and Slave*, 108–12). But Goldenberg’s qualifications do little to curb the force of truth in Kendi’s claim, as these earlier references are cursory and relatively obscure, whereas Zurara invokes the curse of Ham in explicit ideological service of Henry’s slaving project as its appointed chronicler.

<sup>110</sup>On Zurara’s biography and writings, see Josiah Blackmore, *Moorings* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), xii–xviii, 33–48.

<sup>111</sup>Goldenberg, *Black and Slave*, 106.

of the Jews, and Walter, with other authors who have spoken of the generations of Noah, from the time of his going out of the Ark.<sup>112</sup>

Zurara justifies the enslavement of the *mouros negros* among the Idzāgen in terms of descent, custom, and color: blackness is made the mark of an ancient, post-diluvian curse; so blackness marks out their generations for servitude. Zurara cites venerated authorities such as Josephus, Roderic of Toledo (Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada), and one Walter, though these citations prove untrustworthy or untraceable.<sup>113</sup> Zurara thus proclaims himself to be the inheritor of a long intellectual tradition of racist thinking attaching to the curse of Ham, now submerged from our view and perhaps never there at all.

Writing in 1453, Zurara's antiblackness-in-theory formed in cooperation with Portuguese innovations in its practice. As a matter of cold accounting, Zurara estimated that by 1448, slaving voyages sponsored by Henry had brought 927 enslaved Africans back to Portugal.<sup>114</sup> By 1456, the Venetian Alvise da Ca' da Mosto estimated that between 800 and 1,000 enslaved Africans arrived in Portugal from the Saharan island outpost of Arguim. Interrupting the narration of the *Crónica*, however, are Zuraran flights of rhetoricized feeling that try to account for the violence and traumas of slavery as practiced in these first decades of the so-called discoveries. Cord Whitaker describes how Zurara laments the miseries of enslavement suffered by Henry's captives out of humane sympathy, while still demeaning them as less-than-human creatures. Zurara, looking upon the division of families in a field in the Algarve, weeps with pity as he prays for divine

<sup>112</sup>Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *The Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, trans. Charles Raymond Beazley and Edgar Prestage, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society, series 1, nos. 95, 100 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896–99) 1:54: “E aquy auees de notar que estes negros posto que sejam mouros como os outros, som porem seruos daquelles per antijsço costume o qual creio que seia por causa da maldiçom que despois de deluuyo lançou Noe sobre seu filho Caym/. pella qual o maldisse que a ssua geeraçõ fosse sogeita a todallas outras geeraçoões do mundo. da qual estes descendẽ segundo screue o Arcebispo dõ Rodrigo de tolledo/ E assy Josepho no liuro das antiguidades dos Judeus E ajnda Gualtero como outros autores que fallarõ das geeraçoões de Noe despois do saimẽto da arca” (77). Beazley and Prestage confuse “Caym” in Zurara with Cain, an error flagged by Goldenberg, *Black and Slave*, 106, and corrected here.

<sup>113</sup>On these mystifying attributions, see Braude, “Sons of Noah,” 128 n. 55: “In Josephus . . . none of the cursed is identified as black, nor is any to be enslaved . . . Roderic (Rodrigo) of Toledo has been identified as Roderic Ximenes de Rada (fl. 1212) but the curse has not been located in his surviving works, and Walter (Gualtero) has not been identified.”

<sup>114</sup>See A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 19.

guidance: “And if the brute animals with their bestial feelings, by a natural instinct understand the sufferings of their own kind, what wouldst Thou have my nature do on seeing before my eyes that miserable company, and remembering that they too are of generations of Adam?”<sup>115</sup> Zurara’s prayer registers a tension in his race-thinking here, as he tries to reconcile his understanding of Africans’ nature as animal or bestial on the one hand, and his recognition of a shared humanity on the other. He expresses this tension through a “set of anomalies, moral and physical,” according to Didier Lahon,<sup>116</sup> Marcelo E. Fuentes sees this as the ambivalent, contradictory rhetoric of the stereotype, “as anxious as it is assertive,” as formulated by Homi Bhabha.<sup>117</sup> Cord Whitaker describes this rhetorical tactic of medieval race-making as its “shimmer”; such rhetoricizing about race is redolent with “assertions, ironies, antitheses, conclusions” that render whiteness and blackness at turns visible or invisible.<sup>118</sup> In the above passage, Zurara’s anxious sympathizing concludes with his assertion that the enslaved “too are the generations of Adam.” He asserts this, even after his *Crónica* had already differentiated the *mouros negros* among the “generations of Noah” as those inheriting the curse of servitude. In this, Zurara’s rhetoric contradicts itself in invoking racial difference and then similitude alternately in terms of shared Adamic origins and Noachite dispersal. At the heart of his rhetoric lie the same ironies and antitheses that animate the contraposed rhetoric of *Dives and Pauper*, as read by the Englishmen of his confraternity: rich and poor are both born naked and poor, all the generations of Adam alike; yet among the generations of Noah, their “livings” in this world are fully unlike.

Setting the reading of *Dives and Pauper* at Santa Catarina, then, sets its hierarchies of obedience against the new political coordinates of Lisbon in 1465, where and when those hierarchies of servitude underwent radical, racializing rearrangement in response to the new pressures of Portuguese

<sup>115</sup>Discussed and quoted in Cord J. Whitaker, *Black Metaphors: How Modern Racism Emerged from Medieval Race-Thinking* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 185.

<sup>116</sup>Didier Lahon, “Black African Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal during the Renaissance,” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 264; quoted in Marcelo E. Fuentes, “‘Crespo e nuu e negro’: Gomes Eanes de Zurara and the Racialization of Non-Christians by Portuguese Authors,” *EMSt* 34 (2018): 17–38 (26).

<sup>117</sup>Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), 100; quoted in Fuentes, “Crespo e nuu e negro,” 25.

<sup>118</sup>On Zurara’s “rhetorical shimmer” and his “dialogizing perspective,” see Whitaker, *Black Metaphors*, 5–6, 19.

expansion, and where a different interpretation of the Hamitic curse was taking firmer hold. Whereas Zurara crafts his rhetoric to serve Henry the Navigator's interests and desires in his chronicles, others of his confraternity contributed to the prince's African projects in more workaday managerial capacities. As an elite Lisbon institution, Santa Catarina reflected the Lisbon elite's deep involvement in Henry's ventures as Portugal's celebrated Navigator and as its principal slaver. One brother, João Lourenço, kept the books at the Casa de Ceuta in 1460 as its *escrivão*: this made Lourenço the record-keeper of a substantial supply operation headquartered on the Lisbon waterfront, where ships were outfitted to supply the North African outpost of Ceuta.<sup>119</sup> Another brother, Vicente de Mata, captained a ship that ferried provisions from the Casa de Ceuta to its North African outposts in 1453–54, with Lourenço on board.<sup>120</sup> Three brothers served as “overseers of the treasury” (*vedores da fazenda*). In that high bureaucratic office, they supervised the activities of the Casa de Ceuta and the newly established Casa de Guiné, the agency responsible for Portuguese operations along the western coast of Africa.<sup>121</sup> So the brothers of Santa Catarina variously administered, supplied, and—in Zurara's case—narrated an incipient Portuguese enterprise of expansion into Africa during the mid-fifteenth century.

While the readers of MS 228 found themselves fraternizing in the same Lisbon circles as the archpropagandist Gomes Eanes de Zurara and the apparatchiks of Portugal's colonial officialdom, elsewhere in the course of Lisbon life these readers interacted with those swept up in the cruelties of this Portuguese imperial enterprise. At the Dominican convent of São

<sup>119</sup>On the administrative innovations of the Casa de Ceuta and “the Ceuta Agency,” see Peter Russell, *Prince Henry “the Navigator”: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 62–64.

<sup>120</sup>“Joham Lourenço escriuam da casa de cepta” reads the 1460 *compromisso* in Gomes, “Notas e documentos,” 128. A 1456 document refers to him as the scribe of the *fazenda*, or treasury, of the city of Ceuta, before his return to Lisbon, summarized in Marquez, *Descobrimientos portugueses*, supplement to Vol. 1, 571 (no. 1160). The treasurer of the Casa de Ceuta records a payment to “Vicente de Mata, master of the *Moralles*, for transporting provisions . . . who on the said ship brought to Ceuta João Lourenço” (355 [no. 228]). De Mata is paid for another journey in 1451–52 (570 [no. 1159]). According to Saunders, the bureaucratic expertise of the Casa de Ceuta supported operations along the west coast (*A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen*, 8).

<sup>121</sup>Luis de Azevedo, Gonçalo Vaz de Castelo Branco, and Martim Vaz de Castelo Branco all served in this office; see Chorão, “A confraria de Santa Catarina,” 70. On the position of the *vedor da fazenda*, see E. L. J. Coornaert, “European Economic Institutions and the New World: The Chartered Companies,” in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Vol. 4, *The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 229.

Domingos, where the English merchants resident in Lisbon gathered in their well-appointed chapel of São Jorge, they worshipped alongside the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary: a brotherhood of Black men (*homens pretos*) living in Lisbon, both enslaved and free, in the late fifteenth century.<sup>122</sup> None of them had freely expatriated to Lisbon out of opportunity or ambition, like the English of São Jorge; these even-Christians lived and worshipped there in the wake of passage in the slavehold and of conversion, caught up in the machinery of Atlantic racial slavery during the first decades of its emergence.<sup>123</sup> They left little archival trace; I cannot demonstrate the points of personal connection between the brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosário and the English residents of Lisbon in the neighboring chapel with the documentary precision of the brothers of Santa Catarina. I can only propose the shared social and ritual space of São Domingos as an early and exceptional site of mutual encounter between medieval Englishpeople and Black Africans in life that has heretofore slipped the notice of anglophone scholarship.

The colophon of MS 228—“1465 Sancta katherina in lixboa”—locates this instance of Middle English textual making among a reading community who, in the 1460s and the decades to come, would find themselves neighbors to the slavers at Santa Catarina in one context, and to the enslaved and free Africans worshipping at São Domingos in another. This new location for *Dives and Pauper* brings into sharp relief how its ideas of obedience and mutual obligation were close to hand, ready to serve various purposes when a late medieval English merchant looked out of the window onto Lisbon and thought through what he saw. There he faced up to the emergent form of Atlantic slavery, practiced by one Christian upon another, though not yet in Bristol or London. What would Pauper say to the Rich Man about Portuguese slavery? Was this to be excused, as merely a new kind of “bondage & þraldam . . . confermyd of God”? Or should Rich Man remember the worship Christians owed one another—was he

<sup>122</sup>See Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen*, 150–56; and Isaías da Rosa Pereira, “Dois compromissos de irmandades de homens pretos,” *Arqueologia e história*, 9th series, Vol. 4 (1972), 9–47. The documentary record of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in the fifteenth century is very thin, and the timeline of its existence is contested: its 1565 *compromisso* claimed it had existed at least since 1460; it certainly existed by 1494.

<sup>123</sup>The best recent treatment of the lives of the enslaved in fifteenth-century Iberia—albeit focused on a case in the Crown of Aragon rather than Portugal—is Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009).

not bound to help all needy folk within their power? Closer attention to this manuscript urges us to ask exactly how Middle English texts of spiritual instruction such as *Dives and Pauper*—so popular among its mercantile elite—underwrote a mercantile morality that would go on to license the innovative deprivations of the early modern Atlantic economy. We can attend to it now in the context of complicity in and profiteering off an incipient Atlantic slave trade by Bristol merchants within decades. In 1460, John Cogan rubbed shoulders with Zurara before returning home to his books and a civic career. Thirty years later another merchant of Bristol, William de la Founte, was accused of sequestering five enslaved Africans while in Seville; he is the earliest English slaveholder in the record.<sup>124</sup> Within a generation, merchants of Bristol exploited enslaved labor in their Andalusian soap factories: men such as Roque, Blas, Juan, and Pedro, all said to be of Guinea, and Juan Fernández and Juan Torne, Berber master soapmakers.<sup>125</sup>

In Lisbon this scene of Middle English manuscript making unfolds on the bleeding edge of the European Middle Ages as conventionally periodized. Comfortably familiar characters of medievalist manuscript study (such as the anonymous fifteenth-century scribe or the lay devotional reader) are drawn into proximity with people cast as the usherers-in of a precursory Iberian modernity. Here are Middle English readers paying their club dues right alongside Henry's navigators and the chronicler Gomes de Zurara, as the Portuguese laid the ideological and administrative groundwork for a vaunted "age of discovery."<sup>126</sup> Such juxtapositions can surprise habituated historicist sensibilities, a feeling described by David Wallace when he first imagines Geoffrey Chaucer passing through slaving Genoa. In 1373, the medieval poet stumbles upon modernity as it was cooked up *alla Genovese*. The city's slave-trading merchant-capitalists play the dark counterparts to Florentine humanists; the Genoese were the

<sup>124</sup>Heather Dalton, "'Into speyne to selle for slavys': English, Spanish, and Genoese Merchant Networks and Their Involvement with the 'Cost of Gwynea' Trade before 1550," in *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Pre-Colonial Western Africa*, ed. Toby Green (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 90–123 (114).

<sup>125</sup>All of these men were enslaved by Robert Thorne in the early sixteenth century in Andalusia. See Gustav Ungerer, *The Mediterranean Apprenticeship of British Slavery* (Madrid: Edition Verbum, 2008), 22–24.

<sup>126</sup>Such a scene personifies the financial and fraternal association among the English, Portuguese, and Genoese merchant classes, which Cedric Robinson theorizes as crucial to the coming-into-being of the Portuguese empire and, with it, transatlantic racial capitalism, in *Black Marxism: The Roots of the Black Radical Tradition* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 103–4.

early innovators of ugly and exploitative practices belying those classic, celebratory narratives of Renaissance discovery and progress.<sup>127</sup> Chaucer's encounter with Genoese slaving society "comes as a shock," Wallace says, and "messes with every kind of periodizing and disciplinary division that has structured our (my) thinking."<sup>128</sup>

The Lisbon colophon in MS 228 records another such scene of apparently anachronistic encounter that seems out of sync with time as divided into a medieval "before" and a modern "thereafter." If the protocols of historicism have inculcated our thinking with periodizing grand narratives, then we would do well to look longer and harder at these unsettling encounters—Chaucer in slaving Genoa or *Dives and Pauper* in slaving Lisbon—for exactly what they unsettle. If they are to mess with our thinking, let them provoke us toward a more coherent, structuring sense of history as periodized: one that can better absorb a little anachronistic shock.<sup>129</sup> This essay dwells on the setting of Middle English reading in Portugal, and in confraternity with Zurara, because in laying out my research in detail I have tried to render any initial surprise at this encounter into something more productive. I try to provide an account of the networks underlying one book's making and reading to situate it in this surprising place as precisely as possible. In Lisbon, my account finds Middle English readers living along an uncrossed medieval Atlantic, in a city that, from a periodizing perspective, anticipates an era of early modern exploration and dispossession around its rim; but, from the perspective of its moment, fully participates in a mercantile economy already engaged in the enslavement and intercontinental trafficking of people as goods. This manuscript's case makes it more difficult for our subdiscipline to desire a Chaucerian age "absolved of the errors and atrocities of the modern" as a time before race, as Geraldine Heng says.<sup>130</sup> Heng prosecutes

<sup>127</sup>On these contradictions, see Cornel West, "The Ignoble Paradox of Modernity," in *The Cornel West Reader* (New York: Basic Civitas, 1999), 51–54. The Genoese may have been the innovators of early modern Atlantic slaving practices, but they became such only after centuries of involvement in a medieval slaving system on the Black and Mediterranean Seas; see Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

<sup>128</sup>David Wallace, *Premodern Places* (London: Blackwell, 2004), 5 (parentheses his).

<sup>129</sup>I do not use "modernity" here as a concept through which to understand history but merely as one customarily used to do so. Whether and how anyone ever should be challenged in Kathleen Davis and Michael Puet, "Periodization and 'The Medieval Globe': A Conversation," *Medieval Globe* 2, no. 1 (2016): 1–14; and the roundtable on "American Modernities," ed. Dorothy Ross, in *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (2011).

<sup>130</sup>Heng, *Invention of Race*, 21.

that premodern complicity in later deprivations of slavery and dispossession as a matter of theoretical groundwork (put roughly: the European Middle Ages invented race so that modernity didn't have to). MS 228 witnesses to a different kind of premodern complicity. Its colophon implicates the scribes and readers of *Dives and Pauper* among the brothers of Santa Catarina, an institution already committing itself to those modern errors and atrocities, there and then in Lisbon, 1465: as if Pauper's medieval arguments about the charity and obedience owed to one another would serve the Rich Man there just the same.