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“Tracing the Tradition of Medieval Parochial Peace-Making.”

## **A. Introduction**

In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus preaches [slide 2]: “If therefore thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there thou remember that thy brother hath anything against thee; Leave there thy offering before the altar, and go first to be reconciled to thy brother, and then coming thou shalt offer thy gift.”<sup>1</sup> (Douay-Rheims) This passage teaches that the anger and hostilities that divide people also separate them from God. This leads to my consideration of the role of priest-confessors as peace-makers among their parishioners, especially as part of the Lenten preparation for reconciling with the Church through confession and with God through the Eucharist at Easter. The pacifying role of medieval penance has been assumed by some early modernists, especially John Bossy, who argue for a break between the communally-oriented Christianity of the violent, Stateless Middle Ages and the more individualistic piety of Early Modernity as it witnessed the growth of civil society.<sup>2</sup> Penitential reconciliation, however, is less prominent in studies of medieval penance.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Matt 5:23-24, Douay-Rheims.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution," *Past and Present* 100, (1983): 29-61; John Bossy, "The Social History of Confession in the Age of Reformation," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th series* 25, (1975): 21-38 *ibid.*; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 45-50; John Bossy, *Peace in the post-Reformation*, Birkbeck lectures. (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2-3, 96-100.

<sup>3</sup> The exceptions are those studies that follow Bossy, namely: Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1992), 91-95, 126-9. Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and visionaries : religion and secular life in late medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988). Jonathan Hughes, "The Administration of Confession in the Diocese of York in the

Therefore, last fall I surveyed the prescriptive evidence for parochial penance, namely episcopal statutes and manuals for confessors. I found few instructions for priests to reconcile enmities. Those that I did find indicate an ambiguity in the medieval tradition of how to interpret the Gospel instruction that scholars of reconciliation have tended to overlook. What follows is a rather breathless overview of that tradition.

### Augustinian Exegesis

Augustine, not surprisingly, provided the key interpretation of Gospel passages about reconciliation, love of enemies, and non-retaliation. He famously provided a spiritual interpretation that mitigated the literal force of the “first be reconciled” verse.

[slide 3] reconciliation... is to be done not with the bodily feet, but with the emotions of the mind, so that you are to prostrate yourself with humble disposition before your brother, to whom you have hastened in affectionate thought, in the presence of Him to whom you are about to present your offering.<sup>4</sup>

Cultivating this attitude of reconciliation, he adds, is necessary preparation for actual peace-making without dissimulation. My paper will repeatedly return to the tension between a literal reconciliation and the spiritual reconciliation.

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Fourteenth Century," in *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, ed. David M. Smith, Borthwick Studies in History, 1 (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1991), 87-163. Michael Haren, *Sin and Society in Fourteenth-Century England. A Study of the "Memoriale presbiterorum"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). William H. Campbell, "Theologies of reconciliation in thirteenth-century England," in *Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation: Papers Read at the 2002 Summer Meeting and the 2003 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Kate Cosoper and Jeremy Gregory, Studies in Church History, 40 (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2004), 84-94. The dominant grand narrative of the history of penance teaches that the onerous public penance of early Christianity gave way to the private confession of the early middle ages. The strict tariffed penances assigned by penitentials for confession gave way to the arbitrary penances of the High Middle Ages, assigned by priests to suit the individual circumstances of each penitent. Scholastic theologians, especially the mendicant friars, refined the science of the soul, urging ever greater introspection by confessing subjects and debating the role of contrition. Protestantism emancipated the individual Christian from priestly supervision, and Liberalism from the religious burden altogether. Every stage of this narrative has been come under scrutiny. See R. Emmet McLaughlen, "Truth, Tradition and History: The Historiography of High/Late Medieval and Early Modern Penance," in *A New history of penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, Brill's Companions to the Christian tradition, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 19-71.

<sup>4</sup> Augustine, *De Sermonibus Domini in monte libros duos*, ed. Almut Mutzenbecher, Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 35 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1967), I, 10, 27: p.29.; Augustine, "On the Sermon on the Mount," in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, first series*, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo: New Literature Publishing Co., 1888), 6: 13.

## The Carolingians: Theodulph of Orléans

I begin my survey of instructions for parochial priests with the capitularies issued by the reforming bishops of the Carolingian Church in the ninth century. These continued to be reissued and circulated into the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> We find instructions for penitential reconciliation in the capitularies of Theodulph of Orléans (d. 818). These, however, seem ambiguous in their attempt to follow the literal and spiritual sense of the “first be reconciled” passage. Theodulph’s First Capitulary states:

[slide 4] In the first week before the start of Lent, confessions should be made to priests, penance accepted, the discordant reconciled and all quarrels settled. And they ought to forgive each other’s debts from their hearts, so that they might say more freely: “And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.”<sup>6</sup>

These instructions seem to demand that parish priests help settle disputes in preparation for the penitential season. His second capitulary, however, makes no mention of such a pre-Lenten reconciliation. [slide 5] Instead, Theodulph instructs priests to hear a confession and then make the penitent recite the creed and forgive all those who have sinned against him and promise to make emends to God.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps this spiritual forgiveness was all that Theodulph intended in his First Capitulary when demanding forgiveness from the heart.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish church and the Carolingian reforms, 789-895*, Studies in history (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 45-79. Sarah Hamilton, *The practice of penance, 900-1050* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2001), 67-68.

<sup>6</sup> Ebdomada prima ante initium quadragesimae confessiones sacerdotibus dandae sunt, paenitentia accipienda, discordantes reconciliandi et omnia iurgia sedanda. Et dimittere debent debita invicem de cordibus suis, ut liberior dicant: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Theodulph of Orléans, "Erstes kapitulär," in *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Capitula Episcoporum, 1. (Hannover: Hahn, 1984), c.36a, p.133.

<sup>7</sup> Theodulph of Orléans, "Zweites Kapitulär," in *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Capitula Episcoporum, 1. (Hannover: Hahn, 1984), c.10, 15a, p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> Theodulph’s instructions for penitential reconciliation were repeated by other Carolingian bishops: Radulf of Bourges, "Kapitulär [853x866]," in *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer (Hannover: Hahn, 1984), c.32 a, 1:258 (cf. c.31 b, 1:258). Hildegard of Meaux, "Erstes Kapitulär [ante 868]," in *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Peter

## Burchard of Worms

At the start of the eleventh century, as a fresh current of reform swept the Imperial church, Bishop Burchard of Worms compiled his *Decretum*, for training the clergy in the Province of Mainz. Book nineteen, the *Corrector sive Medicus*, is a penitential handbook. Burchard clearly borrowed from Theodulf's first capitulary:

[Slide 6] In the week before the start of Lent, let the priests of the people (*presbyteri plebium*) summon the people to themselves and reconcile the discordant according to canonical authority and settle all quarrels and then, first, let them assign penance to those who make confession, so that, before the start of the fast comes, all those who have made their confession will have received their penance. Then they may be able to say more freely: "And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors."<sup>9</sup>

Burchard's instructions definitely depict a public gathering of a parish and the reconciling of enmities by the priest. Later, however, in chapter 4, [slide 7] the priest is to begin hearing a confession by asking, not if the penitent has reconciled with his enemy, but only if he is willing to forgive.<sup>10</sup> This indicates that Burchard incorporated the ambiguous or mitigated requirement for reconciliation that he found in his canonical sources.

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Brommer(Hannover: Hahn, 1984), c.36a, 1:195. Ruotger of Trier, "Kapitular [915x928]," in *Capitula episcoporum*, ed. Peter Brommer(Hannover: Hahn, 1984), c.27 a, 1:70.

<sup>9</sup> Ebdomada priori ante initium Quadregesimæ, presbyteri plebium conuocent ad se populum, & discordantes canonica autoritate reconcilient, & omnia iurgia sedent, & tunc primum confitentibus pœnitentiam dent, ita vt antequam caput ieiunij veniat, omnes confessi pœnitentiam acceptam habeant, vt liberius dicere possint, dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Burchard of Worms, *Decretorum libri XX: ex conciliis et orthodoxorum patrum decretis, tum etiam diversarum rationum synodis seu loci communes congesti*, repr. Darmstadt: scientai Verlag Aalon, 1992 ed. (Cologne: 1548; reprint, Gérard Fransen and Theo Kölzer (eds). Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1992.), book XIX, c.1, p.188a Also PL 140: 943-1014 at 949.

<sup>10</sup> Burchard, *Decretum*, XIX, c. 4, pp. 188a-188b; PL 140:950c.

How much do these sources from the Carolingian and Ottonian Church relate to how penance was actually practiced? The jury is still out among specialist scholars. These were highly conservative prescriptive texts that sought to conform to authoritative precedents. The manuscripts of Burchard's *Decretum* are often found in legal contexts that imply its use as a reference among cathedral clergy, but that does not rule out the possibility that it influenced even how rural clergy administered confession.<sup>11</sup> The *Decretum*, nevertheless, remained a penitential textbook for two-hundred years.

### **Lateran IV and Richard Poore: A Salisbury Tradition**

The next major reform of Catholic penance came at the turn of the thirteenth century. Penance had been carefully scrutinized by twelfth-century Parisian theologians.<sup>12</sup> Among these was Lothar of Segni, who became Innocent III and summoned the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 to implement a veritable pastoral reformation. It required all adult Catholics to take communion at least once a year, at Easter, and to confess all their sins to their own priest.<sup>13</sup> Bishops were to implement the council's program through annual councils and synods. In the absence of a seminary system, parochial clergy were expected to keep and refer to copies of

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<sup>11</sup> On these texts and their use primarily by cathedral clergy, see Hamilton, *The practice of penance, 900-1050*, 25-50, 67. For greater optimism that such texts may have been available to rural clergy see Ludger Körntgen, "Canon law and the practice of penance: Burchard of Worms's penitential," *Early Medieval Europe* 14, no. 1 (2006): 102-117; Rob Meens, "Penitentials and the practice of penance in the tenth and eleventh centuries," *Early Medieval Europe* 14, no. 1 (2006): 7-21. I have not yet been able to consult Greta Austin, "Vengeance and law in eleventh-century Worms: Burchard and the canon law of fueds," in *Medieval church law and the origins of the Western legal tradition: a tribute to Kenneth Pennington*, ed. Wolfgang P. Müller and Mary E. Sommar (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2006), 66-76.

<sup>12</sup> In general see: J. W. Baldwin, *Princes and Merchants: The Social Views of Peter the Chanter and His Circle*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970). For the views of twelfth-century and turn of the thirteenth-century masters about reconciliation, see Aimé Solignac, "Les Prédicateurs de la fin du XIIe siècle," in *Le Pardon: Actes du Colloque organisé par le Centre Histoire des Idées Université de Picardie*, ed. Michel Perrin, Le Point théologique, 45 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1987), 99-116.

<sup>13</sup> There is a vast literature on the penitential implications of Lateran IV.

synodal statutes, some of which included penitential tracts, for practical instruction on administering confessions.<sup>14</sup>

My survey of synodal statutes and manuals for confessors from England and France, reveals that instructions for penitential reconciliation were not common, but I noted a tradition in the Diocese of Salisbury, in southern England. Sometime between 1217 and 1219, another former student of the Paris masters, Bishop Richard Poore, issued a set of pastorally oriented statutes. He reissued them after being translated to the northern diocese of Durham in 1228.<sup>15</sup> These statutes were then reissued by other English bishops into the late Middle Ages.

Poore's instructions for hearing confession make no mention of reconciliation as a prerequisite for either absolution or communion, but statute 12, *On the good of peace*, instructs clergy to work at resolving conflicts among their parishioners. It is worth quoting in full:

[slide 8] The great injunction to us, beloved sons, is the necessity of observing peace, since God himself is the author and lover of peace. He came to make peace not only between heavenly and earthly beings, but also to reconcile the earthly beings to each other.

[slide 9] And since the peace of eternity will not come unless through temporal peace and peace of the heart, we admonish you and strictly command that "as much as is in you, you have peace with all men" [Rom. 12:18].

[slide 10] You should instruct your parishioners that they should be one in the body of Christ by the bond of unity in faith and peace.

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<sup>14</sup> C. R. Cheney, *English synodalia of the thirteenth century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 38-50. See also Odette Pontal, *Les statuts synodaux*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental, fasc.11 (Breplos: Turnhout, 1975).

<sup>15</sup> F.M. Powicke and N.C.R. Cheney, eds., *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents relating to the English Church, volume 2: A.D. 1205-1313*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 57-96.

[slide 11] You should diligently settle enmity in your parish if it should arise, unite friendships and recall the discordant to concord and, as much as you can, do not allow that “the sun should set upon the anger” (cf. Eph. 4:26) of your parishioners.<sup>16</sup>

The canon echoes Burchard and makes parochial clergy agents for social harmony that is necessary for the eternal peace of God.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, Poore did not link pacification with penance.<sup>18</sup> Poore’s canon likely evokes the informal efforts of village clergy to smooth over hostilities, the effects of which, like out-of-court settlements, would have left little evidence for the historian.<sup>19</sup>

### Salisbury Tradition: Thomas of Chobham: ideals and practical implications

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<sup>16</sup> *Magna nobis, filii karissimi, iniuncta est necessitas pacis observande, cum deus ipse pacis sit auctor et amator, qui non solum celestia et terestria set etiam terestria adinvicem venit pacificare. Et cum non nisi per pacem temporis et pacem pectoris ad pacem perveniatur eternitatis, monemus vos et districte precipimus quatinus pacem quantum in vobis est cum omnibus habentes, parochianos vestros moneatis ut in unitate fidei et pacis vincula unum corpus sint in Christo; inimicitias si exorte fuerint in parochia vestra diligenter sedantes, amicitias copulantes, discordantes ad concordiam revocantes, quantum in vobis est non permittentes quod sol occidat super iracundiam parochianorum vestrorum [Cf. Eph. 4:26]. Ibid., 64.*

<sup>17</sup> The first part of the canon seems dependent upon Cardinal Lothar of Segni’s (Innocent III) commentary on the mass, *De sacro altaris mysterio* (III. 9; PL 217.850), which was also a source for the influential late-thirteenth-century commentary of Guillaume Durand, *Guillelmi Duranti rationale divinarum officiorum I-IV*, ed. Anselmus Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 140 (Turnholti: Brepols, 1995), IV, XXXIX, 5, pp.433-434. It represents the “moral tradition” that Bossy has generalized for medieval Christianity, one that insists that human effort at making peace is a prerequisite for the saving peace of God.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the canon had continuing force, and is included in William Lyndwood’s *Provinciale, a* fifteenth-century compilation of Canterbury statutes, under the title *On truce and peace* (indeed it is the only canon on the topic included in the collection). Lyndwood comments that it suffices for priests to be diligent, suggesting that they were not really held responsible for the emotional state of their parishioners. William Lyndwood, *Provinciale, (seu Constitvtiones Angliae,) continens constitutiones provinciales quatordecim archiepiscoporum Cantuarensium, viz. à Stephano Langtono ad Henricum Chichleium : cum summariis atque eruditis annotationibus, summá accuratione denuo revisum atque impressum* (Oxford: 1679), I.15.1 *Magna vobis*, p.71-72. The canon is attributed to Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon. Cheney speculates that the former Salisbury cleric likely reissued Poore’s Salisbury’s statutes, though the original reissue has been lost. Cheney, *English synodalia of the thirteenth century*, 65-67. For background and bibliography on Lyndwood, see: Henry Ansgar Kelly, “Penitential theology and law at the turn of the fifteenth century,” in *A New history of penance*, ed. Abigail Firey, Brill’s companions to the Christian tradition, 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 240. There were twelve editions between 1483 and 1529; see: John Hamilton Baker, *Monuments of endlesse labours : English canonists and their work, 1300-1900* (Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon Press, 1998), 48-50.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Thierry described the various ways that the parochial religion of fifteenth- and early sixteen-century England discouraged violence and valorized peace, though his study does not stress penitential peace-making. Daniel E. Thiery, *Polluting the sacred : violence, faith, and the civilizing of parishioners in late medieval England*, Later medieval Europe, (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Another exponent of parochial penitential reconciliation was Thomas of Chobham, a Paris-educated penitentiary in the Diocese of Salisbury at the time of Poore. Even as Lateran IV was meeting, Thomas was finishing his comprehensive guide for confessors. Penitential reconciliation is prominent in his manual. [Slide 12] According to Thomas, before he could even hear a penitent's confession, a priest should ask if he bears any hatred toward his brother. If so, the confession cannot proceed, "because everyone is bound to set aside all rancor, that is every ill will borne against one's neighbor, and to wish for him the salvation of eternal life."<sup>20</sup> This is the only medieval discussion of penance that I have been able to find that explicitly makes reconciliation a prerequisite for confession.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps it carries the implications of Burchard's instructions to their logical conclusion. At first glance, it looks like Thomas threatened to withhold sacramental confession in order to force compositions among parishioners, which Bossy assumed was the medieval norm.

Nevertheless, Thomas' explanation of what reconciliation means seems to mitigate the initial force of enmity as an obstacle to penance. [slide 13] Following Augustine, Higher standards were usually applied to those seeking perfection, monks, friars, and other clergy, while a lower standard applied to the imperfect, the laity. The lay penitent was "not bound to forgive an injury or debt which [was] owed him; on the contrary, the penitent [was] still able to demand

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<sup>20</sup> Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, ed. F. Broomfield (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1968), art. 6, dist. 1, q.3, pp. 245-257.

<sup>21</sup> Another set of near-contemporary (1214 x 1225, according to the editors) instructions written early in the career of Robert Grosseteste in Lincoln and strongly influenced by Burchard warns at the start of confession that a willingness to forgive is necessary for divine forgiveness, which may imply such an attitude is necessary before making one's confession. J. Goering and F.A.C. Mantello, "The Early Penitential Writings of Robert Grosseteste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 54, (1987): 80.



satisfaction from [another person] in court.” Nor did was he required to be sociable, greet his enemy, or give him the kiss of peace during mass.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, in his section discussion restitution, Thomas allows injured parties the right to sue someone who refuses to make satisfaction. Wrong doers must compensate their victims for any damages to body, property and reputation.<sup>23</sup> This demand for restitution was common in confessors’ manuals after Lateran IV, though restitution did not require reconciliation, since the one making restitution did not have to reveal himself to the injured party.<sup>24</sup>

Thomas further mitigates the literal demand of the “first be reconciled” verse by drawing on Augustine’s spiritual interpretation.<sup>25</sup> [slide 14] Although, ideally, one would first go and be reconciled, Thomas explains that one “can rightly first confess and then receive penitence, provided one is firmly determined to make satisfaction as quickly as possible with one’s neighbour.”<sup>26</sup> Thomas’ requirement that fraternal reconciliation precede confession, therefore, is not as demanding as it might first appear.

### **The Later Salisbury Tradition: William of Pagula, de Burgh, and vernacular manuals**

[slide 15] Thomas’ *Summa de penitentia* remained one of the most successful guides for bishop’s officials and priests in England until superseded by later compilations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in which we can, perhaps trace the evolution of the “Salisbury Tradition” of penitential reconciliation. William of Pagula, a secular penitentiary in the Diocese of

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<sup>22</sup> Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, 245.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., art. 6, dist. 1, q. 6, p.319-321.

<sup>24</sup> A common conundrum in the penitential literature, for example, was how an adulterous woman who had given birth to an illegitimate child could make restitution to her husband without revealing her secret, which would, no doubt stir up a fair amount of fraternal hatred. T. N. Tentler, *Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), 240-243.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas of Chobham, *Summa confessorum*, art. 7, dist.4, q. 2, cap. 2, p.417.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., art. 6, dist. 1, q.3, p. 246.

Salisbury, compiled his *Oculus Sacerdotis* between 1319 and 1322. It enjoyed a wide distribution among all levels of the English clergy for the next century.<sup>27</sup> It was also the source for later vernacular, guides, such as John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*.<sup>28</sup> Although the *Oculus Sacerdotis* does not make forgiveness of enemies a prerequisite for making one's confession, it tells priests to withhold absolution from penitents unwilling to forgive their offenders in accordance with the minimum requirements of Christian charity, which are comparable to those mentioned by Thomas of Chobham and other manualists.<sup>29</sup>

William of Pagula's manual was eventually supplanted as the standard pastoral reference by the *Pupilla oculi*, written in the early 1380s by the Cambridge scholar John de Burgh.<sup>30</sup> De Burgh was more of an attritionist; he counseled that, if a penitent was unable to forgive his

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<sup>27</sup> See Leonard E. Boyle, "A study of the works attributed to William of Pagula with special reference to the *Oculus sacerdotis* and *Summa summarum*" (D. Phil., Oxford University, 1956). Some of the dissertations' findings appeared in Leonard E. Boyle, "The *Oculus Sacerdotis* and Some other Works of William of Pagula," *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series 5, (1955): 81-110. and Leonard E. Boyle, "Aspects of clerical education in fourteenth-century England," in *The fourteenth century*, ed. Pal E. Szarmach and Bernard S. Levy, ACTA, 4: Proceedings of the State University of New York conferences in Medieval Studies (Binghamton NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1977), 19-32. These are reprinted in Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral care, clerical education, and canon law, 1200-1400* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981). The *Oculus sacerdotis* was the preeminent English manual until gradually supplanted in the third quarter of the fifteenth century by Cambridge Chancellor John de Burgh's *Pupilla oculi* (1380 or 1385), which was a sort of revised edition of William of Pagula's work. Boyle, "A study of the works attributed to William of Pagula with special reference to the *Oculus sacerdotis* and *Summa summarum*", I:385-392. Appendix B of Boyle's 1956 dissertation ('A study of the works,' vol. 2) refers to 106 manuscript copies. For evidence on ownership see vol. I:394-395 and . See also John Shinnars, "Parish libraries in medieval England," in *A distinct voice: Medieval studies in honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.*, ed. Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 215.

<sup>28</sup> The texts dates from about 1400. Editions: John Mirk, *Instructions for parish priests*, ed. Edward Peacock, Early English text society, o.s., 31 (London: 1868, rev. 1905, rpr. 1969); *John Mirk's instructions for parish priests*, ed. Gillis Kristensson (Lund, 1974).

<sup>29</sup> William of Pagula, *Oculus sacerdotis*, Pars oculi, ch. XIII, 'De confessione de ire,' Oxford, New College MS 292, f. 6v. William seems to have borrowed the explanation for the requirements of charity from the *Summa confessorum* (1297/8) of Dominican John of Freiburg, which was the most important academic manual for confessors in the later Middle Ages. John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* (Rome: 1518), lib. 3 tit. 3434, q. 215, f. 208r. (quoting the Parisian Dominican, Peter of Tarentaise [later Pope Innocent V], In iv libros sententiarum, lib. 3 d.30 q.1 a. 3.

<sup>30</sup> For background and bibliography, see: Kelly, "Penitential theology and law at the turn of the fifteenth century," 239.

enemy, penance could still be given in the hope that it would reduce his punishment, obtain some temporal good, or move him to true forgiveness.<sup>31</sup>

## Conclusion

This paper [slide 16] has traced one of the more pronounced traditions of penitential reconciliation focused on Salisbury, England, but extending back to Carolingian and Ottonian times and which drew on Augustinian exegesis. It has highlighted an ambiguity in that tradition and challenged the notion of a monolithic, pre-Reformation approach to reconciliation in parishes. On the one hand, the tradition acknowledges the Gospel's injunction to forgive others or make amends harm done in order to receive divine forgiveness.

On the other hand, it safeguards the practical need to contest injuries and seek justice.

Augustine's spiritualized interpretations of the evangelical precepts offered a solution to this dilemma while acknowledging that reconciliation begins with a change of heart. [slide 17]

Confession may have prepared the hearts of penitents to more readily forgive or make restitution. Nevertheless, confessors were not instructed to use confession to leverage reconciliation, as has sometimes been assumed. Capitularies, statutes and summas, of course, were prescriptive sources and may not reflect the secret practices of confession, which leave us no records. Perhaps, however, Richard Poore's more general instructions best reflect the aspirations and reality of parochial peace-making. A diligent priest could, no doubt, do much to smooth over relationships among his querulous flock; we should be cautious, however in assuming such diligence was commonplace or even commonly expected.

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<sup>31</sup> Joannes de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi de septem sacramentorum administratione* (Strasbourg: Johann Knoblouch, 1516), 5.10 § T, f.53v.

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