

Thesis

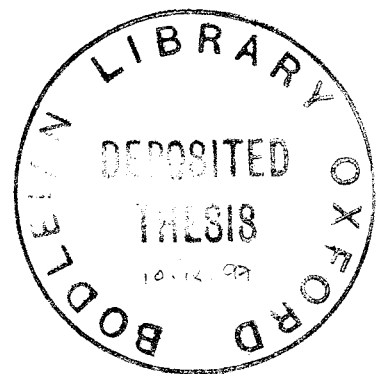
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Wood Empt 17 'Meditatyons for Goostly Exercyse, in the Tyme of the Masse':  
An Edition and Notes



*Dedicated to my friend and teacher, Dr. Nancy Pope*

**Abstract.**

This thesis presents an edition of a sixteenth century commentary on the Mass. In the Manual of the Writings in Middle English, Raymo classifies the text as belonging to ‘Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction’<sup>1</sup>. When it was written, the text sought to explain the Mass by yoking the objects, actions, and participants in the Eucharistic ceremony to specific events in the Passion of Christ. By linking already established Eucharistic tradition to elements of popular meditative literature, the church would embed its own interpretation of the Mass in the imaginations of its readers. Thus, Wood Empt 17, referred to throughout the thesis as ‘W’, is not only part of the tradition of the Passion meditation, it also belongs to a tradition of ecclesiastically mediated teaching which would control the symbolism of the Mass.

This thesis first seeks to produce an edition of the W text, and then to show W in its relationship and lines of influence with two parallel texts. The parallel texts seem to exhibit more devotion to the Passion than W does, for W draws on the Passion only when it illuminates the Eucharist, while the other texts draw more attention to the Passion event itself. A brief discussion of W as it relates to other popular meditative works highlights how W was able to teach its reader the Mass through using aspects of meditative devotional literature. Subject Matter Notes also record how W follows the liturgy and how it fashions Passion-constructed etymologies meant to support the order of service. In this way, the W writer presents an ecclesiastically controlled interpretation of the Eucharist.

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<sup>1</sup> Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, gen. ed. Albert E. Hartung, vii, part xx, ‘Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction’, ed. Robert Raymo. Connecticut: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, (1986), p 2355.

## Preface.

The primary object of this study is to present a copy of the *Meditatyons for Goostly Exercyse, in the Tyme of the Masse*. Description and discussion of Wood Empt 17 (the W text) and two related texts is offered, along with an analysis of possible relationships among them. In light of these texts, possibilities for W authorship and audience are explored. Discussion concludes with a chapter comparing W to other meditation narratives which were then in wide circulation. For amplification of textual queries and points of interest, Subject Matter Notes, a Glossary and an Index of Proper Names follow the edition.

The work on this edition incurs numerous obligations. My thanks must first be addressed to my supervisor, Professor Anne Hudson, who has directed this study and given generously of her time and knowledge. Also my gratitude is due Dr. Vincent Gillespie who supplied some references as well as advice. Professor Malcolm Parkes kindly answered enquiries sent to him, and for this I am grateful. To Mr. Hamer I address my thanks for his helpful suggestions. I also wish to thank the staff of the Bodleian Library, the British Library, and the Cambridge University Library for their assistance. My thanks is also due the staff members of the Oxford University Computing Services who gave of their time and advice.

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## Abbreviations.

All but the most general abbreviations are listed here. Full references for printed texts are given in the bibliography. Abbreviation for Biblical references has been borrowed from the Revised Standard Version.

|                   |                                                                            |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Allen             | <u>The English Writings of Richard Rolle</u> , ed. H.E. Allen              |
| anon.             | anonymous                                                                  |
| Augustine         | <i>Ennarationes in psalmos</i>                                             |
| Aungier           | <u>The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery</u>                       |
| Bell              | <u>What Nuns Read</u>                                                      |
| Benskin           | 'The Letters 'þ' and 'y' in Later Middle English'                          |
| Blunt             | <u>The Myroure of oure Ladye</u> , ed. J.H. Blunt                          |
| Bonde             | William Bonde                                                              |
| Ch                | Chapter                                                                    |
| col, cols         | column(s)                                                                  |
| DS                | <i>De sacro altaris mysterio</i>                                           |
| de Hamel          | <u>Syon Abbey</u>                                                          |
| ed., eds.         | editor(s)                                                                  |
| fol., fols.       | folio(s)                                                                   |
| gen.              | general                                                                    |
| Gilbey            | <u>Summa theologiae, Latin Text and English Translation</u> , ed. T.Gilbey |
| H                 | Harley 494                                                                 |
| LALME             | <u>The Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English</u>                       |
| Legg              | <u>The Sarum Missal, Edited from Three Early Manuscripts</u>               |
| MED               | <u>The Middle English Dictionary</u>                                       |
| <i>Mirror</i>     | <u>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ</u> , ed. Michael Sargent    |
| Misyn             | <u>The Fire of Love</u> , trans. Richard Misyn                             |
| NCE               | <u>New Catholic Encyclopedia</u>                                           |
| p, pp             | page(s)                                                                    |
| Pearson           | <u>The Sarum Missal</u>                                                    |
| <i>Pilgrimage</i> | <i>The Pilgrimage of Perfection</i>                                        |
| r.                | recto                                                                      |
| Rhodes            | 'Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the 16th Century'            |
| RD                | <i>Rationale divinorum officiorum</i>                                      |
| RSV               | <u>The Bible</u> , Revised Standard Version                                |
| Rubin             | <u>Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture</u>              |
| Sargent           | <u>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ</u> , ed. Michael Sargent    |
| Sarum             | Sarum Use                                                                  |
| Seymour           | <u>De proprietatibus rerum</u> , ed. M.C. Seymour                          |
| Simmons           | <u>The Lay Folks Masse Book</u> , ed. Thomas F. Simmons                    |
| STC               | <u>Short-Title Catalogue</u>                                               |
| v.                | verso                                                                      |
| Vulg.             | <u>Biblia sacra vulgata</u>                                                |
| W                 | Wood Empt 17                                                               |

**Note.**

In considering the Harley 494 Eucharistic meditations, referred to here as H, material concerning other works within the Harely manuscript has been included. This general summary proves useful for later discussion of the W audience. However, since the work surrounding Bonde's Eucharistic meditations does not reveal the same information that H does, extensive description of the entirety of the *Pilgrimage of Perfection* is not given.

In discussing *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*, the Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde editions have been consulted. Though nearly identical in content, the editions usually display dissimilar folio and chapter references. When relevant to discussion, chapter reference is given for both editions, showing Pynson first, followed by a slash, followed by Wynkyn de Worde. As for footnotes concerning Bonde's texts, chapter numbers are given in the case of discussion of chapter order. Line numbers are offered only in the case of more detailed references. Otherwise, footnotes regarding *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* are kept short, offering information on the edition and the relevant folio references.

As folio cxxv, v. and cxxvi, r. are lost from the Pynson copy in STC films, it is assumed that the material of this last folio may be found in Wynkyn de Worde as he includes all that is within Pynson. References to material presumed to be in the lost final folio are referenced in square brackets.

## Introduction.

The W text, *Meditatyons for Goostly Exercyse, in the Tyme of the Masse*, epitomizes the medieval penchant for cataloguing objects and ideas. However, the *Meditatyons* were not merely catalogues; they were part of a complicated and calculated “pastoral edifice”<sup>2</sup> concerning the Eucharist, a project resulting from a debate begun in the 11th century<sup>3</sup> when the controversial concept of transubstantiation was put forward by the clergy, and a common world view of the Eucharist suggested. The W text *Meditatyons* developed from clerical movements to explain the Mass which occurred in England during the late thirteenth century and in the fifteenth century when the church would react against the threat of Lollardy, both centuries witnessing flurries of Mass book production.

According to W, the intent of the writing is “to move soollis to þe / devotyon of þe Masse & to the lovyng remembrance of þe Pas/syon of Cryst” (81-83). The W text would accomplish this objective by explaining the significance of actions and objects used in performing the Eucharist. In this way, the author endows the objects and actions with symbolic meaning through which the communicant or observer may be reminded of Christ. The ritual of the Eucharist is presented as a mode for visually represented affective meditation, for every time the Mass is observed, the ecclesiastical interpretation of Biblical events and symbols is re-enforced as each component of it is represented.

The *Meditatyons* opens like a play, as the list of actors is introduced, and the set described. In the performance of the Eucharist, the “preste going to Masse” (2) portrays

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<sup>2</sup>Rubin, Miri, Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture. Cambridge University Press: 1991, p34.

<sup>3</sup>Rubin, (1991), p24.

Christ incarnate. The priest's actions are intended to represent the "processe" (6) of Christ's Passion. Properties and costume for the performance are listed, according each item to its appropriate symbol; for instance the altar, vestments, chalice, and paten are introduced as the corresponding objects representing Christ's cross, crucifixion garments, tomb, and stone that covered his tomb (7-14). Characters are introduced such as the deacon, to represent the apostles, and the subdeacon to represent Christ's disciples (46-7). The choir is said to represent the patriarchs and prophets (30-1) of the Old Testament, for both groups are portrayed as praying and crying aloud to God to send the Christ. Even Mary, though she is not bodily represented by a clergy member involved in the Eucharist, is signified by a physical location within the church, as in the revester or vestry. It is here that the priest, representing Christ, conceals himself while he changes garments, representing the chamber of Mary's womb wherein Christ concealed his heavenly body to "cloythe hymselff with the / garment" (35) of human nature. Actions are employed to remind the observer of Biblical stories, for instance the priest's turning first to the right corner of the altar represents Christ's going first to the Jewish people before the Gentiles in order to represent the fulfillment of Old Testament law. Thus W seeks to exemplify the elements and events of the Mass ceremony as allegories of Biblical narrative.

This thesis seeks to present an edition of Wood Empt 17 (here referred to as W), to comment on points of interest within the text, to outline its relationship with other closely related texts, and to discuss its relationship to the meditative tradition. By examining these relationships, one may further explore how the W author uses the tradition of the meditation on the Passion in order to explain the Eucharist.

## I. The W Text and Two Related Texts.

### A. The W Text: A Description.

The W text, *Meditatyons for Goostly Exercyse, in the Tyme of the Masse*, is a manuscript written on 27 folios. The quiring contains i paper flyleaf, 1<sup>6</sup> (1-6), 2<sup>8</sup> (7-14), 3<sup>8</sup> (15-22), 4<sup>8</sup>, wants 2 (after folio 23) folio probably missing between 23-24<sup>4</sup>, also lacks 7-8; and ends with i paper flyleaf now partly stuck down. The folios have been resewn more than once and they are presently presented in the form of a book with cover dimensions of 138mm x 185mm and page dimensions of 130mm x 166mm. The dimensions of written space vary from 80mm x 110mm to 85mm x 120mm. Each side usually contains fourteen lines, with an average of six words per line. The text is in moderately good condition, though folios 14 and 15 are damaged so that only the left upper quadrant of the recto and the right upper quadrant of the verso sides remain, though the page edges have been refinished. Comparison with such related manuscripts as William Bonde's *Pilgrimage of Perfection* and Harley 494 has been sufficient to emend the W text in most places of damage, with the exception of the missing leaf after folio 23<sup>5</sup>.

The manuscript is written on paper in black ink, though some sections of it are recorded in red ink. The scribe writes in a bookhand version of the secretary script, during

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<sup>4</sup>Note remnants of page edge close to binding; also, catchword does not match.

<sup>5</sup>William Bonde, *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*, ed. anon., Pynson, 1526 edition, STCfilms 3277 (Reel 27), British Library, Eucharistic mediations, Chapter 39, fols. cxxii, r. - cxxv, v.; also William Bonde, *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*, ed. anon., Wynkyn de Worde, 1531 edition, STC films 3278 (Reel 27), British Library, Eucharistic meditations, Chapter 60, fols. cclix, r. - cclxi, v.

MS Harley 494, London, The British Library.

the first third or probably the first quarter of the 16th century<sup>6</sup>. The text is decorative in the sense that some initials are enlarged to two, sometimes three lines in height.

Embellishments such as framing lines and dashes, usually in red ink, highlight certain parts of the text. Writing style of the text employs *noti* and other abbreviations, as discussed in the preface to chapter five. The MS is unusual in that the scribe includes catchwords on both sides of each folio. What purpose catchwords serve here in “connecting” recto and verso sides of the same folio is questionable. Stylistic over-correction is one possibility.

Related manuscript evidence (see p 33-34) suggests that W, or the source from which it was derived, had some connection to Syon. The scribe of the text describes himself as “B.Langforde, Preiste” (377). Langforde’s copying mistakes are corrected in the same hand in which they were made. For example, one reads “vaynys” written by the same hand and inserted adjacent to where “wallis” has been crossed through (91). Similarly, “Afore þe” has been crossed through (148) as Langforde makes an eye-skip error (147-8). Such scribal mistakes suggest that Langforde was recording from a working copy of some other prearranged work. Such mistakes also point to the fact that if Langforde were working from an exemplar text, then this copy is in the first version of its adaptation.

The W text contains information concerning the Mass which addresses certain participants, costumes, and priestly actions in the Eucharistic ceremony; it then defines the significance of each. The *Meditatyons* begin by describing the symbolic value of its main actor, the priest. It is the priest who “signifythe & representyd the Sauyour / off the world our moost swett rede/mer, Cryst Jesu” (2-3). Shortly thereafter, the plan of the book is revealed; the Mass will be defined by events connected with the life and Passion of Christ,

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<sup>6</sup>Professor Malcolm B. Parkes was helpful in addressing W scribal hand and time period.

“for the processe of the Masse representyd / the verey processe of the Passyon off / Cryst” (5-6). The defining of Eucharistic instruments begins with detailed and imaginative definitions. For example, the cover of the chalice, called the corporaice or paten, signifies the stone that covered Christ’s tomb (14). Broader, less symbolic definitions concern elements in the Eucharist such as wine and water, which, in the ceremony, are directly symbolic of the blood and water which flowed from Christ’s side (17). However, W is not entirely dedicated to definitions of the Mass. Indeed, parts of 5v have sections not immediate to the Eucharistic ceremony, describing such things as the nine ornaments of the Bishop, as well as his nine prerogatives (64-68 and 68-73).

Presentation of Eucharistic elements and their definitions becomes more systematic from line 84. Titles describing the elements, usually two lines in length, are indented further to the right than the main body of the text. Additionally, these headings are usually written in red ink and highlighted with rubricated marks. 7r is the first instance where this format is put into use; for in rubricated, indented form it begins, “When þe fanell ys / put on þe lefte hand” (85). After this description of action, the congregation’s reaction and interpretation is suggested in the lines following; the congregation, while watching this action should meditate on an event in Christ’s Passion. In this instance, they must:

Remember þe roips with þe whiche / þe knyghtis dyd bynd our Sauyoris  
handis when þai dyd leyd hym / fro tyrant to tyrant (86-87).

The rest of the manuscript follows in similar fashion of presentation; actions, actors, and words in the Mass are listed and followed by several lines of material defining the meaning that medieval ecclesiastical authority ascribed to these symbols.

Use of titles and unadorned language to explain the Mass accounts for the technical structure and syntax of most of the W *Meditatyons*. The Eucharistic objects are often introduced by technical names, illustrative of W’s exacting ecclesiastical vocabulary, using

terms such as “paten” (13) as opposed to “chalice cover”, and “chesible” (92) instead of “overmest vestment” (92). The actions are similarly specific, for instance:

When þe prest or deacan / redyth þe Gospell with  
hys faice agaynst / þe northe: (118-119).

Also:

At þe Offertory when / þe prest doith taik þe chalice  
& holde yt vp & formys / þe Oblatyon: (137-138).

Through such specificity about how, when, and where the priest’s actions are performed, W would emulate, albeit in extremely abbreviated form, such systematic explanations of the Mass as found in Pope Innocent III’s *De sacro altaris mysterio*<sup>7</sup> or Durandus’ *Rationale divinorum officiorum*<sup>8</sup>.

Some Latin words of the Mass are also mentioned in the *Meditatyon*s. These Latin sections comprise part of the liturgy, though the W text does not contain them in full<sup>9</sup>. Selectivity in the W writer’s use of Latin is evident as much of the Latin is not fully written out, but merely gestured to, for instance, “When þe prest begynnyth / in þe mydis of þe avter, / ‘Gloria in excelsis’” (109-110); or equally brief, “When þe Gospell ys / rede & þe prest saithe / ‘Credo in Deum’”(131). It is clear that the writer, though not compelled to explain or write out the words which comprise the Gloria or Credo, prefers to use them as reference points in the Mass.

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<sup>7</sup>Innocent III, ‘De sacro altaris mysterio’, *Patrologia Latina*, ccxvii, (1855), cols 774-916.

<sup>8</sup>William Durandus, ‘Rationale divinorum officiorum’, i-iv, ed. A. Davril and T.M. Thibodeau, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, cxi, Belgium: Brepols, 1995.

<sup>9</sup>The extent of the W text writer’s selectivity from the liturgy is revealed upon its comparison with complete liturgical outlines like the *Sarum Missal*. (See *The Sarum Missal*, ed. A. Harford Pearson. London: The Church Printing Company, 1884; and *The Sarum Missal, Edited from Three Early Manuscripts*, ed. J. Wickham Legg. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1916).

Though he may abbreviate these Latin sections, he amplifies others. Consider the Latin prayer offered in folio 14r which, though abbreviated, still exceeds the usual shortened reference to specific sections of the liturgy:

Salue lux mundi; rex regum, / gloria celi. Vltro qui mortis  
pro nobis iura subisti. Salue / nostra salus, pax vera re-  
 demptio virtus. Qui... (187-189).

In addition to this prayer, the verso side of this same folio offers a similar Latin prayer which fills 6 lines. The most extensive use of Latin runs from lines 307 to 313 and is of such length and complexity that one wonders if any but a Latin-learned readership were able to read these sections and understand them. In other religious texts, such as the Myroure of Oure Ladye <sup>10</sup>, liturgical works are translated from Latin into English for the spritual edification of those who could not read Latin. For instance, the works contained in the Myroure <sup>11</sup> are translated from Latin into English for the sisters of Syon monastery.

Early compiler Richard Whytford explains:

forasmoche as many of you, though ye can synge and rede,  
 yet ye can not se what the meanyng therof ys: therefore to the  
 onely worshyp and praysyng of oure lorde Iesu chryste and of  
 hys moste mercyfull mother oure lady and to the gostly  
 comforte and profyte of youre soules I haue drawn youre  
 legende and all youre seruyce in to Englyshe <sup>12</sup>.

Because the W author employs such extensive use of Latin, he establishes W as a more technical work than one which would contain complete English translations of the Latin.

The description of the general Mass concludes with the “Ite Missa est”, followed by an explanation of the Requiem Mass. The Requiem carries actions and definitions not

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<sup>10</sup>The Myroure of oure Ladye, ed. J.H. Blunt, EETS, ES 19. London: Trubner & Co., 1873.

<sup>11</sup>Blunt, (1873).

<sup>12</sup>Blunt, (1873), p 2.

present in the ordinary Mass, such as the priest's turning to salute the congregation not five, but seven times, "whiche signefyeth þe VII giftis / of þe Holly Goost" (364-65). The W writer follows his brief explanation of the Requiem with a final section in which he regrets that he has omitted other important ceremonies in the ordinary Mass. The writer lists the names of these ceremonies, the "carectis / or crossys, locyons, inclina-/tyons, & such other" (366-7) without locating them in the Mass or defining their symbolism. Yet instead of omitting them altogether, he mentions them because:

... þei signefye  
 greit misterys of owr faithe / whiche we owght to belewe,  
 wherof allso ryght convey- / ent yt ys þat sum mencyon &  
 protestatyon be maid of þam (368-371).

After this section, reference to the Mass concludes, and W ends with a personal note from the scribe.

## B. The Related Texts, Harley 494 and *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*: Descriptions.

### 1. Harley 494

The "Meditations for Tyme of the Masse" is a work of twelve and a half folios gathered within Harley 494, here referred to as 'H'. The other contents within H's 113 folios are also devotional literature, yet due to textual layout, it is sometimes difficult to tell where one item ends and another begins. Similarly, the quiring is unclear as the pages have been bound tightly. H begins with a flyleaf which reads "Anne Bvlkeley / Attinet Liber Iste". Besides a prayer to Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, the first recto of the manuscript includes added handwriting in a medieval hand unlike those presented later in the manuscript; it is an unprofessional hand, and if one may presume that this addendum

was made by the owner of the text, then it is the hand of Anne Bulkeley. It is therefore possible that some of H was reading material gathered together for a holy woman.

The contents of the text follow as such, however one must note that H's quiring cannot be ascertained since the paper leaves have been sewn through. Folio 2r begins in a small, professional hand, presenting a Latin prayer praising Christ's resurrection. This prayer runs from 2r through 4r. 4v is blank, implying a definite break in the text. 5r begins in a larger, professional hand, though it appears as if the scribe were writing in great haste. A Latin prayer begins and ends on 5v.

6r begins in another hand. Folios 6r-25r appear to be in the same hand as that used later in the text by the scribe who records the "Meditations for Tyme of the Masse" (63r). Folios 6r-25r cover a range of subject matter including a treatise on the way of perfection, Marian prayers, and a listing of daily prayers. There is a quire break between folio 15v and 16r. The section is written in both Latin and English, though the majority of the piece is in English. 25v is blank and seems to be followed by a quire break.

26r begins in a different hand in Latin and English, and runs through 35r where it ends. 35r through to 45v contains a work in English concerning the Mass. There seems to be a quire break between 35v and 36r, and another between 43v and 44r. Prayers in English to God begin at the end of 45v and end on 52r where matters of the Mass are again addressed, still in the same hand. Matters of the Mass run from 52r through to 54v where more prayers to God are offered. These run through 57r and appear to be written in the same hand as that of the earlier work in 6r and that of the later work of the "Meditations" (63r). There seems to be a quire break between 53v and 54r.

57v offers English prayers to the apostles, 58r follows with English prayers to Mary, the verso offering the same for the Trinity, 59r offers the same to the Father, and

that verso offers two prayers to the Son and Holy Ghost. 60r follows with another English prayer to the Trinity and also includes some assorted prayers for different groups. These prayers run through the 62nd verso which also marks the end of the quire. 63r marks a distinctive change in hand and in subject matter, introducing the “Meditations for Tyme of the Masse”, which will be examined after the description of the remainder of H.

The “Meditations” begin in English and run the length of 63r until midway through 75r, though there seems to be a quire break between 72v and 73r. The “Meditations” concludes with an exhortation to thankful prayer, and though the work itself is finished<sup>13</sup>, the next work begun below it in a new, small hand is a prayer of thanks to Christ. The prayer immediately following the “Meditations” runs from the middle of 75r through 82r. 82v through 84r contains a prayer to the Virgin and St. John. There seems to be a quire break between 82v and 83r. 84v through 85r contains salutations to the Blessed Virgin. 85v introduces a “Contemplacion for the Feste of þe / Assumpcion of our Blessid Ladye”, followed by a tract on a vision of St. Bridgit (88v). These pieces appear in the same hand as that in the “Meditations” and run until mid-way through 89v where a new work is introduced in a markedly different hand. This work includes technical directions for prayer and runs through 90r. The blank 90th verso marks the end of the quire.

90v begins a section on the Sacrament, detailing the form of Confession. It runs through to 96v, where a series of prayers begin and run through to 100v. 101r marks the beginning of a section on the “Sorrows of Our Lady” which runs through 104v where the quire ends. The 105th recto and verso contain outlines to St. Gregory’s Prayer<sup>14</sup>, written in

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<sup>13</sup>Note: word “finis” on H 75r13.

<sup>14</sup>According to Revell, P., Fifteenth Century English Prayers and Meditations. London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1975, p 91.

English, in a different hand. Folio 106, recto and verso, contain a Marian prayer. Folio 107 recto and verso contain prayers to Christ, also written in English. Folio 108r through to 110v contains a series of short, English prayers to Christ. This verso is followed by three blank pages, marking the end of the manuscript.

The “Meditations for Tyme of the Masse” begins on 63r, running through 75r. It presents the text in an average of 20 lines on each side, each line usually containing 6 words. The H “Meditations” are structured similarly to the W *Meditatyons*, as Eucharistic symbols are listed and defined. H contains much of the same Eucharistic definition and explanation found in W, although striking differences between the texts exist. The H “Meditations” begins similarly to the W text, introducing the priest as the main actor in the Mass whose role it is to symbolize “Christe whiche came from heuen” (63r5). From here, lists of Eucharistic objects, actions and people are listed and defined. The barely punctuated and non-indented presentation style is worth noting, for in H, one is given a rapid-fire of symbols and definitions, one immediately after the other. Line 8 of 63v marks the first use of marginalia to indicate change of subject between the symbol and the definition. These marginalia are usually decorative dash-strokes in black ink, though sometimes they are merely slash marks.

In all but a few cases, the Latin in H is limited to the role of textual marker so that the reader can follow change of topics during the ceremony. For example, H employs one section thus:

When þe prest beginneth Per omnia  
secula seculorum befor þe prefaice (66r9-10).

Another instance of Latin as liturgical marker introduces Christ’s riding into Jerusalem on a donkey, where the children present are to have cried out, “Benedictus qui ve-/nit in nomine deo” (66r17-18), marking the Benedictus section of the service before the Sanctus.

Like W, H offers an elaborate meditation on Christ's Passion as the mental focus "Frome þe sacrynge / ... vnto Per omnia secula seculorum" (67r8,10). This meditation begins at 67r12 and runs through 68r17<sup>15</sup>. Like the W text, this Passion section displays more narrative and graphic style than the technical writing which precedes it. Also like W, H 68r18 returns the reader to the matter of the order of service after this diversion into the Passion narrative. Yet unlike W, H digresses from the Eucharist again to extend the Passion account. This reprise in H runs from 68v3 until 69r16 where the reader is eventually returned to the ordered style of ceremony-description.

H follows description of the general Mass with the Requiem Mass (72r19). The Requiem Mass descriptions are followed by discussion of doctrinal issues concerning the Eucharist. The H writer states:

and here not many muses why  
Crist wolde give to vs hymselfe  
vnder the forme of brede (72v9-11).

After this introduction to the doctrinal question, a 3-step, catechetical explanation follows which explains the aptness of Christ's choosing to appear in the form of bread<sup>16</sup>. At the close of this section, 73v16 marks a change in a style unlike anything before in H or W.

Indeed, the final three folios of H are a full treatise, in what would have been

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<sup>15</sup>It occurs in W at 199-232.

<sup>16</sup>Within the 3rd reason (73r3) fire imagery resonant of Rolle (see Richard Rolle, The Fire of Love, trans. Richard Misyn, ed. Rev. R. Harvey, EETS, OS 106. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1896, p 2) is employed such as that concerning Christ's body when, in his Passion:

it was bakede with þe fire of  
loue of god in þe oven of his  
crosse þat we myght ete þerof  
(73r7-9).

It is interesting to note such use of domestic imagery in H. Other instances of it are seen in this same section where the congregation (as the Body of Christ), following the bread metaphor, is said to be made of "many greyines"(73r19).

almost colloquial church jargon, inciting one to explore one's soul to discover a desire to worship Christ. This treatise follows on the heels of a summary statement about the church's view on the symbolism of the Eucharist as if acceptance of one treatise necessitates the acceptance of the other. The structure of these invocations are the first part of a logical syllogism, asking rhetorical questions: "If thow haue desire perfetly to be / clenysyd from ... synne" (73v16-17), "If you couet plen-/teuously to be comforted in trouble & / aduersite" (74r2-4), "If you wole feruently be enfla-/wmed in holy meditacion" (74r8-9), "If you love to be replenysshed with spirituall joye and goostly gladnesse" (74r10-12), and "If thyn affection be to know / and vse the secrettis of God" (74r14-15). After this list of questions follows the answer: then "exercise thiself in þe lyf & Passion / of our Lord Jhesu Crist...and folow hys steppes clyppying / fast to hym and suffer hym in noo / wise to deperte from the" (74r19-74v9). The question concerning how the reader may quench any desire for Christ is thus answered after a folio of questioning. The questions themselves are placed as if by a skilled speech-maker to stir emotion like a rallying cry and thereby to inspire the readers to look into themselves and see whether any of these terms apply.

How then exactly to "exercise thi self" in the love of Christ? Specific action points are listed; one may make such spiritual exercise if one will: remember Christ's life of preaching (74v10), remember his pain and tears (74v16), remember his crucifixion (74v18), remember his great wisdom and keep it always "in þi mowth & hert"(75r7-8), and finally "thank hym / a thousand tymes for hys gret / kyndnesse" (75r11-13). Thus the H "Meditations" conclude in far different tone and subject matter than the style of a technical, non-emotional, catechetical catalogue in which it begins.

## 2. *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*

William Bonde's *Pilgrimage of Perfection* was printed by Pynson in 1526 and again by Wynkyn de Worde in 1531<sup>17</sup>. The text is structured on Christian numerology as it contains three sections, called books, the first two with exactly 33 chapters each, in order to signify the age of Christ when he was crucified. Of the three books, Books 1 and 2 contain chapters which outline Biblical events as the basis for doctrinal beliefs propounded by the clergy. For example, Book 1, Chapter 1 presents the law of Moses and narrates the Biblical events surrounding Moses' being given the 10 Commandments. New Testament stories, such as that of Jesus' exhorting the people to let their petitions be known before God, are presented as the framework upon which the exegetical "sacrament of penance" is founded<sup>18</sup>. This doctrine is glossed into being from John 16:24, "ask, and you will receive, that your joy may be full". Much of the *Pilgrimage* contains such exegetical glossing as the basis of doctrine. The Biblical citation for such glossings is offered in the margins of the *Pilgrimage*. Indeed, most of the marginalia in the *Pilgrimage* serve to cite the source texts (usually Biblical) from which its definitions are created.

Not only the Bible, but ecclesiastical authorities are cited in the Books of the *Pilgrimage*. They, too, are used to explain church doctrine on such topics as the 7 Articles of Faith<sup>19</sup> and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Authority is heavily quoted in the *Pilgrimage*; listed among these are philosophers and church fathers such as Cassiodorus, St. Jerome, St. Thomas, St. Gregory and St. Bonaventure, to name only a few. In the same spirit of the the *W Meditayons*, though on a grander scale, the *Pilgrimage* in its entirety would seek to

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<sup>17</sup>Bonde, (1526); Bonde (1531).

<sup>18</sup>Bonde (1526), fol. v, v.; (1531), fol. v, r.

<sup>19</sup>Bonde (1526), fol. xlvii, v., Ch5; (1531), fol. xxix, r., Ch5.

name signs and stories in the Bible and then assign to them definitions which underlie the body of church doctrine, and which are congruent with the opinions of past church fathers and moral philosophers.

Book 3 contains similar expositions in typical catechetical style, but unlike Books 1 and 2, it contains seven sections, each corresponding with the days of the week. This structure is presented with the intent that the reader, by reading the work, would be enriched through travelling into spiritual issues, even if only in the mind. Thus Day One, as it is recorded as a subset of Book 3, corresponds with the first day of the pilgrimage journey, and each progressing day, or section, would lead the pilgrim to higher degrees of learning and perfection. Following a progression of chapters which seeks to define several meditations and doctrinal beliefs, the meditation on the Eucharist is introduced in Book 3 on the 6th day of the pilgrimage<sup>20</sup>. Structurally, this Eucharistic meditation follows a chapter defining and explaining the importance of the Meditation at Compline<sup>21</sup>, and it precedes a chapter which sets out to explain the benefits of prayer<sup>22</sup>. The preface to this chapter states:

Here is shewed of a generall fourme techynge how we may gyue  
thanks to God dayly for his benefytes from the creacyon of þe world  
to the ende of the same yf we wyll.

Thus the Eucharistic meditations are not presented as anything more special than all of the other aspects of liturgy and doctrine which are listed and defined in the rest of the work surrounding it. Even the language with which it is discussed matches the same straightforward and technical listing form in the works that precede and that follow it.

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<sup>20</sup>Bonde, (1526), fols. cxxii, r. - cxxv, v., Ch39; (1531) fols. cclix, r. - cclxi, v., Ch60.

<sup>21</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxix, r., Ch38; (1531), fol. cclvii, v., Ch59.

<sup>22</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxvi, r., Ch40; (1531), fol. cclxi, v., Ch61.

The *Pilgrimage* meditations on the Mass begin by setting out what will be discussed:

How in the cerimonyes of the Masse / we may fynd  
meditacions of the hole passion of our lorde / Jesu<sup>23</sup>.

From the very beginning, the content of this *Pilgrimage* meditation is nearly identical to the H “Meditations”. So, too, W has some passages in common with the *Pilgrimage* meditations in almost exactly the same way that it does with H, for in all but a few places, H and the *Pilgrimage* meditations are consistent.

The *Pilgrimage* distinguishes itself from H because it carries Bonde’s straightforward style of writing (with the exception of its Passion scene which is more detailed than both W and H) through to the end of the chapter. For instance, one notes in the *Pilgrimage* the absence of H’s sermon-style conclusion mentioned earlier (see p 13). The *Pilgrimage* moves from the final discussion of the Requiem to the discussion of the “Ite Misse est”, and from there to the Ascension. The Ascension is important in the defining of the Mass, for by Christ’s leaving earth for heaven, his earthly contact ends; so, too, the Mass ends, for when Christ is restored to heaven, he has completed the process of the Passion. Likewise, the Mass, as it is here represented as a meditation on the Passion, comes to a close. The heavenly body of Christ has been glorified by the congregation’s remembering him through the sacrament, and likewise the earthly body of Christ (i.e. the congregation of Christians) has similarly been glorified, for it has completed an affective pilgrimage in the life of Christ through Bonde’s text and through the Mass.

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<sup>23</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxii, r., Ch39; (1531), fol. cclxi, r., Ch60.

## II. How the Versions are Related.

Because H and the *Pilgrimage* Meditations are almost entirely identical in content, it seems that for purposes of discussion one text may be designated as the superior copy. The *Pilgrimage* Meditations seems to be the superior copy of the two<sup>24</sup>, therefore it is reasonable to refer to only the *Pilgrimage* when comparing the related versions with W. One may assume (unless specifically stated otherwise) that statements made here concerning the *Pilgrimage* are likewise applicable to H.

### A. Was the W Text Derived from *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*?

Considering the integrity of the *Pilgrimage* (see footnote 24), it is possible that W was derived from it. Initially, the two versions contain roughly the same introduction in terms of content and wording, furthermore both agree that the Mass is a symbolic reenactment of Christ's Passion. Like the W text writer, Bonde describes the reciprocal relationship between the Mass and Christ's Passion thus:

... the processe of the Masse representeth  
the very processe of Christe to his Passion<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup>Rhodes, J., 'Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the 16th Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xlv, (1993), pp 11-25. Jan Rhodes believes that H was copied from the *Pilgrimage* (see Rhodes, (1993), p 21-22). However, it is also possible that H and the *Pilgrimage* were copied independently from a common exemplar. The textual thoroughness which the *Pilgrimage* shows over H (see p 16-17, and Rhodes, (1993), pp 21-22) makes it a better text for this discussion. Scribal relation also strengthens Bonde's text; H's scribe was Robert Tailour, a commercial scribe from outside the monastery, while Bonde, a brother at Syon, was the author of the *Pilgrimage*. It is therefore possible to speculate that Tailour was hired to copy Bonde's work or an intermediary text.

<sup>25</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxii, r., Ch39, 24-25; (1531), fol. cclix, r., Ch60, 18-19.

The W writer follows nearly the same layout as the *Pilgrimage* as he lists the main actors, actions, and objects used in the Mass, each with its corresponding symbol. Where the texts cover the same subject matter, W uses almost identical wording to that in the *Pilgrimage*<sup>26</sup>.

Further evidence for W text adaptation from Bonde may be inferred from scribal copying errors in W. The W text shows (emphasis mine):

... In þis tyme, allso remembre  
þe beryall of our Sauyour and / hys blyssyd descending doвне  
of hys moost glorious soule to / **hym** befor þe delyuerans of þe  
Holy Fathers (314-317).

However, Bonde writes:

In this tyme also remember the buryall of our sa-  
uyour and the blessed descencyon of his soule to **Limbo** for the delyue-  
raunce of þe holy fathers<sup>27</sup>.

The W scribe's use of "hym" does not fit the sense of the passage. It is doubtful that Christ would descend down to "hym", though if Christ descends to see God, then there exists a problem with direction. Furthermore, the pronoun "hym" is not a location, such as "limbo", where the dead holy fathers were said to reside. It is as if the W scribe confuses the lettering of the text from which he is working, writing "hym" in place of "lymbo" as he copies from Bonde.

However, the content of the *Pilgrimage* differentiates it from W, for Bonde, unlike the W text writer, seems preoccupied with presenting the meditations on the Passion in isolation, rather than relating it to the Mass. To begin with, the *Pilgrimage* contains added focus on the crucifixion section of the Passion; in the *Pilgrimage*, the reader is given a graphic description of this section not once, but twice. The *Pilgrimage*, upon reaching the

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<sup>26</sup>For example, Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxiii, v., Ch39, 21-26; (1531), fol. cclix, v., Ch60, 29-33; and W 9r16-9v8.

<sup>27</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, [v.], Ch39; (1531) fol. cclxi, r., Ch60, 21-22.

first point of the service where the Mass would represent the actual crucifixion<sup>28</sup>, leaves the topic of the Mass ceremony altogether and expands the narrative of the crucifixion instead of mentioning it briefly and returning to the next definition as W does. The *Pilgrimage* is more caught up than the W text in narrating the Passion, as is shown by Bonde's full retelling of the Passion<sup>29</sup>; W avoids visiting the topic again and eschews most of the gruesome details which Bonde includes. Ironically the W text writer calls the meditation on the Passion "a medytacy-/on of swetnesse onspekable" (221-22), for only in the *Pilgrimage* does the reader find lengthy description of the guards stretching out Christ's limbs, holding them tightly that they might "(smite) them through"<sup>30</sup>, or the graphic portrayal of the cross being dropped into its socket on Golgatha, where Christ's hands and feet "dyd rent & teare / for the weyght of his blessed body"<sup>31</sup>. If he were deriving from Bonde, then the W writer found such detailed sections unproductive for explaining the Mass.

Further evidence that W is not adapted from the *Pilgrimage* outweighs that which suggests otherwise. One must account for the additional material on the order of service which W contains and which Bonde does not include; in passages where wording and text diverge, it is as if the W text writer follows a different plan altogether. One need only consider W from the middle of the second recto, through to the end of the 6th verso to read of Eucharistic symbolism which is not found in the *Pilgrimage*, but in the Innocent III and

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<sup>28</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, [v.]; (1531), fol. cclix, v.

<sup>29</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, [v.] - [cxxvi, r.]; (1531), fol. cclx, r.

<sup>30</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, [v.] - [cxxvi, r.]; (1531), fol. cclx, r., 42.

<sup>31</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, [v.] - [cxxvi, r.]; (1531), fol. cclx, v., 3.

Durandus texts<sup>32</sup>. More specifically, W contains references to the deacon and subdeacon, explaining the actions of each and defining the Biblical figures which these persons would symbolize (24, 46-47). The *Pilgrimage* does not. References to Mary and her womb as the temple and changing room of Christ are never mentioned (34-37) in the *Pilgrimage*. Likewise, other objects such as the chasuble, stole, maniple, lights, and the altar with its corners are not as fully explained in the *Pilgrimage* as they are in the W text, if they are mentioned at all (42-6). Additionally, only W refers to the vestments twice in order to explain both the vesting of the priest and the vesting of the bishop (64-8). Directions for the choir to sing during certain times of the Mass are not included in the *Pilgrimage*, and the description of the symbolic role of the choir in the Mass is also omitted (27-8, 30-33). So, too, the nine ornaments and prerogatives of the bishop are not included in the *Pilgrimage* (64-76). Unlike W, the *Pilgrimage* offers no statement of intent before presenting the step-by-step listing and explanation of the contents of the Mass (80-4). Altogether, these differences suggest that W was not derived immediately from Bonde's *Pilgrimage*, but from a common exemplar.

#### B. Was *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* Derived from the W Text?

Because the W text writer includes more definitions of actions, objects, and actors in the Eucharist than Bonde does, one could speculate that Bonde uses W as a source for his writing. The W writer's tendency to keep directly to technical matters of defining the

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<sup>32</sup>For example, the ornaments of the bishop which are listed in *DS*, (1855), cols 793-97 and *RD*, (1995), pp 171-224. Further examples are listed in the Subject Matter Notes.

Mass makes W a text from which Bonde could derive. Indeed, Bonde's work and W are almost identical in places, and one could justify cases where the *Pilgrimage* diverges from W, by saying that Bonde improves upon W. Such editing explains Bonde's insertion of the Kyrie Eleison<sup>33</sup> where W shows none; likewise, Bonde would have added the detail that the 3rd kiss of the priest should not only bring one to ask forgiveness, but should also lead one to prayer. Yet, in all, Bonde follows the same general order of the text that W does.

In spite of such textual similarity, clues remain which suggest that Bonde was not adapting from W. Perhaps this is because Bonde's Eucharistic meditations are a small part of the larger work of the *Pilgrimage of Perfection*. Bonde draws much of his work in the *Pilgrimage* from other sources such as works by Franciscan authors David of Augsburg and Henry of Herph, whose texts are adapted by Bonde in his Eucharistic meditations of the *Pilgrimage*<sup>34</sup>. Yet though Bonde adapts from a series of different texts, he imposes his own style on them, using consistent wording in order to unify the whole of the *Pilgrimage*. For instance he employs certain narrative sections in his chapter on the Eucharist which are included, almost verbatim, in other chapters of Book 3. Because the words of the Mass-related chapters are repeated elsewhere in the *Pilgrimage*, it seems improbable that Bonde was inspired by a few of the sections in W to the extent that he would base the whole of the *Pilgrimage* on it.

Bonde, if he were borrowing from W, would have had to implement the language of the W text throughout the *Pilgrimage*. Bonde describes the Passion in the *Pilgrimage* Eucharistic meditations:

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<sup>33</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxiii, r., 13; (1531), fol. cclix, v., 23; W 109.

<sup>34</sup>Rhodes, (1993), p 17.

... call to your remembraunce by meditation the hole process of Christes passion from the Maundy vnto the poynt of his dethe. Firste howe he prayed in the garden where in greate agony he swet bloody dropes. Than thynke on his betrayeng, takyng, byndyng and ledyng befor Annas and Chayphas where he suffered buffettes & beatynges on the blessed face<sup>35</sup>.

This would then have been derived from W, as Langforde writes:

... inprinte inwardly in your h[ear]t  
by holy medytatyon þe ho[le] [pro-] / cesse of þe Passyon frome [the]  
mandy vnto þe poynt of [his] / deith, furst þe prayer in þe [gardeyn]  
where in greit agonye [he] [swet] / bloode & watter; allso, [his] [be-]  
traying of Jvdas, & ho[w] [he] / was taken bovnde & b[lodyng] [be-]  
fore Anne & Cayphas (199-204).

If Bonde is indeed adapting from W, then it is curious that Bonde devotes the entirety of another, non-Eucharistic chapter to a meditation on this scene alone, employing the same words. Bonde sets out the contents of an earlier, non-Eucharistic chapter:

At matyns, meditacions conteynyng iii poyntes of  
the Passion of our lord Jesu, þis is to say, his Maundy,  
his betrayeng and his illusions and tormentes before  
Anna & Cayphas...<sup>36</sup>,

and the chapter begins the meditations on this episode:

... haue considercion of / these iii poyntes of his Maundy, of his  
prayers & agony in the gardens, & on his betrayeng and  
illusions, how he was mocked & scorned before Anna  
and Cayphas<sup>37</sup>.

The fact that Bonde uses wording similar to the W text, yet applies it to different meditations than the W writer would have intended (e.g. matins) suggests that he is drawing from descriptions not employed in W. Not only that, but the chapters preceding

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<sup>35</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxiiii, r., 3-10; (1531), cclx, r., 24-29.

<sup>36</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cv, v., Ch 32, 19-22; (1531), ccxlix, r., 41- ccxlix, v., Ch 53, 2.

<sup>37</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cv, v., 25-29; (1531), ccxlix, v., 5-7.

the Mass meditations chapter all contain nearly identical descriptions of this scene which fit in with the text around them, and do not seem to be merely lifted “good bits” from W. Even as early as *Pilgrimage* Book 3, Day 2, reference is made in W-style wording to these sets of meditations on Christ’s sacrifice<sup>38</sup>.

Much of Bonde’s wording in the chapters preceding his Eucharistic meditations resonate with the images which he styles similarly in his Eucharistic meditations. One chapter preceding these meditations contains a narrative of Christ’s tortures immediately before the crucifixion and suggests that one meditate on Christ’s crown of thorns<sup>39</sup>. This same meditation also appears in the Eucharistic meditations of the *Pilgrimage* and in the W text (15v). In another chapter, Bonde offers meditations for the canonical hour of sext; he includes Christ’s suffering on the cross:

... for the whiche his senewes / and vaynes brast and the  
hole frame of the ioyntes / of his blessed body dissolved<sup>40</sup>.

In the Eucharistic meditations this singular image appears again, but this time in order to define the action of the priest’s casting the stole about his neck. This action symbolizes:

... the ropes with  
the whiche the tourmentors streyned and drewe his  
blessed body on the crosse so sore that all his ioyntes  
were dissolued & losed eche from his ryght place and  
that his senewes & vaynes cracked & brast<sup>41</sup>.

In W, this same image is employed in similar wording in order to define the same priestly action of donning the stole:

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<sup>38</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. lxv, v.- lxvi, r.; (1531), fol. cxiii, v.

<sup>39</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxii, r., Ch 34, 22-24; (1531), fol. ccliii, r., Ch 55, 25-27.

<sup>40</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxiii, v., Ch 35, 24-26; (1531), fol. ccliiii, r., Ch 56, 22-24.

<sup>41</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxii, v., 25-29; (1531), fol. cclix, v., 8-11.

Have medytatyon of þe bosteous / roppys wher with þe turmentors  
 dyd drawe hys blyssyd body / on þe crosse so sore þat all hys joynttis  
 were dyssoluyd, & hys sceynowys / [& waillis] and vaynys all tobrast  
 (89-91).

It seems that for Bonde, the Passion was a multi-purpose meditation as he invokes it throughout his work. Yet for the W writer, the Passion is shown only in relation to the Eucharist. Because such consistency within and between wording and images is embedded throughout the whole of the *Pilgrimage of Perfection*, it is improbable that Bonde relied on the shorter text of W to provide images and word choice for the whole of his own text.

### C. Were the W Text and *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* Adapted Independently from a Common Source?

Considering the preceding evidence that W may not have been adapted from the *Pilgrimage*, nor was the *Pilgrimage* adapted from W, it is probable that their writers were independently and selectively choosing from a common exemplar. More evidence supporting an intermediary source concerns the differences in layout among the texts, including H. W is presented more like a manual than H. For instance, the W text provides its own directions for use. After a brief introduction one reads, “Now frome hensforthe / furst reid þe titles & so / after þe medytatyons” (84). Thereafter, W is organized in hand-book form; one is presented with a rubricated line describing an action, for instance, “When þe prest castyth / on hys overmest vest-/ment, called a chesible” (92). These actions are followed by nonrubricated directions describing a point in Christ’s Passion upon which the reader should meditate. However, H rarely, and the *Pilgrimage* never, employs rubricated headings which serve in the W text to separate the outer action of the service from the inner action of remembering the Passion.

H does indicate point to point changes in the priest's actions in the Mass by showing decorative lines in the margin at each stage of the service, dividing the Mass into sections much as W does, but without physical distancing of the line, decorative title-framing lines, and rubrication. Most times when the H scribe introduces a different part of the Mass, it is indicated by a horizontal line drawn in the margin. However, later in his text the H scribe begins separating headings from text as W does, with indented and decorated page placement, excepting the rubrication<sup>42</sup>.

Whereas the H scribe marks changes of action, the *Pilgrimage* runs different subjects into each other so that the reader may not immediately be aware of subject changes. After ending an earlier subject discussion, H begins a section of explanation midway through the line before; however, to begin the next subject, he drops down to the next line and indents:

When þe prest begynneth Per omnia  
secula seculorum befor Agnus Dei <sup>43</sup>.

Thus H and the W text are organized in a way that enables easier delineation between sections of the Mass. The *Pilgrimage*, though it includes marginalia which mark sections of the liturgy and points of discussion, does not have the same outlining effect. Instead, the change of subject heading is lost in the next topic in the *Pilgrimage*, for instance:

... and dispose  
yourself euery masse at þis tyme in a charitable con-  
trite and clene hert to receive your lord spiritually  
with all these great benefites gyuen to you by his spe-  
ciall grace. When þe prest begyneth Per omnia secula  
seculorum befor Agnus Dei have in your / meditacion ...<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup>See H 65v19-21, 66v5-6, 68r18-19, 70r4-5, and 71r18-19.

<sup>43</sup>H 70r 4-5.

<sup>44</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, r., 19-24; (1531), fol. cclxi, r., 1-5.

What begins as a new subject in H might be mistaken for extra detail on separate subjects in the *Pilgrimage*. This delineation makes W more unusual as it marks topic changes with not only subject headings, but enlarged initials, rubrication and decoration for each new subject listing and definition, surpassing H's gesture to organization. One could thus argue that the source text for all three had an elaborate layout like the W text which H and the *Pilgrimage* both simplify to varying degrees.

Further study of the different conclusions among the texts reveals more differentiation among the versions. One traces the conclusions insofar as they coincide with the conclusion of the *Pilgrimage* and W, and finds that Bonde and the W text end this chapter decisively while H does not<sup>45</sup>. The *Pilgrimage* and W conclude by discussing the Requiem while H presents the Requiem in different order<sup>46</sup>. In this case, W and the *Pilgrimage* follow a common plan, proving H less reliant on the *Pilgrimage*. Such structural similarity between W and the *Pilgrimage* suggests that not only did W and the *Pilgrimage* stem directly from a common exemplar, but H may have done, as well.

The *Pilgrimage* includes specific details which H and W do not. For instance, the *Pilgrimage* marks each section of the liturgy in the margins as it occurs in the text. It also includes reference to liturgical aspects which the W scribe passes over, such as the Confiteor and the Sursum Corda. Another of Bonde's additions is shown as W and H describe the intricacies of priestly action in the Eucharist<sup>47</sup>, mentioning that the priest kisses three times in a certain part of the Mass. Bonde numbers the kisses like W and H do, but unlike W and H, he includes extra detail concerning the locations for such kisses,

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<sup>45</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, [v.] - [cxxvi, r.]; (1531), fol. cclxi, v.; H 71r; W 351.

<sup>46</sup>H 72r18.

<sup>47</sup>W 261; H 69v9.

for instance, “Secondarily he kysseth the brynk of the chalyce”<sup>48</sup>. W and H omit such information and only point the reader in the vague direction of the chalice. One must therefore suppose that Bonde derives this information from another text which is not W.

Another example of Bonde’s including textual detail where the other manuscript writers do not is shown when Bonde orders his text to include all of Christ’s seven last words. H folio 68v, the *Pilgrimage*<sup>49</sup>, and W 243-50 contain a discussion of these seven last words. All three manuscripts begin the list of mysteries, but only H and the *Pilgrimage* preface the first mystery with the adverb, “first”. However, after this first order of the procedure is listed in these two versions, H omits to label the 2nd through the 7th mysteries, as if to supplant the listing format with a more narrative form, uninterrupted by numbers. The W text begins the list, without numbers (243), but fails to finish it as he digresses into a different topic not mentioned in H or the *Pilgrimage*. Bonde, however, retains numerical compartmentalization throughout. He lists:

the second whan he promised to the thefe...  
 the third whan he committed to his mother...  
 the fourthe whan he cryed with a loude voyce...  
 the fyfth whan he sayd I thyrst...  
 the sixte whan he sayd Now all is done...  
 the seuenth whan at last he sayd father / I  
                   comytte my soule...<sup>50</sup>

H contains almost identical wording, save for the numeration which segments the narrative of the Passion further in order to define each aspect of it<sup>51</sup>. As for W, it neither numbers its mysteries nor actually moves beyond a gesture to the second of those that are listed in the

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<sup>48</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxv, r., 12; (1531), fol. cclx, v., 37.

<sup>49</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxiv, v.; (1531), fol. cclx, v.

<sup>50</sup>Bonde, (1526), fol. cxxiv, v.; (1531), fol. cclx, v.

<sup>51</sup>See H 68v6, 8, 13, 15-17.

*Pilgrimage*. This is perhaps because listing the mysteries would offer no added understanding to the explanation of the Eucharist. If all three writers were deriving from a common exemplar, then it appears that each had his own independent plan for his own version.

These differences among the textual layouts, the conclusions, and selective attention to detail suggest that W, H, and the *Pilgrimage* were copied independently from a common exemplar.

### III. Discussion of W Text Authorship and Audience.

#### A. W Text Authorship.

The strongest influence on the content of Mass books would have been the *De sacro altaris mysterio*, written by Lothar of Segni<sup>52</sup>, the future Pope Innocent III, circa 1195. This treatise introduced a key to the meanings of the symbols of the Mass, providing an interpretation of the Eucharist which Rubin categorizes as “the persons, the things, the words, and the works (acts)”<sup>53</sup> which constitute the essential elements to effect the Mass. The Innocent III text is the ultimate source of texts such as W and H.

#### 1. The W Text and “B. Langforde, Preiste”.

On the final recto of the W text *Meditatyon*s, the text is signed “B. Langforde, / Preiste”. There is no direct evidence suggesting that Langforde was W’s author, yet one can address his scribal role. Unfortunately, little is known about Langforde himself, though his scribal method may suggest clues.

Langforde forms the letters ‘p’ and the ‘y’ similarly throughout W. Professor McIntosh proposes that such scribal usage regarding the confusion of letters ‘p’ and ‘y’ may be regionally linked. Michael Benskin writes of conditions where ‘p’ and ‘y’, “are confused as a single symbol, which may be ‘p’-like or ‘y’-like in appearance”<sup>54</sup>. This use

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<sup>52</sup>Rubin, (1991), p 34. (In reference to *DS*, (1855)).

<sup>53</sup>Rubin, (1991), p 34.

<sup>54</sup>Benskin, Michael, ‘The Letter “p” and “y” in Later Middle English, and Some Related Matters’, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, vii, no.1, (1982), p 14.

would be reflective of scribes from northerly and easterly regions of England, also including Scotland. Langforde often confuses ‘p’ and ‘y’ as one single symbol, as shown in line 65 where ‘pt ys’, (symbolizing ‘pat ys’), could be confused with ‘yt ys’. In another instance typical of the rest of the text, the ‘y’ in ‘your’ (18) is not distinct from the ‘p’ in ‘pe’ (18). Again, on line 32, characters ‘p’ and ‘y’ are formed identically in the words ‘pat yt’. Benskin finds such confusion reflective of a northern scribe who would accidentally “let slip the odd ‘y’ in place of ‘p’ or who hypercorrects ‘p’ for ‘y’” thinking that such corrections comply with Chancery Standard<sup>55</sup>. Benskin adds that in some manuscripts, “which on linguistic grounds can be assumed to have been copied by Midlands scribes from northerly or easterly exemplars,” the first few folios show confusion of ‘p’ and ‘y’<sup>56</sup>. However, in the W text, the graphs of ‘p’ and ‘y’ are mixed throughout the manuscript, even in the final folios<sup>57</sup>. Considering his confusion of graphs, Langforde may have been a northern scribe copying from a southern Midlands exemplar<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup>Benskin, (1982), p 17.

<sup>56</sup>Benskin, (1982), p17.

<sup>57</sup>See W 334 which shows similar graphs for words ‘pus’ and ‘your’, and also 370 which shows identical graphs for ‘ys’ and ‘pat’.

<sup>58</sup>Linguistic analysis of W shows a curious mixing of Northern and South Midlands forms. Most of the linguistic evidence in W points toward a Southwest Midlands dialect. For instance, present verb suffixes are often ‘-th’ (see ‘signifythe’ (51), ‘dothe’ (13), ‘representhe’ (34)). Certain vowel usage, as in ‘ony’ (19) and ‘hond’ (350) also places W’s provenance in the West and South Midlands. However, the MS also shows Northern forms; ‘hand’ occurs 3 times (53, 85, 321), as does ‘refressyd’ (172). Third person personal pronouns ‘thayme’ (129) and ‘pame’ (130) locate the provenance further north, if not in the North. Additionally, the rare occurrence of prefixes ‘sch-’ (‘schewyd’ (63)) and ‘qw-’ (‘qweyre’ (28)) shows Northern influence on W. However, the abundance of Southern and Southwest Midlands forms consistently throughout the MS indicates that the Southwest Midlands was the main area of influence on W (see verbs ‘bene’ (70), ‘haue’ (62), ‘goith’ (51), ‘dye’ (293); also adjectives ‘furst’ (51), ‘lytyll’ (184)).

## 2. Authorship of the Related Texts.

An examination of the authorship of the related texts, Harley 494 and *The Pilgrimage of Perfection*, may shed light on the authorship of the W text. *The Pilgrimage of Perfection* was written by William Bonde, one of Syon's own priests<sup>59</sup>. Before entering Syon, Bonde was a fellow at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and later held the position of a university preacher there from 1509 to 1510. Evidently the *Pilgrimage* was popular for it was printed by Pynson in 1526 and again by Wynkyn de Worde in 1531. Both the Pynson and the Wynkyn de Worde editions show pictures of St. Bridget at her writing desk with a nun and a monk kneeling at her feet. This portrayal of the male and female clergy together at St. Bridget's feet gestures toward life in the Bridgettine foundation at Syon, which consisted of men and women together in a single monastery.

Ian Doyle attributes the H manuscript to the work of scribe Robert Tailour<sup>60</sup>, a commercial scribe who was not a part of the monastery. Tailour had also recorded the single surviving manuscript of the *Myroure of oure Ladye* around 1515 for Elizabeth Mounton, most probably the "Elizabeth Mountayne" listed among Syon nuns in residence during the time of Constantia Browne's election to Abbess on 30 August 1518<sup>61</sup>. Such scribal provenance may strengthen the link between Harley 494 and Syon, though this assumption is made with caution. According to deHamel:

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<sup>59</sup>A Bibliographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500, ed. A.B.Emden, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1963), p 72. Bonde would have entered Syon Monastery as a monk after 1510; he remained there until his death in 1530.

<sup>60</sup>Rhodes, (1993), p 14.

<sup>61</sup>Bell, D.N., What Nuns Read. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1995, p 176; see also Aungier, G.J., The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery. London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1840, p 81.

all chapels and churches in England owned service-books, and these were the largest class of books in use in the medieval period; they also required frequent updating, and work on liturgical manuscripts must represent one of the most industrious activities of scribes in medieval England<sup>62</sup>.

Thus Tailour could have been employed in copying updated liturgical exemplars for the sisters. Indeed, according to its flyleaf one may assume that much of Harley 494 belonged to “Domina Anna Bulkley” (1r1). The Harley Manuscripts Catalogue presumes Lady Anne Bulkley to have been an abbess at Syon or Berkynge<sup>63</sup>. However, Bulkley is not included in Aungier’s list of one-time abbesses at Syon<sup>64</sup>, nor is she found within the *Martyrology of Syon Monastery* or the *Bridgettine Breviary*, though neither the *Martyrology* nor the *Breviary* purports to be fully complete<sup>65</sup>. However, Harley 494 contains a tract on a vision of St. Bridget (88v), a text which would hold specific importance for Syon nuns.

It is H’s scribal relation to Bonde’s Syon text that gives Bulkley a possible connection to Syon. According to Rhodes, nuns at Syon, such as Bulkley may have been, had certain duties of reading which were furthered by assistance from the brothers:

The nuns were to do more than just sing their services in Latin, they were to read English books for their instruction and edification... The priest-brothers had a particular obligation to provide the sisters -- who were expected to be literate -- with a suitable range of reading matter in English<sup>66</sup>.

It is therefore tempting to consider that the Eucharistic meditations in H are an excerpt

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<sup>62</sup>de Hamel, Christopher, *Syon Abbey*. Otley: private publisher, 1991, p 51.

<sup>63</sup>*A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, ed. R. Nares, London: private publisher, 1808.

<sup>64</sup>Aungier, G.J., (1840), p 81.

<sup>65</sup>British Library MS Add. 22285 (*Martyrology of Syon Monastery*), and Bodleian Library MS Auct. D.4.7 (*Bridgettine Breviary*).

<sup>66</sup>Rhodes, (1993), p 15.

taken from the W and *Pilgrimage* exemplar, and specifically tailoured with nuns in mind.

Considering the Syon-related authorship which Bonde gives to the *Pilgrimage*, along with the implied Syon connection of H through scribe Robert Tailour, one may speculate with caution that the exemplar from which these men were working was located near Syon, if it was not at Syon itself. It is therefore possible that B. Langforde had some connection to Syon, though he is not included among the pages of the *Martyrology of Syon Abbey*, nor the *Bridegettine Breviary*. However, according to de Hamel, late 15th century Syon was a powerhouse of ecclesiastical, literary activity, and often saw members of other orders visit it with the intent of copying or borrowing some of its texts. If Langforde was not already at Syon, then he may well have been a brother from another order involved in copying one of Syon's texts.

#### B. W Text Audience.

The W text contains a mixture of material which could be construed as pertaining to a clerical and lay audience. When the W writer presents descriptions of cast, characters, actions, and symbols of the Mass, one finds information which delineates the roles between bishops and priests. Also, W includes a list of powers of the bishop which “he þat ys / only but prest haith not” (69). Such information concerning explicit division of powers seems edifying only for clergy members, as it is provided for them in manuals such as the *De sacro altaris mysterio*<sup>67</sup>. W also mentions St. Thomas Aquinas’ patristic writings on virtues which bishops should possess. Additionally, untranslated passages of Latin exist in the W text; this assumes a certain amount of knowledge on the part of the reader which

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<sup>67</sup>DS, (1855), see also Subject Matter Notes.

few of the laity possessed. By including Latin sections and by the presentation of exclusively ecclesiastical knowledge, the author perhaps intended the *Meditatyon*s for use by an ecclesiastical audience.

However, other parts of W suggest that the text could have been intended for the laity. W offers directions to the lay audience which outline their appropriate responses to certain parts of the Mass in their thoughts and actions. For instance in 183-189 and 190-195 they are encouraged to pray following certain cues. The fact that none of the secret prayers and gestures of the priest is recorded (see notes) also implies that the W text was a manual for the laity. Because directions meant specifically for the clergy are omitted, one could assume that W was intended for the laity.

Speculation on the intended audiences for the *Pilgrimage* and H may help further define the W text audience. Taking the earlier description of H to bear upon the *Pilgrimage*, one may consider that both were intended for religious laity or even the clergy themselves. Rhodes suggests that the *Pilgrimage* meditations were used to help the clergy teach the laity by providing a manual of basic teachings. Rhodes writes that Bonde:

envisaged the work being of most use ‘to prelates or hedes that hath other in cure’ (Bonde, (1526), fol. 2), to those experienced in religious and spiritual life who would effectively control access to its doctrine of perfection<sup>68</sup>.

Evidently, “prelates or hedes” may not have been the only audience Bonde had in mind, for if one examines sig. a. 6v of the British Library copy of the Pynson edition of Bonde’s

*Pilgrimage*, one finds the following insertion:

of your charyte I pray you to pray  
for dame Johanna Sprycer in Syon.

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<sup>68</sup>Rhodes, (1993), p 21.

One finds Sprycer again in Aungier, listed as “Joan Sprycer”<sup>69</sup>, who would have been a contemporary of Elizabeth Mountayne under the Abbess Constancia Browne in 1518. This serves to underline the fact that Bonde’s work (and therefore the related H text) had an audience of Syon nuns. Because the H *Meditations* reputedly derives from Bonde’s work and because it is bound in a book of works intended for a nun or devout lay woman, it is probable that this version of the Eucharistic meditations was assembled with a religious woman in mind.

One thus considers the possibility that W, too, was a text for nuns as well as religious laity. Indeed, Rhodes writes that treatises written for nuns were often also intended for devout lay people<sup>70</sup>. Such explanation of the Mass would have proved useful for nuns at Syon, for, according to de Hamel, “the services performed by men and women were different, ... and therefore the types of manuscripts which they used were different”<sup>71</sup>. Men followed the ordinary Use of Sarum, while Bridgettines at Syon followed Augustinian Rule, which St. Bridget called the *Rule of Saint Saviour*<sup>72</sup>. As the nuns were present at the men’s services, it is therefore possible that the W text was intended for the nuns or religious laity attending those services which observed Sarum Use.

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<sup>69</sup>Aungier, (1840), p 81.

<sup>70</sup>Rhodes, (1993), p 18.

<sup>71</sup>de Hamel, (1991), p 53.

<sup>72</sup>Rubin, (1991), p 51.

#### IV. The W Text in the Context of the Meditative Tradition.

The W text *Meditatyons*, Richard Rolle's *Meditations*<sup>73</sup> and Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*<sup>74</sup> are similar members of the meditative tradition, for they seek to conflate the events of the four Gospel accounts into one, single narrative. Rolle and Love's texts have been arbitrarily selected to show W's relationship to the meditative tradition because they originate from a long tradition of such writing, and they were widely disseminated texts during the medieval period. Lyric writers, too, joined in this tradition with contributions facilitating the meditation on the Passion. When these texts bring the separate Gospel accounts together into one single story, the text produced is an amplified version of the Gospel narrative with detail added to smooth the pieces together. For example, Nicholas Love produces mixtures of Gospel and narrative by inserting extra-scriptural detail so effectively that the reader is often unaware of Love's transitions between Biblical re-tellings and fictional embellishment. Through imaginative retelling of the Passion, the Passion writers bring the first century events to the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (or, more effectively, transfer the fourteenth to sixteenth century reader to Christ's time).<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Ed., Hope Emily Allen. The English Writings of Richard Rolle. Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1931, pp 17-36.

<sup>74</sup>Ed., Michael Sargent. Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1992. Love's own 'Treatise on the Sacrament' makes no direct comparison with the Passion, hence it is not discussed here.

<sup>75</sup>Margery Kempe's meditations, though they will not be discussed here, would seem to be a culmination of the meditative tradition, for she literally imagines herself into the Gospel narrative.

It was supposed that if the Gospel were to be accessed by the laity or taught to them by priests, it must be made relevant to the natural world of medieval people. This relevance is created through accessible analogies accompanied by orthodox lessons inserted so as to direct the reader's interpretation and learning. The W writer, Rolle, and Love provide the imaginative props necessary for the reader to transcend the plain Gospel narrative in order to envision it into his or her life. By choosing which Biblical points to expand and which to reduce, the meditation writers create their own Biblical interpretation. Such editorial method is so thorough that it prescribes specific lessons while retelling the Passion; thus the reader absorbs the lessons without realizing it. The W writer has an agenda more specific than merely crafting a meditation, for he uses the characteristics of the meditative tradition to explain the Eucharist. The following discussion is not an attempt to trace the history of the devotion to the Passion from its early stages to the sixteenth century, nor is it attempting to trace the antecedents to the W text in earlier English writing. By showing the parallels between W, Love, Rolle, and the medieval religious lyrics, one may see how the W text writer selects certain writing methods and metaphors from the Passion accounts in order to engage the imaginations of his readers so that they may be taught his interpretation of the doctrine of the Eucharist.

By placing W within the context of Rolle and Love's meditations, one may examine the W writer's selection from parts of the Gospels and the traditional Passion narratives. In W, the Passion is re-told through the enactment of the Mass, the aspects of the ceremony serving as devices for remembering the Passion. The organizing factor in W is the liturgy which dictates the sequence of Passion events he recounts. Therefore one is not surprised to find certain Passion events narrated out of order as the W author seeks to

follow the order of service<sup>76</sup>; however there also seems to be an underlying assumption that the reader already knows the Passion narrative. Insofar as the Eucharist transcends the written meditation by acting out representations of Passion-related events, the W writer discriminates among meditative material, omitting certain Passion events while exaggerating others to explain the Eucharist. For instance, the W writer is selective about his characters; where Rolle and Love include accounts of Mary in the Passion narrative, the W writer does not. This omission is probably due to the fact that Mary does not play a large role in the Mass. Yet, in most Passion narratives, Mary is present at the foot of the cross. Rolle refers to her thus:

A, Lord, þe sorewe þat fel to þi herte, whan þou on  
þi modur caste þine eyen. Þou saw hyre folewe af[t]er  
among þe gret prees; os a womman owt of hyreselve<sup>77</sup>.

Love, too, includes the scene:

And so stode þe modere byside þe crosse of hir sone,  
bytwix his crosse & þe þefes crosse. She turnede neuer hir  
eyene fro him, she was full of anguysh as he was also<sup>78</sup>.

Mary at the foot of the cross is also a stock scene among the lyricists, making her the subject of such works as the following lyric:

Quanne ic se on rode  
Jesu mi lemman,  
An besiden him stonden  
Marie an Johan,  
And his rig iswungen,  
And his rig iswungen,  
For the luv of man  
Wel ou ic to wepen

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<sup>76</sup>This method is fundamentally different from Love, who proceeds in the order of the Passion narrative.

<sup>77</sup>Allen, (1931), Med. I, 99-101.

<sup>78</sup>Sargent, (1992), p 178/20-22.

And sinnes forleten,  
 Yif ic of luve kan,  
 Yif ic of luve kan,  
 Yif ic of luve kan<sup>79</sup>.

In the same way that the W text's Passion narrative does not include discussion of Mary, so, too, it omits Christ's looking upon Peter during the time of Peter's denial of him<sup>80</sup>.

Rolle, however, includes this scene in both of his Meditations<sup>81</sup>. He thanks Christ:

... for þat mercyfulle lokyng þat þou, turn-  
 ynge agayne, beheld upon Peter, þy disciple þat forsoke  
 þe, and yit in myche angwishe þou shewddest þy love  
 opynly to hym<sup>82</sup>.

Here, one may speculate that if the Mass liturgy had included a role representation of Peter, then certainly the interaction with Peter would have been recorded in W.

Though the author of W excludes characters that do not easily translate into the Eucharist, he chooses to follow meditative form when it can be employed to give attention to those events that do amplify the Mass. The W writer follows meditative form by including passages which elaborate on how Christ was scorned, yet by embellishing the narrative of the scorning of Christ, an event such as the binding of Christ takes on a Mass-oriented meaning. According to W:

When þe fanell ys / put on þe lefte hand:  
 Remember þe roips with þe whiche  
 þe knyghtis dyd bynd our Sauyours  
 handis when þai dyd leyd hym  
 fro tyrant to tyrant (85-87).

Also significant in liturgically-related fashion:

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<sup>79</sup>Gray, Douglas. English Medieval Religious Lyrics. Exeter: University of Exeter Press: 1992, pp 33-4.

<sup>80</sup>See Lk 22:61.

<sup>81</sup>Allen, (1931), Med. I, 31-41, and Med. II, 138-147.

<sup>82</sup>Allen, (1931), Med. II, 139-142.

When þe stoole ys cast  
 ouer hys necke & crossyd  
 on þe breist:  
 Hauē in medytatyon of þe bosteous  
 roppys wher with þe turmentors  
 dyd drawe hys blyssyd body  
 on þe crosse so sore þat all hys joynttis  
 were dyssoluyd (88-91).

Both events explain the Eucharistic vestiture in terms of Christ's suffering, so that when the reader sees the vested priest, he or she interprets each aspect of the priest's vestment as part of Christ's Passion. Thus the author of W transcends Rolle, who in his account, only brings Christ's binding to bear on the surface reality of pain and shame. Rolle writes:

Swet Jhesu, I yeld to þe þankynges and graces for  
 þat tresoun and shame þat þou hadde when þay  
 bonden þe to a tre as a thef<sup>83</sup>,

Love, too, describes Christ's "hauyng hees / handes bonden byhynde hym as a thefe"<sup>84</sup>.

The W writer goes beyond the objective event of the binding and deepens its meaning by turning the concepts of pain and shame into the Eucharistic symbols of stole and fanell.

The W text writer explains the symbolism of the Mass by linking it with significant acts in the Passion narrative, therefore Passion events are employed where they support the order of the liturgy. For instance, we do not have the ride into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday without mention of its relationship to the liturgical "Sanctus" (155-161). Likewise, the congregation is reminded visually of Christ's suffering on the cross when:

... þe prest, immedy-  
 aitly after þe sacryng, spreidis  
 & splayes hys armys abroyde  
 in maner of a crosse, sygnyfying  
 þe press of þe Passyon of Cryst  
 (236-238).

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<sup>83</sup>Allen, (1931), Med.II, 102-4.

<sup>84</sup>Sargent, (1992), p 167/39-40.

Thus the W writer focusses on such parts of the Passion narrative in order to explain what might appear to be arbitrary symbolism in the Mass. The W writer's description of the Passion events supporting the "Agnus Dei" shows how he derives a type of etymology for this liturgical feature from the Passion event. The "Agnus Dei" is composed of three sections which read:

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.  
 Agnus dei qui to[llis]. p[eccata]. m[undi]. mis[erere]. nob[is].  
 Agnus dei qui to[llis]. p[eccata]. m[undi]. dona nobis pacem <sup>85</sup>.

So, too, the W text writer ascertains that Christ's sufferings also maintain tripartite division. Beginning on the night before the crucifixion, Christ is betrayed "as a lambe / among dogis" (299, 231). The W writer represents the second invocation of the "Agnus Dei" as, "when he was / taiken & lede afore Anne and / Cayphas, he wolld be a lambe / among lyons" (299-301); for the third invocation:

when he was / afore Herode & Pylaite, he  
 wolld be as a lambe amongis / wulffs  
 (301-2).

Just as there are three invocations to the Lamb of God in the "Agnus Dei", so the W writer makes three lamb analogies describing Christ's arraignment before mentioning the "Agnus Dei". Such scenes are emphasized in W where they are not expanded upon in Rolle or Love because they bear no added significance to the telling of the Passion, though they are significant in explaining the Mass. Even the structure of W speaks to this, for the W writer orders the meditations according to how they fit in the Mass, in keeping with the order of service.

Though the W writer amplifies points in the Passion narrative which Rolle and Love do not, he does share with them in the meditative tradition of directing the

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<sup>85</sup>Legg, (1916), p 225.

imagination of the reader. The meditative tradition colours the Gospel narrative with emotion and calculated human reaction -- points which the Gospel on its own does not offer in detail. So, too, the W writer further refines human emotion and reaction to align it with the expectations of the Mass. Rolle and Love assimilate reader emotion and reaction by placing the narrative of the Passion in the first person narrative form, so that by the act of reading, especially reading aloud, the reader vicariously becomes the speaker as he or she says the words Love and Rolle write. For example, when Love uses the first person (albeit occasionally), the reader finds him or herself inadvertently talking with Jesus as Love narrates thus, "A lorde Jesu in to whos handes art þou now comen, / how mickel is þi pacience?"<sup>86</sup>. Both of Rolle's *Meditations* are written in the first person; through the first person, one would address God oneself, saying for example, "Swete Jhesu, I thanke þe and I zelde þe graces of / pynes and angwysches"<sup>87</sup>. Through such direct dialogue with God, and Mary, too, Rolle draws the reader into the physical act of prayer, instead of leaving the reader passive; in Rolle's *Meditations*, the reader is also a pray-er.

W does not approach this degree of meditative involvement for its audience is separated from the narrator by the third person. Perhaps this division is appropriate because the experience of Christ in W requires the mediation of the Mass, which the reader could not effect alone. Because W is mediated through the third person, instead of the direct first person narrative, it parallels the relationship the laity are to have to Christ, for they may not reach Christ without the mediation of the Eucharist (and the priest). The W text is directed toward the participants in the Mass, save for the celebrant who would have referred to Mass manuals more specific than W and who was thought to already enjoy a

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<sup>86</sup>Sargent, (1992), p 168/31-33.

<sup>87</sup>Allen, (1931), Med.I, 18-19.

direct link to God. Thus the direct type of dialogue with Christ, which exists in Love and Rolle, is excluded from W.

The W writer shares in the tradition of Rolle and Love when he engages the reader's power of imagination in order to re-animate Biblical figures. Through such meditation, the reader learns to "remember" the Passion as if he or she were present. This "remembering" or imagining is encouraged by meditation-writers who make Biblical scenes "real" by rendering characters and situations with creative details to make them seem familiar to the reader. For those instances in Christ's life where the Bible is silent, Love adds ecclesiastically approved, extra-scriptural detail to his translation so often and so well that it becomes blurred with the real, Biblical detail about which he writes. One considers the added detail describing Christ's search for his clothes after his scourging:

Aftre he was vnbonden fro þat pilere, þei ladden him  
so beten & nakede aboute þe house sekyng after hese cloþes,  
þat were cast in diuerse places of hem þat despoiled him.  
And here haue compassion of him in so grete colde quakyng  
& tremelyng, for as þe gospelle witnesseth it was þanne harde  
colde<sup>88</sup>.

Such extra detail causes the reader to recognize the reality of Christ's humanity by creating sympathy with his practical life matters; here, Christ's collecting his clothes so that he can dress. It is as if contemplation of the practical aspects of Christ's life would raise the reader to a greater understanding of the miracle of his life, for it sets the life of God's son in the contrasting, mundane world of humanity.

The W writer develops the emotional appeal of Christ to his reader through the extra-scriptural detail of selective repetition. He pulls the heart strings of his reader by repeatedly holding up verbal images of Christ as the Man of Sorrows. Rubin defines this

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<sup>88</sup>Sargent, (1992), p 171/25-30.

popular image as one of Christ, “weary, bleeding, suffering, on whom are superimposed the crucifix and the wounds”<sup>89</sup>. Where the Gospel accounts fail to offer the explicit type of narrative that would move the reader to experience the Passion more vividly, the W writer states several times how Christ is mistreated<sup>90</sup>. The W writer’s descriptions of Christ’s pain are not as graphic as those in the other meditations, but they are still considered important as:

... a medytacy-  
on of swetnesse onspekable to  
pame that inworldly can consyder / yt...

... yt shuld not  
lyghtly passe ouer, but rayther  
graueid in þe soule of man &  
inprentyd in hys harte  
(221-223, 234-235).

It is as if the W writer would instill an appreciation of the pain of the Passion, for the reader is asked to draw on this compassion in order to amplify his or her own understanding of the Eucharist.

The images of sorrow effected by the repetition of the “grett scorne & derysyon” (9) to which Christ was subjected are not the only extra-scriptural details in W. Images of evil, reflected in the text’s presentation of the Jewish people, also play to the imagination of the reader. The W text adds extra-scriptural detail of the Jews’ presence when Herod “& þe / Jewys” (8) clothe Christ in white and purple mantels to mock him. In fact, the Biblical account relates that these mockeries were not personally performed by the Jewish people, but by Herod, Pilate, and the Roman guard. Indeed, W paints the Jews as an insatiably blood-thirsty people, for after listing the tortures of Christ, the W writer glosses,

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<sup>89</sup>Rubin, (1991), p 308.

<sup>90</sup>W 9, 94-96, 204, 205-212, 217-218, 223, and 227-230.

“Thys done, not yeit þe cruall / Jewys contentyd” (217). The W writer then suggests meditation on “þe crueltie of þe Jewys” (223) as if in misplaced emotional focus, moving the emphasis from Christ to his tormentors. Love and Rolle also heighten the emotional impact of their texts on the medieval audience by encouraging animosity against the Jewish people. Rolle exclaims against them:

A, Lord, þat peyne þat lyther Jues, so cruel and so  
kene, at þe mownt of Calvarye withowten ony mercy  
pyned þe with!<sup>91</sup>

Love, in language which W echoes, warns Christ’s tormentors:

Oo wrecches, how dredeful sal þat hede apere at þe  
laste to 3ow þe which 3e smyten now so boldly.  
And 3it þis sufficeþ not to hir malice, bot to more  
reproue & scorne of him þei gederet alle hir wikkede companye  
first to wondre vpon him in þe hous, & after þei brought him  
out before Pylate <sup>92</sup>.

It seems that all of these texts employ different emotional tropes if only to involve the reader’s imagination completely.

Just as the W writer invokes images of sorrow and evil to engage the reader in deeper, more imaginative contemplation, he also borrows from the language of the mystics to provide effective meditative material. In general, W text language is varied. For the most part, it shows economical word choice, for elaborate descriptions are few and the adjectives are standard as they pertain to Passion-related descriptions of Christ, describing his “blyssyd body” (90) and his “blys-/syd faice” (96). The language describing the actions and words performed in the Eucharist is utilitarian and technical, giving specific descriptions without artistic embellishment. For instance, one reads the straight-forward

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<sup>91</sup>Allen, (1931), Med.I, 157-159.

<sup>92</sup>Sargent, (1992), p 172/1-6.

presentation of the Eucharistic symbolism of specific priestly actions:

When þe prest goith to þe / ryght cornar of þe avter  
& þe re begynneth Masse: (102-103).

Occasionally, however, some technical sections are sprinkled with the metaphorical vocabulary of the mystics. One such section reads, “Let vs haue afore þe eyes of / our soule our swete Sauyour” (98). The “eyes of the soul” phrase exhibits the efforts of medieval devotional writers who, in search of a vocabulary sufficient to describe the supernatural, employed metaphorical language. Walter Hilton is one such mystic who refers to the “spiritual eye”; he writes, “the face of our soul is uncovered by the opening of our spiritual eye”<sup>93</sup>. In the case of the “spiritual eye” as with the “eyes of the soul”, such “eyes” are intended to imply God-given conscience and understanding of spiritual matters.

W also borrows metaphors of domestic imagery to allegorize Christ’s Passion. The metaphorical vocabulary is successful, for it works in two ways; first, on an immediate level, as the analogies strike familiar resonance to objects in the life of the reader. Second, it functions on a deeper level the analogies carry Biblical resonance. Such double resonance is seen in W’s image of chosen vessels, since the vessel is a stock object in domesticity as well as Biblical imagery. If the reader forgives his or her enemies, W writes:

... þen shall you be þe chosen ves-  
sellis apte to receyue hys graice,  
and both meyth & able to  
receywe þe fruyte of þis blyssyd  
sacrament (251-253).

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<sup>93</sup>Walter Hilton, The Scale of Perfection, ed. E. Underhill, London: J.M. Watkins, 1948, p 83.

The W writer uses the Biblical reference to the earthly body as a receptacle for divine power<sup>94</sup> and expands the possibilities of the vessels' Biblical meaning to include reception of the sacrament. Further, that the vessel objects are worthy of holding communion wine reflects on the place of the Eucharistic chalice and the communicant in the Mass; as the chalice is an earthly object worthy by holiness to hold the blood, so should Christ's body of believers present themselves as holy objects, worthy of the blood.

Another metaphor which the W writer calls upon compares Christ's body to 'holsum foyde' (289), a metaphor which seems to have Rolleian roots.<sup>95</sup> The W writer speaks allegorically about the healthiness of the bread of Christ's body:

... so our blyssyd Lord  
woldd gyff vnto vs vnder þe  
qualyties & taist of breid &  
wyne, hys blyssyd body and  
bloode, as moost conveyent  
& holsum foyde to reistore and  
relewe all þe necessityes off  
soule & body (287-290).

Similarly, Rolle calls the wounds of Christ's body "lyk to a meadow / ful of swete flours and holsome herbes", which are "swet savorynge" to the devout and "holsome" to the sinful<sup>96</sup>.

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<sup>94</sup>See 2 Cor 4:7 and 2 Tim 2:21.

<sup>95</sup>The influence of Rolle is felt in the W text in the instances of metaphorical language. This language may be attributable to the connections of Rolle's work to Syon abbey as well as to the popularity which Rolle's works enjoyed. According to Hughes, an anchorite of King Henry V and a handful of court women "helped to make the royal Briggittine foundation of Syon a centre for the study of Rolle's writings" (see Jonathan Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire. Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1988, p 92). Since much textual adaptation went on at Syon, it is impossible to ignore the possibility of "Rolleian" readings imposed on texts, such as the W exemplar, which probably came into contact with the abbey.

<sup>96</sup>Allen, (1931), Med.II, 298-99, 300-1.

In another analogy, the W text writer employs the wine press, an image made popular by St. Augustine in devotional literature<sup>97</sup>. In W, one reads of Christ, “wolld / all þat long tyme in þe wyne / presse of hys blyssyd Passyon” (231-232). According to this metaphor, Christ is likened to a grape, and the cross to the wine press. As the pressure of the press releases the juice from the grape, so the trials of the cross loose Christ’s blood. The image carries further resonance, for through it the wine and the blood are one, just as they are meant to be understood in the Mass. Further, the metaphor is of Biblical origin as the reference is drawn from the wine press mentioned in Isaiah 63:3.

Finally, W employs the pelican image, an image deeply rooted in Christian art and brought up from animal bestiaries and encyclopediae such as Bartholomaeus Anglicus’ *De proprietatibus rerum*<sup>98</sup>. It was the pelican who, in early medieval lore, would slay her children when they became too headstrong, and then revive them on the third day by sprinkling them with blood after wounding her own breast with her beak<sup>99</sup>. In W, Christ is the allegorized figure as the reader is reminded:

Therfor neuer forgeyt þis moost  
tender, louyng pellycane,  
whiche of hys meyr marcy  
wolld wouchsayffe not only to  
dye for to sawe hys byrdis,  
but ouer þat he haith ordeynyd &  
dysposyd hys moost gloryouse  
& blyssyd fleyche & bloode to  
be our dayly foyde, mynys-  
treid & consecrayte in þe Masse (291-295).

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<sup>97</sup>Rubin, (1991), pp 313-4. In reference to St. Augustine’s, ‘Ennarationes in psalmos’, li-c, ed. E. Dekkers and I. Fraipont, *Corpus Chritianorum Series Latina*, xxxix, Belgium: Turnholt, (1956), p 680 (Psalm 55).

<sup>98</sup>Ed., M.C. Seymour. *Bartholomaeus Anglicus, De proprietatibus rerum*, i, trans. John of Trevisa. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975, pp 636-7.

<sup>99</sup>Seymour, (1975), pp 636-7.

The pelican is a useful metaphor for it yokes the concept of Christ's self-sacrifice and shedding of blood to an act both he and the pelican do in order to give life to their children. Thus the saving nature of the blood of Christ is amplified and endowed with Christian meaning through the analogy.

These metaphors and embellished re-castings of the Passion narrative seek to capture the reader's attention and imagination in order that they might more easily be taught. According to W, the first purpose of the treatise is:

... to move soollis to þe  
devotyon of þe Masse & to the  
lovyng remembrance of þe Pas-  
syon of Cryst (81-83).

The reader must therefore be taught this devotion to the Mass and taught how to "remember" the Passion. The W text supports this process of education by teaching the reader to feel compassion with Christ, thereby encouraging the reader to become more like Christ. The use of metaphor and of directing the reader's attention to certain emotional points along the way serves to involve the reader more fully in the Passion narrative. Such selective choosing from Passion narrative events and discriminate amplifications of Gospel events would allow the church further justification for its doctrine, and, as is the case in W, its liturgy. W approaches the problem of engaging the reader with Christ from two directions, for it would strengthen devotion to Christ's Passion through developing an understanding of the Mass, while at the same time building devotion to the Mass by encouraging deeper meditation on the Passion. In this way W, as opposed to Love and Rolle, has a double-edged teaching tool.

However, it must be said that the focus of W lies more in the exposition of the Eucharist than on the crafting of another Passion meditation. This difference between meditation and treatise is shown in Love's *Mirror*, for Love is deliberate in making the

*Mirror* a book to aid meditation. This becomes apparent when one considers that a meditation on the Mass does not occur in Love's *Mirror*, for he supplements this text by writing a separate meditation on the Sacrament. Love's deliberation is also evident from the nature of his *Mirror*, for he offers two different accounts of Christ's crucifixion upon which the reader may meditate. The reader is encouraged to choose between a scenario of Christ's being nailed to the cross as it lies on the ground, or one of Christ's climbing a ladder and being nailed to the cross as it stands; depending on which telling stirs the reader more. The W writer does not offer such imaginative leeway, for he provides a straightforward explanation of the Mass, therefore he uses the meditation on the Passion as a vehicle through which to explain the Mass. Each time the Eucharist is performed, the congregation of believers are not only taking part in a sacrament, they are re-enacting (and reinforcing) a narrative of their beliefs. By taking part in the Eucharist, the congregation affectively reaffirms their Christian vows and assents to the church's teachings on the Eucharist. By crafting parts of the meditative tradition to undergird his explanation of the Mass, the W writer teaches the doctrine of the Eucharist through the Passion.

# V. Wood Empt 17: The Edited W Text.

This edition records the written material in Bodleian Manuscript Wood Empt 17, **The Meditatyons for Goostly Exerceyse, in the Tyme of the Masse**, here referred to as the ‘W’ text. For the purposes of this edition, capitalization and punctuation have been modernized. Bold-faced lettering in the edition indicates MS letters penned in red ink. Normal medieval abbreviations occur in the text and have been expanded accordingly; the edition indicates expansions by underlining. Instances of alternate expansion are explained below. Two-word idioms written, albeit rarely, as separate words in the MS are combined in the edition. MS lineation has been condensed in the edition by placing two, and sometimes three, MS lines in one line of the edition. MS lineation is indicated in the edition by slash marks. As page layout is an important feature of W, the indentation of certain sections of the MS text has been retained in the edition.

Folio pagination has been noted in the left hand margin of the edition; those folio references without parentheses represent MS page breaks which occur at the beginning of the line of edited text. Those folio references which appear within parentheses show that the MS page break occurs at the middle line break of the edited text. Catchwords are present at each lower right-hand corner of the recto and verso sides of the pages of the MS. These catchwords are not noted in the edited text, unless they can be used to emend the text or when they disagree with the catchwords following on the next side in the text; in these cases, the catchword is mentioned in the footnotes. The footnotes, noted in the edition by line-number, also record scribal error, insertions and marginal notes.

In cases of text damage, square brackets indicate transcription guesses. Much of the text within square brackets on 15r and 15v is due to damage where the outer side and

bottom quarter of the MS page have fallen away. The words on leaf 15 within the square brackets of the edition have been chosen after consultation with the H MS, which contains sections in common with W; in some places of minimal W text damage, H offers an approximate match. Textual emendations, suppressed readings, and other corrections are explained in the Subject Matter Notes.

Noti such as ‘*p*’ and ‘*p̄*’ appear in the text and have been expanded in this edition. In the case of ‘*p*’, ‘pro-’ is always implied, as in ‘*prophet̄tis*’ (31), ‘*proceid*’ (39), and ‘*profett*’ (181). In the case of ‘*p̄*’, in general, ‘per-’ or ‘par-’ may be implied. W employs ‘*p̄*’ as ‘par-’ in the cases of ‘*part*’ (261) and ‘*parttis*’ (317). ‘*p̄*’ has been expanded to ‘per-’ in the word ‘*perfectyon*’ (74), as it appears elsewhere in the text spelled as such.

Noti such as ‘*ʀ*’ and ‘*ʁ*’ appear in W in order to signify medial ‘re’ and ‘er’, and occasionally ‘ri’, ‘ir’, or ‘ra’. These have been expanded in this edition according to the word intended. (See ‘*prest*’ (2), ‘*representyd*’ (2), ‘*per*’ (26), ‘*eternall*’ (55), ‘*pryncypally*’ (54), ‘*virginis*’ (71), ‘*pray*’ (32), and ‘*grayce*’ (143)).

The sign ‘*ṁ*’ is often used in W to signify the letters ‘n’ or ‘m’. These abbreviations have been expanded in such words as ‘*remembrance*’ (19), ‘*commyng*’ (22), and ‘*begynnyth*’ (109).

The W text employs ‘*ʃ*’ in place of ‘-s’ alone in order to denote English plural nouns, albeit inconsistently, and Latin ablative cases. In this case, ‘*ʃ*’ has been expanded in the edition to ‘-is’ (not ‘-s’) in order to recognize this special ending. (See ‘*garmentis*’ (7), ‘*patryarkis*’ (31), and ‘*thankis*’ (147)).

W employs superscript marking ‘*ʳ*’ in order to imply ‘-ur’ or ‘-r’ in words such as ‘your’, ‘Saviour’, and ‘our’. However, this marking seems to have been used indiscriminately between words which already have a final ‘u’ in place and those that do

not. (See ‘your’ (135, 181) and ‘your’ (135, 181)). Because of this inconsistency, this edition standardizes this sign to imply ‘-r’, though indicates by underlining the instances where ‘u’ was left out while the edition expands it accordingly.

To represent ‘with’, W often shows ‘w<sup>t</sup>’, as is the case in 23, 179 and 227. ‘With’ is shown as ‘w<sup>t</sup>’, in the MS, though not always (cf. 35). Thus ‘w<sup>t</sup>’ has been expanded accordingly throughout the edition; expansions being noted by underlining. Superscript ‘t’ is also used in the word ‘that’, as W offers ‘p<sup>t</sup>’ to represent this word, the letter ‘a’ is implied. In this edition these signs have been expanded to ‘pat’ (see 32, 56 and 69).

In many cases, the initial letter of the word is shown with all of its final letters represented in superscript; because the letters are present, albeit in superscript, full spellings of such words have not been highlighted in the edition by underlining. This is the case in such words as ‘pame’ (70), ‘pei’ or ‘pai’ (75, 94)(87, 246), ‘pes’ (77), and ‘pis’ (80, 327).

The Latin abbreviations are many and complex. For example, ‘qui’ is represented as ‘q’ (159, 187, 310). ‘Nomine’ is represented as ‘no<sup>ie</sup>’ (159). ‘Domine’ is represented as ‘d<sup>mi</sup>’ (159), ‘Dominus’ is ‘d<sup>us</sup>’ (193), and ‘Domino’ is ‘d<sup>no</sup>’ (307). ‘Christus’ is represented as ‘x<sup>p</sup>us’ (194), and ‘Christi’ as ‘x<sup>pi</sup>’ (193). ‘Secula’ is represented as ‘s<sup>la</sup>’ (197), ‘seculorum’ is represented as ‘s<sup>lor</sup>’ (198), ‘gloria’ as ‘g<sup>lia</sup>’ (187), ‘nostra’ as ‘n<sup>tra</sup>’ (188), ‘nostri’ as ‘n<sup>ri</sup>’ (192), ‘Noster’ as ‘n<sup>r</sup>’ (242), and ‘Pater’ as ‘p<sup>r</sup>’ (242). The sign ‘ſ’ is often used to represent ‘-us’ as seen in the abbreviations for ‘Agnus’ and ‘Dominus’ which appear as ‘agnſ’ and ‘Dominſ’ (275, 304; 360). The sign ‘u’ represents ‘-ur’ as seen in the abbreviation for ‘propiciatur’ (309). ‘Misericordia’ is shown as ‘m<sup>ia</sup>’ (312).

The Edited W text:

- 1r     1     **Meditatyon for goostly exer- / cyse, in the tyme of the Masse.**
- The preste going to Masse / signifythe & representyd the **Sauyour**  
off þe world, our moost swett rede- / mer, **Cryst Jesu**, whyche cam from  
hewyn to þe vaile of myserie, this / wrechyd w[orld], to suffer **Passyon**
- 5     for man's redemptyon, and þer- / for þe processe of the Masse representyd  
the verey processe of the **Passyon off / Cryst. The prest** signifith **Crist**;
- 1v     the a[vter], **the crosse**. The vestymentis / signifyth **the garmentis**, whyte  
& **purpule**, with which Herode & þe / Jewys dyd clothe our **Sauyour**  
in grett scorne & derysyon. **The / ryght corner of þe avter** represe-
- 10     sentyd þe lyff of innocensy whiche / man loost by synne, restoryde  
agayne in þe lyff of our moost blys- / syd **Sauyour**. **The lefte ende**  
**of þe avter** signyfyth þis myserable / lyff, þe whiche we now be in.  
**The chales** dothe signyfye þe se- / pulchur of our **Lorde; the paten**
- 2r     signifythe þe stone þat coueryd þat, / **the corparaice. The sudarye &**
- 15     **syndo** signyfyeth wherin hys / blyssyd body was layd; **the oyst**,  
the body of Cryst. **The watter / & wyne** doith represent þe expresse  
effusyon **of blood & watter** / frome hys blyssyd syde. Lett  
þis be your daily medytatyon to / styr yow to þe diligent & compendy-
- 20     ous remembrance of þe **Passyon / off Cryst**. But yf at any tyme,  
ye be dysposeid to thanke hys / grayce for hys blyssyd incarnatyon
- 2v     and commyng into þis world for your / contemplacyon, beholde in a solemne

Masse þat ys songe by þe bushoppe / or<sup>22</sup> preist, reuesteid, commyng  
 owt of þe reuestre, whiche ys a / holly plaice with liȝtis on eiche syde,  
with **deacon & subdeacons** goyng / afore vnto þe mydis of þe avter,  
 25 & þer kysse þe sayme; after to go / to þe ryght cornar of þe avter,  
 and þen after to goo to þe lefte end / of þe avter, & þer the **Gospell** ys  
 rede; at þe last, to returne agayn / to þe ryght end of þe avter, the  
 3r qweyre afore & in þe meyne tyme, / joyfully synging. All þes bene  
 greytt mysteryes, & doith signyfye / grett secrettis of þe commyng off  
 30 our **Sauyour**. Furst, þe queyre re- / presentyd þe Holly Fathers of the  
 olde lave, **patryarkis & prophettis** / whyche neuer sesyde to desyer  
 to pray & to crye with grett affectyon / of spyryt, þat yt wold please all-  
 myghty **Gode** to send hys eter- / nall **Sone** into þis worlde.  
 Allso þe bushope or prest reveshyd / representhe þe **Sone of Gode**, which  
 (3v) 35 dyd cloythe hymselff with the / garment of our natur in the  
 moost glorious consecrayt temple, / **the wombe of þe blyssyd Virgin,**  
**Mother of Gode**, signified by þe / reuestur. And in þis applicatyon,  
 after Sainct Thomas, **the ames** / **on hys heide** doith signefye  
 hys goostly strenghte, whiche / wolde so proceid from þe chamber  
 40 of **the wombe of hys blyssyd** / **Mother**, lyke a champion or  
 gyant moost myghty, to knowe / þe way of þe wyll & commandmentis  
 (4r) of hys eternall Father. The / **whyte albe** doith sygnefye hys  
 innocency; **the chesyble**, hys cha- / rytie; **the stoolle**, hys clenness  
 frome all synne, origynall and / mortall; **the manyple**, hys pu-

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<sup>22</sup>MS has 'of' crossed through, 'or' written after

45 rtyie frome all venyall synnes. / **The twoo ly3tis** doith signefye þe  
 lave of Moyses & þe holly prophecy. / **The deacon** doith representh the  
 apostles; **the subdeacon**, þe dysey- / ples of Cryst. **The avter** in  
 þis applycatyon signefyþ þis present / churche, þe holle congregatyon  
 (4v) of all Crysten people. **The kysse / on þe avter** signyfyþ þe maryaige  
 50 betweyn **the Sone off Gode** & þe / said churche. The **ryght corner**  
**of þe avter**, to þe whiche þe prest / goith furst, signifyþ þe people of  
 þe Jewys, to whome our Sauyour / furst dyd preche. Þei myght well  
 þen be callyd on þe ryght hand, / syght to þem only allmyghty **Gode**  
 had gyffyn hys lave, & to thayme / pryncypally & furst had sent hys  
 55 only eternall Sone. **By þe lefte / corner of þe avter** ys representyd  
 (5r) þe Gentyllis, to whome **Gode** sent / [hys]<sup>56</sup> apostles, after þat þe Jewys wolld  
 not receyve þe faithe of **Jesu / Cryst**. To þis end of **þe avter** the  
prest doith goo, and þer ys redde þe / **Gospell** conteinyng þe mysterys  
 of ovr ffaith which þe Gentyllis / dyd resayve. 3et at þe last end  
 60 of þe Masse, **the prest returnyd / to þe ryght cornar of þe avter**  
**agayne**, signifying þat at the / last end of þe world, þe Jewys  
 schall be convertyd & receyve the / **ffaith of Cryst**. Thus we haue  
 5v after þis maner of applycatyon schew- / yd of þe ceremonies of þe Masse  
 in generall, but not all. For yt ys / known þat þe bushope haith IX  
 65 ornamentis which he þat ys only / prest haith not; þat ys to say, hys  
**myter**, hys **crosse**, hys **glovys**, / hys **ryng**, hys **hosse**, hys **san-**  
**dellis**, hys **dalmatyke**, & hys / **tunycle**, hys **chesible** & hys

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<sup>56</sup>5r catchword shows *hys*

**suctinctorye.** Whiche IX doithe / signefye IX excellent prerogatives<sup>69</sup> of a bushope, þat he þat ys / only but prest haith not; example

6r 70 as to gywe orders, to disgrayde / þame that bene in orders, to dedycaite churches, to consecraite virginis, / to hallow oyle & creme, & to consecrait vestmentis, chaleistis, & oþer / ornamentis of þe churche, to keip synodals, & to call consell in hys / dyocese, & sich oþer. **Saint Thomas** aplyeith þes IX of anoþer maner to / vertues of grett perfectyon which

75 shuld be in euery bushop of good / congruence, for þei were in our **blyssyd Sauyours** both graices / & vertues of moost excellens.

But to entreit of þes & other / mysteryes of þe **incarnatyon off**

6v **Cryste**, yff I shuld now attempt, / I shulld not only speik of the Masse, but allso of many other / thyngis whiche ys not our pur-

80 posse at þis tyme. Wherfor I shall / demyt þe applicatyon & returne to þe furst purpose, for now owr / intent ys to move soollis to þe devotyon of þe Masse & to the / lovyng remembrance of þe **Pasyon of Cryst.**

Now frome hensforthe / furst reid þe titles & so / after, þe medytatyons.<sup>84</sup>

7r 85 **When þe fanell ys / put on þe lefte hand:**

Remember þe roips with þe whiche / þe knyghtis dyd bynd our Sauyoris handis when þai dyd leyd hym / fro tyrant to tyrant.

**When þe stoole ys cast / ouer hys necke & crossyd / on þe breist:**

Haue medytatyon of þe bosteous / roppys wher with þe turmentors

<sup>69</sup> e in -tyves added in same hand

<sup>84</sup> *Titulus*, catchword, not carried over to 7r. Also, a different hand writes at foot of 6v, "Now frome hensforthe / furst reid þe titles & so / after / þe medytatyons".

90 dyd drawe hys blyssyd body / on þe crosse so sore þat all hys joynttis  
 (7v) were<sup>91</sup> dyssoluyd, & hys sceynowys / [& waillis] and vaynys<sup>91</sup> all tobrast.

**When þe prest castyth<sup>92</sup> / on hys ouermest vest- / ment, callyd a chesible:**

Remember þe purpule mantell / wherein they dyd cloithe our Sauy-  
 our in grett scorne, & howe þei / crovnyd & septuryd hym with a  
 95 rode, & bete & mokyd hym saing / “haile kyng of Jewys”, spyttyng  
 vnreuerently in hys moost blys- / syd faice.

**When þe prest stondith þus / revestyd, enclyn yng afore / þe avter:**

8r Let vs haue afore þe eyes of / our soule our swete Sauyour  
 which wold woichesaiffe to in- / clyne & meik hys maiestie, and  
 100 wylfully for our welthe & pro- / feit & saluatyon suffreid all  
 þes greit blasphemys & theis / forsaid tormentis for our soulis.

**When þe prest goith to þe / ryght cornar of þe avter**

**& þer begynnyth Masse:**

Haue in meditatyon þe moost / pure, gracyous, & innocent lyff  
 8v 105 of our Sauyour, by whos blyssyd / incarnatyon & Passyon þe lyffe  
 of paradyse whiche we loost / by our forefather, Adam, now  
 in grayce equivalent, or myche / better, ys restoryd by our said  
 moost glorious redemar, Jesu.

**When þe prest begynnyth / in þe mydis of þe avter,**

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<sup>91</sup>were] was. Though use of *was* as 3rd person plural occurs twice in the MS (cf. 265), there exists no evidence in LALME for its being a specific dialectal feature; thus it is treated as a scribal error and is emended.

<sup>91</sup>& *waillis*, catchword from 7r crossed through in following verso; *vaynys* inserted by the same hand; MS originally had *waillis*.

<sup>92</sup>*castyth* initially *castyd*, suffix *-tyd* was crossed through and *styth* inserted

110 **“Gloria in excelsis”:**

- (9r) Remember þe greit joy & glory / whych þe mvlitude of angellis  
dyd syng, makyng grett myrth / in þe natiuitie of our moost glory-  
ous Sauyour and Lorde.

**When þe prest saith the / Orysons, Collecttis, and / Sequence:**

- 115 Haue remembrance of þe contynew- / all prayers, ympnes, salmes,<sup>115</sup>  
& other orysons whyche ovr / Sauyour dyd offer for vs to  
hys eternall Father, bothe / nyghtly, dayly, & ovrly.

**When þe prest or deacan / redyth þe Gospell with**

**hys faice agaynst / þe northe:**

- (9v) 120 Remember þe holly doctryne & / prechyng of our Lord & Sauyour, not  
only for þe Jewys, but for all / mankynd, he sparyd none to  
put hys blyssyd faice agaynst / þe northe; þat ys to say, hys holy  
Gospell agayne þe goostly enne- / mye, which ys signefyed by  
þe northe. And lett þer be no lesse / devocyon in your hart to þe  
125 said Gospell rede on þe preist / or on þe deakyn þen yf þe holly  
apostlis Sainct Peter & Paule / wer present which prechyd yt.  
(10r) Allso, lyfte your hartis with all / devotyon & swettnes and dy-  
lygence, & with all trew, humble / faithe, lowe, & reuerence to þos  
holly wordis as þe sone of God / wer<sup>129</sup> þer & rede thayme, which  
130 was þe furst precher of þame.

**When þe Gospell ys / rede & þe prest saith / “Credo in Deum”:**

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<sup>115</sup>9r contains a marginal note on left hand side of page. Written in a different hand,  
“Bona / meditatio / est hec / et digne / homine / Cristiano”

<sup>129</sup>MS shows *wher*, *h* crossed through

Remember not only þus as ys / above said, with a dilygent eyre  
 to reuerently here þe Gospell, / but allso after þe<sup>133</sup> Gospell red  
 (10v) gyff thankis to our Lord accordyng / to þe ordenance of þe church; þat  
 135 ys, with all your hart to belewe þe / same, & with your movthe to con-  
 fesse yt, & in testimony þeroff, / say with þe prest, “Credo in Deum” & etc.

**At þe Offertory when / þe prest doith taik þe chalice**

**& holde yt vp & formys / þe Oblatyon:**

Haue medytatyon how our Lord, / þe Sauyour of all mankynd, most  
 140 wyllfully offerd hymselff to / hys eternall Father to be þe  
 (11r) sacrifice & oblacyon for man's / redemptyon, & offer yourselff to  
 hym agayn bothe body & soolle; / whiche he so dere bowght, ren-  
 dryng in recognycyon of the / same to hys grayce by devoute  
 medytatyon all þe thankis off / your harte, þat yt wolld lyke  
 145 hys goodnesse to be þe ravm- / son for your trespas & synnes.

**After þe Lavatory, when / þe prest saith þe Secrettis in<sup>146</sup> / sylence:**

Consyder with dew thankis & / praysingis þe tyme afore the<sup>147</sup>  
 11v Passyon when our Sauy- / our dyd withdrawe hymselffe  
 frome þe company of þe Jewys and / dyd gyff hym to solytarynesse,  
 150 all secrett in prayer & contempla- / cyon, praying to hys eternall  
 Father in greit watche & ab- / stynence for þe helth of manis / sowlle.

**When þe prest begynnyth with / open voice “per omnia secula se-**

<sup>133</sup>MS shows *p* with superscript *te*, *t* crossed through

<sup>146</sup>MS shows *Screttis*, *e* inserted

<sup>147</sup>MS shows *afore þe* written again on following verso; it is crossed through

**culorum**<sup>153</sup>, before þe **Prefaice**:

Haue medytacyon how certayn / of þe Jewys with greit tryvmpe  
 (12r) 155 and joye receyvyd our Sauyours / commyng wyllfully & openly to  
 Jerusalem to suffer Passyon for / man, rydyng vpon an asse,  
 afore whome they strowyd þer / clothys with grenne bowys, syngyng  
 & saing with þe chyldren,

**“Benedictus qui venit in / nomine Domini. Oziana filio David”**,<sup>159</sup>

160 so lykewyse dispose yow to say / with þe prest **“Sanctus, Sanctus,**  
**Sanctus”**,<sup>161</sup> worshepyng hys / blyssyd<sup>161</sup> commyng & presence þer  
 on þe avter after þe consecratyon.

**From þe begynnynge of þe / Canon, which ys when**

12v **þe prest, after þe Sanctus, and / after þat he haith kyssyd**  
 165 **þe crucifix on þe Masse / book, dothe inclyne a- / fore þe avter vnto the**  
**sacring be done:**

Haue you in harty medytacyon / the processe of our Lordis mandye  
with all þe cerymonyes of meik- / nesse which hys graice in hys  
 ovne persone dyd schew for our / informacyon, in þe whyche man-  
 (13r) 170 dye he dyd feyd hys disciples / with hys precyous body & bloyd, con-  
 secrait vnder þe forme of breide / & wyne, so euery man & woman  
 þat ys in grayce, both þe lewyng / & þe deide, may be refressyd  
 of þat blyssyd sacrament; for / not alonly yt renvith & ffe-

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<sup>153</sup>“Throughout all generations of generations”

<sup>159</sup>“Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna to the son of David”

<sup>161</sup>“Holy, Holy, Holy”

<sup>161</sup>MS shows *blyssydg*, *g* crossed through

- dith by graice & agmentacyon / of þe sayme þe soulys of thaym
- 175 þat leving dothe dewly honor / yt, but allso yt ys remysson  
 of payne, & indulgens to / all þe sowllis þat be in purgatory;  
 (13v) in tokyn wherof, þe prest haith / twoo rememorawlys or memory-  
 alls, þat ys to say þe furst memen- / to & þe secunde. In þe furst he  
 prayeid for þe qwyke, in þe secund, / for þe deide. Therfor with pure  
 180 harte & contryte soule, in all / your holle affectyon & luffe<sup>180</sup>, ho-  
 nor þis blyssyd sacrament to / þe profett of your own soule, your  
 frendis & all Cristyn soulys / both quike & deide; & yf yt  
 lyke yow 3e may say with / dew reuerence to þe blyssyd  
 body of our Lord in þe furst / elevatyon þis lytyll oryson  
 14r 185 folowing; yt ys taken of th[e] / churche, wherfore yt is of [þe]  
 more auctorytie,  
 “Salve lux mundi; rex regum, / gloria celi. Vltro qui mortis  
 pro nobis iura subisti. Salve / nostra salus, pax vera, re-  
 demptio, virtus. Qui ...”,<sup>189</sup>  
 190 and lykewyse to þe blyssyd / blood of our Lord in þe secund  
 elevacyon, at your pleasure / yow may say þus,  
 14v “Ave precium redemptoris nostri. / Ave priguris hereditatis eterne.  
 Ave gloriose sanguis Christi. / Benedictus sit Dominus Deus meus,  
 [Jes]us Christus, de cuius latere, / [e]ffusus es pro redemptione mun-

<sup>180</sup>MS shows *luffe* crossed through and inserted again in the same hand

<sup>189</sup>“Hail light of the world, king of kings, glory of heaven. And to you who suffered the punishment of death for us. Hail to you our salvation, true peace, redemption, valour. Who...”

195 [d]i. Amen".<sup>195</sup>

Frome þe last elevatyon / of þe sacryng, in all þe  
secret prayers & gesturs / of þe prest vnto "per omnia secula  
seculorum", afore þe Pater Noster :

- (15r) Call to your remembrance & / inprinte inwardly in your h[ear]t<sup>199</sup>  
200 by holy medytatyon þe ho[le] [pro-] / cesse of þe Passyon, frome [the]  
mandy vnto þe poynt of [his] / deith, furst þe prayer in þe [gardeyn]  
where in greit agonye [he] [swet] / bloode & watter; allso, [his] [be-]  
traying of Jvdas, & ho[w] [he] / was taken bovnde & b[lodyng] [be-]  
fore Anne & Cayphas / [where he suffered buffetis & be-  
205 tynges on the blessid face. / After that how he was lade  
(15v) to Pilate & Herode, wher he] / [wa]s dyspytefully scornyd and  
[moc]kyd & of cruell Herod in a / [wh]yte garment illudyth. And  
[lyk]wyse, in þe presence of Pylaytt, / [with] [w]hypys scourgyd, over þat,  
[with] purpull mantell in dery- / [syon] clotheid, & with a garland  
210 [of] [scha]rpe thornis crovnyd, and / [instead] of a septur of golde,  
[giuen a rede, salutede in / scorne & called "King of Jews";  
his most gloriouse face defiled / with spewying & spittyng,]  
16r after consequently brought hym / forth before Pylaite as a felon  
or mvrderer shuld be areynyd / at þe bar, the thewys crying  
215 "Crucifye!", & so by false sentens / condempnyd & jugyd to beyre

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<sup>195</sup>"Hail the price (ie. ransom) of our Saviour. Hail the pledge of eternal inheritance. Hail the glorious blood of Christ. Blessed be my lord God Jesus Christ from whose side you were poured for the redemption of the world. Amen"

<sup>199</sup>MS emendation begins here, see Subject Matter Notes

þe hevy crosse whervpon he / shuld suffer hys bytter Passyon.

Thys done, not yeit þe cruall / Jewys contentyd, but after his  
greit tormentis, in all his thrust, / labur, watche, & abstynencys,  
hauyng nowght to drynke / but wyne myxeid with bytter

(16v) 220. gall, and þen of hys clothys / dyspoylyd, naykyd & qwyke, so

crucifyd, & quyke, hangyng on / þe crosse, whyche ys a medytacy-  
on of swetnesse onspekable to / þame that inworldly <sup>222</sup> can consyder  
yt, and in þe same to remember / þe crueltie of þe Jewys, and þen  
þe grett mercy & tender charytie / of hym þat wolld wouchsayffe

225 to suffer þat confusyon for owr / saikis. Thys I commend to yowr  
memory, trustyng þat you wyll / gyff thankis to our Lord þerfore

17r with all your hartt, after þat yow / haue had in your medytatyon þe  
dew remembrance of all þes fore- / said tormentis & paynes which  
þe Sone of God sufferd for vs / all þat nyght afore, laboryng

230 in watche, payne, & abstynens, / in grett sylence, pacyens, and  
meiknes, lyke a lambe amonge / lyons, wulffis, & doggis, wolld  
all þat long tyme in þe wyne / presse of hys blyssyd Passyon.

(17v) I tary þe longar & maike / replicatyon of þis foresaid medi-  
tacyon, because yt shuld not / lyghtly passe ouer, but rayther

235 graucid in þe soule of man & / inprentyd in hys harte, & for  
þis consyderatyon, þe prest, immedy- / aitly after þe sacryng, spreidis  
& splays hys armys abroyde / in maner of a crosse, sygnifyyng  
þe presse of þe Passyon of Cryst, / þe whiche owght to be remem-  
bryd in þe hartis of faithfull / Crysten people accordyng to þe

<sup>222</sup> MS shows 'inworldly' which MED regards as erroneous though it is used as such by Bonaventure and others

18r 240 medytatyon afore rehersyd.

**When þe prest begynnyth / “per omnia secula seculorum”, afore  
þe Pater Noster, in whiche / prayer ys VII petycyonis / contenyth:**

Remember the VII vordis of grett / mystery whiche our Lord dyd  
speik, hangyng quyke apon / þe crosse in hys grett agonye,

245 distresse, & payne of deith, & / specyally folow þe example of

(18v) þat holly word in þe whiche he / prayeid for hys ennemys, þat þai  
myght be forgewyn þe crueltie / þai dyd to hym at hys Passyon;  
sec now þat yow lykwyse for- / gyff all inivres, displeasurs,  
wrongis, & occasyons, for þe lowe / of hym þat þus meikly & mercefully

250 dyd forgyff hys trespasurs, / then shall yow be hys dysey-

ples; þen shall you be<sup>251</sup> þe chosen ves- / sellis apte to receyue hys graice,

(19r) and both meythe & able to / receywe þe fruyte of þis blyssyd  
sacrament & þe benefyte off / peisse whiche in þe next medita-  
tyon I shall more largely speik / of by þe grayce of Gode.

255 **When þe prest takith the / pattenys & towcheid þe**

**ooste & kyssyd þe pattenys / saing, “Da pacem”<sup>256</sup>, et al. :**

Remember þe pease betwyxe / Gode & man whiche our blyssyd

Sauyours dyd meryt for vs in / hys glorious deith, reconsylyng

vs to hys Father in hewyn, / Gode omnipotent, & þat ys signyfid<sup>259</sup>

19v 260 by þe kysse of þe prest, wherfore yt / ys to be noteid þat þe prest kyssith  
thre tymes in þis part of þe Maisse, / furst þe patten, signyfyeing the

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<sup>251</sup>MS shows *be* inserted

<sup>256</sup>“Give (us) peace”

<sup>259</sup>MS shows 19r catchword *be þat*, while 19v begins *by þe*

peace betwix God & man, secund / þe prest kyssys þe challesse, betoke-  
 nyng peace in manis soule, / thyrdly, þe prest kyssith þe deacon  
 or þe pax, which signefyeith / þe pease betweyn man & man.  
 265 And lyke as in þe deith of our / Sauyour, þes III peacys were<sup>265</sup>  
 gewyn to man, so lykewyse / by þe meryttis of þe said deithe,  
 (20r) in euery oblatyon of þe Masse, / eyche man dyspoisyd hymself  
 vnto yt may ressaue þes said / graices of peace. Wherfor re-  
 mytt all inivres, whether þat / þei be mynysterd of superior or  
 270 inferior, and ewyer dispose yow / at þis tyme of þe Masse in a  
 charytable, contryte, & cleyne / harte to receyue your Lord spiritu-  
 ally, & so by hym to receyue / all þes greit benefyttis reher-  
 syd: peace gewyn to yow by hys / grayce.

When þe prest begynnyth / “Per omnia secula seculorum”, a-  
 275 fore þe Pax<sup>275</sup> & Agnus Dei: <sup>275</sup>  
 20v Haue in medytatyon with perfithe / remembrans & holle mynd consy-  
 deryng þe moost tender mercy / & lowe of our swette Lorde &  
 redemar, Jesu, whiche wolld / taike our nature apon hym,  
 and in þat not only to suffer þes / greitt tormentis & paynes afore-  
 280 said, but allso to suffer in our / said natur moost shaymfull,  
 terrible, & cruell deith, & all / to wyne our lowe; whyche pre-  
 cyouse deith ys signefyde at þis / tyme of þe Masse in þe oblatyon  
 21r of þe blyssyd body & blood of our / moost mercyfull Sauyour, mynis-

<sup>265</sup> were] was. See footnote 91a

<sup>275</sup> Pax & Agnus Dei: "Peace & Lamb of God"

<sup>275</sup> 20r catchword is *Remembre*, 20v shows *Haue in medytatyon*

- terd to vs vnder þe sauor and / taist of breid & wyne, & þat
- 285 for grett congruence, for lyk / as brede & wyne ben þos thingis  
 whiche moost conveyently sus- / tenyd & releveith þe necessyties  
 of þe body, so our blyssyd Lord / woldd gyff vnto vs vnder þe  
 qualyties & taist of breid & / wyne, hys blyssyd body and  
 bloode, as moost conveyent / & holsum foyde to reistore and
- (21v) 290 relewe all þe necessyties off<sup>290</sup> / soule & body to euerlastyng glory.  
 Therefore neuer forgeyt þis moost / tender, louyng pellycane,  
 whiche of hys meyr marcy / woldd wouchayffe not only to  
 dye for to sawe hys byrdis, / but ouer þat he haith ordenyd &  
 dysposyd hys moost gloryouse / & blyssyd fleyche & bloode to
- 295 be our dayly foyde, mynys- / treid & consecrayte in þe Masse  
 in þat moost gracypous sacrament / of þe awter, signefyeing the  
 blyssyd oblacyon & sacryfyse / of the moost precypous deith &
- (22r) Passyon of owr mercyfull redemer, / Jesu, whyche woldd suffer all  
 þes tormentis meikly as a lambe / among dogis; when he was
- 300 taiken & lede afore Anne and / Cayphas, he woldd be a lambe  
 among lyons; when he was / afore Herode & Pylaite, he  
 woldd be as a lambe amongis / wulffs. When he dyd hange  
 quyke on þe crosse & was of- / freyd in sacryfyce for owr  
 synnes, in tokyn wherof þe / prest saith thre tymes, “**Agnus**
- (22v) 305 **Dei qui tollis**”<sup>305</sup>, etc., thys in / no wysse forgeytt, but thanke with

<sup>290</sup>21r catchword shows & body, 21v begins soule & body

<sup>305</sup>“Lamb of God who takes away”, etc... (the sin of the world)

harte & thanke with movthe & / thank with all your powr, saing  
 with þe Profett, "**Benedic anima / mea Domino, & omnia que intra  
 me sunt nomini sancto eius. / Benedic anima mea Domino,  
 & noli obliuisci omnes retribu- / tiones eius, qui propiciatur  
 310 omnibu3 iniquitatibus tuis, qui / sanat omnes infirmitates tuas,  
 qui redimit de interitu vi- / tam tuam, qui coronat te in  
 misericordia & miserationibu3, qui replet / in bonis desiderium tuum,  
 23r renovabitur vt aquila iuven- / tus tua".<sup>313</sup> Thes be very wordys  
 & doith render holy thankis to / God. In þis tyme, allso remembre  
 315 þe beryall of our Sauyourn and / hys blyssyd descending dovne  
 of hys moost gloryous soule to / [l]ym[bo]<sup>316</sup> befor þe delyuerans of þe  
 Holy Fathers. For lyke as 3e / see þe oest devydyd in thre parttis,  
 þe whiche one ys put into þe / chalyce, signefying þe holly  
 saintis of God which now / for euermore be vnyte in glory  
 320 to our moost sweite redemar / Jesu Cryst; oþer II parttis be de-  
 23v voutly holden betweyn þe prestis / handis in þe mydis of þe hyost partt  
 of þe chales, & þei signefye the / II parttis of Crystys church which  
 yet be not gloryfyde, þe one as / yet in þer pylgramaige as lyvyng  
 people in þe vaile of mysery, / the oþer ys only in expectatyon  
 325 & desyer of þe said glory, as þe / soulys being in purgatorye.**

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<sup>313</sup>"Bless the Lord my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name. Bless the Lord my soul, and forget not all of his benefits, who forgives all of your iniquity, who heals all of your diseases, who redeems your life from the pit, who crowns you with love and mercy, who satisfies you with good as long as you live (so that) your youth is renewed like the eagle's" (Ps.102:1-5 [RSV Ps.103:1-5])

<sup>316</sup>[lymbo] hym. MS shows *hym*, Harley 494 shows *lymbo*

- And þus for a verey treught, / all creaturis, boithe angellis  
 & saintis, & all faithfull soullis / þat honor þis blyssyd sacrament,  
 (24r) haith comforth of þe sayme, as<sup>328</sup> / for þat moost hewynly feest. And  
 allso þat tyme þe Masse betokenith / þe myrthe & joye of þe holly  
 330 apostles after þai hard of þe / resurrectyon of þer Lord & ouris,  
 and so lett vs gyff thankis / with þe blyssyd apostles for þat  
 gracyous gyffte of hys moost / glorious resurrectyon, and  
 for þis blyssyd sacryfice which / allso representyd þe sayme. &  
 þus in þe tyme of euery Masse / & nothing lettyng your other  
 335 devocyons, you may gyffe / thankis, honor, & reuerence to  
 24v allmyghty God, & from þe be- / gynnyng of þe Masse vnto the  
 sacryng, yow may haue me- / dytatyon of our Lordis blyssyd  
 incarnatyon & preching, and / from þe sacryng vnto þe vsing  
 be done, you may remeber / þe mandye, þe turmentis, þe  
 340 Passyon & deith of our Sauy- / our, & after þe Post Common,  
 yow may consyder þe joyfull / staite of þe resurrectyon, & in  
 þe tyme of **"Ite Missa est"**<sup>342</sup>, hys / glorious ascensyon, as yt  
 apperyt in þe next medyta- / tyon folowyng.
- 25r       **After "Ite Missa est", þe / prest stondeith in þe mydis**  
 345       **of þe awter, & so blys- / syd þe people:**

Then call to your remembrance / thys holly medytatyon, how

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<sup>328</sup>MS shows catchword *oft* for 23v, 24r shows *for þat*. This may be because a leaf was lost, as this catchword is not a typical scribal mistake of eyeskip or repetition, nor does sense of catchword fit text. Also, MS shows torn page fragment between 23v and 24r.

<sup>342</sup>"Go, it is finished"

owr Sauyourn, standyng in þe / mydis of hys disciples at þe  
 Movnte of Olyveite, blyssing / thaym, dyd ascend to hewyn,  
 where he ys now resydent / & euer more schall be, syttyng

350 on þe ryght hond of hys faþer; / þis ascensyon of our Lord ys

(25v) signefyed by þe wordis which / þe prest saith at þe end of þe Masse;  
 þat ys to say, "**Ite missa est**", which / wordis doith sovnd; after thys  
 exposytyon of doctouris, "goo / & departt", for our Lord ys send  
 & offerd vp to hys eternall / Father in oblatyon & sacryfye.

355 **The Masse off / Requiem:**

Allso know þat in þe Masse / of **Requiem** þer ys no pax  
 gewyn to þe people, signefy- / eing þat the oblatyon in the  
 Masse of **Requiem** ys prin- / cypally for the soullis that

26r be in purgatory, wher ys no dis- / cord. Þe V turnyngis of þe prest to

360 þe people at Masse tyme, saing / "**Dominus Vobiscum**"<sup>360</sup>, betokenithe

þe V apparytyons or apperingis / of our sauynr after hys resur-  
 rectyon, & know yow well þat / þouthe þe prest turne hym  
 but only V tymes at Masse / tyme, yet he doith salute þe  
 people in þe Masse VII tymes, / whiche signefyeth þe VII gyftis

365 of þe Holly Goost, oþerwysse / callyd þe VII folld gracys of þe

26v Holy Goost. Many oþer ceremonies / þer be in the Masse as carectis  
 or crossys, locyons, inclina- / tyons, & such other whiche  
 now I omyt for all suche, after / Sainct Thomas, oþer þei signefye  
 greit misterys of owr faithe / whiche we owght to belewe,

---

<sup>360</sup>"God with you".

370 wherof allso ryght convey- / ent yt ys þat sum mencyon &  
 protestatyon be maid of þam / in þe whiche all honour &  
 reverence, all thankis and / praysyngis, be euer only to

27r owr said Lord & þis holy sacra- / ment, & myche graice and  
 edifieing be to all thaym / þat lowe & worschip þe sayme. / Amen.

375 **Off your charytie / helpe with an Aue, in / the honour of owr  
 blyssyd Lady.**

B. Langforde, / Preiste.<sup>377</sup>

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<sup>377</sup>blank 27v follows 27r overleaf, plus 2 pastedowns

## Subject Matter Notes.

The following subject matter notes contain references to words of linguistic significance, explanation for suppressed readings of the manuscript, and areas of emendation of damaged text. Additionally, the Order of Service as it appears in W has been compared with the liturgical order of Sarum Use. Rites of Sarum are taken from the Sarum Missal “Ordinarium Misse” and “Ordo Misse” (Legg, (1916), pp 216-229), the “Dominica in Ramis Palarum” (Legg, (1916), pp 92-96), and the “Requiem Misse” (Legg, (1916), p 433). In cases where Legg includes only abbreviated references to the order of service, use of Legg is supplemented with A. Pearson’s English translation (Pearson, (1884)). Additionally, Pope Innocent III’s text, *De sacro altaris mysterio* is consulted in order to show W’s relationship to an early explanation of the liturgy (*DS*, (1855)).

2. ‘*signifythe & representyd*’ - Verb endings indicate confusion between present and past, ‘-d’ is used in place of the present ‘-th’ or ‘-s’ in ‘representyd’. (Cf. *representyd* 5, *signifyth* 12; *returynyd* 60; *haith* 177, *prayed* 179; *takith* 255, *towcheid* 255; *sustenyd* 286, *releveith* 286; *representyd* 333; *stondeith* 344, *blyssyd* 345).

4. *Passyon* - Those events surrounding and including the crucifixion of Christ, from the Last Supper to his Resurrection.

7. ‘*signifyth*’ - Note suffix ‘-th’ in 3 pl. pr. ind. ‘signifyth’ (With a few exceptions (eg. 86-87, 330, 366, 368), the present plural form almost always takes “-ep”).

8. *Herode and þe Jewys* - As in Christ’s mocking by Herod and the Jews (Mt. 27:27-44, Mk. 15:16-32, Lk. 23:34-38, and Jn. 19:1-24).

14. *corparaice* - The altar cloth on which the Eucharistic elements are placed during the consecration, and with which they are subsequently covered.

*sudarye* - A Eucharistic cloth or veil, specifically a pall, or corporal that folds over the chalice. Originally a piece of linen used in Biblical times to wrap the head of a corpse.

15. *syndo* - The veil placed over the chalice. It represents Christ’s burial shroud.

16-17. *þe expresse effusyon* - Refers to the water and blood which flowed from Christ’s side when the Centurion pierced it with a spear hours after Christ’s crucifixion, Jn. 19:34.

21-30. This section begins a selective summary of the order of service which reaches as far as the Gospel. However, the exposition on the order of service begins again at 7r1 from the start of the service, the vesting of the priest. (See Legg, (1916), p 216; *DS*, (1855), cols 783-5).

23. *reuestre* - A room or part of a church, usually situated in close proximity to the chancel or choir, in which the vestments, vessels, records, etc., are kept, and in which the clergy and choir robe for divine service. (Cf. *reuestur* 37)

24. *with deacon & subdeacons goyng afore* - According to Sarum, when the priest or bishop processes into the church for the beginning of the service, he is preceded by the deacon and subdeacon to the altar. W accords with Sarum (Legg, (1916), p 217).

*deacon* - A member of the ministry ranking below bishops and priests, having the function of assisting in divine service, esp. in the celebration of the Eucharist as one who reads the Gospel (Cf. 46, 118, 125, 263).

25. *þe kysse þe sayme* - The kiss on the altar is part of the order of service (Cf. 49), which explains that 'the kysse on þe avter signyfyth þe maryaige betweyn the Sone off Gode & þe said church' (49-50) (see Eph.5:23-32).

25-27. *ryght cornar* - According to W, the right corner of the altar signifies 'þe people of the Jewys, to whome our Sauyours furst dyd preche' (51-52). (Pearson, (1884), p 297).

*lefte end of þe avter* - The left end of the altar represents the Gentiles (56). It is from here that the Gospel is read, in accordance with Sarum.

*to return agayn to the ryght end of þe avter* - This statement marks a jump from the beginning of the Mass to the end, for at the end of the service the priest moves again to the right corner of the altar in order to signify the apocalyptic conversion of the Jewish people to Christianity (61-62) (Rev.7).

28. '*bene*' - Plural ending '-n', is an unusual occurrence in this MS which points to textual transmission of one dialect into another. (Cf. *ben* 285).

29. *secrettis of þe commyng off our Sauyours* - Refers to Old Testament events leading up to Christ's birth (eg. living under the rule of the 'olde lave' (31), meaning the Old Testament), during the time the coming of the Messiah was prophesied.

34. *bushope or prest reveshyd* - Marks the beginning of the order of service, where, in Sarum, the vestments of the bishop or priest are explained. They are: 'ad amitum', 'ad album', 'ad zonam', 'ad manipulum', 'ad stolum', and 'ad casulam', each followed with a short explanation of its symbolism (Legg, (1916), p216, note 1). The Sarum meanings, when compared with those in W, are more detailed and are offered in the form of prayers for the priest to say as he dons each symbolic garment. DS also offers description of liturgical vestment followed by a statement of its symbolic significance (DS, (1855), col 783) (see note 38-45).

38. *after Sainct Thomas* - This comparison between the priest's re-vesting and Christ's being born of Mary was derived from, or ascribed to, the work of St. Thomas Aquinas.

38-45. *ames on hys heide* - The ames (or 'amit') is part of the Eucharistic vestment. It is a rectangular piece of white linen worn under the alb, around the neck like a muffler. It serves the function of protecting the other garments.

*whyte albe* - (42) An ecclesiastical vestment, it is a straight garment, usually of white linen, with close-fitting sleeves, hung from the shoulders and reaching to the ankles.

*chesyble* - (43) A priest's outermost garment worn over the alb and stole at Mass.

*stoolle* - A liturgical vestment consisting of a cloth band, it is the long, narrow, scarf-like vestment worn by the priest or bishop around the neck and hanging from the shoulders in front (Cf. 88).

*manyle* - (44) Part of the Eucharistic vestments of a priest, consisting of a strip of stuff from 2-4' in length and worn suspended from the left arm near the wrist by the celebrant, deacon, and subdeacon.

45. *The twoo lyztis* - W means these lights, or candles, to represent the guidance provided by the Old Testament text and the Old Testament prophets before Christ brought the new law. According to Sarum Use, the candles are carried into the church by candle-bearers, and later up to the altar before the Gospel is read (Pearson, (1884), p 297). The *DS* offers further Biblical information of the explanation, in this case citing Luke 24 (*DS*, (1855), col 804).

49-50. *þe maryaige betweyn the Sone off Gode & þe said churche* - (see note 25).

53. 'syght' - A form of "since", MED gives spellings (which it regards as erroneous) 'sygh', 'syyc'. LALME (4. 69-70, 70-3) records forms such as 'sygh' (Sur.), 'syhthe' (Nfk.), 'sy3th' (Som.), 'sy3t-þ' (Devon) and plainly regards the items as genuine. The use of this word points broadly to a South Midlands dialect.

61-62. *þe Jewys shall be convertyd* - Refers to the conversion of the Jewish people to Christianity during the last days of Christ's second coming (see note 25-27).

64-68. *þe bushope haith IX ornamentis* - Refers to the vestments reserved for bishops and not for priests. The MS enumerates 10. W seems to selectively parallel *DS* method for it mentions the vestment of the bishop after having explained the vestment of the priest (see *DS*, (1855), cols 793-97).

*myter* - (66) Ecclesiastical head dress. It is made of two similar parts, a front and a back, which come to a point.

*crosse* - A pectoral cross worn by bishops over the alb.

*glovys* - Gloves worn by the bishop as liturgical attire.

*ryng* - The ring worn by the bishop as liturgical attire.

*hosse* - A close-fitting garment resembling tights, worn by men and boys, in this case, by men as part of liturgical attire.

*sandellis* - Richly made shoes worn by popes and bishops as part of the liturgical vestment.

*dalmatyke* - (67) A liturgical vestment introduced by Pope Silvester in the 4th century, consisting of a robe with a slit on each side of the skirt, wide sleeves, and marked with two stripes, worn over the chesible and under the stole, fanell, and girdle.

*tunycle* - A vestment resembling the dalmatic, though shorter in length, worn over the alb.

*chesible* - The priest's outermost garment worn over the alb and stole at Mass (see note 43).

*suctinctorye* - (68) A type of girdle, it is worn with the alb, and consists of a flat band, made of leather or cloth, secured with a clasp or buckle.

70. 'dedycaite' - Tendency to use 'i' as a mark of a preceding long vowel (Cf. *roips* 86, *cloithe* 93, *graice* 168, *greit* 202).

73-74. *Sainct Thomas apleyeith þes IX of anoþer maner to vertues of grett perfectyon* - Besides the prerogatives of the bishop, W says these 9 are Christ-like virtues which bishops are to possess. They are based on 1Tim. 3:1-7 and Titus 1:5-12 where Paul stipulates that a good bishop must be above reproach, the husband of one wife, temperate, sensible, dignified, hospitable, an apt teacher, no drunkard, not violent but gentle, not quarrelsome, and no lover of money. He must manage his household well, keep respectful children, must not be a recent convert, must not be conceited, must be well thought of by outsiders, and must be upright, holy, and self-controlled. Though these virtues are not alluded to as such in his *Summa theologiae*, St. Thomas Aquinas does discourse on the principle and theological virtues in 1a2ae. 61, 1-5 and 1a2ae. 62, 1-4 of his *Summa theologiae*. The virtues listed in W may have derived from, or be attributed to, this section of St. Thomas Aquinas' work. (See *Summa theologiae, Latin Text and English Translation*, ed. T. Gilbey, xxiii, London: Blackfriars with Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1969).

77-81. *But to entreit of þes & other mysteryes...* - The writer realizes that he has digressed from the explanation of the Mass liturgy into other areas of church doctrine, which, he says 'ys not our purposse at þis tyme' (79-80).

84. *Now frome hensforthe...* - This directive marks the beginning of the systematic explanation of the Mass, beginning with the vesting of the celebrant.

85. *When the fanell...* - The service begins again at the vesting of the celebrant and accords with Sarum.

*fanell* - A maniple-like garment, worn as part of the Eucharistic vestment (see *maniple* 44).

88. 'stoole' - see note 43.

92. 'chesible' - see note 43.

97. *When þe prest stonding þus revestyd* - W skips the order of service which includes the priest's approach to the altar, preceded by 'deacon and subdeacons' (24) as earlier mentioned. Much of the rest of the Antiphon is omitted as well, such as the Gloria Patri, the Confiteor (confession of the priest), and the General Absolution (a statement of forgiveness given by the priest for the people). It is after this general confession that the priest approaches the altar, 'enclynnyng' before it (Legg, (1916), p 216-17).

102-103. *When þe prest goith to þe ryght cornar of þe avter & þer begynneth Masse* - According to Sarum, the priest would have said the Orisons (set liturgical prayer asking forgiveness) before approaching the right corner of the altar (Legg, (1916), p 217; Pearson, (1884), p 292).

109-110. *When þe prest begynnyth ... 'Gloria in excelsis'* - There seems to have been a skip in the order of service. According to Sarum, the priest would have said the Offices (pre-determined text for that Mass) aloud, followed by a Psalm which Legg refers to as, "ps. Iudica me deus et discerne", Ps.42 [RSV Ps.43]. (Legg, (1916), p 216). Additionally, the priest would have chosen this time to cense the altar (Legg, (1916), p 217). After these events, the priest moves to the middle of the altar to begin the Gloria.

| <u>W</u>                      | <u>Sarum</u>         |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| right corner                  | Orisons              |
| Gloria                        | right corner         |
| Orisons / Collects / Sequence | Offices and a Psalm  |
| Gospel                        | censes the altar     |
|                               | Kyrie                |
|                               | Gloria               |
|                               | Collects             |
|                               | Epistle              |
|                               | Gradual and Sequence |
|                               | Gospel               |

114. *When þe prest saith the Orysons, Collecttis, and Sequence* - According to Sarum, the Orisons would have been said before the Gloria (110), and before this point in the service. However, the Collect in W is correctly placed, as the Sequence occurs between the Collect and the Gospel reading. (Pearson, (1884), p 297).

*Collecttis* - The prayers said for a specific purpose (ex. to commemorate a Biblical event, a saint, the dead, to bless a person, etc.).

*Sequence* - prayer of blessing, sung or said, for that particular day.

W omissions of Sarum Use after the Collect are the reading of the Epistle and the Gradual, both of which are Bible readings set according to the day of the Mass celebration.

118-119. *When þe prest or deacan redyth þe Gospell with hys faice agaynst þe northe* - The reading of the Gospel as it follows the Sequence, keeps Sarum order. That the priest or deacon faces the north accords with Sarum (Pearson, (1884), p 297). The Gospel verse is set before the service according to which day of the liturgical calendar is being observed.

*þe northe* - Medieval theology held that Christ was to return from the direction of the east, while the devil would come from the north.

131. *When þe Gospell ys rede...* - According to Sarum, between the point that the Gospel reading ends and the Credo begins, the priest kisses the book of the Gospels and moves to the middle of the altar.

*'Credo in Deum'* - The Credo is the Nicene Creed, also known as the "Mass Creed". The order accords with Sarum and the text itself is explained in *DS* (*DS*, (1855), cols 827-8). The Creed is sung or said aloud.

137. *At þe Offertory* - W follows Sarum (Pearson, (1855), p298). The Offertory is more fully explained and given Biblical reference in the *DS* (*DS*, (1855), cols 830-1).

*Offertory* - An antiphon sung or said in the Mass (the words depending on the day Mass is being celebrated) asking God's blessing before presenting the Oblations. Unlike W, Sarum includes directions for the priest to cross himself, the bread and wine.

137. *taik þe chalice* - In Sarum Use, the priest lays the host upon the corporas-cloths before taking up the chalice (Pearson, (1884), p 298), W omits this.

138. *formys þe Oblatyon* - The Oblation is a prayer asking God to accept the sacrifice in the Eucharist, saying aloud, "Ueni sancte spiritus benedic et santifica hoc sacrificium ad laudem et gloriam nominis tui preparatum" (Legg, (1916), p 219).

145. *ransom for your trespass & synnes* - The idea of Christ as ransom derives from Mt. 20:28 and 1Tim. 2:6 where he is offered as sacrifice to pay for the sins of the people.  
*'trespas'* - Collective noun; according to MED, the plural form may be implied.

146. *After þe Lavatory* - The lavatory, or washing, usually precedes the Oblation. Here, the priest washes his hands in the piscina. (In general, the word 'lavatory' refers to the object in which the washing was done -- the piscina). In Sarum Use, a hymn follows the washing, along with a series of set prayers, a kiss on the altar, and the sign of the cross. W omits these prayers and signs (Pearson, (1884), p 299-300).

146-147. *when þe prest saith þe Secrettis in sylence* - After the Oblation, prayers, and signs, the priest turns toward the altar and says the Secrets (holy prayers) in silence. The Secret prayers are set prayers which change according to the different days of the Mass. W follows the order of Sarum. As for the secret prayers themselves, W, though it occasionally refers to them in order of Sarum, omits writing them out. For instance, after saying the Oblation, the priest prays in a low voice a prayer which the clergy answers privately (Legg, (1916), p 219; Pearson, (1884), p 300).

148. *when our Sauyours dyd withdrawe hymselffe* - Refers to Christ's withdrawing into the Garden of Gethsemane to pray during the night before his crucifixion (Mk.14:32-35).

152-153. *When þe prest begynnyth with open voice 'per omnia'* - W accords with Sarum; the Per Omnia statement is read aloud after the priest ends the Secrets (Legg, (1916), p 219).

153. *þe Prefaice* - W accords with Sarum. The Preface (to the Canon of the Mass) contains blessings and responses. It has a constant beginning followed by a prayer appropriate for the specific day of Mass (Legg, (1916), p 220; Pearson, (1884), p 302).

155-156. *commynge wyllfully & openly to Jerusalem* - This refers to Christ's ride into Jerusalem on a donkey, where he was given a welcome greeting and honoured with palm branches (the origin of Palm Sunday).

159. *Benedictus...* - The Benedictus accords with Sarum Use as the Sanctus and Hosanna follow the Preface (Legg, (1916), p 220; Pearson, (1884), p 308). The *DS* offers supplementary Bible verses which include information on the Palm Sunday event and the holiness of God (*DS*, (1855), cols 836-40).

159. *filio David* - Christ is here referred to as the 'son of David' because he was born of the lineage of David.

160. *Sanctus* - W Sanctus placement follows Sarum Use (see Legg, (1916), p 220).

163. *From þe begynnyng of þe Canon* - W Canon placement follows Sarum Use (see Legg, (1916), p 221). The *DS* also places the Canon here, but includes additional prayers and supporting Bible verses (*DS*, (1855), col 848).

165-166. *vnto the sacring be done* - This period of time is full of activity according to Sarum. W omits the series of prayers which follow at this point: prayers that the sacrifice would be pleasing to God, prayers for the Pope, Bishop, King, and faithful Catholics, and prayer for the intercession of the saints (Legg, (1916), p 221-2; Pearson, (1884), p 309).

*sacring* - The consecration.

167. *mandye* - The events of the Last Supper, the last meal shared by Christ and the apostles before the Crucifixion (including the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist and the washing of the disciples' feet), (Cf. 201, 339).

177-179. *þe prest haith twoo rememorawlys* - This refers to the prayers for the living said by priest up to the sacring.

179. *In þe furst he prayeid for þe qwyke* - Prayers for the living (see note 165-166).

179-180. *Therfor with pure harte & contryte soule* - Most of the prayers in Sarum which were said during this point of the service supplicate God's acceptance of the sacrifice, necessitating the purity and aptness of the congregation and priests to receive this blessing (Legg, (1916), p 222; Pearson, (1884), p 310).

184. *furst elevatyon* - Part of the process of the sacring. W does not offer explicit directions to the priest, contrasting with Sarum which gives such directions as 'Hic eleuet hostiam contra pectus. dicendo', also including instructions to the priest to make the sign of the cross three times over each oblation (Legg, (1916), p 222).

187-189. *Salve lux mundi...* - This passage of prayer said during the first elevation in W is not mentioned in Sarum Use. However, this prayer is part of the service of (Sarum) 'Dominica in Ramis Palmarum' (Legg, (1916), p 95).

190-191. *secund elevacyon* - Part of the process of sacring. W offers no specific directions on this point, while Sarum does (Legg, (1916), p 222).

192-195. *Ave precium redemptoris nostri* - This prayer is not found in Sarum Use, it seems to be an insertion by W.

196. *Frome þe last elevatyon* - The third and final presentation of the elements before they may become the true body and blood of Christ. W omits the words of consecration 'Hoc est corpus meum' and 'Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei noui eterni testamenti' which are said during the third elevation. W accords with Sarum when it marks the end of the consecration by noting that the priest stretches out his arms in the form of a cross (Legg, (1916), p 223, note 1) (see note 236-237). Unlike W and Sarum, DS offers a book solely on the explanation of the doctrine of transubstantiation (DS, (1855), cols 851-886).

196-197. *in all þe secret prayers & gesturs of þe prest vnto 'per omnia'* - W acknowledges that there are more gestures and prayers than it mentions specifically. Sarum includes these prayers and descriptions of action. Detailed directions tell the priest when to make the sign of the cross (Legg, (1916), pp 223-4).

*per omnia* - Said at this point in the Mass, the “per omnia” marks the end of the Canon of the Mass; W accords with Sarum (Legg, (1916), p 224).

199-212 . Includes an area of extensive text damage. The emendations of the final words, along with lines 11-13 are supplied from Harley 494, fol. 67r12-67v3.

201. *þe prayer in þe gardeyn* - see note 148.

202-203. *his betraying of Judas* - Judas betrayed Christ to the Pharisees for 30 pieces of silver (Jn.18:1-5).

203-206. *how he was taken...* - Christ’s arraignment and torture before his crucifixion.

206-210. First word emendations taken from Harley 494, fol. 67v3-10 (see note 199-212).

214. *thewys* - MED shows ‘thewe’ (sg.), ‘thewys’ is arguably a related spelling to this in the plural form. The word meaning shown in MED describes people who are “slave to the devil”, also a people controlled by evil. In this edition, ‘thewys’ is glossed as ‘wretches’; ‘wretches’ being the closest word equivalent to these definitions.

218. *in all his thrust* - Begins a list of Christ’s sufferings after his having been nailed to the cross; preceding events are tortures occurring before this part of the Passion.

236-237. *þe prest, immedyaitly after þe sacryng...* - According with Sarum, W includes the priest’s opening his arms in the shape of a cross (Legg, (1916), p 223, note 1).

238. *þe press of þe Passyon of Cryst* - The cross of Christ was often referred to allegorically as the “press” or “wine press”; see also Is. 63:3.

242. *Pater Noster* - The Lord’s Prayer, it begins the next section of the Mass in W and Sarum (Legg, (1916), p 224).

*VII petycyonis* - The seven petitions of the Lord’s Prayer (Pater Noster) based on Mt.6:9-13, Lk.11:2-4. Petitions: 1. hallowed be thy name. 2. Thy kingdom come, 3. thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. 4. Give us this day our daily bread. 5. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. 6. And lead us not into temptation, 7. but deliver us from evil. Amen.

The *DS* offers a chapter of explanation for each petition of the Pater Noster where neither Sarum nor W does (see *DS*, (1855), cols 898-906).

243. *VII vordis of grett mystery* - Seven last words of Christ. 1. “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they are doing” (Lk.23:24); 2. “Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise” (Lk.23:43), one of the crucified criminals, acknowledging the justice of his condemnation, confesses the innocence of Jesus, thereby eliciting an act of faith in the claim for which Jesus dies; 3. “Woman, behold thy son...Behold thy mother” (Jn.19:26-27); 4. “Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani” (“My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me”) (Mt.27:46, Mk.15:34); 5. “I thirst” (Jn.19:28); 6. “Jesus said, ‘it is consummated’, and bowing his head, he gave up his spirit” (Jn.19:30); 7. “Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit” (Lk.23:46).

246. *he prayeid for hys ennemys* - W begins a list of Christ's seven last words, this statement being the first of the list.

251. *chosen vessellis* - Reference to Christ's chosen vessels in 2Tim. 2:20-21.

255. *When þe prest takith the pattenys...* - These actions accord with Sarum excepting that Sarum also indicates that the priest crosses himself at this time, once over his face and then over his breast (Legg, (1916), p 225, notes 6,7). W omits the secret prayer which takes place before this action (i.e. directly after the Pater Noster) (Legg, (1916), p 225).

256. *saing 'Da Pacem'* - W accords with Sarum which asks for peace after the Pater Noster is said (see Legg, (1916), p225). It is immediately before the Da Pacem that Sarum shows the Fraction (breaking the Body into 3 pieces) (see Legg, (1916), p 225, note 8). However, W does not describe the Fraction in particular, though later (i.e. after the Agnus Dei) in the text W refers to bread which has already been broken.

| <u>Sarum</u>   | <u>W</u>       |
|----------------|----------------|
| Fraction       | Da Pacem / Pax |
| Da Pacem / Pax | per omnia      |
| per omnia      | Agnus Dei      |
| Agnus Dei      | Commixture     |
| Commixture     |                |

260-264. *wherefore yt ys to be noteid þat þe prest kyssith thre times...* - According with Sarum, W includes the kisses of the Pax (along with their explanations) in the Da Pacem. Also, in Sarum Use the Commixture, immediately follows the Agnus Dei, after the priest prays aloud (Legg, (1916), pp 225-6).

260, 262. *'kyssith', 'kyssys'* - Note arbitrary use of '-ith' and '-s' in 3sg. pr. ind. endings.

264. *pax* - A tablet of gold, silver, ivory, glass, or other material, round or quadrangular, with a projecting handle behind, bearing a representation of the Crucifixion or other sacred subject, which was kissed by the celebrating priest at Mass, and passed to other officiating clergy and then to the congregation to be kissed. It came into use during the 13th century as a symbolic substitute for the kiss of peace.

274. *When þe prest begynneth 'Per Omnia secula seculorum'* - W accords with Sarum as a 'per omnia' precedes the Pax and Agnus Dei (Legg, (1916), pp 225-6).

291. *pellycane* - According to medieval lore, the pelican was a bird which pierced her own breast in order to revive her young with her blood (Seymour, (1975), pp 636-7).

304-305. *Agnus Dei qui tollis...* - According with Sarum, the Agnus is a 3-line prayer addressed to Christ, the 'Lamb of God', asking him for mercy and peace after the Da Pacem and per omnia (Legg, (1916), p 225).

307-313. *Benedic anima mea Domino* - Psalm 102:1-5 [RSV Ps. 103:1-5]. This verse is not mentioned specifically in Sarum.

*aquila* (313) - The Psalmist exhibits the lore that the eagle was a bird which represented perpetual youth, as it was thought to outlive other birds.

316. *lymbo] hym* - The word 'hym' is that which appears in the MS, though it does not fit the sense of the surrounding text. In a similar passage, Harley 494, fol.71r1 uses the word 'lymbo', which makes sense if Christ is descending down into limbo 'befor þe delyuerans of þe Holy Fathers'.

317. *þe oest devydyd in thre parttis* - This statement implies that the host has already been divided (the Fragmentation), though this action is never mentioned in W (see *note 19r9*).

318. *one ys put in to þe chalyce* - This action is referred to liturgically as the Commixture, it occurs in Sarum after the Agnus Dei. In Sarum, though it is not recorded in W, the priest prays aloud after the Commixture (Legg, (1916), p 225, note 15). The discussion which W includes concerning the handling of the fragments (including the Commixture) is given in Sarum before mention of the Pax. W places these directions after the Pax.

320. *oper II parttis be devoutly holden...* - W accords with Sarum as the remaining two parts of the host are held up with the chalice (Legg, (1916), p 225) (see *note 318*).

323. *in þer pylgramaige* - Refers to those faithful believers who are still alive on earth.

338. *þe vsing* - The point in the service when the priest partakes of the body and blood of Christ. According to Sarum, the priest partakes of the Body first and then the Blood. W places the receiving in the text in order of Sarum Use (i.e. after the Commixture and before the Post Common), though gives no directions for it, nor does W include the secret prayers before and after the priest's receiving (Legg, (1916), pp 227-8).

340. *þe Post Common* - Prayer to be said after Communion asking blessing and mercy for the communicants. W mentions this prayer in accord with Sarum. However, after the receiving and before the Post Common, W omits the rinsing of the celebrant's hands in the chalice after receiving, and again shortly thereafter in the piscina. W omits the anthem (antiphon) which follows the rinsing, it is usually a verse which changes according to the occasion of the Mass (Legg, (1916), p 228).

342. *Ite Missa est* - The priest dismisses the people from the Mass, according with Sarum (Legg, (1916), p 228, note 5). However, between the Post Common and the *Ite Missa est*, W omits several prayers and responses, along with directions to make the sign of the cross (Pearson, (1884), p 320). *DS* includes the *Ite Missa est* and its explanation at the end of his treatise, but also includes directions and explanations for a final benediction after the *Ite Missa est* (*DS*, (1855), cols 913-914).

343. '*apperyt*' - Note use of '-t' ending to represent the 3sg. pr. ind. verb form in place of the standard '-th' or '-s' ending.

348-349. *at þe Movnte of Olyveite* - W parallels this section of the Mass with Christ's commission to his disciples, "Go ye therefore..." (Mt. 28:19-20), to the priest's farewell and blessing to his congregation.

353. *'send'* - According to MED, 'send' can mean past tense 'sent', as it is used here.

355. *Requiem* - The Mass service for the dead. W accords with Sarum Use, for there is no Pax given in the Requiem Mass (Legg, (1916), p 433).

364-365. *þe VII gyftis of þe Holly Goost* - (also the 'seven-folld graycys') These are the gifts of the Holy Spirit as written in Is. 11:2. They are: wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord ('pietas' in Vulgate but not in RSV).

366-367. *carectis or crossys* - Part of the Eucharistic ceremony, these seem to be mentioned explicitly only in York Use as follows: 'Eugenius septem (words or crosses) instituit. Et cum dicat, parum tangat calicem, dicens...' (See The Lay Folks Masse Book, 'The York Order of Mass', ed. Thomas F. Simmons, EETS, OS 71. London: Trubner & Co., 1879, p 107). Simmons writes that Eugenius, 'the first of his name..., was Pope from 655-658. It will be observed that there are 7 crosses from this point until the consecration of the chalice.' Simmons is inclined to think that "septem" refers to the 7 words "genetricis Dei et Domino nostri Jesu Christi", which 'may have been interpolated before the time of St. Gregory, and which a rubric in [one manuscript] directs the priest bowing down to address her (Mary)' (Simmons, (1879), p 356, note 106, l. 12).

367. *locyons*- According to the MED, 'locyons' are oils. Oil is used in certain ceremonies of the Mass (eg. Dedications and Consecrations).

368. *after Sainct Thomas* - W attributes St. Thomas Aquinas with linking the ceremonies of the Mass with the mysteries of the Christian faith.

375. *help with an Aue* - The scribe requests the reader to pray for him by saying the "Ave", meaning the prayer *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary).

## Selective Glossary.

This glossary provides no more than the meanings of some archaic and technical words used in the manuscript, and only the meanings that the scribe or author may have intended in those contexts. Easily recognizable words have been recorded only insofar as they carry different meanings from modern usage. It is assumed that the readers of this edition will bring to the material a basic understanding of medieval English. Consequently simple spelling variation involving “i” and “y”, “þ” and “th”, and “e”, “i”, and “y” in unaccented syllables will not be noted.

Normal alphabetical order is observed (**þ** follows **t**, **y** follows **w**). However, I have treated “i” and “y” as equivalent graphs medially and finally, but when “y” is initial, it has been considered as separate from “i” and put in its modern alphabetical place.

For the word entries which are expanded upon in the Subject Matter Notes, the symbol “n.” will be written after the line reference.

symbols:

1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person

adj. = adjective

adv. = adverb

conj. = conjunction

corr. = correlating

ind. = indicative

inf. = infinitive

imp. = imperative

n. = noun

pa. = past tense

pl. = plural

pp. = past participle

pr. = present tense

prep. = preposition

pron. = pronoun

pr.p. = present participle

refl. = reflexive

sg. = singular

sj. = subjunctive

v. = verb

**abroyde:** adv., spread apart. 237

**abstinence:** n., self-denial. 151

**afore:** adv., preceding in order. 28

**afore:** prep., directly in front of. 24, 97, 157

**after:** adv., afterwards. 84

**after:** prep., according to. 38, 63, 368

**agayne:** adv., against. 123

**agmentacyon:** n., increasing. 174

**albe:** n., an ecclesiastical vestment, usually of white linen, reaching to the ankles. 42 n.

**alonly:** adv., only. 173

**ames:** n., sg., a linen scarf worn over the head and the shoulders as part of the Eucharistic vestment. 38 n.

**apperyt:** v., 3rd sg. pr. ind., occurs. 343

**applycatyon:** n., explanation. 48, 63

**areynynd:** v., pp., called to answer a formal charge. 214

**as:** conj., such as. 70

**auctorytie:** n., authority. 186

**Aue:** n., Ave. 375 n

**avter, awter:** n., altar. 9, 12, 24, 296, 345

**bar:** n., the railing in front of the judge's seat in a court of law, at which litigants and barristers stand; *at the bar* = brought before a court of justice. 214

**belewe:** v., inf., believe. 135, 369

**ben(e:** v., 3rd pl. pr. ind., are. 28, 70, 285

**beryall:** n., burial. 315

**betokenith(e:** v., 3rd sg. & pl. pr. ind., symbolizes. 329, 360; **betokenyng:** v., pr.p., symbolizing. 262

**betwyx(e:** prep., between. 256, 262

**beyre:** v., inf., carry. 215

**blodyng:** v., pr.p., bleeding. 203

**bloyd:** n, blood. 170

**blyssyd:** v., 3rd sg. pr. ind., blesses. 345

**boithe:** corr. conj., both. 326

**bosteous:** adj., menacing. 89

**bowys:** n., branches. 157

**breide:** n., bread. 171

**Canon:** n., the middle portion of the Mass. 163 n

**carectis:** n., pl., the symbol of the sign of the cross marked over the body. 366 n

**chales, challesse, chalyce:** n., the cup or goblet for administering the Sacramental wine. 13, 262, 318, 321.

**chesible, chesyble:** n., chasuble. 43, 67, 92 n

**cleyne:** adj., pure. 271

**clotheid:** v., pp., clothed. 209

**Collecttis:** n., pl., collects. 114 n

**comforth:** n., assurance. 328

**compendyous:** adj., concise but including all of the necessary parts. 18

**congruence:** n., fitting behaviour. 75, 285

**consecraite:** v., inf., dedicate to God. 71; **consecrait, consecrayte** pp., dedicated to God. 170, 295

**consecrayt:** adj., holy. 36

**consequently:** adv., next in order of time. 213

**contynewall:** adj., ongoing. 115

**convenyent:** adj., fitting. 289, 370

**corparaice:** n., corporas. 14 n

**Cristyn:** adj., Christian. 182

**crossys:** n., pl., crosses. 367 n

**cruall:** adj., cruel. 217

**dalmatyke:** n., dalmatic. 67 n

**deacan, deacon, deakyn:** n., deacon. 24, 46, 118, 125, 263 n

**deide:** n., dead. 172, 179, 182

**delyuerans:** n., deliverance. 316

**departt:** v., imp., depart. 353

**dere:** adv., dearly. 142

**devydyd:** v., pp., divided. 317

**dew:** adj., due. 147, 183, 228

**dewly:** adv., duly. 175

**dilygent:** adj., diligent. 132

**dyseyples:** n., pl., the personal followers of Jesus (the 12 Disciples). 47, 250

**disgrayde:** v., inf., deprive of ecclesiastical rank (ex. reduce a cleric to a layman). 70

**dyspytefully:** adv., spitefully. 206

**dyspoyld:** v., pp., stripped. 220

**dyspoisyd:** v., 3rd sing. pr. ind., prepares. 267; **dyspoysed** pp., prepared. 294

**dyssoluyd:** v., pp., distended. 91

**doctouris:** n., pl., learned theologians and clergymen. 353

**dogis, doggis:** n., pl., dogs. 231, 299

**dovne:** adv., down. 315

**drawe:** v., inf., stretch. 90

**edifieing:** n., edifying. 374

**eyche:** adj., each. 267

**eyre:** n., ear. 132

**elevacyon, elevatyon:** n., the raising of the chalice in consecration of the wine. 184, 191, 196 n

**enclynnyng:** v., pr.p., bowing the body toward something. 97

**entreit:** v., inf., make mention of. 77

**ewyer:** adv., ever. 270

**faice:** n., face. 122

**fanell:** n., a liturgical garment. 85 n

**feest:** n., feast. 328

**feyd:** v., pp., feed. 170

**fleyche:** n., flesh. 294

**foyde:** n., food. 289, 295

**forgewyn:** v., pp., forgiven. 247

**formys:** v., 3rd sg. pr. ind., says. 138

**generall:** n., general terms. 64

**gyff(e):** v., inf., give. 149, 226, 335; **gyff** imp., give. 134; **gyffyn** pp., given. 54

**glovys:** n., pl., gloves. 66 n

**goo:** v., imp., go. 353

**goostly:** adj., spiritual. 1, 39, 123

**graueid:** v., pp., engraved. 235

**grenne:** adj., green. 157

**haith:** v., 3rd sg. pr. ind., has. 64, 65, 293; **haue** imp., keep. 167

- hartis:** n., pl., hearts. 127, 239
- harty:** adj., ardent. 167
- helth:** n., health. 151
- here:** v., inf., hear. 133
- hevy:** adj., heavy. 216
- hevyn, hewyn:** n., heaven. 4, 259, 348
- hewynly:** adj., heavenly. 328
- hym:** refl. pron., himself. 149
- hyost:** adj., highest. 321
- holden:** v., pp., held. 321
- hole, holle:** adj., 1. entire. 48, 180, 200; 2. rational. 276
- holly:** adj., holy. 23, 30, 120
- holsum:** adj., beneficial. 289
- hosse:** n., pl., tights. 66 n.
- illudyth:** v., pp., mocked. 207
- in:** prep., during. 261
- inclinatyons:** n., pl., the actions of the priest and congregation bowing their bodies toward the altar in reverence to the Presence. 367
- inclyne:** v., inf., humble. 99, 165
- indulgens:** n., a pardon or forgiveness of sin granted by God to faithful, penitent believers already in purgatory. 176
- informacyon:** n., instruction. 169
- inivres:** n., pl., injuries. 248, 269
- innocensy:** n., innocence. 10
- inprinte:** v., imp., imprint. 199;
- inprintyd** v., pp., imprinted. 235
- inworldly:** adv., inwardly. 222
- joynttis:** n., pl., joints. 90
- jugyd:** v., pp., judged. 215
- labur:** n., physical distress. 218
- Lavatory:** n., ritual washing in the Eucharistic ceremony. 146 n.
- lave:** n., the Jewish law of the Old Testament as handed down to Moses from God. 31, 46, 54
- lede:** v., pp., led. 300
- lettyng:** v., pr.p., hindering. 334
- leving, lewyng:** n., living. 172, 175
- lyke:** v., inf., please. 144; **lyke** 3rd sing. pr. sj., please. 183
- lyk(e:** conj., just as. 40, 285
- lytyll:** adj., little. 184
- locyons:** n., pl., the 2nd lavatory, part of the Eucharistic ceremony. 367 n.
- lowe:** n., love. 128, 249, 374
- maiestie:** n., majesty. 99
- maike:** v., 1st sg. pr. ind., make. 233
- mandy(e:** n., maundy. 167, 201, 339 n.
- maner:** n., fashion. 237

**manyle:** n., part of the Eucharistic vestments of a priest. 44 n

**marcy:** n., mercy. 292

**meik:** v., inf., humble. 99

**meryt:** v., inf., win. 258

**meryttis:** n., pl., excellence. 266

**meyr:** adj., absolute. 292

**meythe:** adj., worthy. 252

**mydis:** n., middle. 24, 109, 321

**mynisterd, mynysterd:** v., pp., provided. 269, 283

**mysteryes:** n., pl., events of spiritual significance. 29, 77

**myter:** n., the headdress of a bishop. 66

**movthe:** n., mouth. 135, 306

**natiuitie:** n., nativity. 112

**nine vertues of grett perfectyon:** n., pl., the Nine Virtues of Great Perfection. 74 n

**none:** n., nothing. 121

**noteid:** v., pp., considered. 260

**nowght:** n., nothing. 219

**oblacyon, oblatyon:** n., 1. a sacrificial victim. 141, 282; 2. The act of presenting an offering or sacrifice, here represented in the bread offered in the sacrament of the Eucharist. 138, 267, 357; 3. Christ's act of presenting himself as an offering or sacrifice by his crucifixion. 297, 354

**occasyons:** n., pl., temptations to sin. 249

**oest:** n., the Eucharistic element of the bread and body of Christ. 317

**of:** prep., 1. from. 269, 292; 2. by. 203

**Offertory:** n., an antiphon. 137 n

**oyst:** n., host. 15 n

**omyt:** v., 1st sg. pr. ind., omit. 368

**on:** prep., by. 125

**onspekable:** adj., inexpressible. 222

**ooste:** n., host. 256 n

**open:** adj., as in *open voice*; aloud. 152

**openly:** adv., performing an act in public, not privately. 155

**ordeynynd:** v., pp., specially designated. 293

**ordenance:** n., law. 134

**orysons:** n., pl., 1. a series of set prayers in the first oration in the Mass. 114; 2. set prayers in general, especially those that form part of a religious service or observance. 116

**oper:** adj., the remaining one or ones. 72, 320

**oper:** adv., as. 368

**ouer:** adv., moreover. 293

**ouris:** pron., ours. 330

**overmest:** adj., overmost. 92

**owr:** adj., our. 59, 116, 369

**owrly:** adv., hourly. 117

**parttis:** n., pl., sections. 317

**pax:** n., 1. a Eucharistic object given as a symbolic substitute for the kiss of peace. 264 2. the liturgical greeting of peace. 356 n.

**peisse:** n., peace. 253

**pellycane:** n., pelican. 291 n.

**perfithe:** adj., perfect. 276

**pylgramaige:** n., pilgrimage. 323

**Post Common:** n., a prayer said after the Communion of the Mass. 340 n.

**Prefaice:** n., an introduction to the Canon of the Mass. 153 n.

**prerogatyves:** n., pl., special rights and privileges. 68

**processe:** n., sequence of events. 5, 6, 167

**profett:** n., gain. 181

**purpule:** adj., the colour purple. 8, 93

**qualyties:** n., pl., characteristics of purer appearance. 288

**queyre, qweyre:** n., choir [MED **quer**]; a group of individuals assembled to sing in a church service. 28, 30 n.

**qwyke:** adj., living. 179, 220

**ravmson:** n., ransom. 145

**receyue, receywe:** v., inf., receive. 251, 252, 271, 272; **recevyd** 3rd pl. past, ind., received. 155

**reconsylyng:** v., pr.p., restoring to God's favour. 258

**red(e):** v., imp., read. 10r5; pp., read. 27, 125, 131

**rede, rode:** n., reed. 95, 211

**refressyd:** v., pp., refreshed. 172

**rememorawlys:** n., pl., memorials. 177

**renvith:** v., 3rd sing. pr. ind., renews. 173 n.

**replicatyon:** n., repetition. 233

**Requiem:** n., a Mass ceremony for the dead. 355, 356, 358 n.

**resayve, ressaue:** v., inf., accept. 59, 268

**resydent:** adj., dwelling. 349

**reuesteid:** v., pp., revested [MED **revestrid**]; dressed in liturgical vestments. 22

**reuestre, reuestur:** n., vestry. 23, 37 n.

**reveshyd, revestyd:** v., pp., dressed in liturgical vestments. 34, 97

**ryght:** adv., truly. 370

**rode:** n., reed (see **rede**). 95

**roips, roppys:** n., pl., ropes. 86, 89

**sacring:** n., the consecration of the bread and wine in the service of the Mass. 166 n.

**said:** adj., that which was earlier mentioned. 50, 107, 373

- sainctis:** n., pl., saints. 319, 327
- saing:** v., pr.p., saying. 95, 158, 306
- salmes:** n., pl., psalms. 115
- sandellis:** n., pl., sandals. 66 n.
- sauor:** n., the flavour of food. 284
- sawe:** v., inf., save. 293
- sceynowys:** n., pl., sinews. 91
- schewyd:** v., pp., shown. 63
- sec:** v., imp., seek. 248
- secrett:** adv., in solitude. 150
- secrett:** adj., that which is meant to be said privately, in a low voice. 197
- Secrettis:** n., pl., secrets, 1. holy events. 29; 2. prayers of consecration said in a low voice by the priest after the offertory and before the preface in the Mass. 146 n.
- send:** v., pp., sent. 146 n.
- Sequence:** n., a musical composition built on an often original Latin text and sung or chanted at various points during the liturgy. 114 n.
- seven gyftis of þe Holly Goost:** n., pl., (also referred to as the *seven-folld graycys*) 364 see n.
- seven petycyonis:** n., pl., the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer. 242 n.
- seven vordis of grett mystery:** n., pl., the seven last words of Christ. 243 n.
- sich:** adj., such. 73
- syght:** conj., since. 53 n.
- syndo:** n., sindon. 15 n.
- synodals:** n., pl., laws of a synodal (church) council. 73
- soolle, sowlle:** n., sg., soul. 142, 151;  
**soollis, soulys, sowllis** n., pl., souls. 81, 101, 174, 176, 182
- sore:** adv., so as to cause physical pain and bodily injury. 90
- sovnd:** v., inf., sound. 352
- specyally:** adv., carefully. 245
- stondeith, stondith:** v., 3rd sg. pr. ind., stands. 97, 344
- stoole, stoolle:** n., stole. 43, 88 n.
- strowyd:** v., 3rd pl. past. ind., strowed. 157
- suctinctorye:** n., a type of girdle worn as part of the liturgical vestment. 68 n.
- sudarye:** n., sudarie. 14 n.
- sum:** adj., some. 370
- swet:** v., 3rd sing. past ind., sweat. 202
- swettnes:** n., sweetness. 127
- taiken:** v., pp., taken. 300
- taist:** n., taste. 284
- tary:** v., 1st sg. pr. ind., delay. 233
- thaym(e):** pron., 3rd person pl., them. 54, 129, 174, 348, 374
- þen:** conj., than. 125

**thewys:** n., pl., wretches. 214 n.

**pouthe:** conj., though. 362

**thre:** adj., three. 261, 304, 317

**thrust:** n., thirst. 218

**tobraſt:** v., 3rd pl. past ind., burst open. 91

**tokyn:** n., an action intended to figure a condition. 177, 304

**towcheid:** v., 3rd sg. pr. ind., touches. 255

**trespas:** n., pl., trespasses. 145

**trespasurs:** n., pl., a set of individuals who sin against another. 250

**treught:** n., truth. 326

**tunycle:** n., tunic. 67 n.

**turmentors:** n., pl., tormentors. 89

**vaile:** n., condition; as in *the vaile of misery*. 4, 324

**vaynys:** n., pl., veins. 91

**verey:** adj., true. 6, 326

**vertues of grett perfectyon:** n., pl., the 9 Virtues of Great Perfection; (see **nine vertues of grett perfectyon**). 74 n.

**vessellis:** n., pl., vessels (see **chosen vessellis**). 251 n.

**vnyte:** v., pp., united. 319

**vnto:** conj., until. 165

**vordis:** n., pl., words. 243

**vsing:** n., sg., ritual. 238

**watche:** n., state of wakefulness. 151, 218, 230

**whyche:** pron., who. 298

**wyllfully:** adv., voluntarily. 140, 155

**wyne:** v., 3rd sg. pres. ind., gain. 281

**wyne presse:** n., wine press. 232 n.

**wysse:** n., manner. 305

**woichesaiffe, wouchsayffe:** v., inf., to grant in a gracious manner. 99, 224

**wolld:** v., pp., walled in. 231

**wulffis, wulffs:** n., pl., wolves. 231, 302

**yeit:** adv., yet. 217

**ympnes:** n., pl., hymns. 115

**you:** refl. pron., yourself. 167

## Index of Proper Names.

**Adam:** According to Genesis, Adam was the first human being whom God created (Gen.1:26, 2:7). 106

**Anne and Cayphas:** Annas was the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the high priest (Jn.18:12-14). Caiaphas was the high priest for the year who had given counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the people (Jn.18:19-24, 28; Lk.22:54; Mk.14:53, 55-65, 15:1; Mt.26:57, 59-68, 27:1-2). 204, 300

**B. Langforde:** A priest, the W scribe. 377

**Cayphas:** (see **Anne and Cayphas**). 204, 300

**Crist, Cryst:** The Saviour and Messiah, Jesus Christ (Acts 18:5). 6, 238, 320

**Cristyn, Crysten:** Those people converted to the teachings of Christ. 182, 239

**David:** Son of Jesse, as a boy became a shepherd (1Sam.16:11), was annointed by Samuel (1Sam.16:13), known for killing Goliath (1Sam. 17), made king over Israel (2Sam.5:1-16). A writer of some of the Psalms, and also considered as one of the Old Testament prophets. 159

**Gentyllis:** Those people not of the Jewish faith at the time of Christ. 56, 59

**God(e):** The divinity of the Trinity: God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 33, 37, 129

**Herod(e):** Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee during the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar (Lk.23:7-11). 8, 206, 207, 301

**Hol(l)y Fathers:** A title applied to certain ecclesiastical writers distinguished for orthodoxy of doctrine and holiness of life and have therefore been approved by the Church as witnesses to its faith (e.g. Jerome, Augustine, etc.). 30, 317

**Jesu(s):** Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the Messiah. (see **Cryst**), (Acts 13:23). 194, 278, 298

**Jewys:** Those people of the Jewish faith, the main religion of the Hebrew people. 8, 52, 56

**Judas:** Judas Iscariot, one of Christ's own disciples; he betrayed Christ to the Pharisees (Jn.18:1-5). 203

**Lady:** The Virgin Mary, mother of Christ. 376

**Langforde, B.:** (see **B. Langforde**). 377

**Mother (of Gode):** Mary, the virgin Mother of Jesus (Mt.1:23). 37, 40

**Movnte of Olyveite:** The Mount of Olivet is a mountain near Jerusalem, the location of Christ's ascension into heaven 40 days after his resurrection (Acts 1:9-12). 348

**Paule, (Saint):** St.Paul the Apostle, born Saul, converted near Damascus (Acts 9:3-19) from a persecutor of the church to one of its most powerful missionaries (name changed to Paul (Acts 13:9)). 126

**Peter, Saint:** St.Peter the disciple of Christ, became a teacher in the ways of Christ. 126

**Pilate, Pylaite, Pylaytt:** Pontius Pilate, the governor of Judea during the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar (Mt.27:11-26; Mk.15:1-15; Lk.23:1-5, 23:13-24; Jn.18:29-19:16). 206, 208, 301

**Profett:** Refers to David the Prophet, (see **David**). 307

**Sauyour:** Refers to Jesus Christ as the Messiah (Lk.1:47, Acts 13:23). 2, 8, 105

**Thomas, (Sainct):** St.Thomas Aquinas. 38, 73, 368

**Virgin:** Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ (Mt.1:23). 36

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