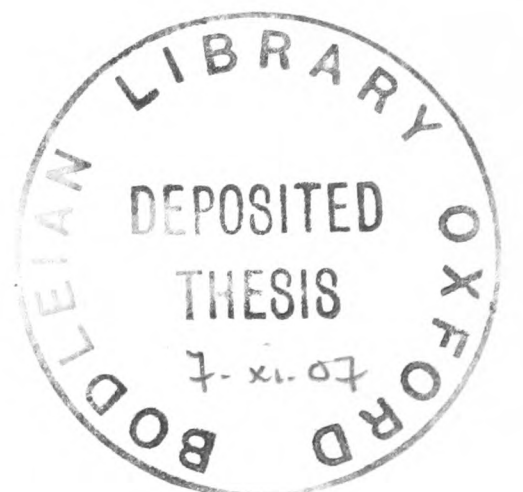


An Edition with Commentary of the *Speculum huius vite*, a Fifteenth-Century Pastoral Manual in English

Volume One: Commentary

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D.Phil. Thesis
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ABSTRACT

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Degree: D.Phil.
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The *Speculum huius vite* is a pastoral manual composed in English around the end of the fourteenth century. It is, on one level, an abbreviated version of the *Prick of Conscience*, arguably one of the most popular English texts of the late middle ages; but the *Speculum* is more than simply an abbreviation of a popular text, since it refashions its source to accommodate a new emphasis and new material, including a commentary on the ten commandments and some shorter exhortations to the clergy and laity regarding humility and modesty. Evidence from the two manuscripts of the *Speculum* (Bodleian MS Additional A. 268, fols. 117r-139r, and Dublin Trinity Coll. MS 155, pp. 149-238) and from two related manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience* (Cambridge University Library MS Dd.12.69, fols. 37r-97v and Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library MS 155, fols. 1-77) indicates that two revisions were involved in the production of the *Speculum* from the *Prick of Conscience*. The dialect of the poem has been extensively studied to determine whether it is possible to make any conjectures concerning the geographical source of the first and second revisions of the text. The text was probably used for catechetical instruction, private reading, and preaching within the tradition of English catechetical manuals produced after the Fourth Lateran Council. The thesis provides a description of the manuscripts of the text (Chapter One), discussions of the historical context of the poem (Chapter Two), the sources and immediate context of the poem (Chapter Three), the relationship of the manuscripts (Chapter Four), and the language and dialect of the text (Chapter Five). These are followed by notes on editorial procedure, an edition of the text, a glossary, notes to the text, and a bibliography.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>Abund.exempl.</i>	Humbert of Romans, O.P. [attributed to Albert the Great, O.P.] <i>Liber de abundantia exemplorum</i> . Ulm: J. Zainer, 1478/80.
Allen	Allen, H.E. <i>Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography</i> . New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1927.
AN	Anglo-Norman
Bennett and Smithers	Bennett, J.A.W., and G.V. Smithers. <i>Early Middle English Verse and Prose</i> . 2 nd rev. ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
Briquet	Briquet, C.M. <i>Les Filigranes: A Facsimile of the 1907 Edition with Supplementary Material Contributed by a Number of Scholars</i> . Ed. Allan Stevenson. 4 vols. Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968.
Burrow and Turville-Petre	Burrow, J.A., and Thorlac Turville-Petre. <i>A Book of Middle English</i> . 2 nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
<i>Carmina</i>	Walther, Hans. <i>Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina: Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969.
CC	<i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> . Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> . Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols.
<i>Compendium</i>	Ripelin, Hugh, of Strassburg. <i>Compendium theologiae veritatis</i> . Vol. 34 of <i>B. Alberti Magni, Opera Omnia</i> . Ed. Augustus Borgnet. Paris: Vivès, 1895. 1-306.
<i>Conc.Oec.Dec.</i>	<i>Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta</i> . Ed. Giuseppe Alberigo, Perikle-P. Joannou, et. al. 3 rd ed. Bologna: Istituto per le Scienze Religiose, 1973.
<i>Concilia</i>	<i>Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae</i> . Ed. David Wilkins. 4 vols. London: R. Gosling, F. Gyles, T. Woodward, et. al., 1737.
CS, i or ii	F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney. <i>Councils and Synods, with</i>

	<i>Other Documents Relating to the English Church</i> . Vol. II, part i or part ii. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
<i>De Miseria</i>	Innocent III (Lothario dei Segni). <i>De Miseria Humanae Conditionis</i> . PL 217, 701-745.
<i>Descriptive Guide</i>	Lewis, Robert E. and Angus McIntosh. <i>A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience</i> . <i>Medium Aevum Monographs</i> , n.s. xii. Oxford: The Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1982.
<i>EETS</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i>
<i>EETS, es</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i> , Extra Series
<i>EETS, os</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i> , Original Series (not indicated from no. 160 onwards)
<i>EETS, ss</i>	<i>Early English Text Society</i> , Supplementary Series
Emmerson	Emmerson, Richard Kenneth. <i>Antichrist in the Middle Ages</i> . Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981.
<i>Fasciculi Zizaniorum</i>	<i>Fasciculi zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif, cum tritico</i> . Ed. Walter Waddington Shirley. Rolls Series 5. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858.
Gillespie	Gillespie, V.A. <i>The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual with Particular Reference to the Speculum Christiani and Some Related Texts</i> . Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, 1981.
Gillespie, <i>Doctrina</i>	Gillespie, V.A. “ <i>Doctrina and Predicacio: the Design and Function of Some Pastoral Manuals</i> .” <i>Leeds Studies in English</i> , n.s. 11 (1980): 36-50.
Goering	Goering, Joseph. <i>William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care</i> . Studies and Texts 108. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992.
Horstman	Horstman, C., ed. <i>Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and His Followers</i> . 2 vols. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1895.
Hudson, “English Heresy”	Hudson, Anne. “Lollardy: the English Heresy?.” <i>Lollards and their Books</i> . London: Hambledon Press, 1985. Pp.

141-163.

<i>IMEV</i>	Brown, Carleton and Rossell Hope Robbins. <i>The Index of Middle English Verse</i> . New York: The Index Society, 1943; used along with Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler. <i>Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse</i> . Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.
<i>Incipits</i>	Bloomfield M.W. <i>et. al. Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices 1100-1500 A.D.</i> Medieval Academy of America Publication No. 88. Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1979.
Jolliffe	Jolliffe, P.S. <i>A Check-list of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance</i> . Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974.
Jordan	Jordan, Richard. <i>Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology</i> . Trans. Eugene Joseph Crook. The Hague: Mouton, 1974.
Kaiser	Kaiser, Rolf. <i>Zur Geographie des mitttelenglischen Wortschatzes. Palaestra 205</i> . Leipzig: Mayer and Müller, 1937.
<i>LALME</i>	McIntosh, Angus, M.L. Samuels, Michael Benskin. <i>Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English</i> . Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986.
LP	Linguistic Profile (used in <i>LALME</i>)
IWS	late West-Saxon
<i>Meditationes piissimae</i>	<i>Meditationes piissimae de humana conditione. PL 184, 485-508.</i>
ME	Middle English
<i>MED</i>	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> . Ed. H. Kurath, S.M. Kuhn, et. al. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1952-. [The last fascicle published and consulted for this thesis was Part U.4, unware — vaporacioun]
ModE	Modern English
Mustanoja	Mustanoja, Tauno F. <i>A Middle English Syntax: Part I, Parts of Speech</i> . Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1960.

O'Connor	O'Connor, Sr. Mary Catherine. <i>The Art of Dying Well: the Development of the Ars Moriendi</i> . New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.
OE	Old English
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> . Ed. J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner. 2 nd Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
OF	Old French
Ogilvie-Thomson	Rolle, Richard. <i>Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse</i> . Ed. S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson. <i>EETS</i> 293 (1988).
ON	Old Norse
Orme	Orme, Nicholas. <i>English Schools in the Middle Ages</i> . London: Methuen, 1973.
Owst	Owst, G.R. <i>Preaching in Medieval England</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926.
Parkes	Parkes, M.B. "The Literacy of the Laity." <i>Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts</i> . London: The Hambledon Press, 1991. 275-297.
Peines	Robert Relihan. <i>A Critical Edition of the Anglo-Norman and Latin Versions of Les Peines de Purgatorie</i> . Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Iowa, 1978. Reference is to page number.
PC, or Prick	<i>The Prick of Conscience</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> . Accurante J.-P. Migne.
Powell	Powell, Sue. "The Transmission and Circulation of <i>The Lay Folks' Catechism</i> ." <i>Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission</i> . Ed. A.J. Minnis. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991. 67-84.
Premature Reformation	Hudson, Anne. <i>The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
Proverbia	Walther, Hans. <i>Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi</i> . 5 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964.

- Raymo Robert R. “Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction.” *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500*. Vol. vii. Ed. Albert E. Hartung. New Haven, Conn.: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1986. 2255-2378; 2467-2582.
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- Watson Nicholas. “Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel’s Constitutions of 1409.” *Speculum* 70 (1995): 822-886.
- Wenzel, Siegfried. *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its Middle English Poems*. Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1978.

Chapter One: Manuscript Descriptions

There are four manuscripts described below which are significant to the text of the *Speculum huius vite*. The first two, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional A. 268 (**B**) and Dublin Trinity College MS 155 (**D**), contain texts of the *Speculum*; the last two, Cambridge University Library MS Dd. 12. 69 (**C**) and Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Houghton Library MS English 515 (**H**), contain closely related texts of the *Prick of Conscience*. Reasons for the inclusion of just these two *Prick of Conscience* texts, and not any others, will be given in the discussion of manuscript relations. Richard Morris' 1874 edition of the *Prick of Conscience*, the only edition of the poem to date, compiled from manuscript sources acknowledged up to the present time as close to the "original" of the poem, will stand as a common point of reference to the larger *Prick of Conscience* tradition, and will be acknowledged with the siglum "**Z**."¹ The manuscript descriptions below are given in the following format:

siglum for the manuscript: shelfmark

estimated date for the manuscript

- I. Materials
- II. Collation
- III. Number of Leaves
- IV. Layout
 - A. Size of leaves and written space
 - B. Pricking and Ruling
 - C. Rubrication
- V. Content of the manuscript

¹*The Pricke of Conscience*, ed. Richard Morris (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1863). Further exposition upon the manuscript relations within the *Prick of Conscience* tradition, and arguments establishing why Morris' edition has been used as a principal point of reference to this larger tradition, can be found in Chapter Four on manuscript relations.

Each item is numbered and described consecutively as it appears in the present binding.

VI. Handwriting

- A. Of the texts themselves
- B. Of the marginalia

VII. Punctuation

VIII. Binding (including *dicta probatoria*)

IX. History of the Manuscript

B: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Additional A. 268. (SC 29387)

*s. xv*²

I. Material

Almost the entire manuscript is composed of paper folios, except for the two exterior bifolia (fols. 97, 98, 115, 116), the centre bifolia (fols. 105, 106) of quire viii, an original endleaf (fol. 153), and the remains of the previous binding (fols. 154-162). The distinguishing features of the various stocks are described below:

Stock A (fols. 1r-10v)

The wire lines run vertically down the page and the chain lines are horizontal; the chain lines are 36mm apart. Watermarks can be seen near the spine, most likely of a fleur-de-lis supported by the letters “i” and “b”, on the following folios: 2, 6 (“i” and “b”), 3, 7, 9 (top leaf of the fleur-de-lis). The watermark and chain lines most closely resemble Briquet, no. 7064, a watermark datable to 1471.² The location of the watermarks supports the theory that the original quiring was eight plus two leaves. All 10 leaves have been mounted on nineteenth-century paper.

Stock B (fols. 11r-26v)

The chain lines run vertically down the page, and wire lines horizontally. There are watermarks on fols. 15 - 18, near the top of the leaves. The shape of the watermark appears to be the head of an ox, from the top and middle of which a line connects what looks like a capital “T” in outline. The watermark bears a resemblance to 15154 in Briquet,³ and measures 55x30 mm, standing in the middle of chain lines that measure

²vol. i, pp. 390-391 (description), and vol. iii, no. 7064 (image).

³Briquet, vol. iv, and vol. ii, p. 759, column a, dated 1478; however, the chain-line measurements are not exactly the same, and the paper does not fit the measurements described in Briquet. It resembles, but does not match watermark 428, Abteilung X, in Gerhard Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopf-Wasserzeichen*

45mm apart.

Stock C (fols. 26v-36v)

The chain lines run vertically down the page, the wire lines horizontally. An unidentifiable watermark appears on folios 30 and 31, measuring 80x30mm, between chain lines 45mm apart.

Stock D (fols. 37r-84v)

The wire lines run vertically down the page, and chain lines run horizontally across the page. The paper has a watermark in the shape of a hand, which can be seen close to the gutter in the centre of some leaves. The hand runs parallel to the chain lines, and a line surmounted by a crown sprouts out of the middle finger of the hand. There is a cuff at the base of the hand, but no letters on the cuff. These watermarks can be seen on fols. 39, 42, 43, 51, 61, 64, 65, 67, 77, 80, 81, 84 (bottom of hand) 38, 46, 47, 50, 54, 56, 57, 60, 69, 72, 73, 76 (top of hand and crown). The watermark is very similar to, if not identical with, 11323 in vol. iv. of Briquet.⁴ This watermark is very rare (see vol. ii, p. 564 of Briquet), and is datable to 1479-84.

Stock E (fols. 85r-116v)

The wire lines run vertically down the page, and the chain lines are horizontal. The chain lines are 40 mm apart. There are two kinds of watermarks, both in the shape of the head of an ox with curved horns, and both in the centre of the bifolia, bisected by the gutter, and set in the middle of two chain lines. The first of the two oxheads measures approximately 48 x 24 mm, and the second measures approximately 44 x 25 mm. The watermarks can be seen on fols. 85, 91, 93, 100, 108, 110 (horns); 88, 90, 96, 101, 103, 111 (head). The first type of oxhead mark can be seen on fols. 88, 101, 103, 111; the rest are of the second type. Both are of the general type found in Briquet, nos. 14294-14317, but neither one can be identified more precisely with a particular watermark.

Stock F (fols. 117r-152v)

The wire lines run vertically down the page, and the chain lines run horizontally across the page. The chain lines are barely discernible, but are approximately 40 mm apart. Some watermarks, approximately 40 x 30 mm, can be discerned in the middle of the folios near the spine, roughly in the shape of a ram's head with curved horns, on fols. 124, 125, 132, 137, 147 (bottom of head), 133, 136, 139, 141, 148, 150 (top of head). Not

(Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1966), vol. II, 1, p. 163 (description), vol. II, 2, p. 511 (image), datable to 1482-1483.

⁴See Briquet, vol ii, p. 572, column b, for a description of the watermark. The watermark measures 83x23mm. The paper bearing this watermark usually measures 30x43cm., which accords with the size of the pages in this ms. and the placement of the watermarks, if the quire were made up of four sheets folded in quarto and each quarto was inserted into the preceding quarto in order to make a quire of sixteen folios.

enough detail in the watermark can be discerned to make a positive identification. Some folios have been mounted on nineteenth-century paper.

II. Number of Leaves

ii + 152 + ii, foliated i, ii (ult.), 1-164; the leaves foliated 153-162 are actually remains of the previous binding.

III. Collation

The varying stocks of paper, the differing hands, the divisibility of the contents into distinct quires and groups of quires, certain leaves which bear greater marks of wear (fols. 1 and 10, 11 and 36, 37 and 84, 85 and 116, 117 and 152), and the compressed nature of item 3 (as though to fit it in at the end of quire iii; see below under “Layout”) all provide evidence for the presence of at least three, and possibly five booklets.

i (10 leaves, remounted, possibly 8 with 2 leaves added) (fols. 1-10) | ii¹⁶ (fols. 11-26), iii¹⁰ (fols. 27-36) (fols. 11-36) | (possibly one quire of sixteen folios missing before quire iv) iv¹⁶-vi¹⁶ (fols. 37-84) | vii¹² (fols. 85-96), viii¹⁸+two (fols. 113 and 114) (fols. 97-116) (fols. 85-116) | ix¹²-x¹² (fols. 117-147), xi¹⁴ wants 13, 14 after fol. 152 (fols. 148-152) (fols. 117-152)

(Stitching appears between fols. 4, 5; 18, 19; 44, 45; 60, 61; 76, 77; 90, 91; 105, 106; 122, 123; 134, 135; 147, 148. Catchwords appear on fols. 26v, 52v, 68v, 128v, 140v.)

IV. Layout

1. *Booklets 1, 2, and 3* (fols. 1r-84v, hand A; items 1-4)

A. *Size of leaves and written space*

The leaves are 197x144mm. The written space for item 1 is 148x88mm; for items 2 and 3 it is 138x90mm; for item 4 it is 134x93mm.

B. *Pricking and ruling*

There is no evidence of pricking. The written space alone is ruled in a single column with a stylus; there are no other indications of ruling. Item 3 usually has 29-33 lines per page, compared to the 20-22 lines per page of Item 2.

C. *Rubrication*

Items 1-3 each begin with *littera notabilior* in red, and all titles and marginal citations of sources are underscored in red in items 1-4. Paraph signs have also been rubricated. The rubrication in item 1

ends at fol. 6r, although space is left for *litterae notabiliores* up to the end of item 1 at fol. 10v.

2. *Booklet 4* (fols. 85r-116v; hands B, C, D; items 5-8)

A. *Size of leaves and written space*

The leaves are 200x145mm and the written space is 172x105mm. The text is in two columns throughout.

B. *Pricking and ruling*

There is evidence of pricking on most folios at the base of the columns, marking the outlines of the two columns of text; only the outlines of the written space appear to be ruled in plummet.

C. *Rubrication*

Subtitles, *litterae notabiliores*, and citations of sources are all in red. Capital letters at the beginning of sentences are rubricated.

3. *Booklet 5* (fols. 117r-152v; hand E; items 9-11)

A. *Size of leaves and written space*

The leaves measure 204x150mm, and the written space is ca. 180x125 mm.

B. *Pricking and ruling*

There does not appear to be any pricking or ruling, which the casual slant and variation in size of the text bears out. The text is in two columns of varying widths.

C. *Rubrication*

The texts are unrubricated.

V. Content

A. **Booklet 1** (fols. 1r-10v)

1. (fols. 1r - 10r) *Ars moriendi*.

Incipit: Quamuis secundum philosophum. Tercio ethicorum | omnium
terribilium mors corporis sit terribi | lissima morti tamen anime
nullatenus est comparenda.

Explicit: Sed heu pauci sunt qui | in morte proximis suis fideliter assistunt

inter | rogando monendo et pro ipsis orando. Presertim cum | ipsi
 morientes non dum mori velint et anime | moriencium sepe
 miserabiliter periclitantur. Explicit Ars moriendi

(Latin text. According to F.M. Comper, the explicit above is found only in block-book editions of the Latin *Ars moriendi*.⁵ It would appear that this is a copy of the block-book text.⁶ A complete bibliography of the surviving Latin and vernacular manuscripts and editions of this text can be found in Sr. Mary Catherine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: the Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 61-112.)

B. Booklet 2 (fols. 11r-36v)

2. (fols. 11r - 30r) *De gaudiis celi*.

Incipit: Notandum circa gaudia celi tria sunt dicenda scilicet | Valor
 imperciabilis Decor inestimabilis, Ho | nor insuperabilis.
 Explicit: Ad quam gloriam nos perducatur et parti | cipes efficiat ductor illius
 coree Jhesus Christus | virginis filius cui cum patre et Spiritu
 Sancto vni | soli deo sit honor laus imperium et maiestas | per
 infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

(An English summary of the twelve joys of heaven can be found on the bottom half of fol. 15r: "Youth withouten eldyng/ lyf withouten deyng", noted in *IMEV* 4287. There are no other occurrences of this English text listed.)

3. (fols. 30r - 36r) *Speculum peccatoris*.

Incipit: Quoniam karissime in huius via vite sumus fugientis | dies nostri
 sicut vmbra pretereunt necesse est igitur cor | de sollicito sepius
 memorari quod nostra fragilitas nostra | mortalis infirmitas tociens
 cogit obliuisci . . .
 Explicit: Sapias | quomodo recte intelligas quomodo nouissima tua
 prudenter | prouideas | illud bonum invisibilem adquiras ad quod
 to | tum desiderium humanum tendit et aspirat ad quod nos |
 perducatur Ihesus christus | qui sine fine viuit et regnat.

(A Latin text, beginning with a red paraph sign and centered title, "Incipit Speculum

⁵Comper, F.M. (ed.), *The Book of the Craft of Dying and other Early English Texts Concerning Death* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917), p. 89.

⁶See Sr. Mary Catherine O'Connor, *The Art of Dying Well: the Development of the Ars Moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), pp. 44, 45. The text matches the block-book text in Nigel Palmer (ed.), *Apokalypse - Ars moriendi - Biblia pauperum - Antichrist - Fabel vom kranken Löwen - Kalendarium und Planetenbücher - Historia David: Die lateinisch-deutschen Blockbücher des Berlin-Breslauer Sammelbandes* (München: Edition Helga Lengenfelder, 1992), microfiche 4.

peccatoris secundum Augustinum vel secundum Bernardum.” This text has been spuriously attributed to Augustine, but is recognized as a work by an author of the late tenth century⁷ or perhaps the thirteenth century. The text can be found in *PL*, vol. 40, 984-992, and has been spuriously attributed to Richard Rolle (with whose work it is often found) in five manuscripts.⁸ A red *littera notabilior* “Q” of two lines in height begins the treatise, which is subdivided by means of paraps. Citations of *auctoritates* are underscored in red. Two notae can be read at the top of fol. 36v, neither of which has anything to do with the text. An inscription in a late fifteenth-century cursive under these two notae on 36v reads: “constat domino Gylbarto barton | viginti dinariorum vel viginti dinariis | a bibliapolis cui erit nomen thomas.” The catchwords “fuit pondus” at bottom of fol. 26v appear to indicate the end of a quire and there is an initial “h” in red ink above and to the right of these catchwords. See Johannis Machielsen, *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*, vol. ii (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1994), 3076, for additional information regarding authorship, and *Incipits* 4918 for a listing of further manuscripts.)

C. Booklet 3 (fols. 37r-84v)

4. (fols. 37r - 84v) The latter part of the *Speculum Christiani*, imperfect.

Incipit: The text begins with the words “-tibus superbit non gladio,” in the “Quarta Tabula.”

Explicit: (the following is the explicit for the text in the manuscript, which appears at the end of fol. 83r; it is followed by a number of theological notae on fols. 83v-84v):

Beatus uir qui non abiit | in consilio impiorum pro consiliario ante omnes | eligendus est deus | Tob 3° | Omnia consilia tua | in ipso permaneant. Amen.

(This imperfect Latin text, interspersed with English, includes the material from p. 61, l. 4 to the end of the text in Gustaf Holmstedt’s edition of the *Speculum Christiani*, *EETS*, vol. 182 (London, 1933). Although the manuscript contains the explicit of Holmstedt’s text — “Nullum sacrificium ita placet deo sicut zelus animarum” — on the top of fol. 82v, the colophon does not come until just after the explicit given above; Holmstedt describes the extra material on fols. 82v and 83r as bearing some similarity to additional material found in the text of the *Speculum Christiani* in British Library MS Lansdowne 344.⁹ Each division of the text is signalled by a centered and underscored title following a paraph sign, and begins with a *littera notabilior* in red of about two lines in height. Paraph signs further subdivide the text, with accompanying notes and running titles in the margin. *Auctoritates* are acknowledged in the text and in the theological notae appended

⁷E. Portalié, art. “Augustin”, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. I, (Paris, 1902), p. 2309.

⁸Allen, 354.

⁹*Speculum Christiani*, ed. Gustaf Holmstedt *EETS* 182 (1933), pp. xx, xxi.

to the text on fols. 83v to 84v. The name “Bradshawe” occurs in red display script at the bottom of fols. 63r and 65r, followed by some red decorations. A complete listing of other manuscripts and editions can be found in Gustaf Holmstedt, *Speculum Christiani*, pp. xix - cxxxiii. The catchwords “te sermones,” and “ignis,” and the quire numbering “iij” on the bottom right hand sides of 52v, 68v, and 84v respectively indicate the last leaf of each of three quires of 16 leaves each, i.e. eight bifolia to the quire. By calculating the average number of lines per page and comparing it with the amount of text in Gustaf Holmstedt’s printed edition, the missing text would fill one quire of sixteen folios. This manuscript of the text may thus be missing one quire at its beginning.)

D. Booklet 4 (fols. 85r-116v)

5. (fols. 85ra - 108va) Thomas of Hales’ *Vita Sancte Marie* (Title in ms.: *Genealogia beate uirginis et infancia Christi auctentia a diversis orthodoxis excerpta de pereritibus beate Marie capitulum unum johannes damascenus capitulo octagesimo octavo.*)

Incipit:	Sancta et semper laudabilis et semper virgo dei genetrix maria de eterno premismo con silio dei predestinata et diuer sis ymaginibus et sermonibus prophetarum per Spiritus Sanctum sanctificata et predicata et predeterminato tempore ex dauitica radice germinata est propter eas que ad ipsum facte sunt promissiones.
Explicit:	Sic ergo integriter uiuens. que omnium uitam integram et perfectam genuit. Si hoc dixi ut debui? approba benignissime christe ihesu tu et tui. Si autem ut debui ignosce dulcis sime ihesu. tu et tui. Amen.

(This Latin text, attributed to Thomas of Hales, O.F.M.,¹⁰ is divided into capitulae by means of subtitles in red, and a red, decorated littera notabilior of two lines in height. Auctoritates are cited in the text in red bastard display script similar to the script used for the subtitles. The text is in two columns separated by a median of about 8mm. For a complete listing of other manuscripts and editions, see Thomas de Hales, *The Lyf of Oure Lady: the Middle English Translation of Thomas of Hales’ Vita Sancte Marie*, ed. Sarah Horrall, Middle English Text Series, vol. 17 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1985), pp. 12-14. Horrall writes in the introduction to her edition that this copy of the text “contains many additions and omissions not shared by any other manuscript. The most significant of these are the long passages from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* inserted into chapters viii, xxiv, and xxvii.” (p. 15))

6. (fols. 108vb-111vb) *Meditacio breuis et ualida*

¹⁰This attribution is listed in Lucas Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum quibus accessit syllabus illorum qui ex eodem ordine pro fide Christi fortiter occubuerunt* (Rome: S. Michaelis ad Ripam, 1806), p. 220, and is confirmed by Sarah Horrall in her edition of the *Vita Sanctae Mariae* (bibliographical particulars follow), pp. 7-9.

- Incipit: (*Title in text:* In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi inci | pit
 meditacio brevis et ua | lida ad excitandum hominem | ad timorem
 dei que perfecte monet | et inducit hominem ad timendum | domini.)
 Et sunt quinque rationes | speciales quare timendus est deus. | Et
 quelibet ratio continet tres | causas precipuas propter quas
 timen | dus est deus
- Explicit: Stude cog | noscere te. quia multo melior et | lauda`bi`lior es si te
 cognoscis. | quam si te neglecto. cognosceres | cursum siderum.
 uires herbarum | complexiones hominum. naturas | animalium. et
 haberes omnium ce | lestium et terrestrium scientias. | Redde ergo te
 tibi. et si non semper aut sepe saltem interdum.

(The Latin text is divided into six parts comprising five meditations and a treatise on meditation, prayer, and contemplation.)

7. (fols. 111vb-116ra) *De sex alis Cherubim* (title in ms.: *Expositio alarum cherubyn*)

- Incipit: Prima ala est confessio. | non laudis. unde. | Confitemino (*sic*)
 domino quoniam bonus quoniam in secula | misericordia eius sed
 criminis unde. Confite- | mini alterutrum peccata nostra.
- Explicit: Quintam pennam habet qui in hiis | perseuerat vnde in euangelio
 Qui | perseuerauerit vsque in finem hic saluus | erit Videlicet in
 amore dei | hee sunt ale de quibus psalmista ait | Sub umbra alarum
 tuarum pro | tege a facie impiorum qui me afflixerunt. | Explicit

(This Latin text is subdivided into six parts, one for each of the six wings of the cherubim, and has been variously attributed to Clemens Lantoniensis (de Lanthony), Alanus de Insulis, and to pseudo-Bonaventura. For a complete listing of manuscripts, see *Incipits* 4055. The text is printed “in *Patrologia Latina* vol. 210, pp. 273-280 as part of a longer work ‘ad explanationem huius figurae, necessaria videtur esse discussio . . .’, of which this part is probably by Alanus de Insulis.”¹¹)

8. (fol. 116v) *Acrostic on the words Iesus, homo, clericus, cor and Deus*

Text:

Iesus I id est iocunditas merencium
 E id est eternitas credencium
 S id est salus credencium
 V id est vita morencium
 S id est securitas timencium
 homo H id est huius
 O id est omnia

¹¹*Incipits*, no. 4055, p. 345.

	M id est manus		
	O id est omnipotens		
Clericus	C id est clarus intencie		
	L id est lux in conuersacione		
	E id est eleuator in omni conuersacione		
	R id est regulatus in omni opere bono		
	I id est intendens in studio in amore		
	C id est canis mortificacionis		
	V id est valens ad pugnandum in omni bono opere		
	S id est sapiens in omnibus et maximus in lucucione (<i>sic</i>)		
Cor	C id est camera	Cor	C id est custas (<i>sic</i>)
	O id est omnipotens		O id est omnium
	R id est regis		R id est rerum
Deus	D id est dator		
	E id est eterne		
	U id est uite		
	S id est salute		

(The text is in a different hand from the other items in Booklet 4.)

E. **Booklet 5** (fols. 117r-139v)

9. (fols. 117ra -139rb) *Speculum huius vite*

Incipit:	[B]efore þat any cre<at>ure was wro3t or er any begynnyng was of o3t And before all tymes we sal trowe þe same god was þat is now
Explicit:	Iche day onus here `quyk´ be fle3en or he þat joy <i>and</i> blis wold flee þat witout end <i>in</i> heuon sall be To þe quych ioy he vs bryng þat made heuon <i>and</i> erth <i>and</i> all thyng amen

(This Middle English text in rhyming couplets is divided into parts by means of centered headings — “Dethe” (fol. 123v); “Day of dome” (fol. 128r); “Sexta pars de penis inferus: Hell” (fol. 133v); “Heuon” (fol. 136r). The English is interspersed with Latin quotations from *auctoritates*, written in a bastard display script slightly larger than the cursive Anglicana in which most of the text is written. The *auctoritates*, any additional *notae*, and corrections, are recorded in the margins. Space has been left at the beginning of the text for a *littera notabilior*. See *IMEV* 484. Other manuscripts¹²: Dublin, Trinity College 155, pp. 149-238)

10. (fols. 139rb-145vb) *The Virtues of the Mass*

Incipit:	[T]hat blesset barn <i>in</i> bedlem borne þat let his brayne be thrille wit thorne For monus mysdede. let neuer þer saules thur3 syn be
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¹²All information regarding other manuscripts containing the Middle English texts described in this chapter comes from the *IMEV*.

lorne | þat wyll take hede.
Explicit: The pape þat gaf *and graunt* þis | he he3t Clement þe fift I wis | his
saule god 3elde | That barne best bryng vs to blis | Wit hym to belde

(This is a Middle English poem in 5-line stanzas. A space has been left for a littera notabilior at the beginning of the text. The whole is in English except for one quotation from Psalm 70:22, “Psallam tibi in cythara sanctus Israel.” See *IMEV*, 3268. Other manuscripts: London, British Library Royal 17. C. xvii, f. 155v)

11. (fols. 146ra-152vb) *An Invocation to the Creator*

Incipit: All my3ty god þat all has wro3t | heuen *and* hell *and* erth of no3t |
water *and* lond day *and* ny3t | Sone *and* mone to shyne bry3t | Gres
corne tree *and* best | Foles *and* fysshes both most *and* lest. . . .
Explicit: <.> Pase <. . .> the les 7 <. . .>are | <. . . .>mon say A<. . .>
syne | <. . . .>kyne 3o <.>lyne | (fol. 152vb) In <.> |
For here 3e ge <.> of me Amen | Explicit historia de passione
domini

(The explicit names this Middle English poem as the *Historia de passione domini ihesu*, but the *Index of Middle English Verse* identifies the text as *An Invocation to the Creator*; see *IMEV* 256. The poem is in rhyming couplets, and is laid out in two columns. *Auctoritates* are cited in abbreviated form on the outer margins of the folios. Other manuscripts: London, British Library Cotton Calig. A. ii, f. 89, London, British Library Egerton 2810, f. 181^v. A transcription of the text from British Library Cotton Calig. A. ii, can be found in H. Varnhagen, “Zu Mittelenglischen Gedichten,” *Anglia* 3 (1880) 543-4).

12. (fol. 152vb) *Medical recipe*

Text: For þe collike tak a red oneon 7 | cutt of þe topp 7 take out þe colke | 7 put
in fressh saltisgreis 7 stopp it | azayne 7 sett <it in> þe fire 7 let it rest |
wele 7 þen ta<.> 7 bynde it to þe | seke mon 7 mak <. . .> as hote as
he may | suffre it 7 <. . .> (last line illegible).

13. (fol. 152vb) *Copy of preceding medical recipe*

Text: For the collike tak a red | oneon 7 cutt of þe top And | take out þe colke 7
put in the | fressh h<. . .>

14. (fol. 153r) *Poem*

Text:	In<ter vos> non est caritas	} Versus
	Int<er vos> non est castitas	
	Sed inter vos est omnis crudelitas	
	Inter vos non est fides	} Versus
	Inter vos non est fortitudo spiritualis	
	Sed inter vos est omnis falsitas	

Inter vos non est lex	]	Versus
Inter vos non est laus		
Sed inter vos est omne latrocinium		
Inter vos non est virtus	]	Versus
Inter vos non est veritas		
Sed inter vos est omnis vanitas		

(This poem is not listed in *Carmina* or *Proverbia*. The rest of the recto contains a number of illegible *notae* in light brown ink and pen trials in dark brown ink.)

15. (fol. 153v) *Three medical recipes for the pestilence*

(Title in MS: For the pestilence)

Text: T<ake sauge Rewe> Federfew 7 marygoldes 7 bray theym | <and streyn
theym> 7 drynke þe Iuse <wit old ale.> Ap | May Iun Iul Aug Sep And in
october Nouember | decem Ia Fe Marc take wormot and thees iij herbes |
abof writen 7 do as is aboue writen 7 vse this | fastyng
Item take good triacle of Ieyne as <moch as a> litill | plome 7 iii sponefull
of vineger 7 vi sponefull | of water 7 medill all togeder 7 sett hit <negh
to> | <the> fire till hyt be blud warme 7 then gif | hit þe seke to drynke 7
then let him go 7 lave | himself the space of half an hour 7 then kepe him
warme wit hoot meete 7 holsum 7 gif him | drynke ynogh 7 kepe him
wakyng as meche as ye may. probatum est.
Item take þe iuse of marygoldes 7 medill hit wit vinegre 7 drynke þerof
first 7 last 7 ye shall | not be efect therewit et cet.

16. (fol. 153v) *Note*

Text: notandum that william roward has | resauyt xv lampis at the cherche | halle
and ij cante | Item <at> soth hall he has rd xiiii lampis

(This note is in a different ink and hand than the preceding item.)

17. (fol. 154) Stub part of original binding, re-used from another manuscript, backed with paper and cut down.

18. (fols. 155-157) Fragment leaves of *La Queste del Saint Graal*

Incipit (fol. 158ra): cest diable. Qar li sires uous a este si larges | plus que a .i.
autre que su uous per droit | mont nous endeuroit leu
blasmer. si | ne resembles une les manues sergens | don il
ple mont durement en leuuan | gile . . .

Explicit (fol. 157vb): estoient il com il estoit et poror ce ne sen | dr< . . . > il mie a
ses disciples ne mestre | Lendemain quant nel
apelleroient | < . . . > pueples < . . . > Montag en .i. anter | l< . . . >s
tables < > es < . . . >ace

(Prose grail quest in two columns, written in a thirteenth-century textura, used as part of

the previous binding. Leaves 156 and 158 appear to be damaged by damp and cut down, leaving only one column of the text; the bottom portions of fols. 155-158 are also cut off. The text contains *litterae notabiliores* of two lines in height, alternating in colour between blue and red. A comparison with the edition *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. Albert Pauphilet (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1967) reveals that fols. 159 and 160 are the bottom portions of leaves 155 and 156. Fol. 158 is a conjoint leaf with fol. 157, but contains text which precedes that found on fol. 155ra. Fols. 158 and 157 are, therefore, fragments of the front and back folia (respectively) of a quire in four folios. Fols. 155 and 156 are the inner folia, with their bottom portions being fols. 155 and 156. A combined measurement of leaves 155 and 159 reveals that the undamaged folios were 341×220mm. The text corresponds, with many substantial variations, to the following passages in the edition:

fol. 158ra	beg. “cest diable” = p. 63, l. 20 “ce est le deable” end. “et li ypocrites en” = p. 64, l. 6 “et li ypocrites de”
fol. 158vb	beg. “le droit uolentiers” = p. 66, l. 1 “le droit uolentiers” end. “il conte coment il a” = p. 66, l. 19 “il conte coment il avoit”
fol. 155ra	beg. “-roit auec les serians” p. 66, l. 27 “rapeleroit o ses serjanz” end. “pierre et <. . . >” = p. 67, l. 13 “pierre et fustes”
fol. 159ra	beg. “moi la senefiance” = p. 67, l. 13 “moi la senefiance” end. “uos ont es<. . . >s” = p. 67, l. 19 “vos ont esté dites.”
fol. 155rb	beg. “c<ar> uous auez” = p. 67, l. 20 “Car vos avez” end. “<n>es et” = p. 68, l. 7 “nez et”
fol. 159rb	beg. “espurgiez de tous” = p. 68, l. 7 “espurgiez de toz” end. “plus pechierres” = p. 68, l. 14 “plus pechierres”
fol. 155va	beg. “dautres pechiores” = p. 68, l. 14 “d’autres pecheors” end. “fet a nostre s<. . . >” = p. 69, l. 2 “fet a Nostre Seignor”
fol. 159va	beg. “tu le lessas” = p. 69, l. 3 “tu le lessas” end. “genz et itrone” = p. 69, l. 9 “gen issir”
fol. 155vb	beg. “-ent doucor” = p. 69, l. 9 “aucune doucor” end. “amartume est” = p. 69, l. 26 “et amartume est”
fol. 159vb	beg. “que pierre et plus” = p. 69, l. 29 “que pierre et plus” end. “<. . . >esse le ior” = p. 70, l. 2 “l’asnesse, le jor”
fol. 156ra	beg. “que lienfant” = p. 70, l. 2 “que li enfant” end. “<. . >en t<ui> s<i> <de>sga<.>” = p. 70, l. 21 “te trova si desgarni”
fol. 160ra	beg. “de totes bones oures” = p. 70, l. 22 “de toutes bones oeuvres” end. “mes por ce” = p. 70, l. 29 “Mes por ce”
fol. 156vb	beg. “un lit tel com boin” = p. 72, l. 19 “et un lit que” end. “uous queres greig” = p. 73, l. 7 “vos querez mout greignor”
fol. 160rb	beg. “uos soffrez de combatre” = p. 73, l. 9 “vos tenez de combatre” end. “mout seroit grans” = p. 73, l. 16 “mout seroit granz”
fol. 157ra	beg. “domages si uous” = p. 73, l. 16 “domages se vos” end. “loer. car” = p. 74, l. 5 “loer, car”
fol. 157rb	beg. “a ce repereron” = p. 74, l. 14 “a ce repairerons” end. “fu une autre <. . . >” = p. 74, l. 32 “fu une autre table”
fol. 157va	beg. “porent bien estre” = p. 75, l. 6 “porent bien estre” end. “s<. . . > graal per cu<. . . >” = p. 75, l. 24 “Saint Graal, par qui”
fol. 157vb	beg. “sacres et beneois” = p. 75, l. 32 “sacrez et beneiz”

end. “les tables” = p. 76, l. 17 “les tables”)

19. (fols. 161-162) Original parchment wrapper, with following items:

(fol. 161r) Rich(ard) Wills (or Wall?)

(fol. 161v) Pater noster qui es in celis | Pater

(The wrapper has a number of illegible notes in brown ink on fols. 161v-162r.)

VI. Handwriting

1. *Handwriting of the texts themselves*

Hand A: Anglicana in brown ink (Items 1-4, fols. 1r-84v; Item 14, fol. 153r, Item 15, fol. 153v) with some features of secretary (single compartment “a”, small “s”, occasional Secretary “g”. The rubrication for the same items appears to be in the hand of the scribe.

Hand B: Anglicana in brown ink (Items 5-7, fols. 85ra-116ra).

Hand C: Provides rubrication and subtitles (Items 5-7, fols. 85ra-116ra) in textura.

Hand D: Anglicana in brown ink (Item 8, fol. 116v).

Hand E: Anglicana in brown ink (Items 9-11, fols. 117ra-152vb); latin quotations in textura. Corrections in same hand as text.

Hand F: Textura in brown ink (Item 18, fols. 155-157).

2. *Handwriting of the marginalia*

Hand α: Anglicana in brown ink; contributes note of ownership (fol. 36v).

Hand β: Secretary in brown ink; contributes “Sancta maria ora pro me” (fol. 105v) and possibly “De falsitem dicam” (fol. 116r)

Hand γ: Anglicana in black ink; contributes Item 12 (fol. 152v)

Hand δ: Anglicana in black ink; contributes Item 13 (fol. 152v)

Hand ε: Secretary in light brown ink; contributes item 16 on fol. 153v, which was a flyleaf in the former binding.

VII. Punctuation

A. *Booklets 1-3* (fols. 1r-84v)

All four items make use of *litterae notabiliores*, underscored and centered subtitles, and paraph signs to mark different distinctions in the respective texts. All four likewise use a full stop for terminal punctuation and a *virgula suspensiva* for a medial pause.

B. *Booklet 4* (fols. 85r-116v)

The single item in booklet 2 is subdivided into *capitulae* by means of red subtitles. Each *capitula* begins with a red *littera notabilior* of about two lines in height. Punctuation includes a *punctus* for a full stop, the use of a *punctus elevatus* for medial pause, and an occasional *interrogativus*.

C. *Booklet 5* (fols. 117r-152v)

A simple *punctus* is the only mark of punctuation, and it appears irregularly. Rhyming couplets are joined with lines.

VIII. Binding

The present binding is a nineteenth-century chamfer that measures 220x160mm. The spine is 30mm wide. The remains of the original binding are all parchment pieces. The portions foliated (in pencil) 154-160 are portions of a French manuscript, written in a very neat textura. Folios 153 (a whole parchment leaf) and 154 (a parchment stub) appear to be one bifolium used as an end leaf and as the initial backing of the spine, through which the quires were stitched (there are six lines of eleven holes each at points along the “spine” portion, fol. 154. The original outer wrapper (leaves 161 and 162), composed of thick, folded parchment, could not have possibly covered the whole of the quires. There appear, from the markings on the outer cover, to have been six thongs in the binding. The marks from the original stitching indicate that the old binding covered 11 gatherings. 2^o fol.: Christi committat

IX. History of the Manuscript

The manuscript description in the Bodleian Summary Catalogue states that the manuscript was bought in the Percy Sale of 1884. The manuscript thus belonged at one time to Bp. Thomas Percy, a well-known eighteenth-century antiquarian. The “Gilbert Barton” mentioned in the lines written on 36v could be a certain land-holder in Lancashire.¹³ The name “Rich. Wills” (or “Wall”) appears on the old binding in a sixteenth-century hand (fol. 161r).

¹³John Parker, ed., “Shuttleworth Deeds,” *Chetham Society*, new series, vol. 91 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1934), pp. 29, 31. See also Francis C. Eeles, “On a Fifteenth-Century York Missal Formerly Used at Broughton-in-Amounderness, Lancashire,” *Chetham Society*, new series, vol. 94 (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1935), p. 9. I am indebted to the manuscript notes in the Bodleian Library for both these references.

D: Dublin, Trinity College MS 155*s. xiv. ex.***I. Material**

The manuscript is composed completely of parchment folios.

II. Number of leaves

iii + 119 + iii leaves in the present binding, paginated in June 1916 to read (), 1-238, ().

III. Collation

On the basis of the handwriting, the contents, and the following collation, it would appear that there are six booklets. The indications of ownership and handwriting of John Mascy on pp. 28, 29, 46-48, 50-55, 66-68, 84, 88, 104-106, 129-140, 142, 143, 151-154, 160, 168, 172, 174-176, 198-202 indicates that the latter five booklets were bound together early (see discussion of handwriting and ownership below) possibly by John Mascy.

i¹⁰ (pp. 1-20) | ii-iv⁸ (pp. 21-68), v¹⁰ + one (pp. 89, 90; stub between pp. 68, 69)(pp. 69-90) (pp. 21-90) | , vi⁸ + one (pp. 107, 108) (pp. 91-108) | vii⁸ (pp. 109-124), viii¹² (pp. 125-148) (pp. 109-148) | ix¹² (pp. 149-172), x⁸ (pp. 173-174 comprise a supply leaf; stub before p. 173) (pp. 173-188), xi-xii¹² (pp. 189-236), xiii¹² (wants 2-12) (pp. 237, 238) (pp. 149-238).

Catchwords appear at the bottom of pages 36, 52, 68, 88, 106, 172, 212, 236. The number of folios in quire xiii is reconstructed based upon the average number of lines per page (i.e. 28) and the number of lines missing from the last item (481 English lines of poetry and approximately 37 lines of Latin prose, making 518 lines in total). This renders the figure of 9.25 missing folia, which, when combined with the single extant folio, puts the estimate at just over 10 folia. Considering the prevalence of six bifolia to the quire in the final item, and the estimated number of missing folia, it seems reasonable to conclude that the final quire would have contained six bifolia.

IV. Layout**A. *Size of leaves and written space***

The leaves measure approximately 156 x 120 mm, with a written space of 122 x 90 mm.

B. *Pricking and ruling*

The leaves in quires i-v show evidence of pricking (pp. 1-12, 61-66) with a stylus, and the pages are ruled, on average, at 25 lines per page. Evidence of pricking for quire vi appears to have been cut off, and there are no obvious signs of ruling; the pages in the quire contain anywhere from 24 to 28 lines. Quire vii does not retain any signs of pricking, but shows some

signs of ruling (pp. 125, 126); the ruling was not followed very consistently by the scribe, who places anywhere between 24 and 26 lines on a page. Quire viii shows evidence of being pricked twice: once with a stylus (outer pricking) and once with a knife (inner pricking). The first hand in the quire (pp. 127-135) writes between 25-27 lines per page, whereas the second hand in the quire (pp. 136-148) varies greatly between 27-32 lines per page, despite the visible ruling on pp. 140-145. The last five quires show evidence of pricking (pp. 223-238) with a stylus. These pages are ruled, and contain anywhere from 24-32 lines per page. The ruling throughout the manuscript appears to have been done in plummet.

C. *Rubrication*

Headings for items 3, 4, 6, 9, 11 and litterae notabiliores in items 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 are in red. Latin quotations in items 1, 3, 7, 9, 11 are underlined in red. Occasional rubrication of capitals occurs in items 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11. The rubrications for items 3, 4, and 6 appear to be in a different hand than the hand of the text.

V. **Content**

1. (pp. 1-18) Richard Rolle's *Ego Dormio*

Incipit: Ego dormio et cor meum uigilat. In þe boke of loue | I fynde wrytyn
þes wordes I slepe and my herte | wakes Muchel he schewes þat
neuer is wery to luf | but euer standynge sittynge goynge or any
oper þing | doing is ay of his loue þenkyng . . .

Explicit: us by houes to refreyne us perfyztely fro þe lustes | 7 þe lygynges 7
þe delyces here in þis world 7 regne | wit god in joy in þe toper
world 7 haue we oure trust 7 | oure delyte on jhesu crist strongly
standyng azeyne alle temp | tacions

(See Horstman, vol. I, pp. 49-61. But this text has many variations; see Allen, p. 248. For the lyrics, which are again unusual, see *IMEV*, 1717 ['Ihesu grete loue meued þe/ To suffur þe peyne etc.' pp. 11, 12], 1700 ['Ihesu for þe mourne I may/ As turtel þat longeþ etc.' pp. 16, 17], 1743 ['Ihesu receyue my hert/ for my desire þu art' pp. 14, 15], and "Hymns of Richard Rolle," *British Magazine*, 9 (1836) 501-502. See also Ogilvie-Thomson, pp. 26-33 and pp. 220-222 for the lyrics.)¹⁴

2. (pp. 18-20) Thomas de Wilton's *De Oratione Dominica* (in Latin)

¹⁴I am indebted for the notes to Prof. J.V. Scattergood's *Trinity College Library Dublin Middle English Manuscripts Catalogue (in progress)* (Unpublished; January 1996 version); all comments regarding modern editions or notices concerning the text come from Prof. Scattergood's description of MS 155, and much of the rest of the present description has been checked against his description. Any errors or omissions, however, are my own.

Incipit: Post debes scire que sunt septem preces oracionis dominice | que
 auferunt omnia mala et procurant omnia bona et iste viitem |
 orationes continentur Pater noster qui es in celis Prima
 Sanctif | icetur nomen tuum est secunda adveniat regnum tuum
 Tercia Fiat volun- | tas tua sicut in celo et in terra quarta Panem
 nostrum cotidianum da nobis |

Explicit: Nam si corpus tuum sit in | <choro> et labia in psalterio et cor tuum
 in foro misero es diuisus pro certo | quia deus dicit Primum querite
 regnum dei et omnia adicientur vobis | quotquot indigetis de bonis
 temporalibus dabuntur vobis Ideo scire debetis | quod habebitis in
 gaudio celi et cet.

(Richard Sharpe states that this text is “an extract from Edmund of Abingdon’s *Speculum ecclesiae*, c. 17, attributed to Thomas Wilton by [John] Bale, perhaps by juxtaposition with his *Quaestio de ualidis mendicantibus*.” See entry 1854 in Sharpe’s *Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1997), p. 693, and see also Edmund of Abingdon, *Speculum religiosorum and Speculum ecclesiae*, ed. Helen P. Foreshaw (London, British Academy, 1973), pp. 73-81. For other copies see BL MS Royal 8.B. xvi fol 15v; see also P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1933), entry 228g. For Thomas de Wilton see A.B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, vol. III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 2054-55.)

3. (pp. 21-68) Richard Rolle’s *Form of Living*

Incipit: Amore langueo þes wordes byþ wryten in þe | boke of luf or in þe
 song of songes in þe secunde | chapter 7 byn þus muchel to sugge:
 I languys | se for luf for þei þat muchel louen lust often to syng of |
 her luf 7 nameliche 3if her luffer be trewe 7 louyng

Explicit: 7 to be in deuocioun 7 prayers 7 gostly ocupaciones as þei | haue
 byn byfore tyme in worldly ocupaciones | 3if þu be holden goode of
 witoute forþe. enforce þe wit al þi | my3t þat þu be better wit inne
 forþe in þi soule or elles þu dampnes | þi selfe

(See Horstmann, I, pp. 3-49, but the chapters are arranged in the following order: 7-10, 12, 4-6, 1-3. Chapter 11 is missing. See Allen, pp. 260-261; and Ogilvie-Thomson, pp. 1-25. See also *IMEV* 4056 for the verse ‘Whan wolt þou come 7 comford me/ and bring me oute of care’ found on pp. 26, 27. There is an illustration on p. 27 of an interlaced box measuring approximately 35 x 35 mm. in brown ink of the same color as the text.)

4. (pp. 69-90) English Exposition of ‘*Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum.*’

(Title in MS: Diliges dominum deum tuum .matteum. 22 | two þe first
 comaundmentes After seynt richard)

Incipit: Þow schalt loue þi lord god wit al þi hert wit | al þy soule: wit al þi
 þout To loue god wit | al þi hert: is nou3t elles: but þat þi hert be |

nouzt louyng ne worschupyng no þing þat may | be: so muche as
 hym / 7 to kepe hys comaundemen | tes: nowþer to golde ne to
 siluer ne of honoure ne of
 Explicit: 7 reste is ynne / þes byn þe werkes of mercy þat | maken loue by
 twene god 7 man 7 by twene | man 7 man to come to ioie 7 rest:
 euer more to | wone wiþ hym þat ys kyng of ioie and pees | world
 wiþouten ende amen

(See Jolliffe, G. 27. For other manuscripts see Manchester, John Rylands Library, English MS 412 fol 72r, San Marino, California, Huntington MS 148 fol 206v. See Allen, pp. 366-368 for a description.)

5. (p. 90) *A Fragment on Charity*

Text: Charite sufers alle thyng mekely for gods sake | boþe wronges reproues
 diseeses sekenes 7 al þat | god wil þat ho suffir

(Text written in black ink, in an Anglicana hand very different from the textura of the preceding item. See Jolliffe, G 4 (c). Two notes in faint grey ink follow the text: a) A note in secretary: '< . . . > sola ut in furore' followed by 'wyll i se it is not | so'. b) A note in the same hand at the bottom of the leaf reads: 'Thys indenture made the viiith dye of | May in eyre (*sic*) of the rene of kuyng | henry the viii by the grace of God | Englon france and Irelan kyng | defendur of the fa')

6. (pp. 91-108) Thomas Wimbledon's *Redde rationem villicacionis tue*

Incipit: My dere frendes 3e schulleþ understonde þat crist | ihesus auctor 7
 doctor of treuþe in his boke of þo | gospel likenyng þo kyngdom of
 heuene | to an householder seiþ on þis maner suche is | þo kyngdom
 of heuene to an housholdyng man . . .
 Explicit: -self ioi in oþre þat beþ sauede And also ioie for | her trauel is
 bouzt to so gracious an ende ioi | for þei beþ scapid þe peyne of
 helle. ioi for þe | endeles blisse þat þei haue in sizte of god Cui sit |
 honor et gloria in secula seculorum Amen

(A printed edition of this sermon, preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1388, appears in Nancy H. Owen, "Thomas Wimbledon's Sermon: 'Redde rationem villicacionis tue'," *Mediaeval Studies*, 28 (1966), 176-197, and in Ione Kemp Knight, ed. *Wimbledon's Sermon Redde Rationem Villicacionis Tue: A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century* (Pittsburgh, Penn.: Duquesne University Press, 1967). See R.E. Lewis, N.F. Blake, and A.S.G. Edwards, *Index of Printed Middle English Prose* (London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985), entry 560 for nineteen other manuscripts, and Edward Wilson, "On Some Middle English Acquisitions to the Bodleian Library: A Postscript," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1973): 90-91 for more. The text is followed by another explicit provided in a different Anglicana hand, and in a brown ink that is darker than the text: 'To the | whiche ioie 7 blis god bryng yow 7 me þat boght | us wit his precyous passyon opon the holy Rode tre | In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti Amen'

This hand is the same hand which adds corrections to the text in dark brown ink.)

7. (pp. 109-119) Richard Rolle's '*Ihesu swete now wole iche syng . . .*' (in verse)

Incipit: Ihesu swete now wole iche syng
to þe a song of luf longyng
Doo *in* my hert a welle to spryng
þe to loue ouer alle þing
Explicit: þere ioy is euer wiþ outen endyng
and neuer sorow³ ne wepyng
but pees 7 myrþ wiþ gret lykyng
swete ihesu þer to us bryng Amen Amen

(This poem comprises 69 four-line stanzas rhyming aaaa, and each beginning with the name 'Ihesu'. There are no introductory verses, and no 'Mary' verses. See *IMEV* 3238. See Horstman, II, pp. 9-24, Ogilvie-Thomson, pp. 50-63 for other versions.)

8. (pp. 120-126) Richard Rolle's '*Olium efusum. . .*'

Incipit: Olium efusum nomen tuum þat is to sey | oyle owte 3ette is þi name
þe name | of ihesu anone as it was comen *in* to þis | world it smelled
swetenes of grace þe | kynde of oyle is to saufe a þing fro
co | rupcyon
Explicit: on þe cros fast neyled hand 7 fote 7 in | ay þe more I delyted me to
luf ihesu þe swetter | I founde it: 7 vnto þis day it wente neuer oute |
of my mynde þerfore blessed be þe name of | ihesu into þe world of
worldes Amen

(See Allen, pp. 66-68. This is the fourth section of the *Comment on the Canticles* in what Ogilvie-Thomson describes as 'an aberrant version' (p. xli).)

9. (pp. 127-135) *The Sixteen Conditions of Charity*

Incipit: Of alle uertues þat byn charyte is þe beste | for *in* hym byn contened
alle oper uertues: 7 | wiþoute þis uertu of charyte may noo man | be
saued 7 þerfore schuld euery man lerne bysyle | to knowe þe
propurtees of þis uertue For seynt . . .
Explicit: . . . hys conyng 7 hys power is 7 3if he be | unkunnyng hym oweþ
forto lerne to kepe | hys soule fro synne under peyne of
damp | nacion world wit outen ende charyte be | wiþ us amen

(See Jolliffe, G. 4. (d) but the title is that of G.4 (e).)

10. (pp. 136-148) *A Devotional Treatise*

Incipit: [L]orde ihesu criste schelde us fro helle 7 | fro ferdenes of þe fende
7 bringe us | to þe ioy þat þu woneste yn fro wych | ioy þou come

doune *in* to erþe 7 toke oure | kynde 7 by come oure broþer: meche
 worschepe . . .
 Explicit: gode spekers helpe þem nowe 7 alle þer nede | 7 schelde hem fro
 myssanteres body 7 soule | 7 3elde hem lorde *in* þi ringe (*sic*) þe
 kynge 7 þe quene | 7 alle þer folke menteyne *in* pes 7 charite 7 *in* |
 riȝtwysenesses wit gode conseyles amen

11. (pp. 149-238) *Speculum huius vite*

Incipit: Byfore þat any creature was wrouȝt
 or er any bygynnyng was of ouȝt
 and byfore alle tymes as we shul trowe
 þe same god ay was þat is nowe
 studefast god in *trinyte*
 Explicit: < . . . > he man þi bedde schal be
 < . . . > mes þat sore schul frete þe
 < . . . > schul wicked men be peyned for synne
 < . . . > wiþ fure 7 vermynne
 < . . . > ignem et vermes < . . . > eor < . > ut

(See *IMEV* 484. This copy of the *Speculum* is imperfect at the end, finishing at l. 2240b of the text as it stands in the Bodleian MS. It also contains four lines and a latin quotation found in **Z**, **C**, and **H**, (found at ll. 2176a-f in the present edition) which are not found in the Bodleian MS.)

VI Handwriting

A. *Handwriting of the texts themselves*

The text is in several hands, identified here in the order of the items in which they appear:

- Hand A:* Textura hand in brown ink (Items 1, 3, 4; pp. 1-18, 21-88). Although the hand changes into an Anglicana (pp. 71-88), it is still the same scribe and the same ink.
- Hand B:* Secretary hand in dark brown ink (Item 2; pp. 18-20)
- Hand C:* Late Anglicana hand in black ink (Item 5; p. 90); this hand also provides corrections to the text of item 4 (pp. 85, 88) and some latin quotations at the bottom of p. 84.
- Hand D:* Early Anglicana (no influence of secretary) in tan brown ink (Item 6; pp. 91-108)
- Hand E:* Textura hand in brown ink, different from hand A in its split ascenders (b, l, h, k) and in the “r” which follows “o” and “b” (biting on both letters, with the foot of the “r” descending noticeably below the line); hand is

generally larger than A (supply leaf, pp. 89,90; Items 7, 8, 9, 11, pp. 109-135, 149-238)

Hand F: Anglicana in brown ink (Item 10; pp. 136-148)

Hand G: Textura quadrata (supply leaf, Item 11, pp. 173, 174).

B. *Handwriting of the marginalia and corrections*

Once again, there are several hands in the marginal comments, listed below from most frequently occurring to the least:

Hand α: Textura in brown crayon, mostly declaring ownership of John Masey

Hand β Secretary hand in ink ranging from grey to black, found in note “Robert heffelde heys boke” (p. 53), and in pp. 27, 36, 39, 43, 67, 90.

Hand γ Anglicana in dark brown ink, which provides the corrections to item 6 and the second explicit at the end of the text (p. 108).

Hand δ Anglicana in black ink, which provides corrections to latin quotations in item 11 (pp. 182, 183, 197, 202) as well as the name “John Thomas” on p. 203.

Hand ε Secretary in dark brown ink; “Rafe putt” written at bottom of pp. 54, 67)

Hand ζ Secretary in light brown ink; “Thomas Premitt” written at bottom of p. 77.

VII. Punctuation

Item 2 does not contain any discernible punctuation other than the *virgula suspensiva* (used to distinguish quotations and as terminal punctuation) and underlining. Items 1, 3, 4, 6-9, 11 all begin with a *littera notabilior* of between 2 and 6 lines in height. Items 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 11 are all subdivided by means of *litterae notabiliores*; item 10 has spaces reserved for such litterae. Items 1, 3, 4, 8, 9, and 11 all make use of paraps. The *punctus* appears in items 8 and 10 for the full stop; a *punctus elevatus* appears in items 1, 3, and 4 for a medial pause, but in items 6 and 10 as a full stop. A *virgula suspensiva* appears in items 1, 3, 4, and 8 for a medial pause.

VIII. Binding

It is impossible to tell if the binding has been resewn. The binding is a brown leather nineteenth-century binding, with five thongs in the binding; it has a blind-stamped design around the edges of the front and back covers, and the words SPECULUM | VITAE | | C. 5. | 7. | | on the spine in gold. The binding is lined with marbled paper in green, white, black, and red. Vamped in September 1950. Rubricated edges. 2° fol.: þe strengþes.

IX. History

There are a number of names which appear in the marginalia: John Heghfeld (in a promissory note, p. 36), Robert Heffelde (p. 53), Rafe Putt (pp. 54, 67), Thomas Premitt (p. 77), John Mascy (pp. 46-48, 50-55, 66-68, [handwriting only pp. 84, 88], 104-106, 129-140, 142, 143, 151-154, [handwriting only 160, 168, 172], 174-176 [handwriting only 198-202]), William Burg (183), and John Thomas (p. 206). Of these four names, claims to ownership are made only by Robert Heffelde ('Robert heffelde heys boke,' p. 53) and John Mascy ('Iste liber constat Johanni Mascy,' pp. 28-29). There has been some attempt to identify John Mascy with the Massey family in Cheshire, and specifically with John Massey of Puddington, the "seneschal to Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury for her lordship of Hawarden,"¹⁵ but this remains a point of speculation rather than an established fact. The manuscript came to Trinity College, Dublin through the collection of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh and antiquarian, in 1661.¹⁶

C: Cambridge University Library MS Dd.12.69

s.xiv. ex.

I. Material

The entire manuscript is composed of parchment folios.

II. Number of Leaves

ii + 95ff. + iv, now foliated in order to make allowance for missing leaves (fols. 23, 35, 98-100): (i, ii) 1-22, 24-34, 36-97 (i-iv).

III. Collation¹⁷

i-ii⁸ (fols. 1-16), iii⁸ (wants 7) (fols. 17-22, 24), iv⁸ (fols. 25-32), v⁴ (1,2 fragments, wants 3) (fols. 33, 34, 36) | vi-xii⁸ (fols. 37-92), xiii⁸ (wants 6-8) (fols. 93-97).

IV. Layout

¹⁵J.V. Scattergood, '“Iste Liber Constat Johanni Mascy”: Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 155' (Unpublished paper), p. 11. Prof. Scattergood mentions in p. 5 of his manuscript description that "It has been suggested that John Massey of Cotton (Cheshire) may be the author of the poems, especially *Pearl*, in BL MS Cotton Nero A.x. (see C.J. Peterson, *R ES*, 25, 1974, 256-266). But this is disputed (see T. Turville-Petre and Edward Wilson, 'Hoccleve, "Maister Massy" and the *Pearl*-Poet: Two Notes', *Review of English Studies*, 26, 1975, 129-143)".

¹⁶J.V. Scattergood, *Trinity College Library Dublin Middle English Manuscripts Catalogue (in progress)*, (Unpublished; January 1996 version), description for MS 155, p. 5.

¹⁷The collation formula which appears here is given on the end pastedown of the present binding, and is in the handwriting of the former keeper of manuscripts at CUL, H.L. Pink, who has dated his work on the front pastedown as Aug. 1963. The formula is consonant with the evidence given by the existing stitching and catchwords.

A. *Size of leaves and written space*

The size of the leaves is approximately 185 x 120mm.

The written space varies between booklet one and booklet two:

1. Booklet one: 134 x 80mm
2. Booklet two: 145 x 90mm

B. *Pricking and ruling*

Signs of pricking and ruling occur on most every page of the manuscript. Both booklets appear to have been pricked with a stylus, and ruled in plummet. Booklet one has been ruled for a single column with 34 lines per page, whereas booklet two has been ruled for a single column with about 30 lines per page. The flyleaves are pricked and ruled, but have been bound horizontally, with the ruled lines running vertically on the page. Flyleaves i, v, and vi are all discoloured, with remains of glue, indicating that they were pastedowns in a former binding.

C. *Rubrication*

Titles, headings, paraps, and litterae notabiliores in the first booklet are all in red, with the exception of item 2, which is all in a single color of ink. In item 4, all headings, latin quotations, and marginal citations are in red, while all *litterae notabiliores* are of two lines in height and in blue ink; all other items in the second booklet are in a single colour of ink.

V. **Content**¹⁸

A. **Booklet 1**

1. (ff. 1-22r) Willelmus de Lanicia, O.F.M., *Dieta Salutis*

Incipit:	Prohemium libri qui dicitur dieta salutis H ec est uia ambulate in ea. neque ad dex teram neque ad sinistram. Ysa.30. mag nam misericordiam facit qui erranti uiam osten dit maxime de nocte in terra hostium et in tempore gwerrarum
Explicit:	Narra siquid homines ut iustificeris. Et dauid consulit omnibus peccatoribus penitentibus qui uo lunt curiam regis introire quia tangant eo modo quo dictum est mellam confessionis. Dicit enim psalmus Introite portas eius in confessione.

¹⁸I am deeply indebted, in my description of contents and in the other information within this description, to the unpublished notes and description of this manuscript composed by H.L. Pink, the former head of the Manuscripts Department of Cambridge University Library. I have checked the information provided therein, and so any mistakes in the present text are my own.

(Printed as suppositious in A.C. Peltier's edition of the *Works of Bonaventura*, viii (Paris, 1866), 248-67.) Ending unfinished in Tit. II. cap. 4 (De confessione). Fol. 23 is missing, and fol. 24r is blank.

2. (f. 24v) Verses on the Articles of Faith, taken from Richard of Wetheringsett's *Qui bene praesunt*¹⁹

Text: Hec sunt percipue (*sic*) sermonibus insinuanda
 Bis sex articuli fidei. Septemque petenda
 Virtutes. vicia presertim crimina septem
 Septem sacramenta duo domini mandataque decemque
 legis. iustorum merces peneque malorum
 In quibus orratur quid vitandum quid ve sit agendum

(For further manuscript copies of this text, see *Carmina*, entry 7598.)

3. (ff. 25r-34v) *Manuale Sacerdotum Parochialium*

(The text begins with the following Latin text taken from some local diocesan constitutions — or perhaps from an altered version of Archbishop Pecham's *Ignorancia Sacerdotum*²⁰: Sacerdos perachialis (*sic*) tentur per canones docere et predicare in lingua materna quater in anno septem petitiones in oracione dominica. Salutationem beate marie. Quatuordecim articulos fidei conten[ten]tos in cymbalo; Decem precepta ueteris testamenti. Septem peccata mortalia. Septem uirtutes principales. Duo precepta euangelium; Septem sacramenta ecclesie; Excogitaciones a canone latas sub forma que sequitur addendo uel minuendo in singulis per ut deus inspirauerit; Sequuntur (*sic*) eciam preces dominicales; Septem petitiones in oracione dominica continentur sic;)

Incipit: In þe pater noster beþ vii byddynges þæt god himself ordey | nede
 [myldeliche] `nedful to euery man' for lyf and soule. þæt euerych
 cristeneman þis | holde to knowe and ofte bydde to god in þis wyse;
 Prima | peticio; Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificetur nomen
 tuum; | Fader oure þæt art in heuene y halwed be þy name;
 Explicit: (The text is imperfect, with only two scanty fragments of what were
 two leaves, 33 and 34, left. Leaf 35 is missing, and may have
 contained the ending of the text; leaf 36 is blank; the following text
 appears at the bottom of fol. 32v) myȝt þu louye here and non oþer
 þe whyles ȝow | re tweyȝe lyues lestþ R; ȝe syre; þan tak | here by þe
 hond and say after me ; ych .n. | take þe .a. in forme of holy
 cherche to my | wedde wyf for sakyng alle oþere and holyche |

¹⁹V.A. Gillespie, *The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual with Particular Reference to the Speculum Christiani and Some Related Texts*, unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1981, p. 104, hereafter cited as Gillespie.

²⁰cf. *CS II*, i, p. 901.

holdyng to þe. in syknesse and in helpe. *in* ry- (catchword at bottom of leaf: chesse)

(Folio 35 is missing, and 36 is blank. Additional manuscript copies of this text can be found in: London, British Library MSS Harley 4172 (fol. 1), Add. 10036 (fol. 91v), Add. 10053 (fol. 99), Burney 356 (fol. 43v), Royal 1 A.x (fol. 238); Oxford, Bodleian MSS Bodley 736 (fol. 191v), Bodley 110 (fol. 155), Rawl. A 381 (fol. 112); Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 285 (fol. 49); Durham, University Library MS Cosin v.iv.2 (fol. 136); similar texts are in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawl. D 913 (fol. 10) and Bodley 554 (fol. 88v).²¹ The text given as an explicit above appears at fol. 161v, l. 7. The date assigned for the work in Gillespie, p.124, is ca. 1380-1400).

B. Booklet 2

4. (ff. 37r-97v) *Prick of Conscience*

Incipit: Hic incipit stimulus consciencie
 þe myth of þe fader almyghti
 þe wit of þe sone alwytti
 And þe goodnesse of þe holigost
 And god and lord of alle myzthes most
Explicit: uche day ones qwik be fleyne
 Er he þat ioye and myrþe wolde fle
 þat wiþoute ende in heuene shal be
 To þe whiche ioye he us brynge
 þat of noȝth hap made alle þynge

(The text is fairly reduced in size and contains some additional material. Although the text finishes at the bottom of f. 97v, and ff. 98-100 are missing, the text is complete, ending at ll. 9623, 9624 in text **Z**).

5. (Endpaper iii^r) Some musical notation on a four-line stave

6. (Endpaper iii^v) Drawing of two fish

7. (Endpaper iv^r) Note relating to the accession of Edward IV

Text: Anno Mlmo CCCC sexagesimo in vigilia sancti Johannis Baptiste
venerunt apud Sandwyche isti domini scilicet dominus de Marche.
Dominus de Warwyke. Dominus de Salusbury. et Dominus de
ffawkynbruggeus. Et Dominus de Audeleeus et successessive (*sic*) Iverunt
apud Lundonias. Et in diem septem ffratrum postea apud Northampton
interfecti fuerunt isti domini videlicet dominus de Bokyngham et dominus
de la Persy. Dominus de Bemunde. Et [dominus] `rex' Edwardus quartus

²¹S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson, *The Index of Middle English Prose: Handlist VIII* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991), p. 94.

in dominica ramis palmarum postea in parte borialy Cepit bellum contra
boriales dominos et habuit victoriam. Item eodem anno erat Coronatus rex
Edwardus apud Westmonasterium in die sancti leonis pape. et. D.
Dominicale litera Nota

8. (Endpaper iv^v, v^r) Pen trials and Sequences for Advent 1 and 2

Incipit 1: Salus eterna in | deficiens mundi | uita <L>ux sem | piterna et
redemp | cio uere nostra. Condolens hu | mana perire secla
pertemptantis | minima <N>on linquens excelsa | ad isti yma
propria ueniencia.

(Endpaper v is a pastedown, and has therefore not been included in the foliation formula given above. For other manuscripts containing this sequence, see item 17777, p. 497 in U. Chevalier. *Repertorium Hymnologicum: catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*. Tome II. (Louvain: Polleunis & Ceuterick, 1897).)

Incipit 2: <R>egnantem sem | piterna per secula susceptu | ra concio deuote
concrepa. | <A>nimo sono factori reddendo | debita cui iubilant
agmina | celica eius uultu exhilarata.

(For other manuscripts containing this sequence, see item 17240, p. 459 in the volume by Chevalier listed immediately above.)

VI. Handwriting

1. *Handwriting of the texts themselves*

Hand A: Textura in dark brown ink (Items 1 and 3; fols. 1-22r, 25r-34v).

Hand B: Anglicana in light tan ink (Item 2; fol. 24v)

Hand C: Anglicana formata in brown ink (Item 4; fols. 37r-97v)

Hand D: Secretary in dark brown ink (Item 7; endpaper iv^r)

Hand E: Textura quadrata in dark brown ink (Item 8; endpapers iv^v, v^r)

2. *Handwriting of the marginalia*

Hand α: Textura in dark brown ink; provides some corrections in items 1 and 2 on fols. 13r, 14r, 16r, 17r, 19r, 25r, 26r, and corresponds to Hand A above.

Hand β: Anglicana in plummet; provides corrections to item 1 on fols. 7r, 9r, 10v, 11v, 13r-v, 14r-v, 15r-v, 16v, 18v, 20v.

Hand γ: Anglicana formata in dark brown ink; provides some corrections in item 4 on fols 51v, 55r, 54r, 55r, 71v,

Hand δ: Textura in dark brown ink; provides a line over an erasure in item 4 at the top of f. 72v: “þe whuche he schal not from hem huyde”.

VII. Punctuation

Items 1 and 3 subdivide the matter through the use of headings and litterae notabiliores for major subdivisions, and paraps for minor subdivisions. Both these items make use of the simple *punctus* and the *punctus elevatus* for both a medial pause and a full stop. Item 2 uses a simple *punctus* for a medial pause. Item 4 is divided into parts by headings in red, and further subdivided by the use of *litterae notabiliores* in blue. There are a few paraps signs used to mark out some minor subdivisions and some items in lists; otherwise, there are no obvious signs of punctuation in the text. Item 7 makes use of the *virgula suspensiva* for a medial pause, and the *punctus* for a full stop. Item 8 is subdivided into verses by means of spaces left for *litterae notabiliores*, and is further punctuated with a *punctus elevatus* for a full stop.

VIII. Binding

Douglas Cockerell & Son of Letchworth rebound the volume in August of 1963 in a chamfer binding of quarter niger, with black, white, brown, and tan marbled paper sides, and vellum tips. There appear to be four thongs in the binding. The following appears on the spine in gold lettering: DIETA | SALUTIS | &c. | | Dd.12.69 | | . 2° fol. : dissipatur Primo.

IX. History

An erased fifteenth-century inscription on f. ii^v once read: “This present boke ys geuyn to the paryshe chyrche of Shermanbury by the handes of John Haynes In nomine dei. Amen.”²² This is in turn followed by “Sussex | Thomas”. No other names appear in the manuscript. A Moore bookplate fixed to the front inner cover, taken from the former binding, implies that the book was a gift from King George I in 1715, who purchased the library of John Moore (1646-1714), Bishop of Ely, and donated the collection to the University for its library.

**H: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University,
Houghton Library MS Eng. 515**

*s. xiv*²

I. Material

The entire manuscript is composed of parchment folios.

²²The reading for this inscription comes directly from the unpublished description composed by H.L. Pink in the Manuscript Department at Cambridge University Library; cf N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 223.

II. Number of Leaves

77 leaves with no endleaves, foliated 1-77.

III. Collation

i⁸ (wants 1, 2, and 3) (fols. 1-5), ii-x⁸ (fols. 6-77). Catchwords on the bottom verso of fols. 5, 13, 21, 29, 37, 45, 53, 61, 69. The missing amount of material at the beginning of the text would fill the three missing folios in the average ruling of the text (i.e. approximately 138 ll.). Stitching can be seen between fols. 1, 2; 9,10; 17,18; 25, 26; 33, 34; 49, 50; 57, 58; 65, 66; 73, 74.

IV. Layout

A. *Size of leaves and written space*

The size of the leaves is 182 x 114mm.

The written space is 136 x 80mm.

B. *Pricking and ruling*

The text is found in a single column at an unvarying 23 lines per page, but there are no obvious signs of ruling beyond two vertical lines in plummet marking the left and right margins of the page.

C. *Rubrication*

Quotations and subtitles are in red, in the same hand as the main text.

V. Content

(fols. 1-77) *The Prick of Conscience*

Incipit: *(the text is imperfect at the beginning, and starts at l. 156 in Z, or l. 129 in the Speculum huius vite)*

But gret perel ys þat man ynne
þat haþ wyt 7 mynde 7 wol not lerne.
Ry3twys werkes and godes lawe
By þe wuche men schul be saue.
For man 3if þu wole saued be
Kepe hys hestys god byddeþ þe.

Explicit: Er he þat ioye 7 murthe wolde fle
þat wiþ oute ende in heuene shal be.
| (fol. 77r) To þe whuche ioye he us brynge
þat of nou3t haþ made alle þinge.
Amen amen so mote hyt be

Seye we alle *per* charyte. Amen.

VI. Handwriting

The text is written in Anglicana formata; some interlinear corrections appear in a secretary hand (fol. 2r), in the same hand as the main text (fol. 17r, 22r, 23v, 25r, 67v, 69r, 69v, 73v) and once in a later hand (possibly seventeenth-century or later — fol. 7r). There is no noticeable difference between the hand of the rubricator and the hand found in the text.

VII. Punctuation

The text is subdivided by means of subtitles in red, as well as blue or gilded *litterae notabiliores* of two lines in height. The *punctus* is the only sign of punctuation, and is generally used to signal the end of a rhyming couplet rather than to signal a medial or final pause.

VIII. Binding

The binding is a late fourteenth- or possibly early fifteenth-century chamfer of wood covered in leather with a simple blind-stamped design on the outside, and the remains of a clasp in the middle of the fore-edge side on both the front and back covers. The front and back covers measure 188 x 120mm; the spine measures 22mm across. There are 5 thongs in the binding, visible on the spine and on the inside front cover. 2° fol.: What schal

IX. History

The inscription “Iste liber constat t (*tibi?*) John Kyng” appears at fol. 77v in a calligraphic attempt to emulate the hand of the text, except for the name, which is in a fifteenth-century secretary hand. The whole of this inscription is in the same colour ink, and under ultraviolet light none of it shows any sign of erasure. The manuscript belonged to a Thomas Scott in 1715 (signature on inside of front cover, dated, with inscription “ex dono Domini [*sic*] Brown”), Francis Blomefield later in the eighteenth century (bookplate, inside back cover: “Francis Blomefield, Rector of Fersfield in Norfolk, 1736”). The name “Thomas Martin”, in what appears to be an eighteenth-century hand, appears on the inside of the front cover. The Harvard University bookplate on the inside front cover declares that the book was a gift to the University of Henry Tuke Parker of London, and is dated 24 Aug. 1863.

Date of Composition for the Text

Since the temporal limits for dating the text rest to a large degree upon the dating of the manuscripts, and since references to the date for the text appear throughout the chapters which follow, it seems appropriate to mention pertinent aspects of the date of composition at this stage before moving on. No internal evidence in the *Prick of*

Conscience or the *Speculum* gives either a definite or a general indication of the period of composition for these two texts. The conjectural date for the composition of the *Prick of Conscience* given in the *Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience*, is based upon the evidence of the earliest manuscripts: “Manuscripts do not begin to appear until after 1350, but when they do appear, they do so in large numbers, which is usually a sign that the work in question was composed not many years before.”²³ This provides a rough estimate for the *terminus a quo* for the *Speculum*; the *terminus ad quem* depends upon the date of the earliest extant manuscript of the *Speculum*. The Bodleian manuscript probably comes from the second half of the fifteenth century, judging from its Secretary-influenced Anglicana hand. The evidence rendered by the watermarks in the booklets bound with the one which contains the *Speculum* in **B** would indicate that they were written sometime in the middle of the last half of the fifteenth century; since the booklets in question were bound together at a fairly early stage (the former binding, described briefly above, attests to this), it would be fair, in conjunction with an assessment of the hand of the text, to place it somewhere in the last half of the fifteenth century. The text of the Dublin manuscript, on the other hand, appears on vellum in a textura which probably comes from the late fourteenth century.²⁴ The hypothetical *terminus ad quem* for the text, using manuscript **D** as the earliest of the two extant manuscripts, must be sometime before the end of the fourteenth century. The manuscript evidence thus leaves us with temporal limits sometime between 1350 and the last decade

²³Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh, *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience*, *Medium Ævum Monographs*, new series xii (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediæval Languages and Literature, 1982), p. 4. Hereafter referred to with the abbreviation *Descriptive Guide*. The “large numbers” of manuscripts referred to in the quotation include “forty of the ninety-seven Main Version manuscripts [which] are probably from the second half of the fourteenth century” (p. 4, n. 12).

²⁴I have discussed this conjecture with Prof. Malcolm Parkes, who has confirmed it, after seeing a microfilm facsimile of the manuscript.

of the fourteenth century for the composition of the *Speculum*. The only remaining evidence which allows for further conjecture about the date of composition arises from the content of the text; this evidence will be discussed, and further conjecture will be given on the dating of the text in the third chapter, on the sources and coherence of the *Speculum*.

Chapter Two: The Genre of the Text

I. Introduction to the Text

A glance through the text of the *Speculum huius vite* will reveal most of the relevant information for a general assessment of its genre according to the broadest categories: the *Speculum* is a poem of 2,722 four-stress lines in rhyming couplets which deals with human nature, the world, death, purgatory, the day of doom, hell, and heaven in seven well-defined parts. Such a bare statement, beyond raising concerns regarding how the text could ever begin to fill in such a broad canvas of topics, conceals the historical and literary contexts of the poem which may cast some light upon its readership and use. The sober subjects of the various parts of the poem comprise a syllabus of topics necessary for teaching what are customarily referred to in catechetical literature up to the present day as “the four last things”: death, judgement, heaven, and hell.¹ The text itself proclaims the pastoral purpose of such dire meditations within its first two hundred lines:

For [man] may nauþer knaw God ne feele,
Bot he first con hymself knowe wele:
How bare he fro his moder come,
And synful er he had cristyndome,
And how bare he shal pas away,
Quen deth sal com at his last day.
And þus on his endyng thenk shuld he,
And on þe dredful dome þat last shal be,
And knowe wisly quat þis word is,
þat is full of falshed and wrecchednes,
And [lerne] to knowe and thenk wit all
Quat shal after þis lif fall.
For knowyng of al þos shuld hym lede
To know his God thurȝe luf and drede,
And so to come witout delay
To joy and blis þat lastis ay. (*Speculum*, ll. 161-176)

The *Speculum* therefore has the specific purpose of leading the reader to a conversion of

¹The current *Catechism of the Catholic Church* still includes this teaching in its explication of the phrase “I believe in life everlasting” taken from the Apostles’ Creed. See *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1994), §§ 1020-1050.

life through a consideration of the punishments or rewards that await souls at the end of time. Its purpose is inherently pastoral (the teaching of doctrine in order to spur conversion of life), and its poetic form admits of some literary pretensions. The *Speculum* is, therefore, a text shaped within a particular ecclesiastical context, with a particular purpose, and has a particular form presumably because the author or compiler deemed such a form suited to just such a context and purpose.

The *Speculum huius vite* is a text with a more particular past as well; beyond the larger historical context, it is a highly derivative text, since most of its lines originate in the much longer fourteenth-century poem, the *Prick of Conscience*. In 1982, Professors Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh produced their study of the manuscripts of this apparently popular poem (judging, at least, from its appearance in a multitude of manuscripts) and entitled it *A Descriptive Guide to the Manuscripts of the Prick of Conscience*, acknowledging that their work did not include the detail or depth required for a catalogue. The *Guide* was intended to encourage interest in and study of this catechetical treatise on the four last things, and it thus laid out a general categorization of its 115 manuscripts, leaving space for further research. The *Guide* describes the *Speculum* as an early fifteenth-century version of the *Prick of Conscience* which “follows the organization and controlling ideas of the original,” but abbreviates the *Prick of Conscience* by more than two-thirds.²

As a version of the prolix, occasionally tedious, and seemingly ubiquitous *Prick of Conscience* (hereafter also referred to as the *PC*), one might find it unsurprising that the *Speculum* has remained unedited for so long. The *Speculum*, as a consciously “tailored”

²*Descriptive Guide*, p. 11.

version of the *Prick of Conscience*, however, raises some interesting questions regarding the redaction of texts in the Middle Ages. Lewis and McIntosh point out that the *Speculum* does not merely abbreviate the *PC*; it also adds material, and, even more significantly, its excisions and additions “follow certain clear patterns.”³ These observations suggest complexities in the relationship between the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* which spark some interest, if not in the texts themselves, at least in the questions surrounding the redaction of the one for the purposes of producing the other. Since Lewis and McIntosh’s observations, not much more has appeared in print regarding the *Speculum* or how it relates to the *Prick of Conscience*, yet the relationship between the two texts elicits important questions: could the *Speculum*’s abbreviations of, and additions to, the *PC* point to any general rationale as to why this redaction exists? What sorts of “clear patterns” of redaction, mentioned in the *Guide*, emerge from a more detailed study of the relationship between these two texts? As one who knows the purpose of the *Guide* might expect, Lewis and McIntosh tempt the prospective investigator by stating that “the exact relationship [between the *PC* and the *Speculum*] could only be determined after a thorough study of the two versions.”⁴

The following two chapters propose, then, to outline the development of the *Speculum huius vite*, first with reference to the larger historical context of universal and local ecclesiastical legislation and its interpretation (Chapter Two), and then with reference to its sources and coherence (Chapter Three). Chapters Four and Five, on the manuscript relations of the text and its dialect respectively, will supplement this delineation of the relationship between the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum*. The

³*Descriptive Guide*, p. 11.

⁴*Descriptive Guide*, p. 11.

study of the historical context of the *Speculum*, the philological evidence found in the text, and the relationship of its manuscripts should provide sufficient information to answer Lewis and McIntosh's challenge regarding the relationship between the *PC* and the *Speculum*, and to introduce a prospective reader to the pertinent merits of the *Speculum* as an example of a late medieval pastoral manual in English.

II. The Origin of Pastoral Manuals in English: Ecclesiastical Legislation

The late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century English church, to judge from the proliferation of vernacular pastoral manuals during the period, saw the last great production of vernacular catechetical materials before the mid- and late-fifteenth century, when production of new works slackens considerably.⁵ Works such as *Handlyng Synne*, the *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, the *Speculum vitae*, the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, and the *Book of Vices and Virtues* testify to a tradition of vernacular pastoral manuals stretching from the end of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth, and many of these manuals survived as standard catechetical treatises until the Reformation. The *Prick of Conscience* and its abridged version, the *Speculum huius vite*, like many of the other works just mentioned, fit within a catechetical tradition which arose primarily, although not exclusively, from reforms promoted by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. These reforms made provision for the local education of parish clergy in pastoral care, which the Conciliar decrees called the *ars artium*, and encouraged the production of pastoral manuals for the use of clergy, which had already begun in such mnemonic works as those

⁵See Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1995) pp. 822-886; hereafter referred to as "Watson." Watson attributes the dearth in the new composition of pastoral manuals in the fifteenth century to Archbishop Thomas Arundel's legislation of 1409.

of William de Montibus.⁶ One decree of the same council, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, stated that all believers of both sexes had to make their confession once yearly before Easter, and thus provided the impetus for the English bishops present at the Council to promulgate a body of local legislation which encouraged the vernacular catechesis necessary for each baptized Christian to render his Easter duties in an informed manner. A general catechetical syllabus gradually emerged out of the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council and out of English legislation, a syllabus which demanded the development of catechetical aids, both for the clergy involved in delivering such instruction, and for the growing number of laity who, by the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, had an interest in reading such texts themselves. At the risk of running over yet again the already well-trodden terrain of the development of the English pastoral manual⁷, the following exposition attempts to delineate the influence of local ecclesiastical legislation upon the evolution of manuals like the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum huius vite*.

While the Council may have captured the attention of the English episcopacy, it by no means represents the sole source of the later catechetical interests of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In what has been called “the earliest surviving set [of statutes] for

⁶*Conc. Oec. Dec.*, p. 248. The works of William de Montibus, along with an excellent introduction, have appeared recently in Joseph Goering’s *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Studies and Texts 108 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992). See also Leonard E. Boyle, O.P., “The Fourth Lateran Council and Manuals of Popular Theology” in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England*, ed. Thomas J. Heffernan, *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, vol. 28 (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp. 33, 34 for mention of activity on this front during the period between Lateran III and Lateran IV.

⁷See the first chapter of E.J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des Péchés: Étude de Littérature Religieuse Anglo-Normande* (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1940), pp. 1-59. Much of the history of the pastoral manual has been given in such studies as Dr. H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), especially Chapter 5, pp. 196-197 (hereafter cited as Spencer), and in Gillespie.

any English diocese”,⁸ Stephen Langton anticipates the provisions of *Omnis utriusque sexus* in canon 34 of his Statutes of Canterbury, promulgated in 1213 or 1214:

Quia quilibet christianus adultus dominicam orationem, scilicet Pater noster, et symbolum apostolorum, scilicet Credo in deum, scire debet, precipimus quod quilibet sacerdos parochianos suos ut hec addiscant studeat ammonere.⁹

The simple minimum of religious knowledge stated here forms the foundation for the later post-Conciliar legislation. The main difference between the Conciliar decrees and Langton’s statute is that *Omnis utriusque sexus* never stipulates the precise content of the instruction which one must receive, but only specifies that parish priests must instruct the faithful in the way to make a good confession. Langton’s legislation sets a minimum for religious knowledge, not for the sake of the sacrament of penance alone, but out of general pastoral concern for the ignorance of the common believer. This impulse appears in some of Langton’s other statutes, which are likewise directed to pastoral concerns and involve some form of instruction, as in statute 39: “Instruat quoque quilibet sacerdos parochianos suos formam verborum baptizandi, quando ea dicere debent scilicet in immersione pueri, et quid agere debeant in confirmatione et post confirmationem.”¹⁰ Instruction in the faith involved not only the study of the Creed and traditional prayers, but also the practical elements necessary to confer emergency baptism and the responsibilities pursuant upon the reception of confirmation.

The general catechetical concern expressed by the statutes of Canterbury met and merged with the more practical need identified at the Fourth Lateran Council for once-

⁸*CS II, i*, p. 23.

⁹*CS II, i*, p. 31.

¹⁰*CS II, i*, p. 32.

yearly confession, and so catechesis was linked with preparation for the sacrament of penance in the Conciliar canon, albeit without any specification of a syllabus or minimum level of instruction beyond a knowledge which would facilitate a good confession. The onus in the Conciliar decrees for making a good confession is much more on the effectiveness of the confessor's pastoral queries, than on the education of the laity:

Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti Sacerdos autem sit discretus et cautus, ut more periti medici superinfundat vinum et oleum vulneribus sauciati, diligenter inquirens et peccatoris circumstantias et peccati, per quas prudenter intelligat, quale illi consilium debeat exhibere et cuiusmodi remedium adhibere, diversis experimentis utendo ad sanandum aegrotum.¹¹

The canon of the Council does not reveal an interest in the education of the laity, so much as it demands a certain level of intelligence and sagacity from the priest-confessor.

Langton attended the Council along with some of his fellow English bishops, notably Walter Gray (Abp. of York), Hugh of Wells (Bp. of Lincoln), and Richard Poore (Bp. of Chichester).¹² Both Langton and Poore would produce significant diocesan statutes later, each with an emphasis on catechesis which involved the instruction of priests by the Archdeacons, and the subsequent instruction of the laity by their priests. From the development of the ecclesiastical legislation, it would appear that the English bishops, or at the very least Langton and Poore, interpreted the relevant canon of the Fourth Lateran Council as requiring, not only some remedy for priestly ignorance, but also lay instruction in the basics of the faith. Langton's preconiliar interest in a basic lay catechesis, which he expressed in his statutes for Canterbury of 1213 or 1214, just before the Fourth Lateran Council, indicates that such concerns were current among members of the English

¹¹*Conc. Oec. Dec.*, p. 221, canon 21.

¹²*CS II*, i p. 48.

episcopacy. The impetus which the Council provided spurred the English bishops to provide local statutes throughout the thirteenth century and beyond, most of which copied or built upon the catechetical legislation of the earliest of these local statutes.

The question of lay instruction raises the important question of language, and specifically the role of the vernacular, in relation to the development of pastoral manuals. Langton's statutes may have set minimums for religious instruction, and the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council may have placed that instruction within the more specific context of the sacrament of penance, but neither of these two sets of decrees reveal anything about the question of language. If typical parishioners were expected to learn their prayers and their creed in Latin, then the whole educational project changes from an attempt to improve understanding among the laity in the rudiments of the faith, to an attempt to inculcate rote knowledge in a foreign tongue, without any particular emphasis on understanding. The tradition of English legislation immediately following the Council addressed this question fairly early, with a number of significant diocesan statutes (those of Richard Poore in 1219, Peter de Roches in 1224, William de Blois 1229, Robert Bingham in 1238, and Richard Wych in 1245 — all discussed at greater length below) stipulating popular instruction in the vernacular, even though the diocesan statutes themselves remained in Latin. The statutes of Richard Poore state that the explication of the creed must be simple, and in the "native idiom" (*domestico ydiomate*), suggesting the use of the vernacular, if not for the recitation of the creed, then at least for its explication.¹³ Most of the rest of the decrees composed after those of Richard Poore state that parishioners should know the necessary elements of the catechetical syllabus "at least

¹³*CS II, i* p. 61.

in the mother tongue” (*saltem lingua materna* or *sub lingua ei nota*¹⁴), and so they set a standard which allows, fairly early on, for vernacular religious instruction as a minimum without discouraging knowledge of the Latin texts. Even after Archbishop Arundel’s legislation severely limited instruction in the vernacular, and subsequent interpretation made knowledge of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer in English evidence of heresy, “theological miscellanies still included English translations” of the relevant catechetical texts.¹⁵ Lay people thus received their instruction in English, whether that instruction pertained to the texts themselves or to the explications of the text; we cannot be sure that vernacular instruction was not also the medium in use for the customary review of catechesis which the archdeacon in most dioceses had to give his clergy. Whilst one might be tempted to make the easy correlation that the instruction of parish priests would have been in Latin, and the laity in English, the evidence does not clearly show a strict disjunction between the language of instruction for laity and clergy. Mention of clerical ignorance, especially ignorance of Latin, appears in several sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Archbishop John Pecham headed his statute on catechesis *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, and thus laid the blame for lay ignorance squarely on the shoulders of ignorant clergy.¹⁶ John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter in the fourteenth century, complained of improper instruction in the fundamentals of grammar, which resulted in an imperfect comprehension of Latin prayers among adult scholars.¹⁷ The

¹⁴*CS II, i*, pp. 134, 172.

¹⁵Spencer, p. 207. Spencer supports this statement with reference to the contents of two such miscellanies, Lincoln Cathedral MS 66 (fols 136r-137v) and Bodl. MS Rawlinson D. 913 (fols. 11r-12r).

¹⁶see *CS II, i*, p. 901.

¹⁷*The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327-1369)*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, vol. ii (London and Exeter, 1894-9), pp. 1192-3.

frequent references in diocesan statutes of the period to sacerdotal ignorance ought to caution against any hasty assumptions that English instruction, and subsequent English pastoral manuals, were necessarily just instruments for the clergy to use in their struggle to edify the laity, rather than instruments for the enlightenment of clergy and laity alike. While much of the legislation requires the instruction of parochial clergy by their archdeacons, the language of such priestly instruction is never made clear.

Among the statutes published by English bishops, those of Richard Poore set the standard, possibly because they were among the first to be promulgated after the Council. Written in 1219 for the diocese of Salisbury, where Poore was bishop, added to and promulgated again for the diocese of Durham (where Poore was translated as bishop after 1228), Poore's synodal statutes set out principal concerns which are repeated in the statutes of Peter de Roches (Winchester, 1224), Robert Bingham (Salisbury, 1238 × 1244), and Richard Wych (Chichester, 1245 × 1252).¹⁸ The approach to education looks first to the instruction of the local clergy, and then to that of the local parishioners, instructed by their parish priests:

. . . districte iniungimus quod in capitulis suis expositionem fidei catholice in generali concilio promulgatam sane et simplicibus verbis exponant. Et sacerdotes, prout eis deus inspiraverit, parochianos suos instruant et eis illam expositionem frequenter domestico ydiomate sane inculcent.¹⁹

The explicit reference to an explanation “in the native idiom” is the first intimation within local legislation that parish priests should accommodate their instruction to the language of their parishioners. Poore's legislation lacks the specificity of later statutes, leaving most aspects of the interpretation and presentation of instruction to individual priests.

¹⁸Gillespie, pp. 6-13. See *CS II, i*, pp. 125-137 for the statutes of Peter des Roches, pp. 366-387 for those of Robert Bingham, and pp. 452-469 for those of Richard Wych.

¹⁹*CS II, i*, p. 61.

The initial focus on the ignorance of the clergy remains in local legislation throughout the thirteenth century, and evidence of the follow-up on this first front of attack can be seen in the appearance and proliferation of large numbers of pastoral manuals intended for the instruction of clergy, mainly in the administration of penance. Poore's legislation makes provision for private catechesis by the priest or someone else commissioned by him, and extends this instruction not only to the young, but to parents as well:

[Sacerdotes] pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant in predictis. Et quia parentes circa huiusmodi sunt periculose negligentes, moneantur ut pueros et familiam suam, prout deus eis inspiraverit, instruant in predictis.²⁰

These early statutes make general provisions for catechetical education, stipulating a fairly vague syllabus (the exposition from Lateran IV on the Trinity and the Creed, along with instruction in the Pater Noster and Ave Maria) and a general context for teaching which emphasized personal instruction. Poore not only repeated Langton's statute about administering emergency baptism, but he added another encouraging instruction about a rather different sacrament: “. . . precipimus quod ad sacramentum extreme unctionis moneant frequenter populum sacerdotes, in necessitate videlicet, et non tantum divites set pauperes, senes et minores, omnes maxime a quatuordecim annis et supra.”²¹ This encouragement to look not only to the sacrament of initiation, but also to the last of the sacraments, thus provides some context within ecclesiastical legislation for the eventual development of a catechetical literature which looked to a contemplation of death and the last things.

²⁰*CS II, i*, p. 61.

²¹*CS II, i*, pp. 69, 93, Statute 93. Statute 23 provides instruction concerning baptism: “Semper sacerdos interroget diligenter laicum cum in necessitate baptizaverit puerum, quid dixerit et quid fecerit.”

The pastoral syllabus and the contexts for teaching it became more specific in later legislation, but it seemed to take some time before other bishops took notice of the work of Langton and Poore. The Council for the Province of Canterbury at Oxford in 1222 left behind a vague statute regarding preaching and teaching which states that parish priests ought to take care to inform the people committed to them by means of the food which is the word of God.²² The Oxford Council also repeated the statute regarding teaching parishioners the form of baptism in case of emergency,²³ but it lacks any statute regarding extreme unction. Synodal statutes for an unknown English diocese, promulgated sometime between 1222 and 1225, likewise contain no specific instruction regarding catechesis, beyond a statute about teaching parishioners the formula for baptism and two statutes asking priests to exhort their flock to avail themselves of extreme unction.²⁴ The statutes of Bishop Peter des Roches of Winchester (1224) present a similar syllabus to the one found in Langton's statutes of 1213 or 1214, but he recommends only the Creed and the Pater "saltem in lingua materna," as the foundation for his syllabus.²⁵ His are among the first statutes to link explicitly catechesis of the laity and the giving of penance: "Sacerdotes in penitentiis dandis diligenter parochianos suos de fide trinitatis, passionis, et incarnationis, secundum quod convenit laicis, instruant, . . ."²⁶ Nothing further regarding extreme unction appears in des Roches' statutes. It was not until after Stephen Langton issued a second set of statutes for Canterbury (1222 × 1228), which in the main

²²*CS II, i*, p. 110.

²³*CS II, i*, p. 115.

²⁴*CS II, i*, pp. 140, 146.

²⁵*CS II, i*, p. 134.

²⁶*CS II, i*, p. 134.

shamelessly copied Poore's legislation,²⁷ that the standard form of the catechetical syllabus began to be specified further.

William de Blois' statutes for the diocese of Worcester (1229) reveal a concern for the integrity of confession which underlies the attempts to educate parishioners about the faith. He sets out a fairly demanding scheme, in which matters like the seven vices and virtues are mentioned, along with a rigorous formula for daily prayers:

Statuimus ut sacerdos ante confessionem laici penitentis instruat eum de fide secundum formam et ordinem contentam in simbolo apostolorum sub lingua ei nota. Ut sacerdos ante confessionem penitentis moneat confortatione et exhortatione, confortatione ne desperet de magnitudine vel enormitate peccati vel de multitudine peccatorum, exhortatione ut etiam circumstantias peccati confiteatur, effundens cor suum sicut aquam coram domino. Ut sacerdos post confessionem penitentis plenius instruat eum de septem vitiis et speciebus eorum, ut facilius revocet ad memoriam in qua specie peccaverit. Ut in penitentia laico iniungenda specialiter iniungatur ei ut septies in die dicat orationem dominicam cum simbolo apostolorum, et semel in nocte. Ut sacerdos laico iniungens penitentiam instruat eum inter cetera ut quotiens transitum facit per cimiterium dicat orationem dominicam pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum quorum corpora ibi requiescunt, et transitum faciens per crucem inclinet se et dicat orationem dominicam in honore crucifixi.²⁸

The whole of the educational scheme is thus placed within a pastoral programme for confession, but the recommendation of specific prayers at the end illustrates how the programme included other areas of life beyond confession, such as daily prayer. This carries on the tradition of Langton's first statutes for Canterbury, which do not explicitly link sacramental confession and catechesis, but look more to general obligations consequent upon baptism.²⁹ The sacrament of confession provides the context for teaching in William de Blois' statutes, which occurs before, after, and perhaps during the

²⁷*CS II, i*, p. 165ff.

²⁸*CS II, i*, p. 172.

²⁹*CS II, i*, p. 31.

sacrament, unlike Langton's first statutes or Poore's statutes for Salisbury, where the place for such learning is left vague enough to include preaching or private instruction outside the sacrament.

Up until this point, most of the synodal statutes mentioned included some rehearsal of the first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, which was a summary of Trinitarian doctrine. This rehearsal could presumably constitute the foundation for some catechetical teaching on the Creed, although it is usually fairly technical and would require much expansion and simplification before it could be presented to those untrained in the subtleties of Trinitarian doctrine. The statutes of Bishop Richard Staversby of Coventry and Lichfield (1224×1237) went one step further, and provided relatively long and detailed tracts on the seven capital sins and on confession. The two tracts are found in manuscript form independent of the statutes, and independent of one another, which indicates that they "were not necessarily composed for issue together or for issue with the statutes, and Staversby does not explicitly claim authorship of them."³⁰ This association of tract and statutes continues in the Statutes of Walter de Cantilupe for Worcester (1240), where the statutes mention a "tractatum etiam de confessione" included with the Statutes which all parish priests were to use in hearing confessions, and in teaching parishioners how to examine their consciences and confess their sins.³¹ The statutes of Richard de Wich for the diocese of Chichester (1245 ×1252) mention that the priests of the diocese should have "has constitutiones omnes . . . in libellis suis scriptas," which implies that each priest had a copy-book (*libellus*) containing some pastoral manual, or collection of

³⁰Introductory notes, "Statutes of Bishop Alexander of Staversby for the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield," *CS II*, i, p. 208. See also Gillespie, 18.

³¹*CS II*, i, p. 305; Gillespie, p. 19.

pastoral documentation, into which new material could be entered.³² The conjunction of tract and statute occurs yet again in the statutes of Archbishop John Thoresby of York in the mid-fourteenth century, which will receive more prolonged discussion a little further on.

At approximately the same time as de Cantilupe's statutes and tract were issued, the catechetical syllabus received greater definition in the influential statutes (ca. 1239) of the sometime Chancellor of Oxford and Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste. Grosseteste makes three additions to the syllabus, namely a knowledge of the ten commandments, the seven sacraments, and the possible inclusion of the Athanasian creed. Once again, the statutes are directed mainly to the amelioration of sacerdotal ignorance as the key to redressing lay ignorance:

Quia igitur sine decalogi observatione salus animarum non consistit, exhortamur in domino, firmiter iniungentes ut unusquisque pastor animarum et quilibet sacerdos parochialis sciat decalogum, id est, decem mandata legis mosaice, eademque populo sibi subiecto frequenter predicet et exponat. Sciat quoque que sunt septem criminalia, eademque similiter populo predicet fugienda. Sciat insuper saltem simpliciter septem ecclesiastica sacramenta, et hii qui sunt sacerdotes maxime sciant que exiguntur ad vere confessionis et penitentie sacramentum, formamque baptizandi doceant frequenter laicos in ydiomate communi. Habeat quoque quisque eorum saltem simplicem intellectum fidei, sicut continenter in simbolo, tam maiori quam minori, et in tractatu qui dicitur: Quicumque vult, qui cotidie ad Primam in ecclesia psallitur.³³

Throughout the passage above, the emphasis is laid upon what the pastor of souls should know, teach, preach, and expound. The use of these verbs *scire*, *docere*, *predicare*, and *exponere*, as well as the reference to sacramental confession suggest that such teaching and preaching would occur not only in the confessional, but also in the pulpit as well as in

³²For more discussion of this particular point in the legislation, see Gillespie, p. 13.

³³*CS II, i*, p. 268.

private instruction.³⁴ Walter de Cantilupe's statutes, perhaps as influential as Grosseteste's, contain a chapter cast in almost exactly the same wording as the above chapter from the Lincoln statutes,³⁵ as do the synodal statutes of Bishop William Raleigh for the diocese of Norwich (1240×1243) and later, for the diocese of Winchester (1247).³⁶ Bishop Nicholas of Farnham, in his statutes for the diocese of Durham, edits this formula slightly, suggesting that the formula for baptism (and possibly the other elements of the syllabus) should be taught "in communi ydiomate et vulgari" on Sundays and feastdays.³⁷ Grosseteste's statutes also include a second chapter on lay education which is less directed to moral teaching than to basic Christian doctrine:

Provideant etiam attentius ecclesiarum rectores et sacerdotes parochiales ut pueri parochiarum suarum diligenter doceantur et sciant orationem dominicam, et symbolum, et salutationem beate virginis, et crucis signaculo se recte consignare. Et quia, ut audivimus, etiam quidam adulti hec ignorant, precipimus ut cum laici ad confessionem accedunt, diligenter examinentur utrum scierint predicta, et secundum quod expedit in eis a sacerdotibus instruantur.³⁸

The boundaries of catechesis in Grosseteste's legislation, as in some of the other legislative texts mentioned previously, extend beyond what was immediately useful for penance to the basics of common belief and practice. This same chapter appears again in William Raleigh's statutes for Norwich, with an addendum to the effect that this teaching should be reinforced by the clear and distinct recitation of the Lord's prayer and the Creed

³⁴On the subject of the diversity of pastoral situations for teaching to which these verbs may refer, see Spencer, p. 210; Gillespie, *Doctrina*, 36-50; and Gillespie, p. 16ff.

³⁵*CS II, i*, p. 304.

³⁶*CSII, i*, p. 403.

³⁷*CS II, i*, p. 423.

³⁸*CS II, i*, p. 269.

during the hours of Prime and Compline on Sundays.³⁹ It may be that some form of preaching on the Creed was envisaged for these offices, since this added injunction was intended “ut articuli fidei plenius exponantur.”⁴⁰

The relationship between ecclesiastical legislation and pastoral manuals at this point becomes a symbiotic one: the need for manuals covering the necessary catechesis and confessional practice had begun in local legislation, yet now the bishops themselves were issuing their own elaborations on the catechetical syllabus using tracts composed separately from their legislation. We have already seen one example of this in the tracts on the seven deadly sins and confession in the statutes of Richard Stavensby for Coventry and Lichfield, which circulated independently of Stavensby’s legislation. Another significant example can be found in the *summula* issued with the synodal statutes of Bishop Peter Quivel for the diocese of Exeter (1287), which, according to the statutes, was “a diversis tractatibus extractam sub compendio.”⁴¹ Vincent Gillespie summarizes the development in pastoral manuals which this statement implies:

Although these episcopal manuals may have been influenced initially in their form by existing penitential literature (as with Stavensby’s tracts), by the time Quivel’s *summula* was published not only were manuals for the clergy becoming increasingly available, but also the scope of these manuals was widening to include wider pastoral issues. Thus Quivel’s text is drawn ‘a diversis tractatibus’ and is not tied to the narrow format of the penitential. Furthermore the publication of these manuals with episcopal authority makes it likely that they exercised an important influence on the structure and form of other manuals being produced, so that they may be seen both as a product of and a formative influence on the manual tradition.⁴²

³⁹*CS II, i*, p. 346.

⁴⁰*CS II, i*, p. 346.

⁴¹*CS II, ii*, p. 1018.

⁴²Gillespie, p. 21.

Despite the fact that it is drawn from “diverse tracts”, most of the material in Quivel’s text has a direct bearing on the sacrament of penance and is penitential in nature. Whilst one can acknowledge with Gillespie that the presence of several diverse tracts suggests a diversity in approaches to the catechetical syllabus, very little material in Quivel’s *summula* indicates a wide diversity in the penitential content of its sources; the *summula* begins with an exposition on the ten commandments, continues by describing the seven deadly sins and their progeny, touches on the circumstances of sin and the sinner, and finishes with a brief exposition on the Creed.⁴³ Only the last of these items might not appear in a penitential, and so it is difficult to find much in this *summula* which would indicate that pastoral tracts existed which covered wider ground than a penitential tract. It is hard to know, then, how the *summula* indicates that current pastoral manuals were engaging “wider pastoral issues”, unless one looks at the obviously didactic nature of the text: clearly, the *summula* is intended to cover the didactic programme laid out in the statutes, and is not entirely intended as a document to guide the confessor through the pitfalls of confession. The articles on the ten commandments (1-11) and the deadly sins (12-19) do not principally address the priest, unlike the articles on the circumstances of sins and sinners (20-36) which often enjoin the priest to say or do something in response to what he hears from the penitent. Although the document states that the priest ought to teach the articles of the faith to a penitent (*penitens*) rather than to a parishioner in an unqualified sense (*laicus*), and so implies that such teaching occurs in the confessional, it by no means disallows teaching within another context: “the *summula*, although geared to penitential practice, would serve as a valuable aid to preaching and small group

⁴³See “Summula of Peter Quinel or Quivel, bishop of Exeter,” *CS II, ii*, pp. 1059-1077.

teaching.”⁴⁴ In any event, an attention to wider pastoral issues in the legislation can be traced through the concern for a knowledge of the Creed, as in Langton’s first statutes, and for a knowledge of the practice of prayer and the sacraments, which can be traced through the concern for infant baptism, the rehearsal of the names and number of the sacraments, and exhortations concerning the sacrament of extreme unction. This wider pastoral vision could not help but appear in those pastoral manuals designed to cover the breadth of the catechetical syllabus as it appears in the legislation.

That these kinds of broader concerns — as evinced by the exposition listing the seven petitions of the Lord’s Prayer, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the eight Beatitudes, and explaining the articles of the Creed — appeared in pastoral literature can be seen in the rather brief summary by Roger de Weseham, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, entitled *Instituta* (ca. 1245-1256).⁴⁵ This summary, found in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Bodley 57, fols. 96r-97v together with several pieces of ecclesiastical legislation, deals evenly with matters of faith as well as morals, making it much more than another penitential handbook. Vernacular texts such as the *Cursor Mundi* and the *Lay Folks’ Mass Book* from the beginning of the fourteenth century⁴⁶ illustrate a growing interest in a literature which went beyond the concerns of the penitential literature, both in content and in style. Some credit for the broadening of these interests must lie in the even-handed emphasis of much of the preceding legislation on matters which were not strictly necessary for instructing parishioners in making a good examination of

⁴⁴Gillespie, p. 22.

⁴⁵C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), Appendix II, pp. 149-152. See discussion of this work in Gillespie, p. 19.

⁴⁶The *Lay Folks’ Mass Book* is, properly speaking, an early fourteenth-century English translation of a mid-twelfth-century French text. See Raymo, item 195, pp. 2350, 2351.

conscience.

The canon on catechesis from the Council of Lambeth in 1281, which became dislodged from the rest of the legislation of that Council and is referred to in later legislation by its two opening words *Ignorantia sacerdotum*, provides the definitive catechetical syllabus as it was later taught. The Archbishop of Canterbury at the time and the one who promulgated the Council's decrees, John Pecham, not only further specified the content of catechetical teaching, but he also stipulated some guidelines regarding how often it should be taught:

In quorum remedium discriminum statuendo precipimus ut quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens, quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, die una sollempni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos, decem mandata decalogi, duo precepta evangelii, scilicet, gemine caritatis, septem etiam opera misericordie, septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie, septem virtutes principales, ac septem gratie sacramenta.⁴⁷

The program is a rather ambitious one, since the whole syllabus was to be covered four times during the year, making it difficult to expound on a simple solemn day once in every quarter of the year. One might be able to read a short summary, like the *Instituta*, from the pulpit, but such a delivery would not be likely to bring about the desired effect of Pecham's legislation. Like his fellow bishops, Archbishop Pecham did not merely list his catechetical syllabus, but he provided a brief summary "ne quis a predictis [sacerdotibus] per ignorantiam se excuset."⁴⁸ This brief, rough-and-ready summary provides one- or two-sentence explanations for each item, without any "imaginative weaving of subtlety"; indeed, it is so sparse as to suggest that it was not intended as a ready set of lessons to be

⁴⁷*CS II, i*, p. 901.

⁴⁸*CS II, i*, p. 901.

delivered, but as the barest of foundations on which pastors were expected to build. Other than the additions of the two Gospel precepts and the seven works of mercy, Pecham's syllabus seems less an innovation than a "restatement on a national level of the principles of a movement which was rapidly developing at the local level."⁴⁹ *Ignorantia sacerdotum* survives, however, as a most important point of reference in matters of catechetical import, especially where the discussion turned upon how much (or how little) average parishioners ought to know about their faith, as in Archbishop Arundel's provincial legislation in 1409.

Archbishop John Thoresby of York adapted even further the established custom of including a summary of instruction along with the statutes on catechesis when he included a vernacular version of his summary with the Latin text of his statutes (1357). Both his statutes and his vernacular summary, issued under the authority of both a provincial council of the clergy and Thoresby's own authority as metropolitan of the northern province, would have had wide circulation. These documents constitute the first occasion where a bishop's summary appears in an approved translation, and it directly links the realm of pastoral legislation with the realm of the vernacular pastoral manual. Not only does the vernacular version prevent parish priests excusing themselves from their responsibility by a plea of ignorance, but it also provides a text which, if read aloud, could be readily understood by parishioners. A record in fragments from a letter-book containing correspondence relating to the archbishopric of York (British Library MS Cotton Galba E.x, fols. 73v-74r) requests that a certain Benedictine monk of St. Mary's Abbey in York,⁵⁰ John Gaytryge, who has long been thought to be the translator of the *Lay*

⁴⁹Gillespie, p. 24.

⁵⁰Powell, pp. 68, 69.

Folks' Catechism, translate a document (*cedula*) which summarizes the necessary articles of faith, the precepts of the decalogue, "and other things."⁵¹ In the letter, the Archbishop explains that the provincial council had undertaken to educate the laity in the fundamentals of the faith through the preaching of those with responsibility for pastoral care within the diocese, but because some of the clergy lacked care for their flock and did not know as much as they ought to know, a summary of the necessary items of the syllabus would be provided in the vernacular. The letter then asks Gaytryge to make the translation with all possible speed, seeking clarity and ease, rather than ornate language, seeing as the document is for informing the laity (*ad laicorum informacionem*).⁵² Thoresby's summary could thus reach the average parishioner without the intervention of a faulty translation or the added complexity of a "fanciful weaving of subtleties", and thus represents an attempt by the bishop to address his flock directly, avoiding possible corruptions due to sacerdotal ignorance. The pastoral summary issued with legislation has, in this case, ceased being merely an instrument interpreted and promulgated to the laity through the parish priest, and has become a mode of direct address to the laity. Archbishop Thoresby's letter states that the translation was intended "lest any matter for erring in some words touching on the foundation of the aforesaid faith (*in aliquibus verbis dicte fidei fundamentum tangentibus*) might be left to them,"⁵³ intimating that the document would be directly quoted by parish clergy.

The text of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* fairly straightforwardly presents the fourteen articles of the faith, the ten commandments, the seven sacraments, the seven works of

⁵¹Swanson, p. 98.

⁵²Swanson, pp. 98, 99.

⁵³Swanson, p. 98.

mercy, the seven virtues and the seven vices; the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria are conspicuously absent from the list of items covered, despite the fact that a “Wycliffite adaptation” of the text, printed in the EETS edition alongside the English text found in Thoresby’s register, contains both prayers. There is considerable doubt, however, as to whether this really represents a distinct version of the catechism, as opposed to “an assemblage of diverse materials drawn together in an eclectic fashion.”⁵⁴ Although the presentation of the only edition of the *Catechism* proper arranges it in lines of verse, the line endings do not necessarily rhyme, nor does the text present any certain rhythm which would suggest poetry rather than prose, despite the fact that Canons Nolloth and Simmons, the editors of the text, assert that it is composed “in rude verse.”⁵⁵ The translation stays, for the most part, close to Thoresby’s latin text, with a few minor expansions to fill out explanations of particular points. Thoresby’s instruction required far more frequent teaching of his six catechetical topics, stating that parish priests and those with the cure of souls should instruct their parishioners in the vernacular “saltem diebus dominicis.” In addition, priests were to examine both parents and children on their knowledge of the catechetical syllabus once during Lent; the English translation adds that this examination would normally occur “whan thai come to shrift,” indicating that the manual and its contents were still linked with confessional practice.

Pastoral legislation concerning catechesis developed in three major stages over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as the legislation specified the syllabus for such

⁵⁴On the question of this “version” of the Catechism, see Anne Hudson, “A New Look at the *Lay Folks’ Catechism*,” *Viator* 16 (1985), pp. 243-258. The quotation is taken from p. 257 of this same article.

⁵⁵Simmons, Thomas Frederick, and Henry Edward Nolloth, *The Lay Folks’ Catechism*, EETS os 118 (1901), xvii. Powell (p. 72) mentions a “dispute as to whether Gaytryge wrote in unrhymed verse or rhythmical prose. Without entering into the dispute, it can be said that it was variously interpreted as verse or prose in the manuscripts, though the earliest manuscripts (other than the Register) set it out as verse.”

instruction, and included aids to that instruction. The Fourth Lateran Council spurred such bishops as Stephen Langton and Richard Poore to promulgate legislation regarding catechesis. Later legislation then included latin tracts intended for the clergy, as with the tracts offered by bishops Richard Staversby, Walter de Cantilupe, Peter Quivel, Roger de Weseham and John Pecham. In the last major development, represented by Archbishop Thoresby's legislation, the bishop addressed both the laity and the clergy by means of a summary which could be read aloud in the vernacular. The rapid increase in numbers of literate laity⁵⁶ may well have provided the Archbishop with readers of his text other than parish clergy; Malcolm Parkes has identified one Cambridge University Library manuscript (Ff.2.38) as an example of a fifteenth-century compilation containing, not only romances, but religious works intended "to satisfy most of the practical and intellectual requirements of a 15th-century middle-class family."⁵⁷ Bodleian manuscript Digby 86, from the end of the thirteenth century, is an earlier example of "a layman's common-place book or miscellany . . . [which] includes prayers and devotional texts, romances, fabliaux, humorous lyrics, a game and party tricks, medical receipts for both humans and birds, prognostications and titbits of useful information."⁵⁸ Based on this evidence, the realm of pastoral manuals and devotional literature had already stopped being the private preserve of clergy, and had begun to form part of the leisure reading of the increasingly literate middle class. The threefold development within legislation thus involves the gradual definition of the catechetical syllabus, and the gradual definition of formulae to be used in

⁵⁶See Parkes, pp. 275-297, and also Spencer, pp. 36-41.

⁵⁷Parkes, p. 292.

⁵⁸*Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*, ed. Judith Tschann and M.B. Parkes, *EETS* ss 16 (1996), p. xi.

teaching this syllabus, intended first for the edification of the clergy, and then, in Thoresby's statutes, for consumption by the laity (either read by the laity themselves or spoken aloud by their priests).

While the development of pastoral manuals may have specified a syllabus of instruction, it also broadened the variety of topics within the syllabus, extending it beyond those necessary for a good examination of conscience with the addition of pastoral instruction on baptism and extreme unction, along with doctrinal elements such as the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Beatitudes. While discussion regarding how the specific contents of *The Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* fit within the catechetical syllabus awaits a more detailed examination of the contents of these texts a little further on, both texts fall within the larger bounds of pastoral manuals taking their origin from the pastoral legislation of the period. That they both concentrate on apocalyptic concerns as a means of bringing about conversion of life illustrates the growing interest in broader topics outside the syllabus, perhaps reflecting the interests of the newly literate classes in works which would both "edify and delight."⁵⁹ The vernacular pastoral manual, as seen in the catechism accompanying Archbishop Thoresby's legislation, became a mode of direct address to the laity, rather than simply a sourcebook for the priest. The manual was moving beyond the realm of the clergy to address an increasingly literate laity in the vernacular; this transition from an address to the clergy to a more popular, vernacular address is what the Wycliffites used in order to disseminate their teachings rapidly among the laity they thought should most benefit from such teachings.⁶⁰ It was at the beginning of the fifteenth century that the burgeoning movement to disseminate catechetical

⁵⁹Parkes, p. 292.

⁶⁰See Hudson, "English Heresy," pp. 141-163.

materials in the vernacular met the rather solid obstacle of Archbishop Thomas Arundel's Constitutions for the Archdiocese of Canterbury.

III. Archbishop Arundel's Constitutions of 1409 and the Distribution of Pastoral Manuals in English

Reference to Arundel's legislation may seem irrelevant in the discussion of a text which, on the basis of the estimated date of the earliest manuscript (**D**), was probably compiled sometime before this legislation. There are no signs within the text itself that reveal whether the compiler knew Arundel's legislation, such as the marks of approval given to Nicholas Love's *Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* or to *The Mirror of Our Lady*.⁶¹ The frequent quotation and translation of Scripture found in the *Speculum*, which was condemned by Arundel's Constitutions, along with the date of the earliest manuscript, indicate that the *Speculum* was composed sometime before the Constitutions of 1409 appeared. Arundel's legislation is, indeed, not so much a factor in the composition of the *Speculum*, as in its dissemination. The suspicion of those owning vernacular religious texts which Arundel's legislation aroused may explain the paucity of manuscript copies of the *Speculum*, despite the fact that it is a version of the very popular *Prick of Conscience*. It has been stated in recent scholarship that, as a consequence of Arundel's legislation, fewer copies of fifteenth-century religious works circulated, whereas fourteenth-century works of the same type circulated more freely; Arundel's legislation forced the creation of a "canon" of fourteenth-century religious works by discouraging the circulation of "dangerous" new works.⁶² A brief explanation of Arundel's legislation, a discussion of its interpretation, and an evaluation of its

⁶¹Watson, p. 831.

⁶²Watson, p. 834.

consequences for manuals like the *Speculum* accordingly follow.

The sixth article of Arundel's Constitutions placed heavy restrictions upon the publication of new academic works, stating that each new work not only required the approval of twelve appointed academics from Oxford or Cambridge, but that it also required the approbation of Arundel himself or his successors. The same article names, not just the works of Wyclif, but those "of anyone among his contemporaries" (*aut alium quemcunque tempore suo*), as works requiring the approval of the deputed censors. The seventh article in the same document had direct bearing upon most vernacular religious texts, since none of these usually avoided some direct reference to Scripture:

. . . statuimus igitur et ordinamus, ut nemo deinceps aliquem textum sacrae scripturae auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam, vel aliam transferat, per viam libri, libelli, aut tractatus, nec legatur aliquis hujusmodi liber, libellus, aut tractatus jam noviter tempore dicti Johannis Wycliff, sive citra, compositus, aut in posterum componendus, in parte vel in toto, publice, vel occulte, sub majoris excommunicationis poena, quousque per loci diocesanum, seu, si res exegerit, per concilium provinciale ipsa translatio fuerit approbata: qui contra fecerit, ut fautor haeresis et erroris similiter puniatur.⁶³

The stringent procedure for the approval of a new work (described above) and of a scriptural translation (approval by the bishop, or — if the matter required it — the clergy of the province gathered in council⁶⁴) must have given pause to most authors. Arundel's legislation encouraged suspicion of recently composed works which contained Scriptural quotation, which might have made texts like the *Speculum*, which probably appeared sometime around the turn of the century, dangerous to read or own. Arundel's statute, however, remains vague regarding whether the words "textum sacrae scripturae" refer to a whole book of the sacred text, discrete parts of it, or to simple quotations like those which

⁶³*Concilia*, vol. 3 (London, 1737), p. 317.

⁶⁴*Concilia*, p. 317, statutes 6 and 7.

appear in the *Speculum*.

The test of any legislation is not so much in its creation, but in its interpretation and implementation, and it is the interpretation of this statute that clarifies how far-reaching was Arundel's legislation. In this particular case, a body of interpretation exists in William Lyndwood's *Provinciale* of 1430, composed by a principal canonist and aide to Archbishop Henry Chichele. Lyndwood interpreted Arundel's prohibition against scriptural translation in "tracts" to extend to any words taken from the sayings of doctors or from original works for the purpose of explaining or translating the letter or the sense of Scripture into English or any other vernacular.⁶⁵ Lyndwood's interpretation of the seventh article of Arundel's constitution extended the reach of this legislation to all translations of scripture regardless of length — whole books, or simple sentences.⁶⁶ Since most, if not all vernacular catechetical treatises contained at least some references to scripture, such treatises would fall within the scope of Lyndwood's interpretation. This rather broad interpretation of Arundel's statute manifests the state of English religious writing after Arundel's *Constitutions*: vernacular catechetical instruction, endorsed by Archbishop Thoresby in the fourteenth century, had now become possible evidence for heresy in the fifteenth.⁶⁷ The common and frequent practice of quoting scripture in texts like *The Prick of Conscience* or *The Speculum* might have made ownership of such texts

⁶⁵ "**Aut tractatus**/ sic videlicet quod de dictis doctorum vel propriis aliquem tractatum componat explicando textum sacrae scripture et illius sensum transferendo in anglicum vel aliud ydeoma Et eodem modo potest intelligi de libro siue libello ut secundum textum sacre scripture in tali libro vel libello applicet et textum ipsum transferat in aliud ydeoma." William Lyndwood, *Constitutiones provinciales* (Oxford: T. Rood, 1483), fol. 259v; see vol. ii of Pollard and Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1976), entry 17102. This text was brought to my attention in Hudson, "English Heresy", p. 148, and another version of it can be found there.

⁶⁶Watson, pp. 828, 829; see also Hudson, "English Heresy," p. 148.

⁶⁷Hudson, "English Heresy", p. 149.

grounds for suspicion of heresy: “If the evidence of Lollard trials is to be trusted, it remained dangerous throughout the century for those beneath the ranks of the gentry and the urban elite to be known as a reader of texts as diverse as *The Canterbury Tales*, *The Prick of Conscience*, *Dives et Pauper*, and *The Mirror of Sinners*.”⁶⁸ Anne Hudson lists a number of incidents where the knowledge of such things as the Pater, Ave, or the Creed in English provided evidence for convictions of heresy;⁶⁹ she also cites long-standing suspicion of the *Prick of Conscience* in heresy trials in the fifteenth century.⁷⁰ It is unclear, however, whether the authorities involved in such heresy trials considered possession of the *Prick of Conscience* as evidence which confirmed suspicions already held, or as initial evidence of heresy. Considering that one copy of the *PC* (London, British Library, Harley 1731, ff. 1-133v)⁷¹ which was surrendered to the authorities survived inspection, it is unlikely that ownership of the text itself was considered incriminating.

The air of suspicion attached to the *Prick of Conscience*, an extremely popular text, may have affected the *Speculum* by association, since the *Speculum* shares the same general structure, and many of the same lines. The suspicion of vernacular translations of Scripture, and the strict interpretation of the ecclesiastical legislation relating to translations, may provide another angle on the question of the scarcity of *Speculum* manuscripts, beyond labelling the poem as a mere second-rate version of another text. The *Speculum*’s survival in so few extant manuscripts could indeed be a testimony to poor

⁶⁸Watson, p. 831.

⁶⁹See Hudson, “English Heresy”, pp. 161, 162.

⁷⁰*Premature Reformation*, p. 485.

⁷¹*Descriptive Guide*, p. 136; *Premature Reformation* p. 485, n. 233.

reader response for this radically abbreviated version of a much more popular text; it could also indicate that the *Speculum* was considered a somewhat risky text to own, considering the climate engendered by Arundel's legislation and fostered by Lyndwood's authoritative interpretations of this legislation.⁷² The quotations from and translations of Scripture, along with the anticlerical verses in the *Speculum* (ll. 525-566; 1867-1884), might have roused suspicion among the authorities. This particular line of argument runs up against the fact that many copies of the *Prick of Conscience* were made in the fifteenth century, after Arundel's legislation, but it does point to possibilities, beyond arguments about the aesthetics of the text, as to why the *Speculum*, as a version of the *Prick*, did not enjoy as large a readership as its parent text. Conclusions regarding the popularity or unpopularity of the *Speculum* cannot, clearly, rest simply on a twentieth-century aesthetic adjudication of the text, but must take into account the tenor of the times in light of Archbishop Arundel's 1409 *Constitutions*.

IV. Significant Features of Catechetical Method in the Late Middle Ages: *The Speculum huius vite* and the Pastoral Programme

The emergence of pastoral manuals within a pastoral programme outlined by episcopal legislation indicates that these manuals laid claim to some degree of usefulness within that programme. The modern temptation would be to categorize pastoral manuals and related catechetical materials as defined within the strict limits of their proper use for *either* preaching *or* teaching; medieval catechetical resources, however, fit rather uneasily into such strict disjunctions. Vincent Gillespie has pointed to the statute of Richard Poore which asks each parish priest to gather together the children of the parish and instruct

⁷²Watson, pp. 834, 835.

them in the rudiments of the faith⁷³ as one indication (among many) that pastoral manuals were used in other catechetical contexts, not solely in preaching or in the confessional. Medieval pastoral manuals elude categorization in terms of utility mainly because episcopal legislation did not restrict catechetical training to the liturgy, the confessional, or the parish grammar school. Whilst early legislation points to an integral, intelligent confession of parishioners once a year as the intended end of teaching the catechetical syllabus, not any of the extant episcopal legislation (with the possible exception of William de Blois' statutes for the diocese of Worcester in 1229) stipulates the confessional as the sole place where catechetical instruction was to take place. The Fourth Lateran Council not only provided an impetus for catechetical instruction by enjoining yearly confession upon all the members of the church, but it also repeated decrees from the Third Lateran Council (of 1179) for the institution of schools in major cathedrals.⁷⁴ The Fourth Lateran Council also elaborated upon the Third Lateran Council's educational decree by specifying that not only cathedrals, but all churches capable of making such provision were to employ a master to teach grammar "ac aliis instruat iuxta posse."⁷⁵ This concern for formal teaching alongside pastoral instruction appears in the Register of Bishop Grandisson of Exeter, who complains that the students in the grammar school are insufficiently instructed, and pushed on to pagan classics before they have mastered an understanding of the Lord's Prayer, Ave, and the Creed.⁷⁶

⁷³Richard Poore, Statutes of Salisbury I (1217 × 1219) *CS II, i*, p. 61 — quoted above in the section dealing with Poore's statutes; Gillespie, *Doctrina* p. 36.

⁷⁴ See constitution 18 of Lateran III in *Conc. Oec. Dec.* p. 196; see also constitution 11 of Lateran IV on p. 216 of the same.

⁷⁵*Conc. Oec. Dec.* p. 216.

⁷⁶*The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327-1369)*, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph, vol. ii (London and Exeter, 1894-9), pp. 1192-3.

This last comment is remarkable because it makes clear the expectations which at least one fourteenth-century bishop had of grammar-school instruction. The similarity between Grandisson's proposed curriculum for grammar schools and the pastoral curriculum illustrates how blurred was the line between pastoral instruction and formal classroom teaching, and it serves as a warning against pigeonholing pastoral manuals into the categories of utility for either preaching or teaching.⁷⁷ Any discussion of the use made of manuals like the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum huius vite* must therefore consider both of these important tasks within the *cura animarum*.

But before the particular contexts of the *Speculum* within the apostolic tasks of preaching and teaching *pastoralia* are examined, we need first to identify how the *Speculum* fits (and some of the ways it does not fit) generally within the pastoral curriculum and pastoral life described above. Catechesis in the episcopal legislation usually encompassed some treatment of the Pater Noster, the Ave, the Creed, the ten commandments, the two gospel precepts, the seven vices and virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace. Clearly, as a text concentrating on the Last Things which tends more to moral exhortation than to discourse on doctrine, the *Speculum* falls within that category of texts (discussed earlier) which contained some elements of the catechetical curriculum, but which moved beyond the strictly penitential aspects of that curriculum. Unlike the works which mostly dealt with vices and virtues (e.g. *Fasciculus Morum*) and those which dealt with several elements in the syllabus in a systematic order (e.g. *Handlyng Synne*, *The Azenbite of Inwyte*, *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, *The Book of Vices and Virtues*) the *Speculum*, like the *Prick of Conscience*, "treats a variety of topics and barely touches on

⁷⁷ "By grammar one not only learned one's faith, by construing its formulations, but, in addition, one was enabled to expound it to others." Spencer, p. 199, commenting on Grandisson's *Register* entry referred to above.

the Sins,” and, in its style, is probably most like the *Speculum Vite* of William of Nassington.⁷⁸ The *Speculum huius vite*, as laid out in lines 161-176 quoted at the beginning of this chapter, imparts information concerning the end and goal of life as a means of inspiring conversion of life. Unlike popular penitential manuals, the *Speculum* seems more concerned with moral exhortation than with communicating knowledge necessary for an integral confession. The poem contains only two references to “shriving” oneself (ll. 942 and 2308), and both of these mention the sacrament as an effective means of avoiding eternal punishments. Neither passage concerns the technical aspects of making a confession. The *Speculum* thus subordinates the enterprise of encouraging virtue and discouraging vice found in most other pastoral manuals to a more general exhortation to the reformation of one’s life in preparation for a good death. The *Speculum* concentrates on charitable and penitential action, supplemented by confession, as a means to escape eternal damnation and come to eternal joy.⁷⁹ This is not to say that other pastoral manuals ignore the notion of conversion of life, since they often deal with the avoidance of vice, and with the cultivation of the virtues opposed to vice. Whereas most other manuals discuss such things within the context of particular vices and virtues, the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* direct one’s attentions to life’s eternal rewards and punishments as a goad (*stimulus*/ “pricke”) to one’s conscience and the reform of one’s moral life. The traditional treatments of the vices and virtues, the *Prick of Conscience*, and the *Speculum* all seek the same goal — conversion of life — but their respective means to that goal differ, perhaps more in emphasis than in kind.

⁷⁸*Descriptive Guide*, p. 3. See also Allen, p. 372.

⁷⁹This emphasis upon action and activity (not to the exclusion of sacramental means of grace, but entailing a lack of emphasis on confession) marks out the *Speculum* as distinct from the *Prick of Conscience*; this distinction will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

This general difference between the *Speculum* and other pastoral manuals does not preclude the inclusion of some elements of the pastoral syllabus; in fact, the *Speculum* goes one step further than the *Prick of Conscience* in this respect by the addition of one more treatise in the catechetical syllabus (on the ten commandments; see ll. 403-580). The seven deadly sins are listed (ll. 1175-1184) as part of a discussion of the third pain of purgatory, but they do not receive the comprehensive explication or treatment found in texts such as *Fasciculus Morum* (which deals just with vices and virtues), *Handlyng Synne* (ll.2989-8582⁸⁰), the *Somme le roi* tradition (*Azenbite of Inwyt*,⁸¹ *Book of Vices and Virtues*⁸²), or in the brief summaries accompanying pastoral legislation (e.g. Pecham's Council of Lambeth in 1281⁸³, *The Lay Folks' Catechism* ll. 380-560⁸⁴). The seven works of mercy appear as a criterion for judgement at the end of the portion of the text on the Day of Doom (ll. 1859-2022), but, like the treatment of the seven deadly sins, they do not receive the ordered explication found in other manuals (e.g. *Book of Vices and Virtues*,⁸⁵ *Speculum Christiani*,⁸⁶ — although they receive a fairly cursory rehearsal in the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, ll. 348-363). Of these three elements in the pastoral programme, only the treatise on the commandments receives the attention it usually gets within other

⁸⁰These line enumerations are taken from the following edition: *Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne"*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall *EETS* os 119 (1901) and 123 (1903).

⁸¹Dan Michel of Northgate, *Azenbite of Inwyt*, ed. Richard Morris and Pamela Gradon, *EETS* os 23 (1965), pp. 15-70.

⁸²See *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, ed. W. Nelson Francis, *EETS* 217 (1942), pp. 10-68. Hereafter cited by title and page number.

⁸³*CS II, ii*, pp. 902, 903.

⁸⁴See the version from Abp. Thoresby's Register, named text "T" in *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Nolloth, *EETS* os 118 (1901).

⁸⁵*The Book of Vices and Virtues*, pp. 204-220.

⁸⁶*Speculum Christiani*, ed. Gustaf Holmstedt, *EETS* os 182 (1933), pp. 40-45.

catechetical texts. The other elements of the legislative syllabus which appear in the *Speculum* thus play a secondary, supportive role to material more properly covering one of the *novissima*, or Last Things. This subordination of traditional catechetical treatises to topics of interest outside the traditional pastoral syllabus places the *Speculum* among those texts such as the *Cursor Mundi* and *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, discussed earlier, which manifest a growing interest in topics beyond the confines of traditional catechesis. The very presence of such catechetical items as the seven deadly sins and the seven works of mercy, however, provides a link to more conventional pastoral manuals.

The links between the *Speculum* and pastoral manuals (as opposed to narrative texts for general edification and delight such as the *Cursor Mundi*) may seem rather tenuous, considering how relatively few customary catechetical topics appear in the poem. Two other all-pervasive elements of the *Speculum*'s structure and content, however, clearly mark it out as a text within the pastoral manual tradition. The division of the text into seven parts and the subdivision of these parts by means of series of enumerated lists constitute the first of these two significant elements. The first part of the *Speculum* contains an invocation to the Trinity (ll. 1-210), a treatise on the human condition (ll. 211-420) which is further subdivided into parts dealing with the three ages of man (the "begynnyng" ll. 269-314; the "mydwart" ll. 315-374; the "endyng" ll. 375-398), and a treatise on the ten commandments (ll. 421-580). The second part, on worldly distractions, lacks firm subdivisions, although one could discern three general thematic divisions therein: love of worldly things is concupiscence (ll. 581-634); covetousness and the impermanence of the world's goods (ll. 635-714); pride and vanity of certain kinds of fashionable apparel (ll. 716-822). The third part, on death, lists four reasons why one should dread death (ll. 869-882), and then proceeds to explicate each reason (ll. 883-

1072). Something similar occurs in the fourth part, where the seven pains of purgatory are listed and explained at length (ll. 1137-1264). The fifth part contains a list of the eight tokens of the doom (ll. 1351-1372) which receive a more detailed study (ll. 1561-2022) after an excursus on Antichrist in ll. 1374-1560. The Accusers at the day of doom form the sixth token of the day of doom, and are themselves listed and described in further detail within the discussion of the tokens of the doom (ll. 1759-1774). The sixth part of the poem lists and explains the twelve pains of hell (ll. 2050-2298), whilst the seventh part details the seven bodily (ll. 2355-2450) and seven spiritual joys (ll. 2451-2666) of heaven. This use of verse “tracts” placed together in a single work as a pastoral reference for both instructors and preachers hearkens back to the *Versarius* of William de Montibus, a late twelfth-century collection of verses organized by topic under alphabetical heads, presumably for the convenience of preachers, writers, and teachers.⁸⁷ The *Liber Floretus* and the *Peniteas cito*, two standard texts for schools in the fourteenth century discussed a little further on, likewise contain separable doctrinal “tracts” in mnemonic verse.⁸⁸ Separate tracts or “compartments” in pastoral texts appear in the separate treatments of each virtue and vice in the *Fasciculus Morum*, the separate *tabulae* of the *Speculum Christiani*, the separate elements laid out in the introduction and developed in the text of *Handlyng Synne*. This compartmentalization of topics within each major division of the *Speculum* makes the whole rather flexible: the parts, although part of a larger scheme, lend themselves to use either as parts within a sermon, or as digestible treatises for formal instruction.

⁸⁷Goering, pp. 73, 389-397. See also the incomplete transcription of the text on pp. 399-471 of the same work.

⁸⁸See *Liber Floretus*, ed. Árpád Orbán, *Mittelaltinisches Jahrbuch: Beih.* 16 (Kastellaun/Hunsrück: Aloys Henn, 1979) and the edition of the *Peniteas cito* in Goering, pp. 107-138.

The second significant element which suggests that the *Speculum* would fit easily within the pastoral sphere involves the frequent quotation of Scripture and authorities within the text. In this respect, the *Speculum huius vite* resembles the *Speculum Christiani*, a text which is, in the main, a compilation of authoritative quotations marshalled under particular heads or *tabulae*. The *Speculum Christiani* identifies these authorities by means of an attribution in a different script⁸⁹ and joins them together with short linking passages, so that the whole presents itself as a compendium of authorities on particular topics, ready to hand for quick consultation and apt for pastoral use. The authorities quoted in the *Speculum huius vite*, like those in the *Speculum Christiani*, are marked out by means of a different script in **B**, and by means of underlining in **D**. If the text does not identify the author of a quotation (a fairly rare occurrence, it must be said), then the marginalia generally provide the necessary information in both manuscripts. The use of Latin in the quotations of the *Speculum huius vite* alongside English translations follows the pattern set out in the *Prick of Conscience*, and presumably serves the purpose of providing reliable translations of authorities for the “lewed” whilst evincing original source material to quell the doubts or concerns of any critical “lered” readers.⁹⁰ The inclusion of Latin quotations could also serve the custom at the time to use Latin quotations in sermons: “There can be no doubt that English preachers did customarily regale their audiences with incomprehensible bits of Latin, and not just with the translations which were then supplied. This is attested by the variations on the common

⁸⁹See *Speculum Christiani: a Middle English Religious Treatise of the 14th Century*, ed. Gustaf Holmstedt, *EETS* 182 (1933). Most of the manuscripts appear to have distinguished the names of *auctores* with red underlining; see the descriptions in the editorial introduction, pp. xix-cxxix. The plate of Brit. Mus. MS. Harleian 6580 fol. 8r. between pages 24 and 25 gives an example of the use of a different script and underlining to distinguish the names of authors from the rest of the text.

⁹⁰The same practice appears in sermons; see Spencer, p. 56.

formula which follows Latin quotations, ‘that is to say (in English) (to your understanding).’”⁹¹ The quotation of authorities is as old as the academic enterprise itself, so the quotations could indicate the use of the *Speculum* within the sphere of personal or formal instruction as well as preaching.

The treatment of the Four Last Things in the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* corresponds to another pastoral concern expressed in the legislation discussed earlier: training and preparation for a good death. The many injunctions to teach the baptismal formula to laypeople in order to provide this necessary sacrament in the event of imminent death,⁹² and the further encouragement to approach the sacrament of extreme unction contained in Poore’s Statutes for the diocese of Salisbury⁹³ illustrate a concern for proximate and sacramental preparation for death. Although it must be said that neither the *Speculum* nor the *Prick of Conscience* contains references to extreme unction, the theme of prudence before death, particularly in conversion of life and the cultivation of the virtues, falls within the general pastoral concern of preparation for death. Other pastoral manuals of the period contain matter relating to preparation for death, an *ars moriendi*, similar to elements in the *Speculum*. The *Book of Vices and Virtues*, for example, contains a whole section teaching “þis craft . . . to lyue wel and dye wel,”⁹⁴ with elements analogous to those found in the *Speculum*: the theme of being born to die (*Book*

⁹¹Spencer, p. 56.

⁹²See *CS II, i*, Statutes of Winchester I by Peter des Roches (1224) p. 136, statute 66; Synodal Statutes for an English diocese (1222x1225), p. 140, statute 2; *Constitutiones Cuiusdam Episcopi* (1225x1230), p. 182; Statutes of Worcester II of William de Blois (1229) p. 180, statute 63 on baptism; Alexander Stavensby’s Statutes of Coventry and Lichfield (1224x1237), p. 214, statute 26; William Briwere’s Statutes of Exeter I (1225x1237), p. 233, statute 15.

⁹³See *CS II, i*, Statutes of Salisbury I, p. 90, statute 93; see also Synodal Statutes for an English diocese (1222x1225), p. 146, statutes 36 and 37, for another example of statutes on extreme unction.

⁹⁴*The Book of Vices and Virtues*, p. 69; the section on dying well occurs on pp. 68-73.

p. 69; *Speculum* ll. 269-314); the distinction between different kinds of death (*Book* p.70; *Speculum* ll. 823-868); the fiery purgation in Purgatory (*Book* pp. 71-72; *Speculum* ll. 1197-1214); a list of the pains of hell (*Book* p. 71; *Speculum* ll. 2050-2298) and of the joys of heaven (*Book* p. 73; *Speculum* ll. 2355-2666); and, finally, an admonition to contemplate the last things (*Book* pp. 70, 71; *Speculum* ll. 161-176). The *Speculum Christiani* likewise contains a discussion of death (pp. 48-52), general judgement (pp. 52-57), a meditation on the damned (pp. 204, 205), the joys of heaven (pp. 118-120), and the pains of hell (p. 121). The *Speculum huius vite* also includes more traditional elements in the catechetical syllabus, stressing the keeping of the commandments (ll. 421-580), the practice of the works of mercy (ll. 1837-1866), and personal penance (ll. 1265-1286) as ways to avoid the horrors of an unprovided death. Takami Matsuda includes the *Prick of Conscience* among examples of the “literature of pragmatic prudence before death”, and, judging by the foregoing examples, the *Speculum* also fits within that category.⁹⁵

Another indication of the intended use of this text arises in the consideration of the ownership and the other contents of the manuscripts. Manuscript **D** contains references which suggest lay ownership (the name “John Mascy” appears frequently in the marginalia in **D**), which in turn suggests the text’s use as a manual for profitable private reading. Evidence in some *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts, however, indicates ownership by the clergy,⁹⁶ and, considering the derivative nature of the *Speculum* and its

⁹⁵Takami Matsuda, *Death and Purgatory in Middle English Didactic Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1997), pp. 174-233; see p. 194 for the reference to the *Prick of Conscience*.

⁹⁶The *Descriptive Guide* lists the following manuscripts as carrying such evidence: Cambridge, University Library Dd.12.69 (C); London, British Library, Additional 32578; London, Lambeth Palace, 260; London, Lambeth Palace, 491; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson poetry 175; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell empt. 6. Extracts appear in the following manuscripts, which likewise contain evidence of ownership by parish clergy: London, British Library, Royal 17 C.xvii; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.285. One Latin version, Cambridge, University Library, Dd.4.50 also contains evidence of ownership by a parish priest.

many similarities to the *Prick of Conscience*, we cannot rule out the use of the *Speculum* within a pastoral context. The inscription of ownership in manuscript **C**, one of the *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts most closely related to the text of the *Speculum*, indicates that it was given to the parish church of Shermanbury in Sussex; the inclusion within **C** of the *Manuale Sacerdotum Parochialium* (fols. 25r-34v) and other Latin texts of pastoral interest (the *Dieta Salutis* of Willelmus de Lanicia, O.F.M., and some mnemonic verses from Richard of Wetheringsett's *Qui bene praesunt*) testify to the pastoral use of the text as well. The presence of Latin texts, and in particular the *Speculum Christiani*, in **B** may indicate clerical ownership at some stage — assuming that the “Dominus Gylbart Barton”, named in **B** as the owner of the manuscript, was a member of the clergy, and not an educated member of the aristocracy, and that the booklet in which he is named was bound, at an early stage, to the one containing the *Speculum*.⁹⁷ The devotional nature, as opposed to directly catechetical content, of most of the other items in manuscripts **B** and **D** does not distinguish either manuscript as particularly “clerical”, since, as has been mentioned above, the new literate classes also read material akin to the English devotional texts found in both manuscripts. On the other hand, the inclusion of material, found only in the *Speculum*, on the need for clergy to be humble (ll. 525-562), and on the criterion of judgement at the doom for parish priests (ll. 1874-1884), hardly seems appropriate if the text was intended only for a lay readership. Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions* of 1409 legislated that preachers ought not preach about the sins of the clergy to laity, on pain of bitter punishment from the local ordinary (*alioquin sic praedicans secundum qualitatem*

⁹⁷For the use of the title *Dominus* for a member of the clergy, see the entry for *dominus* in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R.E. Latham, D.R. Howlett, *et. al.* (London: British Academy, 1975 -).

*delicti, per loci ordinarium canonice et acriter puniatur*⁹⁸). The composition of the *Speculum* was probably not influenced by Arundel's legislation, but subsequent owners of the *Speculum* would have been answerable for its contents.

One last warning remains as we move on to consider particular pastoral contexts for the *Speculum huius vite*. The wide variety of uses made of the *Prick of Conscience*⁹⁹ ought to caution against too rigid an interpretation of the use of the *Speculum*. The conclusion drawn by Robert E. Lewis and Angus McIntosh concerning the use of the *Prick of Conscience* could just as easily be applied to the *Speculum*:

. . . the fact that some lines [in other Middle English works and in a stained-glass window] are taken from the *Prick of Conscience* indicates that the poem was considered a storehouse of information to which a medieval reader could go for various kinds of religious lore and from which a medieval writer could borrow as he saw fit.¹⁰⁰

The “compartmentalized” nature of the *Speculum* and its frequent quotation of authoritative sources make it just as much a storehouse as its “parent” text. If we consider the text less as a tool circumscribed by a certain use, and more as a treasury which someone could plunder at will for any number of uses, we will avoid one particular pitfall in considerations of the utility of this text.

A. Possible Use of the *Speculum huius vite* in Preaching

Material in verse for the use of preaching is amply illustrated in a number of

⁹⁸*Concilia*, vol. 3, p. 316; statute 3 of the *Constitutions*.

⁹⁹The poem appears in four versions other than the *Speculum*, a number of extracts, as a source for some of the material in the *Stimulus Consciencie Minor*, the *Speculum Ecclesie*, the *Desert of Religion*, and some of its verses appear in a medieval stained-glass window. All of these uses are detailed in the *Descriptive Guide*, p. 13. The stained-glass window is described in E.A. Gee, “The Painted Glass of All Saints’ Church, North Street, York”, *Archaeologia*, 102 (1969): 158-62.

¹⁰⁰*Descriptive Guide*, p. 14.

different studies of medieval preaching,¹⁰¹ and appears in sermon collections in Middle English with the arrival on the scene of the *Ormulum*, the *Northern Homily Cycle* and the *South English Legendary*. Siegfried Wenzel, in his study of English verses in the *Fasciculus Morum*, lists at least nineteen sermon manuscripts containing a “significant number of English verses,” and makes reference to thirty-one other manuscripts of *materia praedicabilis* containing English verse.¹⁰² English verse in sermons appears not only as a mnemonic device, but also for translations of liturgical hymns, for summarizing an *exemplum*, for quoting popular proverbs, and for drawing structural divisions within sermons.¹⁰³ The existence of whole sermons in verse in such texts as the *South English Legendary* and the *Ormulum*, may suggest that some priests preached sermons completely in verse, but the prologue to the *South English Legendary* implies that it was envisioned as a pious response to the popularity of romances in English:

Men wilneþ muche to hure telle · of bataille of kynge
 And of kniȝtes þat hardy were · þat muchedel is lesynge
 Wo so wilneþ muche to hure · tales of suche þinge
 Hardi batailles he may hure · here þat nis no lesinge
 Of apostles & martirs · þat hardy kniȝtes were
 Þat studeuast were in bataille · & ne fleide noȝt for fere
 Þat soffrede þat luper men · al quik hare lymes totere¹⁰⁴

This series of sermons, arranged in their sequence from the *Sanctorale*, may have suited any number of uses, both in the pulpit or privately as a pious alternative to romantic verse.

¹⁰¹The standard works on this subject (and the ones to which I am principally indebted within this section) are G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1926), pp. 271-278; Siegfried Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its Middle English Poems* (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1978); H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 151-156.

¹⁰²Wenzel, *Verses*, pp. 90-93.

¹⁰³Wenzel, *Verses*, pp. 69-86.

¹⁰⁴*South English Legendary*, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, vol. i, *EETS* 235 (London, 1956), “Banna Sanctorum,” ll. 59-65.

It is difficult to tell for certain whether the verse sermons in any of these collections were preached *in toto*, or whether they were intended as a resource in the memorization or construction of sermons.¹⁰⁵ The beginning of the *Cursor Mundi*, a text not principally intended for preaching, likewise invites readers to turn from the morally dubious qualities of ancient heroes to the safer ground of biblical history.¹⁰⁶ The willingness of preachers to reach into the realm of popular song for a text to preach on (as in the thirteenth-century sermon in Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 1. 45, fols. 41v-42r, which takes as its text the song “Atte wrastlinge mi lemman iches/ and atte ston kasting I him for les”) attests to the ability of preachers to quote popular culture for their own purposes.

The *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum huius vite* clearly contain *materia praedicabilis* taken in the broader sense of reference material that could serve as the foundation, or as structural elaboration, for a homily. G.R. Owst, in his study of medieval preaching, quotes from a number of medieval sermon collections, and intimates that the *novissima* loom large among sermon topics.¹⁰⁷ H. Leith Spencer, in her more recent study of late medieval English preaching, refers to the frequent preaching of the *novissima* and the works of mercy as one example of how *pastoralia* entered into *de tempore* sermons:

“For example, the Second Sunday of Advent (‘Erunt signa in sole’, Luke 21:25) was by long custom an opportunity to remind the congregation of the rigours of the Day of Judgement. Since souls will be judged by their performance or neglect of the works of mercy, a rehearsal of their requirements was timely: it is, indeed, a commonplace of Advent preaching. The same subject was also appropriate on the Ninth Sunday after Trinity (‘Homo quidam erat dives’, the parable of the unjust steward, Luke 16:1), or on any of the many other occasions when Doomsday might

¹⁰⁵See Spencer, pp. 1-19 (especially p. 9) concerning the uncertainties which caution against overhasty assumptions regarding the use made of sermon collections and sermon manuscripts.

¹⁰⁶*Cursor Mundi*, vii parts, ed. Richard Morris *EETS os* 57 (1874), part i, ll. 1-270.

¹⁰⁷Owst, pp. 334-344.

come under review.”¹⁰⁸

Sermon 19 from Woodburn O. Ross’ edition, *Middle English Sermons from MS Royal 18 B. xxiii*,¹⁰⁹ is a sermon for the first Sunday in Advent with some matter concerning the last judgement. Sermon 40 in the same edition contains material which echoes passages from the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum*: the terror of the sight of devils (*Speculum*, ll. 1143-1154; Ross p. 240, ll. 26-36), the drinking of fire and brimstone in hell (*Speculum*, ll. 2173-2176d; Ross, p. 241, ll. 1-4), the covering of worms (*Speculum* ll. 385-390; Ross, p. 241, ll. 6-11). A latin quotation on the terror associated with the contemplation of the judgement from the same manuscript appears in a slightly different form in the *Speculum* (found in ll. 1576a-1584 of the *Speculum*, attributed to St. Jerome, and in Ross, p. 317, ll. 22-24 attributed to St. Bernard¹¹⁰). Owst cites several sermon manuscripts containing lists of the fifteen signs before doomsday (which get reduced to eight in the *Speculum*, ll. 1351-1372; ll. 1561-2022).¹¹¹ The quotation “homo nihil aliud est quam sperma fetidum,/ saccus stercorum, et esca vermium,” from the *Meditationes piissimae de cognitione humanae conditionis*¹¹² appears, not only in the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* (ll.

¹⁰⁸Spencer, p. 209.

¹⁰⁹*EETS* 209 (1940).

¹¹⁰The quotation in Ross’ edition is “Semper diem illum extremum considerans toto corpore contremesco,” whereas the text in the *Speculum* reads “Quociens diem illum considera toto corpore contremesco siue enim comedo siue bibo siue aliquis aliud facio semper videtur illa terribilis tuba sonare in auribus meis surgite mortui venite ad iudicium.”

¹¹¹Owst, p. 339, n. 1 cites Lincoln Cathedral Library A.6.2, fos. 11-13; London, British Library Harley 4196, fol. 4; London, British Library Arundel 506, fo. 29; London, British Library, Harley 3232, fol. 1v.

¹¹²Auctor incertus (Bernardus Claraevallensis?), “Meditationes piissimae de cognitione humanae conditionis”, *PL* vol. 184, col. 485-508. The quotation in *PL* reads “Nihil aliud est homo quam sperma fetidum, saccus stercorum, cibus uermium.” According to Rosemary Woolf, the text is “now known to be by William of Tournai”; see *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 76.

322 a-b), but in two sermon manuscripts listed by Owst.¹¹³ Summaries of sermons given in Spencer's study show parallels, at least in general topics, to some passages in the *Speculum*: a sermon in MS Bodley 806 retails the pains of hell¹¹⁴; a sermon in Bodleian MS Rawlinson C. 751 lists reasons why bodily death should be kept in mind, and it also lists reasons why death is to be dreaded. An account of the doom and ten pains of hell occur in the same sermon.¹¹⁵ The "Sermon of Dead Men" found in Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Eng 412 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C.751, makes reference to the last things as it proceeds to expand upon Ecclesiasticus 7:36: *Memorare novissima tua*.¹¹⁶ The sermon "In Die Sepulture Alicuius Mortui" in John Mirk's *Festial* contains a reflection on the corruption of a dead body which is reminiscent of the *Speculum*, ll. 375-398,¹¹⁷ and the Advent Sunday sermon contains an account of the doom, replete with fifteen signs of the doom which in some respects resemble the eight found in the *Speculum* ll. 1351-1372.¹¹⁸ Thomas Wimbleton's sermon *Redde rationem villicationis tue* likewise gives a systematic account of the signs before judgement (ll. 824-993 of the sermon¹¹⁹), relating them to the "seven seals" mentioned in Rev. 6. The nature of the judgement itself receives some attention in Wimbleton's sermon as well (ll.

¹¹³ London, British Library Harley 45, fols. 112v and 106v; Lincoln Cathedral Library A.6.2, fols. 31 and 121. Owst, p. 341, n.2.

¹¹⁴ Spencer, p. 350.

¹¹⁵ Spencer, pp. 354-358.

¹¹⁶ *Lollard Sermons*, ed. Gloria Cigman, EETS 294 (1989), pp. 207-240.

¹¹⁷ *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, ed. Theodor Erbe, EETS os 96 (London, 1905), p. 294, ll. 18-22; hereafter referred to as *Festial*.

¹¹⁸ *Mirk's Festial: A Collection of Homilies*, ed. Theodor Erbe, EETS os 96 (London, 1905), pp. 1-5.

¹¹⁹ All line references to this text come from the following edition: *Wimbleton's Sermon: Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue*, ed. Ione Kemp Knight (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Duquesne University Press, 1967).

994-1090), replete with a section on the body which Christ will have at the doom (ll. 1029-1035; *Speculum* ll. 1685-1758), and a few brief sentences on the punishment given for the deadly sins (ll. 1075-1090; *Speculum* ll. 1175-1184 — deadly sins; ll. 2050-2298 — pains of hell). The sermon for the Second Sunday of Advent in the *Northern Homily Cycle* also contains the fifteen signs before doomsday and an account of the kind of body Christ will have when he judges the damned (*Northern Homily Cycle*, ll. 785-878).¹²⁰ The frequent quotation of scripture in the *Speculum*, with accompanying short translations and explications, and the common currency of some of its contents within manuals and materials for sermons as described above, indicate that the *Speculum* would be a profitable reference for medieval preaching.

B. Use of the *Speculum huius vite* in Pastoral Instruction

Medieval classroom instruction, particularly at the grammar and song school level, incorporated elements of form and substance which correspond to the verse structure and the contents of the *Speculum*. Material of catechetical import within grammar school study has been mentioned already in the example drawn from the Register of John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter. Education in primary schools concentrated, first upon the alphabet, but then upon learning prayers, usually from a primer: “The primer was a religious miscellany containing the basic prayers and elements of the faith, and the more simple liturgical devotions for the laity to follow, such as the hours of the Virgin Mary. These primers often began with the alphabet, thus serving in effect as a textbook of elementary education, for there are several indications that the learning of the basic

¹²⁰*The Northern Homily Cycle*, ed. Saara Nevanlinna, *Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki* 38 (1972), 41(1973), 43 (1984).

prayers followed the mastery of the alphabet.”¹²¹ The *Floretus*, a basic grammar-school text in use by the beginning of the fourteenth century,¹²² illustrates how formal instruction in grammar schools (the next stage after education in the primer) imparted catechetical knowledge. Its six constituent parts treat of all the topics listed in the usual catechetical syllabus, and a few more: chapters one through five cover, in consecutive order, the Creed (ll. 21-58), the Ten Commandments (ll. 59-80), the Seven Deadly Sins (ll. 81-352), the Seven Sacraments (ll. 353-532), and the Virtues (ll. 533-1046).¹²³ The sixth chapter has much in common with the *Speculum*, since it describes the way to die well (ll. 1047-1094), the pains of hell (ll. 1095-1114), the pains of purgatory (ll. 1115-1123), and the joys of heaven (ll. 1124-1157). *Cartula* (otherwise known as *De contemptu mundi*, or, in its *Patrologia Latina* edition, *Carmen paraeneticum ad Rainaldum*), another of the series of texts included among the standard *Octo Auctores* used in grammar schools after about 1300¹²⁴, contains some thematic parallels to parts one to three of the *Speculum* on human nature, the world, and death. It contrasts the passing things of the temporal order with the eternal rewards (or punishments) of the next, advocating repentance now rather than at some time when it might be too late:

Nunc locus est flendi, locus est peccata luendi

¹²¹Nicholas Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1973), p. 62. Orme goes on to cite examples from school foundations which indicate the basic curriculum of such schools.

¹²²Orme, p. 104, n. 1.

¹²³see *Liber Floretus*, ed. Árpád Orbán, *Mittelaltersachen Jahrbuch: Beih.* 16 (Kastellaun/Hunsrück: Aloys Henn, 1979), pp. 56-58 for a table of contents. All line numbers to this poem are taken from this edition, which seems to be the only recent edition accessible. It has the distinct disadvantage of being transcribed from a single manuscript.

¹²⁴Besides the *Floretus* and *Cartula*, the other elements of the *Octo Auctores* were the *Liber Parabolarum*, the *Tobias* by Matthew of Vendôme, Aesop's *Fables*, the *Catonis Disticha*, the *Eclogue of Theodulus*, and one which will be discussed further on, the *Peniteas cito* of William de Montibus. Orme, p. 104, n. 1.

Postea gaudebit qui nunc sua crimina flebit:
Jam jam laetetur quia gaudia summa meretur.¹²⁵

The spirit of *contemptus mundi* which runs throughout the work resembles that which runs through the *Speculum*, and a rather stern evaluation of high fashion in the *Cartula* (*Resplendens vestis, quae moribus obstat honestis*) finds an (admittedly inexact) analogue in lines 716-822 of the *Speculum* which criticize trendy fashions. The *Peniteas cito*, a tract on confession (or, one should say, a collection of mnemonic verses on various aspects of penance¹²⁶) which, like *Cartula* and the *Liber Floretus*, formed part of the classroom reading for most students after the beginning of the fourteenth century, contains an emphasis upon penance (*Peniteas cito* ll. 124-134) and on the works of mercy (*Peniteas cito* ll. 136-147) which is echoed (albeit distantly) in the *Speculum* (ll. 1265-1286; ll. 1837-1866). The standard school texts thus incorporated much material analogous to matters discussed in the *Speculum* and the *Prick of Conscience*.

This is not to say that either the *Prick of Conscience* or the *Speculum* formed part of any formal classroom reading; the predominance of English in the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* makes it unlikely that either was used, as the *Floretus*, the *Peniteas cito*, and the *Cartula* were, within the grammar school curriculum. Yet the similarity to contemporary classroom texts, along with its verse format, suggest the use of the *Speculum* in teaching contexts beyond the confessional or the pulpit. Verse as a common mnemonic device in formal instruction appears not only in the preaching tags mentioned

¹²⁵Auctor incertus (Bernardus Claraevallensis?) "Carmen paraeneticum ad Rainaldum," *PL* 184 (1859) cols. 1307. This edition of the poem contains no line numbers, so references can only be made to column numbers.

¹²⁶See the edition of the *Peniteas cito* in Goering, pp. 107-138. See the introduction to the *Peniteas cito*, p. 108 for a discussion of how the work came to be seen as a single poem rather than as a series "of brief verse-units, only a few lines long, that served as the basis for a scholastic exposition."

earlier and the classroom texts mentioned above, but also in formal grammar texts like the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, and the *Grecismus* of Évrard of Béthune.¹²⁷ Major texts of theology also appeared in verse versions, such as the *De sacramentis christianae fidei* of Hugh of St. Victor.¹²⁸ The simple four-stress verse of the *Speculum* and its separable treatises would make it easy to assign digestible portions for study and memorization. The sing-song rhythm of the verse and its couplets would make it simple for illiterate students to memorize by chanted repetition. Like many other pastoral manuals, the *Speculum* shares much with formal classroom texts and methodology, which in turn would make it an excellent resource for individual or group teaching.

C. Use of the *Speculum* in Lay Private Reading

In his study of the wide-ranging use of pastoral manuals in the parish context, Gillespie mentions a developing taste “for handbooks among the laity, and the evidence of free movement of pastoral manuals between clergy and laity in the fifteenth century.”¹²⁹ He cites as examples of this the *Tractatus de modo confitendi* of the schoolmaster John Drury, *Peter Idley’s Instructions for his Son*, and the ambiguity of address in the vernacular version of the *Templum Domini*.¹³⁰ Another tradition of popular text, the *Ars moriendi*, found in “three hundred manuscripts in Latin and Western vernaculars,”¹³¹ provides a parallel for examining the possibility of a lay readership for the *Speculum*. The *Ars moriendi* had a somewhat different purpose than the *Speculum* — specifically, to

¹²⁷Orme, pp. 89, 90.

¹²⁸Wenzel, *Verses*, p. 61.

¹²⁹Gillespie, *Doctrina* p. 37.

¹³⁰Gillespie, *Doctrina*, pp. 37, 38.

¹³¹O’Connor, p. 1.

instruct one in the more practical elements of piety touching on one's last hours: "it is a complete and intelligible guide to the business of dying, a method to be learned while one is in good health and kept at one's fingers' ends for use in that all-important and inescapable hour."¹³² It contains descriptions intended to teach both what *moriens*, the dying individual, might do in order to secure a good death and safe passage to paradise and how his companions by the bedside might aid him. The *Speculum* concerns a stage of preparation more remote than that described in the *Ars moriendi*, yet the *Speculum*'s encouragement of virtue in order to avoid the punishments of hell and purgatory falls roughly within the topic of remote preparation for a good death. In blockbook illustrations from the *Ars*, the dying individual is usually portrayed as a layman, and the text's topic, proximate preparation for death, seems best suited for the private reading of any individual interested in learning this particular morbid art — naturally, well before the final day drew near.¹³³ Among the devotional items listed in the contents for Bodleian Library MS Digby 86 are two accounts of the fifteen signs of the doom (one in latin at fol. 48r-v, and one in English at fols. 120v-122v) which parallel the eight signs given in the *Speculum* (ll. 1351-1372; 1561-2022)¹³⁴. The *Speculum* shares material similar to that contained in the *Ars moriendi*, a manual directed to a lay readership, and in Digby 86, a manuscript with clear signs of lay ownership. Another item of evidence pointing to lay readership has been mentioned above, in the discussion concerning the marks of

¹³²O'Connor, p. 5.

¹³³For an example of the blockbook text with woodcuts, see Nigel Palmer (ed.), *Apokalypse - Ars moriendi - Biblia pauperum - Antichrist - Fabel vom kranken Löwen - Kalendarium und Planetenbücher - Historia David: Die lateinisch-deutschen Blockbücher des Berlin-Breslauer Sammelbandes* (München: Edition Helga Lengenfelder, 1992), microfiche 4.

¹³⁴*Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 86*, ed. Judith Tschann and M.B. Parkes, *EETS* ss 16 (1996), pp. xix (item 17) and xxv (item 41).

ownership in the *Speculum* manuscripts: this has already suggested that the owner of manuscript **D** was a layman. This does not, of course, prove that the lay owner did not give his possession over for some clerical or official use, perhaps to a private chaplain, but the *prima facie* evidence introduces at the very least the possibility that the lay owner of **D** made use of his possession for his own edification. The perennial and universal interest in Apocalyptic literature is attested in its appearance in late medieval texts written for lay reading, and in modern analogues mentioned in Bernard McGinn's *Antichrist* and *Visions of the End*, such as Hal Lindsey's *Late Great Planet Earth*.¹³⁵ If this generalization concerning popular interest in apocalyptic themes holds true, then the topics discussed in the *Speculum* would attract lay readers as well as clergy.

V. Conclusion

The *Speculum* finds its origin in pastoral legislation of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and although it holds in its verses just a few elements of the traditional catechetical curriculum described by that legislation, it nevertheless shares much, both in its form and in its contents, with the tradition of the vernacular pastoral manual in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Just as the prominent manuals within that tradition are only uneasily tied to a particular method of instruction, so the concerns and the format of the *Speculum* find expression in manuals and sermon literature from the same period. Far from being a rather rude and simplistic compilation in 2,722 lines of verse, the *Speculum* stands within a whole pastoral project and series of pastoral concerns. It stands closer to manuals which describe practical means of preparing for death,

¹³⁵See Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1994), pp. 258, 259 for the reference to Lindsey's book; see also the historical consideration of apocalyptic themes found in Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981) and Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

although it tends to concentrate less on death as something imminent, and more upon the last things as a prod to one's conscience. The poem's description of the signs before doomsday and the criteria for judgement appealed to an interest among the laity in books for private reading, the thirst for which has gone unabated from the middle ages to the popular apocalypticism of the present day. The *Speculum* stands, then, within a particular tradition of pastoral manuals; exactly how its particular contents took shape and developed remains to be seen in the following chapter.

Chapter Three: The Sources and Coherence of the *Speculum huius vite*

I. Introduction: The *Speculum* as a Version of the *Prick of Conscience*

The preceding chapter placed the *Speculum huius vite* within the tradition of pastoral manuals and works of religious instruction; the present chapter attempts to specify that conclusion further by describing the relationship between the *Speculum* and its sources. Much of what follows investigates how the *Speculum* shares in and differs from the *Prick of Conscience* tradition in order to determine how the redactor of the *Speculum* has altered his principal source. Only after such an examination can a hypothesis hope to express the possible reasons for the revisions which brought forth the *Speculum* as a work distinct from its parent text. One difficulty with the thesis that the *Speculum* does indeed represent a significant restructuring of the *Prick of Conscience* (significant enough, at the least, to merit a separate edition of the text) lies in the frequent identification of the two texts in previous scholarship¹ without much explanation about what distinguishes them. Since the text of the *Prick of Conscience* awaits an updated edition, and its enormous number of manuscripts make close textual study of all its recensions a herculean task, it is hardly surprising that little detailed work has appeared regarding the relation of a rather isolated version of the text to its original within such a huge family of manuscripts.

While most studies which include a review of manuscripts **B** and **D** mention that the *Speculum* abbreviates the *Prick of Conscience*, only the *Descriptive Guide* includes a brief elaboration upon the thematic differences between the *Speculum* and the *Prick*, and mentions the inclusion of material foreign to the *PC* tradition within the *Speculum*. It was

¹For example, Allen, pp. 386, 387, footnote 1; Raymo, p. 2269. In both these important texts, the *Speculum* is identified briefly and simply as an abbreviation of the *Prick of Conscience*. Stacy Waters' thesis, "*The Pricke of Conscience: the Southern Recension, Book V*" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1976), p. ii, identifies the *Speculum* as "an abridged Latin version" of the *Prick of Conscience*.

in the *Descriptive Guide* that Lewis and McIntosh first mentioned that the

alterations to the [*Prick of Conscience*] made in the *Speculum* follow certain clear patterns: a number of organizational devices have been either changed or left out; virtually all *exempla* and all fine distinctions are omitted; not only are the Latin quotations of the original retained, however, but they and the lines before and after are rendered more faithfully than any other parts of the original; and the emphasis throughout is on the audience's *doing* something — forsaking sin, thinking on God, or thanking God for his blessings — in place of the *understanding* of the great variety of elements in God's universe that leads to self-knowledge, which is the main theme of the original poem.²

Since the *Speculum* does, for the most part, consist of an abbreviation of material found in the *Prick of Conscience*, this chapter will first examine how the *Speculum* redactor has manipulated his main source, and what other sources he has used in addition to the *PC*. This first section will outline how the *Speculum* differs from the *Prick of Conscience* on the basis of content, with some necessarily limited reference to the sources of the larger interpolations of material unique to the two revisions³ which produced the *Speculum* (where these can be identified). Since this study deals primarily with the *Speculum*, the sources of the *Prick of Conscience*, studied elsewhere⁴, will not receive any significant treatment here, except insofar as they contribute information about the sources of the *Speculum*'s additions to the *Prick of Conscience* tradition. An assessment of the *Speculum*

²*Descriptive Guide*, p. 11.

³For the arguments concerning why there are at least two recensions of the *Prick of Conscience* involved in the production of the *Speculum*, see the chapter on the manuscript relations of the text.

⁴The two principal studies are Reinhold Köhler, 'Quellennachweise zu Richard Rolle's von Hampole Gedicht "*The Pricke of Conscience*"', *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, 6 (1865), 196-212, and Arnold Hahn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Richard Rolles englischen Schriften* (Dissertation, Halle a/S., 1900), pp. 16-40. The principal source for the fourth part of the *Prick of Conscience*, on Purgatory, is found in Robert J. Relihan, Jr., "A Critical Edition of the Anglo-Norman and Latin Versions of *Les Peines de Purgatorie*" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1978), pp. 71-86, which also includes a study of that text's relation to the *PC*. Useful summaries of some of the foregoing works appear in the *Descriptive Guide*, p. 3, and in Stacy Waters, "*The Pricke of Conscience*: the Southern Recension, Book V" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1976).

as a recension of the *Prick of Conscience* follows in the second part of the chapter, which will examine the major omissions in the recensions leading to the *Speculum*, followed by a detailed investigation of the fifth part of the text in order to illustrate any “clear patterns” in the revision of the text, and to adjudicate whether, in the light of the revisions made, the *Speculum* makes sense as an independent work.

To facilitate discussion of the differences between the *Speculum* and the *Prick of Conscience*, the following conventions will appear throughout the chapter. In order to simplify the discussion of each stage of redaction, and to make this discussion consistent with the study of manuscript relations, the symbol “ α ” will refer to readings shared by manuscripts **CHBD**, which were presumably in the archetype from which all four manuscripts descended; the symbol “ β ” will refer to readings shared by manuscripts **B** and **D**, but not found in manuscripts **C** or **H**, which presumably formed part of the text of the *Speculum*’s archetype. In order to save space and time, the siglum **Z** will be used for readings from Richard Morris’s edition, which, for reasons given in the chapter on manuscript relations, serves as a basis for comparison with the larger *Prick of Conscience* tradition.

The references to the general, shared structure of the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* which follow likewise require a brief explication. As Lewis and McIntosh have pointed out, both texts are divided clearly into seven parts, but the *Prick of Conscience* (not only **Z**, but MSS **C** and **H** as well) contains a clear division between its prologue (**Z**, ll. 1-369) and seven parts, which deal respectively with man (**Z**, ll. 370-931), the world (**Z**, ll. 932-1663), death (**Z**, ll. 1664-2689), purgatory (**Z**, ll. 2690-3965), the day of doom and its tokens (**Z**, ll. 3966-6420), the pains of hell (**Z**, ll. 6421-7531), and the joys of heaven (**Z**, ll. 7532-9624). The *Speculum* picks up this same division in the text, with one

major modification: the prologue is merged with the first part of the text. Lines 1-216 of the *Speculum* correspond to the prologue in the *Prick of Conscience*, and will be occasionally referred to as “the prologue,” despite the fact that this does not constitute a separate structural feature of the *Speculum*. Whenever any reference is made to a “part” of the text, then, it is made with the more specific meaning of a demarcated portion of the text following the divisions of the *Prick of Conscience* (i.e. “Part I” on man; “Part VI” on hell, etc.). Just to make these divisions clear in terms of line numbers, the following are the points of demarcation in the *Speculum*: the first “part” (excluding the lines parallel to the prologue in the *Prick of Conscience*) on man is found in ll. 217-580; part II in ll. 581-822; part III in ll. 823-1072; part IV in ll. 1073-1350; part V in ll. 1351-2022; part VI in ll. 2023-2328; part VII in ll. 2329-2722.

II. The Sources of the *Speculum*

The first and most obvious source for the *Speculum* is the *Prick of Conscience* tradition. The chapter on manuscript relations (Chapter Four below) explains why there are at least two recensions involved in the production of the *Speculum* from the *Prick*, so the present investigation will not be concerned primarily with establishing the existence of the two redactions, nor will it exhaustively describe the characteristics of each separate redaction, beyond giving some general indications of omissions and additions made to the text of the *PC*. As McIntosh and Lewis indicated, the texts of manuscripts **C** and **H** resemble the *Speculum* in more than just the Latin quotations where they agree against the text of Morris’s edition of the *Prick of Conscience* (**Z**). All four of the manuscript texts **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D**, are highly abbreviated, and all four also contain material which **Z** does not have. They even share 221 lines of English which have no parallel in **Z**, which can be broken down according to the parts of the text in which they appear:

I Part of the text	II Total number of English lines in Z	III Total number of English lines in C	IV Total number of English lines in H	V English lines common to C and H alone	VI Total number of English lines in <i>Speculum</i>	VII English lines in C , H , and <i>Speculum</i> but not in Z	VIII English lines unique to <i>Speculum</i>	IX Latin quotations in C and <i>Speculum</i> but not in Z	X Latin quotations in H and <i>Speculum</i> but not in Z
Prologue	358	252	136*	8	216	37	16	2	1*
I	500	201	206	2	364	6	196	0	0
II	682	235	234	6	242	22	66	1	1
III	944	275	272	14	250	41	21	4	4
IV	1253	409	401	26	278	28	48	2	2
V	2237	1013	1019	36	672	52	133	4	3
VI	1023	434	434	9	306	21	12	0	0
VII	2057	493	498	8	394	14	36	1	1
Total	9054	3312	3200	109	2722	221	528	14	12

*This low figure is affected by **H**'s imperfect beginning at l. 129; **H** likewise misses one extra Latin quotation in the Prologue for the same reason.

As can be seen in the chart above, **C** and **H** abbreviate the *PC* by 67% or two-thirds; if one discounts the lines unique to the *Speculum* (col. VIII) and the lines which **C**, **H**, and the *Speculum* share against the testimony of **Z** (col. VII), only 1973 lines of the *Speculum* owe their origin to the 9054 lines in the *PC*, which in turn means that the *Speculum* abbreviates the *PC* by 78%. Despite the radical abridgement found in all four texts, they maintain the basic seven-part structure of the *PC*, although the *Speculum*, as has already been mentioned, does not demarcate the end of the Prologue. The main source for the material in both α and β is the *Prick of Conscience*, but the text has been altered principally through abbreviation (mainly in revision α) and through the addition of material (indicated in column seven for α and column eight for β). The type and extent of the material omitted from the text of the *Prick* in the compilation of the *Speculum* will receive greater attention later, as part of the discussion concerning the coherence of the poem as a whole.

The sources for those lines peculiar to the *Speculum* which stand outside the *Prick*

of Conscience tradition require some further investigation, not only to determine where the new material came from, but also to see if any trends in the redactor's interests can be deduced from the kinds of additions made to the text. Although there are several smaller portions of additional text, generally of two to eight lines in length, added here and there throughout the poem⁵ (usually comprising new introductions to or translations of Latin quotations⁶, or seams closing a gap created by a series of omitted lines⁷), the larger additions to the text, especially those with additional (non-biblical) Latin quotations, are easier to trace for sources. The larger additions can be broken down into two categories: two additions which include material shared by **CHB** and **D** (*Speculum*, ll. 831-852; 1473-1508), and four others which are only found in the *Speculum* (ll. 403-580; 723-780; 1423-1454, 1457-1461; 1874-1884).

The largest and most significant of these additions is the first one which arises in the text (ll. 403-580), comprising a rehearsal of the ten commandments and an exhortation to humility directed principally toward the clergy. The treatise is grafted onto matter which comes at the end of the first section of the *Prick of Conscience*, which deals with human nature. One element that makes the transition from lines directly from the *Prick of Conscience* to the ten commandments commentary so fluid is the added emphasis in the preceding lines upon keeping God's commandments, as at ll. 127-132 of the *Speculum*:

C, H

Speculum

⁵ For example: *Speculum* ll. 127-134; 163-166; 1005-1008; 1011, 1012; 1111-1114; 2075, 2076; 2161, 2162; 2195, 2196; 2247-2250; 2440-2442.

⁶ Some examples can be seen in *Speculum* ll. 183, 184; 185, 186; 246-254; 259, 260; 271, 272; 389, 390; 645, 646; 685-690; 798-800; 1005-1008; 1111-1114.

⁷ Examples: *Speculum* ll. 211-216; 315-320; 715-718; 677, 678; 1001-1003.

For witoute þese no man may
 Come to þe blisse þat lasteþ ay,
 But *in* gret perile is þat man here
 Þat haþ wit and mynde and wil not lerne
 Rithwise werkes in goddes lawe
 Be þe whiche man shal be saue.

For witout þes, no mon may
 Come to þe blis þat lastis ay,
 Bot grete perell þat mon is inne
 Þat has wytt and mynd and wil not lern
 To know his God and do his wyll
 And his comaundmentis to fullfill.

Although one might make a case for the metrical necessity for the introduction of the word “commandments” here in order to accommodate the new (and more exact) rhyme, the word “lawes” might equally have provided the same necessary stress. This introduction of another reference to commandments picks up an earlier reference in the *Prick of Conscience*, ll. 63, 64: “Mans kynd es to folow Goddes wille/ And alle hys comandmentes to fulfille.” The additional series of lines on the decalogue also picks up an emphasis upon “laze” added in revision α and thus shared by **CHB** and **D**:

God gef us a laze to kepe,
 To wurshap hym wit all oure myzt (*Speculum* ll. 60, 61)

How ri3twis he is, and how trwe
 To al þoo þat his laze wil swe,
 And hold þe way þat he us laft
 And wit his awne lifyng us ta3t (*Speculum* ll. 103-106)

These two references to God’s law are joined by two more references added in revision β :

And þo3 þai o3t of Goddus laze here,
 Þai don þerafter neuer a dele
 (*Speculum* ll. 185, 186; no parallel in **CHZ**)

C 40v, (**H** 2v)
 But somme be so defouled wit synne
 þat here gostly wit is þynne
 þat þe understandyng may not wit hem
 dwell

Speculum, ll. 197-199
 Bot sum ben [so] defoulet wit synne,
 Þat hor gostly wytt is ful thynne,
 Þat Goddus laze may not wit hom dwell

These additional references to God’s law, coupled with the references to God’s commandments and the section on the obedience of unintelligent beings to God’s natural law (**Z**, ll. 47-64; *Speculum* ll. 19-36) already in the *Prick of Conscience* text, provide an

apt preparation for the treatise on the ten commandments in the *Speculum*. The ten commandments treatise, insofar as it involves the regulation of actions, also picks up on additional references to “werk(is),” later in the text (**CH** add references in *Speculum* ll. 108, 111, 1495; **BD** contain additional references in *Speculum* ll. 1323 and 1504) and to the seven corporal works of mercy (**C** and **H** add a reference at l. 1866 in the *Speculum*; a further reference appears at l. 1979 in **B** and **D**).

The treatise in *Spec.* ll. 403-580 is best described as “grafted” onto the preceding *Prick of Conscience* material because it is not demarcated by any special headings, and it attaches to the preceding text in mid-sentence:

Z, ll. 892-899

Bot wha-so wald in hert cast
 What he was, and sal be at þe last,
 And what he es, whyles he lyves here
 He suld fynd ful litel matere
 To mak ioy whilles he here duelles,
 Als a versifiour in metre þus telles:
Si quis sentiret, quo tendit, et unde veniret,
Nunquam gauderet, sed in omne tempore
fleret.

Speculum, ll 399-404

And þus quo so will behold and see,
 Be he neuer so rich, faire, and myzte,
 Þen he sal fynd litill matere
 To joy mych on þes uanites here,
 Bot euer haf most mynd and tho3t,
 To joy in Ihesu Crist þat hym bo3t.

Although these two quotations apparently share only one line of text, the preceding material in the *Speculum* does mirror, in its content, the matter found in the preceding lines of the *Prick of Conscience*. The matter which follows, however, is completely different, since the discourse on the ten commandments in the *Speculum* follows on from there and continues until the end of the first part of the text, leaving out the abrupt closing couplet found in manuscripts **C** and **H** in the same place, and the ending to part I given in **Z**, at ll. 897-931. The *Speculum*’s ten commandments treatise continues in the same style as the *Prick of Conscience* text, with four-stress lines in rhyming couplets.

The text of the treatise contains no extra-biblical Latin quotations, which makes it

difficult to identify possible sources for it; the multitude of ten commandments treatises, attested to in both vernacular⁸ and Latin⁹ works, makes it nigh impossible to discover any lines of dependency between the version in the *Speculum* and commentaries on the decalogue in other treatises. Vernacular ten commandment treatises found in such works as *Handlyng Synne*, *Speculum Christiani*, and Thoresby's catechetical treatise show no significant similarities to the treatise in the *Speculum*. Two of the Latin quotations, "Si uis ad uitam ingredi," (Matt. 19:17, quoted at *Speculum* l. 428a), and "Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis" (Ps. 118:21, quoted at *Speculum* l. 434a) are quoted in at least four ten commandments treatises which bear no further resemblance to the *Speculum*.¹⁰ The various treatments of the ten commandments given in the verse treatises of William de Montibus, and in such manuals as the *Oculus Sacerdotis* by William of Pagula, and Hugo of Strassburg's *Compendium Theologicae Veritatis*¹¹, and the brief commentary in

⁸See *IMEV*, 176, 214, 304, 744, 804, 1111, 1129, 1379, 1393, 1491, 1760, 2000, 2286, 2291, 2344, 2692, 2694, 3254, 3345, 3417, 3684, 3685, 3686, 3687, 3689, 3731; see also the abundance of miscellaneous manuals of religious instruction listed in Raymo, pp. 2492-2517. The following Oxford manuscripts listed in Raymo have been examined for this study: Laud misc. 463 (ff. 157r-v), Bodley 549 (f. 78r-v), Hatton 12 (ff. 211v-212r), Douce 141 (ff. 130r-139r).

⁹See *Incipits*, Subject Index, s.v. "Decalogue" and "Decem mandata". The following mss. from Oxford libraries, listed in *Incipits*, have been compared to the *Speculum* in this study: Laud misc. 12 (ff. 3r-66v); Rawl. C. 504 (ff. 50r-52r); Bodl. 857 (ff. 98r-109r); New College 51 (ff. 1-8); Laud misc. 409 (f. 63v); Bodl. 54 (ff. 50v-53v); Lat. th. e. 35 (f. 30r); Bodl. 848 (ff. 4r-5v); Bodl. 453 (ff. 57r-90r); Rawl. A. 384 (ff. 6r-11r); Univ. Coll. 36 (ff. 114r-116r); Rawl. C. 84 (11v-16v).

¹⁰The four treatises are: Robert Grosseteste, *De Decem Mandatis*, ed. Richard C. Dales and Edward B. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 5; Bonaventure, *De Decem Preceptis*, in *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi: Coll. S. Bonaventurae, 1891) vol. V, pp. 507-532; James Finch Royster, ed., "A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments," *Studies in Philology* 6 (1910), 10-35; Homilies, attributed to Nicholas of Aquevilla, OFM in Oxford Bodl. 857, ff. 98^r-109^v, but attributed to Johannes Waldeby in *Incipits*.

¹¹For the treatises of William de Montibus, see the works edited in Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care*, Studies and Texts 108 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992); for the text of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* used as a basis for comparison with the *Speculum*, see Oxford, Bodleian, MS Rawl. A. 370; see Hugo of Strassburg (sic), *Compendium theologiae veritatis*, B. Alberti magni (sic) cum scholijs vtilissimis per S. Caponi e Porrecta (Venice, 1588).

Pecham's legislation for Canterbury¹² share very little with the treatise found in the *Speculum*, beyond the quotation of the decalogue itself. The treatment of the decalogue found in Augustine of Hippo's *De fide et operibus* shares three scriptural quotations (Gal. 6:14, Matt. 19:17, and 1 Jn. 2:4, found at ll. 406a, 428a, and 452a-c respectively of the *Speculum*) with the additional matter in question, and has a brief "rehearsal" of the ten commandments, similar in brevity to the additional lines found in the *Speculum*¹³, but offers very few other points of convergence with the somewhat "anticlerical" material which follows the commandments in *Speculum* ll. 525-580. This latter series of lines which criticize the pride of religious and the clergy, does not share any parallels, beyond general sentiment, with criticisms of the clergy in the vernacular "Ten Commaundementis", the "Seven Deadly Sins", "Vita Sacerdotum," nor the "Of Mynystiris in the Chirche, an Exposition of Matthew xxiv," by followers of John Wyclif.¹⁴ The explications of the commandments themselves within the treatise (*Speculum* ll. 475-508) are nothing if not spare, consisting of bare translations of the commandments and little else. The commentary on the first commandment lacks the extensive criticism of the veneration of images usually found in Wycliffite treatises upon the decalogue¹⁵, and while

¹²CS II, ii, pp. 902, 903.

¹³See Augustine of Hippo, "De fide et operibus," *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 41, pp. 35-97. The quotations mentioned above can be found at pp. 53, 60, and 84 respectively.

¹⁴ The "Ten Commaundementis," the "Vita Sacerdotum", and the "Seven Deadly Sins" can be found in vol. iii of the *Select Works of John Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), pp. 82-92, 119-167, and 233-241, respectively. The tract "Of Mynystiris in the Chirche, an Exposition of Matthew xxiv" can be found in vol. ii of the same work, pp. 393-423. The *Tractatus de mandatis divinis*, ed. Johann Loserth and Frederic David Matthew, vol. xxxv of *Wyclif's Latin Works* (London: Wyclif Society, 1922) has not been consulted thoroughly in this study, beyond an examination of the introduction to the work.

¹⁵See *The Premature Reformation*, pp. 4, 484. Hudson states that such a "tirade against the contemporary honour to shrines, statues, or paintings of the saints . . . is perhaps the simplest way in which a commentary of heterodox origin may be recognized" (p. 4).

it lacks any mention of obedience to a spiritual father and mother which usually appears in orthodox treatises, neither does it contain any Wycliffite criticism of spiritual direction which is found in similar contexts.¹⁶ There is little beyond the verses concerning the need for clerical humility at the end of the treatise which might indicate any Wycliffite connections with the text; this criticism of the clergy and its implications for the readership of the *Speculum* will be discussed later with reference to other passages in the poem.

The second largest addition to material from the *Prick of Conscience* found in the *Speculum* consists of a series of lines on vanity in dress (*Speculum*, ll. 723-780), which focuses on current fashions for men and for women. The passage contains a fair amount of technical vocabulary, mentioning “pykys” on men’s shoes (l. 725), “hornus” on women’s heads (l. 745), “crokettus and hor colert kell” (curled hair and coloured veils, l. 753), “wide colers, and reuerset tailus,/ And brode fyletus and 3ol3e vailus” (wide collars, reversed tails, broad hairbands and yellow [gold?] veils ll. 755, 756). Although the *Middle English Dictionary* contains some examples of these terms from a variety of sources, no one source leaps out as bearing a particularly close relationship to the text in the *Speculum*, at least in terms of containing all or most of the vocabulary items listed above in close proximity to one another. The terms “croket” and “horns” appear with reference to hairstyles in *Handlyng Synne*, ll. 3204-3232, where “croket” appears to apply to a hairstyle peculiar to men rather than women.¹⁷ A Wycliffite treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins mentions various kinds of fashions which involve deforming the gifts God

¹⁶For this feature of orthodox and Wycliffite commentaries, see *Premature Reformation*, p. 167.

¹⁷Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, *EETS* os. vols. 119, 123.

gave the human form:

And in þis pride synnen wymmen in makyng of hor bosis, and generally in atyre of hor body; þat comynly, fro þo hede to þo fot, men deformen hor body by hor foule atyre, as pikes of schoone, and garlondes of hedes, and tatering of clothes, beren opun wittenesse.¹⁸

Although the passage above contains some similarities to the passage on men's piked shoes ("For now weron men . . . pykys [on] hor schon as piggus tailus/ Pat nothyng to þe fote awaylis" *Speculum*, ll. 721, 725, 726), there is precious little else that reveals any relationship between the two texts. References to "calles of silk and thread" and to "wommens hornes" appear in *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son* (Book II, ll. 1040 and 1794 respectively), but the late date of composition generally given for this work (ca. 1445-1450) places it beyond the bounds of possible source material,¹⁹ and very little else reveals further similarities between the two texts.

The specific vocabulary of this passage offers no insight about possible sources, but it could offer some information about a *terminus a quo* for the period when these additional lines were composed. References in literature to "horns" on women's heads appear in the *Azenbite of Inwyt* and *Handlyng Synne*,²⁰ and thus could be placed at almost any time within the fourteenth century, given the common composition dates given for these works (ca. 1303-1332 for *Handlyng Synne* and 1340 for the *Azenbite*).

Commentators on the history of clothing tend to date "horned" headdresses to a much

¹⁸"On the Seven Deadly Sins," *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. Thomas Arnold, vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), p. 124. Hereafter cited as *Deadly Sins*.

¹⁹See *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, ed. C. D'Evelyn, (London: Modern Languages Association, 1935). D'Evelyn's conjectural date of composition is given on p. 58.

²⁰See Dan Michel of Northgate, *Azenbite of Inwyt*, ed. Richard Morris and Pamela Gradon, *EETS* os 23 (1965), p. 176, l. 31 and *Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne"*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall *EETS* os 119 (1901) and 123 (1903), l. 3224. The dates given for composition of these works are taken from Raymo, pp. 2256 and 2258.

later period, usually sometime around the end of the fourteenth century.²¹ Piked shoes, sometimes called “crakou” shoes because of their Polish origins, first appear around the 1360s²²; the earliest reference to “crakou” shoes in the *MED* comes from 1362, whereas the first reference to “pyked shoes” is taken from the *B*-text of *Piers Plowman*, which is given the conjectural date of ca. 1378. The reference to “pyked shoes”, then, narrows the conjectural date for the composition of the *Speculum* to sometime between 1362 and about 1390, if the first use cited in the *MED* can serve as a reliable *terminus a quo*. All of the other fashion-specific vocabulary items, “tailus,” “colers,” and “fyletus,” are found in texts from the first quarter of the fourteenth century,²³ and so do not provide any information for establishing a date for the additional material, given that the earliest date usually provided for the composition of the *Prick of Conscience* is sometime around the middle of the fourteenth century.

All but one of the additional quotations in this portion of text derive from scripture. The single quotation attributed to Augustine at *Speculum* ll. 760a-b (*Non solum concupiscere, sed concupisci velle crimosum est*), which cannot be found in any of Augustine’s works, bears a strong resemblance to a statement in the Augustinian rule: “Oculi vestri, et si iacentur in aliquam feminarum, figantur in nemine. Neque enim, quando proceditis, feminas uidere prohibemini, sed adpetere, aut ab ipsis adpeti uelle,

²¹See Françoise Pipponier, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, tr. Perrine Mane (London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 79 — cf. the figure 29, p. 81. A much older study gives some facsimiles of funerary effigies from the first quarter of the fifteenth century which show prominently horned headdresses: F.W. Fairholt, *Costume in England: A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, 3rd ed., rev. H.A. Dillon (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885), pp. 168, 169; see also the figures and explanations on pp. 172, 173.

²²Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340-1365* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1980), p. 56, col. a.

²³*MED*, s.v. coler, tail(e, and filet.

criminosum est.”²⁴ The slight differences in word-order (the “Non solum . . . sed” clause in the *Speculum*) and in the major verb (“concupiscere” rather than “adpetere”) could indicate that the quotation comes either from a commentary upon the Rule, or from the memory of the redactor making the addition. The use of the quotation does, in any case, suggest some familiarity with the Rule, which may in turn identify the second redactor as a member of one of the religious communities who made use of the Augustinian Rule in the Middle Ages: the Augustinian Canons, the Augustinian friars, the Dominicans, and the Premonstratentions.

The additional material found in the *Speculum* at ll. 1423-1461 once again contains little but Scriptural quotations and translations. The passage from Adso of Montier-en-Der’s *De ortu et tempore Antichristi* quoted in ll. 4057-4060 of the *Prick of Conscience*²⁵ is altered in the *Speculum* to remove Adso’s commentary and restore the scriptural quotation from St. Paul’s second letter to the Thessalonians, 2:3b-4:

ZCH, ll. 4057-4072
*Quoniam nisi venerit dissencio primum
etc., id est, nisi prius dissenserint omnia
regna a Romane Imperio, que prius erant
subdita, non antea veniet antichristus.*

He says “bot if dissencion come,
þat es, bot-if alle landes hald agayn Rome,
Swa þat it be put til destruccion
Thurgh þam þat first was in subieccion,
Anticrist ar þat tyme sal noght com
þat sal com byfor þe day of dom.

Speculum, ll. 1420a-1432
**Quoniam nisi venerit discensio primum
et revelatus fuerit homo peccati, filius
perdicionis qui aduersatur et extollitur
supra omne quod dicitur Deus aut
quod colitur, ita ut in templo Dei sedeat
ostendens se tanquam ipse sit Deus.**
And sais, bot þer discension come,
þat is to say, at þe hed of Rome,
And þe son of perdicion þer be shewed,
Both to lered men, and to lewed.
For in prid of eul liffyng he shal be
Euer to Ihesu Crist contrarye,

²⁴Augustinus Hipponensis, *La Règle de Saint Augustin*, ed. Luc Verheijen (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1967), cap. IV, l. 4.

²⁵cf. Adso Deruensis, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1976), ll. 100-102, 110-112. Although several different accounts of the life of Antichrist are given in this volume, the *PC* quotation shows most similarity to the corresponding passage in Adso’s account.

Þat destrucion, als says haly writt,
 Sal be, bot þat tyme com noght yhitt.
 Fra þat tyme sal na land ne contré
 In subieccion of Rome langer be;
 Ne fra þan sal na man be bughsome,
 Ne obedient to þe kirk of Rome.

And tak on hym pouer *in* his doying
 As he were Lord and God of althyng,
 And shal sitt and shew him þere
 In þe tempul as þoze God he were,
 And lause and bynd both fre and bond,
 For few or non dar azayn him stond.

The fuller quotation from the Vulgate in the *Speculum* governs the substance of the translation and explication provided in *Speculum* ll. 1423-1432, which replaces the translation of Adso found in **Z** (ll. 4063-4072), and in the texts of **C** and **H**. It is interesting to note that, in the text of **D**, the corrector's hand adds Adso's text to the quotation, thus restoring the original *Prick of Conscience* reading, but the following *Speculum* translation remains untouched. The *Speculum* text following the translation of this quotation continues in the same vein, describing how the ministers of the Antichrist will deceive many lords by feigning holiness and how they shall be a burden upon the people because of their "costlew lifyng" (l. 1445). This is followed by two more Scriptural verses (Jer. 23:32 and Matt. 24:5, at ll. 1448a-d and 1458a-b respectively) accompanied by two more translations (ll. 1449-1454, 1457-1461). Wedged in between these two quotations, lines 1455 and 1456 ("And [made] þe folke `to' do hym honour/ And say, 'here is 3oure sayueoure'") are taken from **Z**, ll. 4223, 4224, almost as though the redactor, searching for something to join the two additions to the text, plucked out a choice couplet among the *Prick of Conscience* verses for the purpose. One further distinction between the passages quoted above in redactions α and β arises in the interpretation of the passage: redaction α identifies it as presaging the destruction of Rome, immediately before Antichrist appears, whereas the *Speculum* emphasizes that the Antichrist will first appear in Rome, sitting in "the temple," acting in the capacity of God, binding and loosing both freemen and bondsmen. The references in the *Speculum* to a

figure sitting in “the temple” in Rome, and to the power of loosing and binding, suggest papal prerogatives, and so the *Speculum* could refer to a papal Antichrist, a theme which does not belong exclusively to the Reformation.²⁶ The *Speculum* lacks ll. 4063-4236 of the *Prick* (also represented in manuscripts **C** and **H**²⁷) which immediately follow the translation quoted above, lines which contain, significantly, an account of the general disobedience toward “þe kirk of Rome” (**Z**, l. 4072). If the *Speculum* comes from the late fourteenth century (as the manuscript evidence in chapter one attests), and if the passage in question refers to the Roman papacy, the absence of any reference to an anti-pope in such an interpretive schema could in turn indicate that the text was written prior to Clement VII’s election in 1378 as a rival pope to Urban VI. As the evidence for this “papal Antichrist” interpretation is vague, such musings about the date of the text must remain mere speculations.

The scriptural quotations with their translations found in ll. 1423-1461 could be examples of marginal material brought into the body of the text. Derek Britton, in a review of the *Descriptive Guide*, points out that three sets of Latin quotations in Morris’s edition (ll. 1145-1151; 6635-6636; and 6794-6795) “are certainly spurious, having perhaps been drawn into the body of the text from marginal annotations in an exemplar.”²⁸ The existence of marginal scriptural quotations in manuscripts **B** and **D** (opposite ll. 1347,

²⁶See Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 69-72 for a list of representative examples of the papal Antichrist tradition in the late middle ages. Hereafter referred to as Emmerson.

²⁷The following lines of **Z** appear in **C** and **H**: 4063-4072; 4101-4104; 4108, 4109; 4113, 4114; 4117-4122; 4125-4128; 4133-4142; 4149-4152; 4155-4164; 4166, 4167; 4169-4186; 4197-4200; 4202-4210; 4221, 4222.

²⁸*Medium Aevum* 53 (1984), p. 316.

1349, 1504, and 1946) allows for just such a possibility.²⁹ Two Latin quotations from **Z** (“Mors depascet eos”, **Z**, ll. 6711, 6712, *Speculum*, margin opposite l. 2162; and “Caput aspidum suggest” **Z**, ll. 6770, 6771, *Speculum*, margin opposite ll. 2179, 2180) become marginal quotations in **B** and **D**, illustrating the opposite kind of movement from the text to the margin, which in turn points to some free movement between text and margin within the redactions leading to the *Speculum*. Lines 1845-1848b in the *Speculum* may provide an example of marginal comments incorporated into the text:

Quen ich mon shal zeld acont certayn,
 Of ich ydil word spokon in vayn,
De omni verbo ocioso reddent rationem in die iudicii
 And of ich ydil tho3t, more and lesse,
 Pat consentis to synn and wyckednes:
Usque ad minimam cogitacionem. Quoniam cogitacio hominis confitebitur [tibi].

The second of the two Latin quotations is an interpolated continuation of the first quotation, which has no analogue in **Z**. Assuming that readers felt free to add their own apposite scriptural references in the margin, as the marginal scriptural quotations found in the *Speculum* suggest, then redactors might have incorporated these quotations into the text, and then have provided a translation for them. This would accord well with the practical use of the text: teachers and preachers usually do not hesitate to add marginal commentary or supporting quotations to an established text, if the additional commentary

²⁹The quotations are, in order of occurrence (followed by scriptural citation): “Spes impiorum peribit” (opposite l. 1347; Prov. 10:28); “Fides sine operibus mortua est” (opposite l. 1349; James 2:20); “Operibus credite” (opposite l. 1504; John 10:38); “Qui non credunt iam iudicati sunt” (opposite l. 1946; John 3:18, although the number of the subject and verbs is singular in the Gospel). An additional marginal comment opposite line 135, “Paulus: ignorancia non excusat”, is not biblical (no such quotation can be found in any of St. Paul’s writings), but may refer to Rom. 1:19b-20: “Deus enim illis manifestavit invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur sempiterna quoque eius virtus et divinitas ut sint inexcusabiles.” The biblical verse fits with the topic developed in the verses opposite — the status and judgement of non-Christians at the doom. The mistaken attribution might alternatively arise from a scribe’s misattribution of a commentator’s comments to the apostle; Peter Lombard’s *Collectanea in epistolas Pauli* (PL 192) contains just such a comment about ignorance (see 281B).

aids them in their teaching or preaching, as the tradition of glossed texts bears out. An alternative to this conjecture involves less intentionality on the part of the redactor: perhaps some marginal scriptural quotations appeared so close to the text that scribes mistook them for insertions. Lines like *Speculum* ll. 1423-1461 could arise from editorial attempts to provide such scribal mistakes with English translations and linking material. Latin quotations without corresponding translations occur, albeit rarely, in the *Speculum*³⁰, and are, perhaps, *quondam* marginal comments inserted into the text, but untranslated by a redactor.

The one remaining passage of additional material unique to revision β is found at *Speculum* ll. 1874-1884, and can be easily identified on the basis of its Latin quotations. The lines derive from Isidore of Seville's *Sententiae*, and refer to the account that will be rendered by priests and ministers for their care of the flock entrusted to them. Whilst the *Prick of Conscience* does have a short section on the reckoning priests will give of their subjects (*Z*, ll. 5882-5893), these lines are expanded with Isidore's statement about the need for priests to teach properly those under their care. The clergy come in for criticism not only here, but elsewhere in the verses added to the *Speculum*:

3e, men of religion þat most shuld be me⟨ke⟩,
 To be wurschippet as goddus þai tak no hede,
 For þai aske reuerens and knelyng,
 As heȝly as emperour or kyng;
 And bysshoppus and clerkis of oþer degre,
 Coueten al wurshippus as men may se.
 Bot be Cristus techyng and his liffyng here,
 Clerkis shuld not lyf on þis manere. (*Speculum*, ll. 525-532)

The lines which follow the above quotation (ll. 533-580) commend poverty and meekness

³⁰Quotations unique to the *Speculum* without any English translation can be found at ll. 108a; 150a, 1324a-c. Quotations also found in *Z* without English translation (at least in the *Speculum*) can be found at *Speculum* ll. 184a; 1912a.

as virtues appropriate to clergy and religious. The last item in a list of things helpful to souls in purgatory, namely, the mass, appears in completely recast verses which contain an implicit criticism of the way priests celebrate mass (emphasis added): “And masse of **gode** prestis in **holy** liffyng/ Thurze grace may be grete helpyng” (*Speculum* ll. 1291, 1292). This relation between the purity of the priest and the efficacy of the sacrament for those in purgatory contradicts the emphasis, found in yet another passage of the *Pricke* (ll. 3656-3761) which the *Speculum* does not contain, placed upon the efficacy of the eucharist *ex opere operato*, regardless of the priest’s moral state. The belief that priestly moral character influences the efficacy of the sacrament, apparent in the lines from the *Speculum* quoted above, comes close to one of the Wycliffite propositions condemned by the Blackfriars Council of 1382: “Si episcopus vel sacerdos exsistat in peccato mortali: non ordinat, non consecrat, non conficit, non baptizat.”³¹ The position as expressed in the *Speculum*, however, could express the orthodox belief that, while the moral state of the priest did not affect the validity of the sacrament, it did affect the accidental qualities of the mass, diminishing the magnitude of the grace bestowed through the sacrament, as a statement added in the first redaction implies: “Bot of [god] prestus masse syngyng,/ To saulus in purgatory is most helpyng/ If þai lif here in holynes,/ As holy doctours bers witnes” (*Speculum*, ll. 1335-1338). The clerical emphasis of these additions to the text could indicate the intended audience, particularly if Archbishop Arundel’s 1409 legislation against preaching about the sins of the clergy to the laity³² reflects

³¹ *Fasciculi zizaniorum*, p. 278.

³² “Volumus et mandamus, ut praedicator verbi Dei veniens juxta formam superius annotatam, in praedicando clero sive populo, secundum materiam subjectam se honeste habeat, spargendo semen secundum convenientiam subjecti auditorii; clero praesertim praedicans de vitiis pullulantibus inter eos, et laicis de peccatis inter eos communiter usitatis, et non e contra.” *Concilia*, iii. p. 316, statute III.

controversies that were “in the air” with regard to the topics of sermons at the time of the *Speculum*’s composition (sometime before the writing of MS **D** at the end of the fourteenth century). It has been said that “many of the principles” of Arundel’s legislation “were not new, but in the past had not been everywhere observed”³³; some of the statements condemned by the Blackfriars Council twenty years earlier indicate a concern over the Wycliffite criticism of the clergy, a concern which parallels (or perhaps prompts) Arundel’s legislation. The condemnation of statements supporting unlicensed preaching and criticizing the mendicant orders illustrates, at the very least, a concern for controlling preaching and an attempt to protect clergy from reproach.³⁴ The representatives of the mendicant orders, in a letter to John of Gaunt, express some alarm that Nicholas Hereford and others “in the very ears of both clergy and laity proclaim and assert publicly that we and our four Orders were the cause of the entire people’s rebellion against the King in the past year [i.e. the Peasants’ Revolt].”³⁵ Although such alarm proceeds from self-interest, it does serve to show a certain concern about public and popular criticism of religious and the clergy in the period prior to Arundel’s legislation. The criticism of clerical sins against humility, poverty, and pastoral responsibility which appear in the *Speculum*, along with the possible reference to a “papal Antichrist” in *Speculum* ll. 1421-1461, could thus indicate that the poem (or at the very least, those portions of text containing such sentiments) strayed onto rather suspect ground.

³³Spencer, p 175. See also the discussion of *ad statum* preaching, particularly preaching to the clerical estate, on pp. 65-66 of the same work.

³⁴*Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, determinations XIV, XV (on unlicensed preaching) and XX-XXIV (on the mendicants), pp. 280-282.

³⁵ “Epistola vel litera quatuor ordinum claustralium Oxoniae ad Dominum Johannem ducem Lancastriae . . .”, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 293. “. . . in ipsis auribus cleri simul et populi clament et asserant publice nos et quatuor ordines nostros causam fuisse totius rebellionis populi, anno ultimo contra dominum nostrum regem, . . .”

The question of the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the poem deserves some attention here before moving on. The treatment of the ten commandments, as has already been mentioned, bears few marks which could distinguish it as a Wycliffite treatise. The criticism of the clergy found in ll. 553-580 and 1874-1884 does not necessarily indicate heterodox origins, since criticisms of clerical pride and negligence of pastoral duty can be found in orthodox writings as well. Other passages in the *Speculum*, specifically those which deal with auricular confession, the Virgin Mary, post-biblical saints, and prayers for the dead, would sit rather uncomfortably in a Wycliffite treatise. The *Speculum* contains, for example, some orthodox sentiments regarding the Virgin Mary and the cult of the saints taken largely from the *Prick of Conscience* with few alterations:

<þ>e sext joi þe faire syȝt shal be
 Of aungels and sayntis in dyuers degre,

 And oure Lady þer shall þai see,
 Next God hymself ho shal be,
 For Ihesu Crist soke of hir brest,
 Þerfore skylle is ho sitt hym next.
 Ho is so faire, and 'þer' so briȝt,
 Þat hir fairenes passes ich monus siȝt.
 A ful grete joy þen may hit be,
 To won in blisse wit þat lady.

 Þai shal se in heuon also
 Patriarkis and prophetus, and oper moo:
 Apostels, martirs, and confessours,
 And holy armetis, and doctours
 Þat holy writt taȝt, quere euer þai were,
 To lered and lewed, hor wittus to clere.
 Þai shal se holy virgynus þore,
 Þat here lufd God euer more,
 Þat lyfd euer more in chastyte,
 And after, for Goddus luf, ded wold be.
 Þai shal se þer in joy and blis,
 Al þat God has choson for his.
 (*Speculum*, ll. 2539, 2540, 2565-2572, 2587-2598; cf. *Z* ll. 8681-8734)

The focus upon the Virgin Mary, the use of a hierarchical scheme which highlights

traditional categories of saints (the Virgin Mary mentioned first, then patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, hermits, and doctors) presents a fairly standard orthodox view of the heavenly order among members of the Church Triumphant. The inclusion of such a hierarchy, which necessarily includes (at least among the confessors, hermits, doctors, and virgin-martyrs) post-biblical saints, runs counter to Wyclif's own doubts regarding non-biblical saints.³⁶

Wyclif objected to auricular confession on the grounds that only God can forgive sin, and only God can know a penitent's state of contrition. God, therefore, is the only one with both the proper power and knowledge necessary to grant absolution; the priest took no active part, but only declared an absolution properly given by God. In cases where the penitent was undeserving of absolution, the priest's words were null and void.³⁷ The inclusion in the *Speculum* of two references to sacramental confession (added in redaction α) thus makes the poem an improbable Wycliffite text:

Wake and be redy ay,
 Queþer he come be nyȝt or day,
 Þat deth þe fynde quen he comus in,
 Clene shryuen of al þi synne. (*Speculum*, ll. 939-942)

Þerfore I rede, quyl we ben on lyfe,
 Forsake oure syn, and clene us shrife,
 Þat we may, quen we hethon fare,
 Be broȝt to joy from al oure care. (*Speculum*, ll. 2307-2310)

Whilst the verb "shrife" can refer to confession of sin in general, it most often refers, as it probably does in both these passages, to sacramental confession.³⁸

³⁶*Premature Reformation*, p. 302, 311, 312.

³⁷*Premature Reformation*, p. 294.

³⁸Cf. s.v. "shriven v.", sense 1 in *MED*; most of the examples cited relate, either directly or obliquely, to auricular (i.e. sacramental) confession.

The *Speculum* also attributes an efficacy to prayers for the dead which a Wycliffite would have difficulty accepting:

Bot 3et, þo3e a mon *in* dedly synne be,
 He may help þe saulus *in* purgatore
 If [he] do truly almus dede
 To pore febell men þat haf nede.
 For almus dede *praies* specially
 For þe saulus *in* purgatory,
 If almus ded be truly doo
 To blynd and lome þat haf ned þerto. (*Speculum*, ll. 1325-1332)

The above passage not only runs counter to Wycliffite denials of the efficacy of prayers for the dead³⁹, but it goes one step further in asserting that someone in a state of mortal sin could yet perform some meritorious work which could relieve the souls in purgatory. If sinfulness, for a Wycliffite, nullified temporal dominion⁴⁰, it surely would remove any form of spiritual merit as well. Since the passage just quoted appears only in **B** and **D**, redaction β thus adds at least one portion of text which is hard to reconcile with a Wycliffite soteriology and ecclesiology. The *Speculum* also carries over some verses from the *Prick of Conscience* supportive of prayers for the dead, in a quotation from the office of lauds for the dead (“Tuam, Deus, deposcimus pietatem,/ ut eis tribuere digneris lucidas et quietas manciones.”⁴¹ **Z** ll. 9131, 9132; *Speculum* 2620a,b), and in the lines

³⁹“The English [Wycliffite] sermon cycle accepts the existence of purgatory, though it rejects the usefulness of prayers for the dead The starting-point for the denial [of purgatory among the Wycliffites] was probably the denial of the usefulness of prayers for the dead, in conjunction with the rejection of indulgences that often purported to impinge upon the soul’s fate in purgatory” *Premature Reformation*, pp. 309, 310.

⁴⁰See the sixteenth “erroneous” statement in the Blackfriars Council in *Fasciculi zizaniorum*, p. 280: “Item asserere quod nullus est dominus civilis, nullus est episcopus, nullus est preaelatus, dum est in peccato mortali.” For an account of Wyclif’s views on civil dominion, see pp. 359-362 of *Premature Reformation*.

⁴¹Although this quotation does not appear in the Sarum breviary or in the Sarum missal, it has been located in Lauds for the Dead in the Antiphonary for Cambrai Cathedral, found in Cambrai Médiathèque Municipale, MS C 38 (40), f. 359v; see the *Cantus* webpage of Gregorian Chant at <http://www.publish.uwo.ca/~cantus01/search.html>. The liturgical structure and contents of the prayer make it clear that the quotation is from a liturgical source and that it requires some belief in the efficacy of prayer

previously mentioned (*Speculum* ll. 1291, 1292; 1335-1338) which support the celebration of masses on behalf of souls in purgatory. The omission, in the first redaction, of several lines about the efficacy of mass and prayers for those who died young (*Z*, ll. 3784-3939), only serves to set in relief this retention of material concerning the efficacy of prayers for the dead: the redactors do not appear to have scruples about the practice of praying for the dead in itself, since they have not expunged all references regarding the practice, despite feeling free to omit similar material elsewhere.

One further *Speculum* theme with possible Wycliffite connections is the “papal Antichrist” passage examined earlier in *Speculum* ll. 1421-1461. The Wycliffites in the later fourteenth century held views about the papal schism which painted the Roman claimant as Antichrist:

By 1388 Wycliffites regarded Urban [VI] as as *filius Antichristi*, and the following year the *Opus Arduum* declared that Urban VI was the one *in quo omnia misteria antichristi fuerunt impleta*. Many of the Wycliffite texts, like *De Papa*, saw the Schism as the fulfilment of various biblical prophecies concerning the last things.⁴²

The Wycliffite view is uncharacteristic of the official English support which the Roman papacy enjoyed throughout the schism, and may thus provide one criterion for discerning whether a text contains Wycliffite views. The interpretation of ll. 1423-1461 in this light presents some difficulties, however, because it never explicitly identifies a pope with Antichrist, beyond the reference to “loosing and binding” in l. 1431, and the reference to the “shewing” of the Antichrist in Rome after some “discension” there (ll. 1421-1424). If the text were composed sometime in the last half of the fourteenth century, as the

for the dead.

⁴²*Premature Reformation*, p. 334, quoting Henry Knighton, *Chronicon*, ed. J.R. Lumby, RS, (1889-95), vol. ii, 260 and the *Opus Arduum* in Brno University Library MS Mk 28, f. 176r.

manuscript evidence indicates, then the event most likely to fit the description of disturbances in Rome in ll. 1421-1424 would be the beginning of the Great Western Schism (1378-1417); the Roman pontiffs during that time were Urban VI (pope 1378-1389) and Boniface IX (pope 1389-1404). The absence of any reference to a papal rival at Avignon would suggest that the text was written shortly after the Schism had begun, before the different papal obediences had become entrenched. If these references do indeed point to the papacy, then the text would share the Wycliffite view of the papacy during the Great Schism; the arguments in favour of such an interpretation, however, rest uneasily upon a series of suppositions. It seems that, on this count at least, the “Wycliffism” of the text must remain unproven. Other indications, such as the promotion of post-Biblical saints and prayers for those in Purgatory, favour the view that the *Speculum* is an orthodox text, although it shares some pastoral concerns with the Wycliffite point of view (e.g. clerical poverty, clerical humility, and pastoral responsibility).

The remaining two larger interpolations of text (*Speculum*, ll. 831-852; 1473-1508) combine verses added in redaction α with verses from redaction β , and thus serve as a good transition from a discussion of sources to the question of the coherence of the *Speculum*, since the question of coherence rests upon the relative success with which the poem has been fitted together. Lines 831 to 852 are, in the main, added in redaction α , with lines 843 to 850 inserted in redaction β , as the following parallel comparison makes evident:

C (and H)
 For alle þat haven lyf mote it þole and
 fele
 And þat shulde euery man knowe wele

Speculum, ll. 829-852
 For all þat here lif has mot hit fele,
 And þat [shuld] euery mon know wele.

And make hum euere redy and 3are
 Out of þis world for to fare
 For þer is no man þat can sey
 Whanne shal be his endyng day
 For God haþ ordeyned as his wille was
 þe terme þat no man may passe
 And Job seiþ to al mankynde
 As in holy writen [*sic*] we fynde
**Constituisti terminos eius qui preteriri
 non poterat**
 God he seiþ terme haþ set
 þe whiche may no man ben ouerflet
 And whanne deþ shal to hym come
 þanne is a day of dredfull dome
 For þanne shal he haue knowyng clere
 How he his lyf haþ spended here
 And knowe þene how it is
 Wheþer he shal to payne or blisse

Anoper deþ also is to drede
 As holy men in bokes rede
 And as seiþ þe prophete in his boke
 To men þat þeron wole loke
Mors peccatorum pessima
 þe worste deþ þat comeþ man witynne
 Is þe deþ of dedly synne.

And make hym euer rede and 3are
 Out of þis word for to fare.
 For þer is noo mon þat con say
 Quen shal be his endyng day,
 For God has ordand as his wil was,
 þe terme þat no mon may passe:
**Constituisti terminos eius qui preteriri
 non [poterunt].**

And quen deth shall to hym come,
 þen is a day of dredfull dome,
 For þen shal he haf knawyng clere,
 How he his lyf has spendid here
 And know þen how hyt <is>
 Queþer he shal to payne or blysse,
 And þerfore we shal euer redy be,
 For quen deth comes we may not fle.
 And if we endon in dedly synne,
 We go to payne þat neuer shal blynne;
 þus synne is þe worst deth þat may fall,
 For hit sles body and saule wit all,
 As God sais be his holy prophet,
 In holy writt as we rede:

Mors peccatorum pessima.
 þe worst deth þat comus mon witin
 Is þe deth of dedly synne,

The conjunction “and” grafts the additional lines onto the preceding sentence from the *Prick of Conscience*, illustrating a device often seen in the *Speculum*⁴³ of adding lines to the *PC* in mid-sentence by means of a conjunction. The device is not as obtrusive as one might think, because of the frequent use of polysyndeton in the *Prick of Conscience* and

⁴³See further examples at *Speculum* ll. 50, 259, 389, 715, 1053, 1111, 1423, 1469, 1681, 2003, 2319, 2415, 2565. Another frequent device is to join the additional lines to the preceding discourse with the conjunction “for” (ostensibly providing a reason for the preceding statement): see *Speculum* ll. 127, 271, 955, 1001, 1169, 1281, 1315, 1807.

in the *Speculum*. The spacing of the lines above emphasizes that the literal translation of the first Latin quotation drops out of the *Speculum*, and a series of new introductory lines is inserted before the second quotation. These new lines not only point to the “death of deadly sin,” mentioned in the corresponding introductory lines of the α -text, but they also provide a reason why the death of deadly sin is the worst form of death.

The last larger interpolation of lines exhibits the same tendency in redaction β toward expansion and elaboration of particular points made in the text of α . The second redaction interweaves its own additions with lines added in α :

CH	<i>Speculum</i> , ll. 1473-1508
þat Cristes lawe shal moche fordo	And Cristis lagh þai shal mych undo,
Wit newe settes þat þey wole aferme	Wit new settus þat þai wyl afferme þerto,
þerto	
And wit newe lawes þat hemself wole	And wit sermonus þat þai wyl orden and
sette	sett,
Dispise þe lawes of holy writte	Dyspyse þe laze of holy wrytt.
	And of þis, Sayn Petir warnet us as we
	rede
	In his pistell, [if] we take hede:
	Fuerunt vero et pseudo prophete in
	populo sicut et in uobis erunt magistri
	mendaces qui [introducent] sectas
	perdicionis.
	And sais, þer were ymong þe pepul in
	dyuers degre,
	Fals prophetus, as ymong 3ow sal be,
	And orden new custom in ich a lond,
And ordeyne newe customes in uche a	
londe	
þat unneþe wile ony man be Cristes lawe	þat vnneth wyl any be Goddus laze stond.
stonde	
þey wollen shewen outward gret pouerte	þai wyl schew outwart grete pouerte,
And euere of þe peple gaderynge be	And euer of þe pepul geduryng be,
And of men þei wole here lyflode seche	And of men hor liflode sech,
Wit lesynges and wit peynted speche	Wit leysyngus and wit payntyd speche.
þei wolen be conseilours of lordes of	þai sal be conseilours of lordus of londus,
londes	
And drawe moche peple into here hondes	And draze mych pepul into hor hondus,
And queynte clopyngge haue of mennes	
fyndyngge	

with the additional scriptural quotations found in most of the other major interpolations in the text indicates a redactor interested, not only in Scriptural support for his text, but also in getting Scriptural references right.

While much remains ambiguous about the sources for the major interpolations found in the *Speculum*, the manner in which these additions were made, and the kind of additions made, indicate an attempt to amplify the text with a certain respect for the continuity of the argument. The additions are made usually mid-sentence by means of conjunctions, and they generally amplify existing themes within the exposition of the preceding text. The addition of some biblical quotations without any corresponding English translation, along with the portions of added verses which pertain mainly to the clergy, may indicate that the text was intended as a catechetical tool for clerical hands, rather than for lay instruction. This particular hypothesis runs up against the obstacle presented by the most striking additional feature of the *Speculum*, the treatise on the ten commandments. If, however, the text were a teaching tool out of which a parish priest would draw support, not only for his lessons to his flock, but also for his own spiritual life, then the text might have been plundered for solitary treasures, rather than completely rehearsed. The texts contained in the *Speculum* could represent an individual reworking of the *Prick of Conscience* for a specific pastoral situation, along with the added “anticlerical” portions, intended for the cleric’s self-correction and meditation. Rather than journeying much further into the fields of speculation, however, it might be best to examine just how the text does or does not “hang together” as a work, investigating both the nature and methods of abbreviation in the text, and then a representative part of the seven parts of the *Speculum*. Such an investigation may throw further light on the intended readership and use of the poem.

III. The Coherence of the *Speculum*

A. The Nature and Method of the Abbreviations Made to the Text of the *Prick of Conscience* in the *Speculum*

The *Descriptive Guide* mentions that both texts **C** and **H** are “highly condensed,” and that the *Speculum* “was probably made from the version contained in MV 11 [i.e. **C**] and 14 [i.e. **H**].”⁴⁴ Since the version in **C** and **H** reduces the text of the Main Version of the *Prick of Conscience* by about two-thirds, whereas the texts of the *Speculum* reduce the readings of **C** and **H** only by another ten percent, one of the most prominent features of revision α is its concision in comparison with the text of **Z**. Evaluating the quality of the material absent from the first revision involves somewhat delicate judgements: only a consistency in the kind of material absent from the text would indicate that its absence is the result of a carefully planned revision, rather than of a haphazard attempt to shorten the text, or (extremely unlikely, seeing as there is no consistent size to the omissions) of the destruction of particular folios from an exemplar. The evidence gleaned from a line-by-line comparison among all five texts involved in this study (**Z**, **C**, **H**, **B**, **D**) confirms that the first revision lacks two general categories of material from the *Prick of Conscience*: repetitious material which elaborates upon a point made earlier or later in the text; and material which introduces distinctions (usually more abstract or complex) into the text. The greater part, not only of the abbreviation of the text in its transformation into the *Speculum*, but also of its simplification, occurs within the first revision of the text, but the general trends of abbreviation continue in the second revision.

The first revision lacks a number of the metaphors and exempla found in **Z**. A

⁴⁴*Descriptive Guide*, pp. 44 and 47 for **C** and **H** respectively.

quotation from Innocent III's *De contemptu mundi* (**CHZ** ll. 636-643; *Speculum* ll. 362a-i) which compares plant life and human life, and finds the latter lacking, introduces a lengthy series of similar metaphors (**Z** ll. 660-851) which disappear in the first revision. Graphic descriptions in **Z** (ll. 860-869, 888-931) of the worms and vermin which consume dead bodies are reduced to the barest mention in the first revision (**CHZ**, ll. 852-859, 876-887; *Speculum*, ll. 375-390). A metaphor for the pain of death, likening it to having the roots of a tree, which had grown throughout one's body, pulled out (**Z**, ll. 1896-1925) disappears from a discourse on how death shall be common to all (*Speculum* ll. 913-918). The second reason for fearing death (the sight of devils) is described in detail in **Z** (ll. 2216-2351), with exempla describing how Saints Martin and Bernard saw devils on their deathbeds, and reasons given for the horrible appearance of devils. This is reduced, in α , to six lines (**CHZ** ll. 2352-2355, 2368, 2369; *Speculum* ll. 1013-1016) which assert that the sight of one's sins is more horrible than the sight of fiends. A series of metaphors in **Z** for the state of a soul during the dispute between the angels and the devils over its fate (the soul is like a man in the middle of the sea during a storm; the soul is in fear of its life as a felon fears the justice of a king; **Z**, ll. 2930-2961) is pared down in α to the barest mention of the disputation (**Z**, ll. 2924-2929; *Speculum*, ll. 1159-1164). A series of similes (**Z**, ll. 3178-3201) which develop the point that purgatory's fires burn more fiercely depending on the severity of the venial sin committed (**Z**, ll. 3164-3177; *Speculum* ll. 1224a-1234), does not appear in the first revision. It would appear that, in his attempt to abbreviate the text, the initial redactor found elements of literary colouring such as similes, metaphors, and *exempla* expendable and extraneous to his purpose.

A number of repetitions or elaborations likewise find no place in the first revision.

A discussion of the seasons as an example of the instability of the world (**Z** ll. 1414-1449) disappears in α , and a list which retails examples of mutability and transience taken from human life (“Now er men wele, now er men wa,/Now es a man frende, now es he faa . . .” **Z**, ll. 1451-1473) is reduced to a much shorter list in α (*Speculum*, ll. 707-714). Notes on the change in manners (**Z**, ll. 1517-1531) and the vanity of dress (**Z**, ll. 1536-1543; 1560-1567) drop out in revision α , leaving behind only four lines which make reference simply to the pursuit of vanity in the rapid change in fashion (**Z**, ll. 1532-1535; *Speculum* 719-722). An elaboration upon how the virtuous have no reason to fear death (**Z**, ll. 2162-2215) which follows the quotation “*Non potest male mori qui bene vixit, et vix bene moritur qui male vixit*” (**Z** ll. 2160, 2161; *Speculum* ll. 1008a,b) does not appear in α .

Jesus’ review of all the land of his birth and earthly life when he descends to the vale of Josephat, along with the bulk of the description of his appearance to the righteous at that time (**Z**, ll. 5181-5252), are also passed over. A series of “*dies irae*” statements (**Z**, ll. 6089-6143; “þe grete day of delyveraunce,/ þe day of wreke and of vengeaunce”), which draw out the implications of God’s wrath on the day of judgement, along with the account of the separation of the righteous and the damned, cannot be found in α . A discourse on the fate of the earth and the other heavenly bodies after judgement (**Z**, ll. 6340-6420) also drops out. The first recension lacks the vivid descriptions of what devils shall do to the wicked, and what the wicked shall do to one another in hell (**Z**, ll. 7358-7431), found in the sixth book. A litany of the joys to be found in heaven (**Z**, ll. 7805-7888), a discourse on the New Jerusalem (**Z**, ll. 8793-9006; 9017-9124; 9154-9231), the miseries of the damned (**Z**, ll. 9353-9474), and the concluding recapitulation of the whole work (**Z**, ll. 9475-9490; 9521-9622), are the largest portions of the seventh book which the first recension leaves out. Every part of the work, then, was radically abridged in the first

revision, often leaving the “bare bones” of argumentation, simple statements or quotations to stand in place of what was a far more capacious treatment in the text of **Z**. Portions of text which added literary ornamentation to the text, such as *exempla* and poetic repetitions, tend to be left behind.

The abridgement found in the first revision of the text not only omits material extraneous to the bare arguments of **Z**, but also removes a number of more complex distinctions in arguments, and some speculative matter, thus simplifying the poem as a whole. Part two, on the world, lacks distinctions between the spiritual and earthly world (**Z**, ll. 956-1057), some metaphors for the world, and a brief discourse on Fortune’s wheel (**Z**, ll. 1158-1288) taken from Bartholomaeus Anglicus’s *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.⁴⁵ Another portion taken from Bartholomaeus’s work, an elaborate description of the heavenly bodies, and a description of where heaven fits in (**Z** ll. 7631-7768), likewise disappears from α . The first revision omits the distinction between the three kinds of death (bodily, spiritual, and eternal) found in **Z**, ll. 1680-1693, and a discourse describing endless death and two reasons why death is dreadful (**Z**, ll. 1740-1817). An explanation of how the disembodied soul can feel diseases, attached to the fourth pain in Purgatory (that the soul will be afflicted with diseases) in **Z**, ll. 3006-3087, along with a further explanation regarding how purgatorial fire harms the soul more than earthly fire harms the body (**Z**, ll. 3102-3123), likewise have no analogues in the first revision. The first revision does not include a further discourse on whether purgatory fire is bodily or spiritual, on how purgatory fire destroys all sin, and on how the length of stay in purgatory is determined by the amount and severity of sin remaining (**Z** ll. 3128-3151). Four ways

⁴⁵*De Proprietatibus Rerum*, Liber viii, c. 1. (Cologne: 1470), fol. 73ff. (Bodleian shelfmark: Auct. 6 Q inf. 2.13).

Antichrist will turn people to his law (**Z** ll. 4247-4352) do not get repeated in α . The fifth book of **Z** (ll. 4861-4898) elaborates upon the four ways in which the consuming fire at the day of doom will burn, and the three periods of this fire (ll. 4907-4920; 4923-4924; 4929-4956) — all of which drop out of the first revision. The general account of gifts of nature, grace, and fortune (**Z** ll. 5894-5921) at the day of doom is left out of the description of the doom in α as well.

With such large swathes of material omitted from the first revision, and the inherent ambiguity in assessing a compiler's motivation in editing out lines from a text, it is sometimes difficult to judge whether particular matter has been omitted for doctrinal reasons. An elaboration regarding how the prayers of the sinful, and mass, even when celebrated by a sinful priest, may be efficacious in aiding the souls in purgatory (**Z**, ll. 3656-3761), is replaced by four rather different lines particular to the first revision: "Bot of [god]prestus masse syngyng/ To saulus in purgatory is most helpyng/ If þai lif here in holynes,/ As holy doctours bere witnes" (*Speculum*, ll. 1335-1338). The whole final portion of the fourth book in **Z**, which explains why a requiem mass is sung for a young child, and which also explains the reasons for and purpose of papal indulgences (**Z**, ll. 3784-3939), does not appear in α . Less biblically-based (more fanciful?) portions of the discourse on Antichrist, on how he shall turn the people from Christ's law (**Z** ll. 4247-4262; 4265-4330; 4333-4352), on his tyranny, the release of devils, and the mark of Antichrist (ll. 4357-4414), on the mission of Enoch and Elijah (ll. 4431-4502), and on the death of Antichrist (ll. 4587-4620), are passed over in revision α . An anti-Pelagian argument, setting out reasons why individuals cannot place confidence in their good deeds as a guarantee of salvation (**Z** ll. 2458-2577) does not get repeated in α , perhaps in order to avoid the perception that works lack merit. A major section of the part of the poem on

purgatory in **Z** (ll. 3354-3511) which distinguishes between and identifies mortal and venial sins, drops out from the treatment of purgatory in α , thus removing some of the subtlety of the original; one could well ask whether this was done in order to avoid encouraging a kind of indifference to venial sin. Some of the first revision's omissions of distinctions and speculative argument might also be motivated by a concern not to confuse or mislead the reader (or listener) in doctrinal matters — yet any speculations regarding editorial motivations for omission must be approached rather gingerly and tentatively.

Similar kinds of excisions are made in the second revision, although they tend to be shorter omissions, and fewer in number. Most of the omissions involve matter which introduces distinctions into the text: a brief distinction between the microcosm and macrocosm (**ZCH** ll. 1480, 1481, 1504-1516), a list of the four places within hell (**ZCH** ll. 2806-2828), lines describing why purgatory and hell are in the middle of the earth and a distinction between special and common purgatory (**ZCH** ll. 2854-2887), a list of actions which aid souls in Purgatory (**ZCH** ll. 3572-3629), a list of the fifteen signs before the doom (**ZCH** ll. 4717-4823), and lines describing the location of heaven (**ZCH** ll. 7567-7630) are all omitted in revision β . Most assessments of the reasons why material does not appear in α or in β must remain suppositious and vague, mainly because no positive evidence exists to form the basis for a judgement. It is often difficult to attribute intentions to omissions in the text, but these omissions do make an objective impact on its discourse: with fewer distinctions, fewer speculations (if one will forgive the pun on the title), the poem becomes simpler and more general. The bones of the argumentation, already bared extensively in the first redaction, become even barer in the second.

B. **Characteristics of Abbreviation and Addition in Redaction β : Part V on the Doom**

None of the available information about these omissions of material in the *Speculum* answers the more important questions regarding the *Speculum* as a work: is the *Speculum* merely a digest of a compilation, a medieval precursor to modern-day “best of” compilations in literature and music? Or does the *Speculum* stand as an independent work (albeit heavily indebted to the *Prick of Conscience*), which manifests concerns similar to, but slightly different from those of its major source? Since an exhaustive catalogue of additions and alterations to the text in redactions α and β might hide the major redactive features in a vast forest of tedious detail, a deeper examination of the representative developments within one part of the text will help to assess the coherence and “success” (if that is the correct term to use) of the *Speculum* as a work in its own right. The fifth part of the *Speculum*, on the day of doom, presents a particularly good field for such a study, since it is the longest part of the poem and contains within it examples of both structural rearrangement of the text, and the addition of new material. It also happens to be one of the most abbreviated portions of the text, which will help to illustrate how the remaining elements from the *Prick of Conscience* are brought together relatively seamlessly, allowing the text to enjoy a degree of coherence independent of its major source.

One caveat to this proposal deserves mention before proceeding further. The *Prick of Conscience* is, in the main, a compilation of excerpts and quotations from Latin and French texts, translated into verse and pieced together within seven topical parts.⁴⁶

⁴⁶See Reinhold Köhler, ‘Quellennachweise zu Richard Rolle’s von Hampole Gedicht “*The Pricke of Conscience*”, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, 6 (1865), 196-212, and Arnold Hahn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Richard Rolles englischen Schriften* (Dissertation, Halle a/S., 1900), pp. 16-40.

As a compilation, it already contains discrete units of material placed within a larger structural template: the coherence of the whole depends on whether the discrete units have been harmoniously fit within the sevenfold “template”, and whether the parts of that template together contribute to the fulfillment of the common purpose of the text expressed in the prologue (*Z*, ll. 205-234; *Spec.* ll. 161-176). The existence of a fairly exhaustive table of contents given in one manuscript and reproduced at the beginning of Morris’s edition only serves to illustrate that the text has a highly ordered structure with discrete divisions within the seven major parts of the text. As with quiltwork or mosaic, a judgement about the coherence of the whole design in any such work of compilation depends largely on general impressions of the whole work. Since the source text for the *Speculum* is itself something of a patchwork, it will make any adjudication of the coherence of the *Speculum* in contradistinction to that of the *Prick* somewhat difficult.

The outset of Part V illustrates at least three major kinds of redactive activity going on in the *Speculum*: omission of material, structural rearrangement of organizational elements, and additions to the text. Many of the parts of the *Speculum* follow the *Prick* and develop the body of each treatise according to an introductory organizational list, as in the third part on death, where four reasons for dreading death are first listed (*Speculum* ll. 869-882), then individually explicated (*Speculum* ll. 883-1072), or in the fourth part, on purgatory, where the pains of purgatory are listed (*Spec.* ll. 1073-1136), then described in detail (ll. 1137-1264); a similar schema occurs in parts six and seven, which describe the pains of hell and the joys of heaven respectively. The fifth part

and Stacy Waters, “*The Pricke of Conscience*: the Southern Recension, Book V” (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1976), p. i. Robert J. Relihan’s doctoral thesis, “A Critical Edition of the Anglo-Norman and Latin Versions of *Les Peines de Purgatorie*”, (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1978), pp. 71-86, argues convincingly that the *Prick of Conscience* makes use of the Anglo-Norman version of the *Les Peines de Purgatorie*, attributed to Robert Grosseteste.

is no exception: a list of the tokens of the doom at the beginning of the section (*Spec.* ll. 1351-1372) provides the outline for the elaborations given later on in the body of the text (*Spec.* ll. 1561-2022). One major structural divergence between the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* occurs at this early stage, and is followed through later in the treatment of the day of doom. The list heading this portion of the text in **Z** gives ten signs of the doom, a list which is reduced to nine signs in revision α , and to eight in revision β . Despite the absence of the first sign (“Þe first es of the wonderful takens sere,/ Þat byfor þat day sal be shewed here.” **Z**, ll. 3972, 3973), some of the explanatory matter corresponding to this sign, which covers the life of Antichrist and the traditional fifteen signs before doomsday (**Z**, ll. 3992-4817)⁴⁷, appears in the *Speculum* (ll. 1374-1560), albeit highly abbreviated — many of the extra-biblical details of Antichrist’s life and the fifteen signs of the doom do not appear in the *Speculum*. The resulting account introduces something completely unexpected, and therefore somewhat jarring, into this part of the text, since the reader has come to expect a correspondence between initial lists and content in preceding sections of the poem. Although redaction α leaves out the ninth sign in the *Prick of Conscience* (“Þe neghend, of al men aftir þai haf wrought,/ Of wilk som sal be demed, and som noght” **Z**, ll. 3988, 3989), it does contain, once again, some of the explanatory content attached to that sign (*Speculum*, ll. 1917-1954). In this case the omission of the item from the initial list does not create as much havoc in the text of the *Speculum* as the unexpected introduction of the life of Antichrist, since the material remaining from the detailed discourse on the ninth token can be easily added to the last sign, which concerns the final judgement itself.

⁴⁷See William Heist, *The Fifteen Signs Before Doomsday* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State College Press, 1952), pp. 131-133, 140 for information about the sources of the account of the fifteen signs found in the *Prick of Conscience*.

This apparent unconcern for co-ordinating an initial organizational list with contents occurs again in Part V of the text, and once more in Part VI, on the pains of Hell.

The detailed explication of the sixth token of the doom, “þe Accusers mony/ þat the synnful mon shal accuse nomly” (*Speculum*, ll. 1367, 1368), includes a list stating that there will be fifteen groups of people who will stand as accusers on the day of doom.

While the corresponding list in the *Prick of Conscience* (Z, ll. 5424-5439) does indeed contain fifteen items, the list becomes somewhat reduced in redaction α:

Z, ll. 5424-5439

For I fynd written, als yhe sal here,
Fiften maneres of accusours sere,
þat sal accuse in þat dredeful day
þe synful men, þat es to say,
Conscience þat es called Ynwitt,
And þair awen syns, and hali writt,
Gods creatures þat we ken,
Devels and aungels and haythen men,
And martirs þat has feled tourments sere,
And othir þat wranges has tholed here.
Mens sons and doghters unchastyede,
Pover men þat þair nede myght noght
hyde,
Suggettes, and benefices receyved here.
þe tourmentes of Cristes passioun sere;
And God hym-self and alle þe trinite,
Alle þere ogayne þe synful sal be.

Speculum, ll. 1761-1774

For we fynd writon, as 3e shal here,
[Fiftene] maners of accusers þere
þat shal accuse, at þat dredful day,
þe synful men, þat is to say:
Consciens, þat is clepet þe inwytt,
And hor awne synnus, and holy writt;
All Goddus creaturs þat we con tell,
Holy men, and aungils, and fendus of hell;
Marturs þat hard *turmentus* did fele,
And mennus awne childer vnchastist here;
Pore men þat grete nede hade;
Sugettus and meyne, þat þai [mysladd];
þe passion of Crist, hard to see,
All þes azayne synnful mon shal be.

The list found in C and H is substantially the same as that found in the *Speculum* above.

No account of the disparity between the numerical title of the list and its paucity of elements appears in the texts of B, D, C, or H. The elaboration of this list in the *Speculum* only reduces the number of accusers even more, mentioning only the following ones (all line numbers are from the *Speculum*): conscience (ll. 1775-1786); Scripture (ll. 1787-1790); the whole world (ll. 1791-1796); fiends (ll. 1797-1802); angels (ll. 1803, 1804); unchastized children (ll. 1805-1816); poor men (ll. 1817-1822); subjects and

domestics (ll. 1823-1836). Although the disparity between organizational list and contents in this instance occurs within the first redaction, as the agreement of **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** testifies, it seems odd that it was not corrected in the second redaction.

The treatment of the pains of hell in Part VI provides an additional example of a disparity between organizational list and contents carried over from the first into the second redaction. The pains are somewhat altered in the two redactions of the sixth part, and once again the alterations are due mainly to lacunae in the text of the first redaction. The fourteen general pains of hell listed in the *Prick of Conscience* become twelve in the *Speculum* with the removal of the ninth pain (beating by devils, **Z**, ll. 5571, 5572) and the fourteenth pain (despair, **Z**, ll. 6581, 6582). The enumeration of the list in the *Speculum* is altered in order to accommodate the new arrangement (unlike the list of the “fifteen” accusers in Part V); but, once again, the discourse which follows fails to match the initial list in all its particulars: the eleventh pain in the *Speculum*’s list (shame and compunction for sin, ll. 2105, 2106) simply drops out of the discourse, which skips from the tenth pain to the twelfth (see *Speculum*, ll. 2277-2291). The discourse on the twelfth pain of hell bears no resemblance to the twelfth pain mentioned in the list; rather than describing the “bandus of fire brennyng/ þat shal euer haf in hell wonyng,” (*Speculum*, ll. 2707, 2708) it describes a pain which stands over and above the fourteen others within the *Prick of Conscience* as the pain “mast principalle,” (**Z**, l. 7299) the loss of the sight of God:

þe twelft payne is fa`i`lyng of sy3t,
 Of God almy3ty, þat is so bri3t.
 þat al þe paynus þat in hell may be
 Shuld lityll grefe, if men `my3t` hym se,
 For as þe sy3t of God in heuon is
 Most joy of al, both more and lesse,
 So þe failyng of þat sy3t
 Is most payne þat in hell is dy3t. (*Speculum*, ll. 2291-2298)

This inconsistency between the list of the pains and the subsequent discourse originates in the first redaction, since manuscripts **C** and **H** do not possess any analogues to **Z**, ll. 7127-7190, 7195-7305, which contain the explications of the twelfth to the fourteenth pain in the *Prick of Conscience*. The list of pains in **C** and **H** matches the list given in **Z**, ll. 6557-6582, but the detailed descriptions of individual pains which come afterward in **C** and **H** stop inexplicably after the eleventh pain, “hot tears” (roughly equivalent to **Z**, ll. 7115-7126), and then resume with lines similar to **Z** ll. 7298-7311, which deal with the loss of the sight of God. The loss of the ninth and fourteenth pains in the *Speculum* could reflect a redactor’s recognition of the inconsistency in α between the list at the head of Part VI and the discourse afterward; in an attempt to correct this inconsistency, the ninth pain (beating by devils) was then incorporated into the eighth pain (gnawing of beasts), and the fourteenth pain dropped in order to accommodate the twelve pains which remained if the “mast principalle” pain (loss of the sight of God) was incorporated in the list as a general pain of hell.

From the examples studied above, it would appear that the second redactor entertained no strict regard for consistency in his adjustments to the organizational structure of his source text, yet the revisions detailed above for the treatise on hell illustrate that he was willing, at least on one occasion, to make adjustments in order to introduce greater consistency into the α -text he had received, despite the fact that the initial list and the contents of the part on Hell still do not quite match. The disregard for consistency between prefatory lists and content in the *Speculum* could point to any of a number of redactional concerns: perhaps the redactor was less concerned with organizational detail than he was with providing some content, no matter what; perhaps he recognized the chaotic state of the α -text with respect to organizational elements, and

only intervened in cases where he thought he could marshal the remaining material to advantage. In any event, inconsistencies like the ones present in Parts V and VI mar the text in terms of mnemonics: if the lists examined above were presented as a kind of “set text” for memorization, with their respective discourses as an explanation of the set text, then the inconsistencies would become obvious both to teacher and pupil. The “fifteen accusers at the day of doom” list in Part V could not serve as a useful mnemonic list unless it were memorized separately from the subsequent “explanations” or under a completely different heading. These inconsistencies in the text tend to limit its effectiveness as a teaching aid, and could thus narrow the field for understanding its possible uses.

Despite these structural examples of inconsistency, where the text of the *Speculum* does not cohere as well as it might (mainly due, in the examples given above, to an inadequate inheritance from the first redaction), the major omissions of lines, already mentioned briefly in the preceding section of this chapter, are executed with some regard for continuity and flow in the general argument of the text. In revising the text, the second redactor takes advantage of a structural feature in the *Prick of Conscience* tradition, namely the “compartmentalized” nature of the text as a compilation. Each part of the text is divided into subsections according to organizational lists at the head of each part mentioned earlier. In many cases, the individual explications for each item on the initial list are usually comprised of “separable” authoritative quotations, exempla, or elaborations. The second redactor takes advantage of the distinctive topical breaks in the text handed down to him, so that when he omits larger sequences of lines, he tends to omit one or more of these “separable” series of lines. The missing treatise on the fifteen signs of doomsday (**Z**, ll. 4681-4823, reduced to seventy-six lines in **C** and **H**) is the most

notable omission of this kind in Part V of the *Speculum*:

CH

Ariseþ þat ben dede and come
 To þe grete dredful dome.
 But 3ut mo tokenes men mo we telle
 As Crist hymself seiþ in a gosselle:
Et erunt signa in sole et luna et stellas
 [CH then carry 72 lines roughly equivalent
 to Z, ll. 4717-4729; 4738-4741; 4745-
 4746; 4748-4755; 4758-4767; 4770-4773;
 4776, 4777; 4780-4785; 4788-4791; 4794,
 4795; 4798-4813; 4816-4823]
 And þus telleþ Ierom þe tokenes fiftene
 As he in þe bok of hebrewes hap sene
 But for alle þe tokenes þat man may telle
 or se
 3ut shal þere non certayn be
 What tyme Crist shal come to þe dome
 So sodeynly he shal to hit come
 As hit bifelle on Noe and Lotes dayes
 So shal he come as þe gospel seyes:
Et sicut factum est in diebus Noe . . .

Speculum, ll. 1583-1585a

Arise, 3e þat ben dede, and come
 To þe last dredfull dome.

And Crist sais hit shal cum so sodanly,
 þat no mon shal knaw quen hit shal be:
Sic factum est in diebus Noe . . .

The whole treatment of the fifteen signs simply drops out of the second redaction, and the redactor then seizes on a few apposite phrases (“Crist . . . shal cum so sodanly”) from the lines at the end of the treatise, sewing them onto the preceding lines with a conjunction in order to rework the introduction to the following quotation. Another treatise, concerning the purgation of the world by fire, drops out of the second redaction in a similar fashion:

CH

Whanne þat Loth 3ede out of Sodome
 And sodeynly goddes vengeaunce come
 Hit reyned fuyr from heuene and
 brymstone
 And slow and brenned man and womman
 þus sodeynly shal falle þe day of dome
 Whanne Goddes sone fro heuene to erþe
 come
 In þe ende of þe world bifore þe dome
 An hidous fuyr shal sodeynly come
 þat al þe world holly shal forbrenne
 And no þyng spare þat is þereynne

Speculum, ll. 1599-1606

And þat day þat Loth went out of Sodome,
 Sodanly Goddus venjaunce come:
 Hit rayned [fire fro heuon] and bronston,

 And slo3e and brend mon and womon.
 þus sodanle sal fal þe dome,
 Quen Goddus son [of heuen] to erth shal shal
 come.

For as God bifore his furste comynge
 Wolde here fordo witoute lettynge
 Al þe world þorw water onlye
 Aȝen þe fuyr of lecherye
 Riȝt aȝen his laaste comynge
 he shal of þe world make endynge
 þorw fuyr þat shal brennyng be
 Aȝen þe coldnesse of charite
 And of þis we haue auctorite
 In holy writ as clerkes konne se
Ignis ante ipsum precedet et inflammabit
in circuitu omnes inimicos eius
 The fuyr bifore hym shal go and brenne
 Þe world and al þat is þerinne
 Whanne alle men ben brent as I haue told
 Þenne shulle þey uprise alle boþe ȝong
 and old
 Out of here graues in soule and body
 And come to þe dom alle holly
 Oure lord ȝut þenne or he come down
 To deme men in his propre persoun

Bot ȝet þen, or Crist come don
 To deme men in his propur persoun,

Once again, a whole swathe of lines which belong to a specific “distinction” within the text of the *Prick of Conscience* drops out, whilst the first line after the omission is modified slightly (once again, with a conjunction) in order to link the remaining text. The remaining reference to purging fire before the doom, seen at the beginning of the quotation above, serves the redactor as sufficiently explicating the item listed in the opening organizational list (“þe first [token] is of fire þat shall brenne/ þe world, and al þat is þerin.” *Speculum*, ll. 1357, 1358). The lines quoted above thus also illustrate a parallel to developments in the first redaction: the second redaction, like the first, omits passages containing finer distinctions or elaborations upon points made earlier in the text, with the net effect being the simplification of the text as a whole. Another example of a textual simplification through omission appears in lines describing just how Christ shall appear in the vale of Josephat for the final judgement:

CH

In þat place he shal his dom halde

þat þe vale of Josaphat is calde
Where alle men shal togedere mete
As God seiþ þorugh Joele þe prophete
**Congregabo omnes gentes et adducam
eas in valle Josaphat**

He seiþ alle men I shal togedere calle
And into þe vale of Josaphat lede hem
alle

**Consurgent et ascendent omnes gentes
in valle Josaphat quia ibi sedebo et
iudicabo omnes gentes**

For þere he seith he shal sitte namely
To deme alle men as þey ben worpy
Crist wole noȝt fully þanne doun come
On erþe to sitte and holde his dome
But on þe eyr he shal sitte
On a white cloude as seiþ holy writte
**Ecce apparebit Dominus super nubem
candidam**

Lo oure Lord shal shewe hym þanne
On a whit cloude and sitte as
domesmanne

Euene aboue þe vale namely
Where alle men shulle sen his body
þe goode men shulle schyin in manhede
þanne

Wit þe Godhede boþe God and manne

Speculum, ll. 1681-1686

And in þe vale of Josephat he sal his dome
hold,

Of al maner of men, ȝong and olde,

**Congregabo omnes gentes, et adducam
eas in valle Josephat.**

And þer, here acont straitle
Of al hor lifyng, quat euer þay be

Gode `men' shal se [hym] þen,

In his Godhed as God and mon

Contrary to the usual addition of scriptural passages to the text, two scriptural quotations (the first from Joel 3:12, the second an inexact quotation from Rev. 14:14) disappear in revision β, along with their accompanying translations. Once again, lines which elaborate upon an event (this time, the descent of Christ in judgement) are left out of the text, resulting in a loss of descriptive detail. Many similar omissions occur within part V: twenty-two lines in C and H (corresponding to Z ll. 5614-5619; 5622-5641) on the universal call to judgement disappear between ll. 1838 and 1839 of the *Speculum*; ten lines (corresponding to Z, ll. 5858, 5859; 5862, 5863; 5870, 5871; 5876-5879) on the

testimony required of souls not only concerning themselves, but concerning the conduct of others, likewise disappear in the second redaction. In each case, lines which belong together as an elaboration of a specific point within Part V drop out of the second redaction without any noticeable disruption in the flow of the text.

Although the larger additions to the text found only in the second redaction (ll.1423-1461; 1874-1884) have already received some scrutiny above, it is worthwhile noting here how they have been inserted in a manner which augments, rather than detracts from, the continuity and coherence of the poem. The first set of lines, *Speculum* ll. 1423-1461, replaces a lengthy description (based upon Adso of Montier-en-Der's *De ortu et tempore Antichristo*) of the destruction of Rome, and the conception, birth, and upbringing of the Antichrist, with biblical signs for recognizing the Antichrist — one treatise on Antichrist replaces another. The second set of lines, *Speculum* ll. 1874-1884, builds upon lines from the *Prick of Conscience* (Z, ll. 5882-5893) which state that priests shall give an account of their flock at the doom. In both cases, the interpolated lines appear within a discourse suited to their matter, and the redactor has made some attempt to link the new passages to the preceding lines. This parallels the behaviour of the redactor in the addition of other passages outside Part V, discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The attempt to incorporate such additional material within the larger text testifies to a redactor who is aware of the flow of discourse within the text, who respects that flow, and wishes to add lines in a manner which harmonizes with the rest of the text. In this sense, the text is not merely a series of unconnected quotations on distinct topics from the original poem, but a conscious redaction which seeks to alter the poem whilst maintaining its unity as a poem, and not as a mere collocation of *bon mots*.

A number of smaller redactional features in Part V which reveal something of the

attitude of the second redactor bear some mention here, despite the fact that they fall outside a discussion of the coherence of the poem. The introduction to the section on the Antichrist contains some minor editing which might betray something of the thought of the redactor:

Z(CH), ll. 4047-4050

And first of ancrist wille I say
 Pat sal com befor domesday,
 Aftir þe destruccion sal be
 Of þe empyre of Rome, þat es yhit fre.

Speculum, ll. 1411-1414

First of Antecrist tel we may,
 þat has regned ymong us mony aday,
 Ay, syn þe emperoure began to be
 Soget þat sum tyme had maistree.

The shift from future to past tense and the mention of a defeated Roman emperor in the *Speculum* raise questions regarding the interpretive schema of the redactor: which emperor does he have in mind? Who is the interpreted “Antichrist” who “has regned ymong us mony aday”? While the answers to these questions must remain mysteries, the redactor apparently holds that the arrival of Antichrist, rather than being an imminent event, has already occurred, after the fall of the last world emperor. The legend of the last world emperor, who establishes peace over the earth before the arrival of Antichrist, is a theme introduced in the *Tiburtine Oracle*, mentioned in Matthew Paris’s *Chronica majora*, and used by Peter Comestor in his *Historia scholastica*.⁴⁸ The legend is mentioned in Adso’s *De ortu et tempore Antichristi* as an interpretation of the “dissencio” mentioned in 2 Thess. 2:3b-4, which is quoted in the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* immediately after the passage given above. The redactor of the *Speculum* could be interpreting the Antichrist tradition in terms of contemporary events, something not unknown among polemicists of the later middle ages.⁴⁹ The difficulty is the lack of any

⁴⁸Emmerson, pp. 48, 49.

⁴⁹Emmerson, pp. 62-73.

clear interpretive key: the “Roman Emperor” must refer to the office of the Holy Roman Emperor, which had been revived by Charles IV of Bohemia, who reigned under that title from 1355 to 1378. The claim to the title passed on to Charles’s eldest son, Wenceslaus IV, who only succeeded in being acknowledged as King of the Romans from 1378 to 1410, resigning his claim to his brother Sigismund, who as Holy Roman Emperor convened the Council of Constance.⁵⁰ Although the regnal dates for Charles IV would fit in well with the presumed date of the second redaction, the historical details surrounding Sigismund’s arrest and subjection of Wenceslaus in 1410 accord better with the vague details about the career, fall, and subjection of the Last World Emperor as they are presented in the *Speculum*. This hypothesis presents a further difficulty, however: the date of Wenceslaus’s arrest and subjection come later than the presumed date for the second redaction as given by the dating of the manuscripts. In any case, the references made to the Roman Emperor are too vague to support any definite historical interpretation.

One further odd redactional feature manifests itself in the way that references to the Jews are adapted within Part V of the *Speculum*. The medieval Antichrist tradition often included reference to the eventual conversion of the Jews, usually through the preaching of Enoch and Elias, the two prophets who will return to preach against Antichrist.⁵¹ The *Prick of Conscience* carries this tradition in material taken from Adso of Montier-en-Der’s *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*:

Z (CH), ll. 4505-4510, 4515-4518:
Convertent corda patrum in filios.

Speculum, ll. 1532a-1538:
Conuertent corda patrum in filios

⁵⁰*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, (Washington, D.C.: McGraw-Hill, 1967), s.v. “Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor,” and “Wenceslaus IV, King of Bohemia”.

⁵¹See Emerson, pp. 41, 100.

He says “þai sal turne thurgh Goddes myght þe fadirs hertes intil þe sons right.” þat es, þai sal turne þe lewery Until right cristendom halely. <i>Percipient fidem quam ipsi habuerunt</i> “þe lewes sal tak þan with hert glade And men þe trouth þat cristen men byfor hadde.”	He sais, þai shal turn thurgh Goddus my3t þe fadirs hertis into þe [sonus] ory3t. þat is, þai shal turne men, thur3e Godus grace, Into his laze as hit first wasse: Percipient fidem quam ipsi habuerunt. þe same faith þat þai first hade.
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The disappearance of references to the eventual salvation of the Jews occurs once again in another passage a little further on:

Z (CH), ll. 4635-4638 <i>Et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor</i> He sais “alle folkes to fald sal falle, And a hirde sal be to kepe þam alle.” þat folk lewes and cristen men sal be talde Under a trouthe in haly kirkes falde;	<i>Speculum, ll. 1556a-1560</i> Et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor He sais, þen shal folke to oon fold fall, And oon hurde shal kepe hom all. þe floke bes al cristen men þat Godus la3e sal hold, Under oon truth in holy chirch, þe fold.
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The disappearance of references to salvation for the Jews could indicate an anti-Semitic bias in the second redaction, or at the least a nervousness about that strand of apocalyptic tradition which proclaimed the salvation of the Jews before the Last Judgement. No other references offer further insight into the reasons behind these specific adjustments to the text.

IV. Conclusions

The coherence of the *Speculum* cannot be seen merely as the discursive continuity of the text, but must also be seen as a function of how the text coheres thematically as well as textually. To say that the *Speculum* coheres textually might mean nothing more than that it offers us a shortened version of the *Prick of Conscience* which lacks any awkward or jarring evidence of excisions made from its parent text. Yet the evidence

given above tells a somewhat different story: the *Speculum*, rather than being just an abbreviated version of the *Prick of Conscience*, contains additions and excisions which, whilst they do not change the general focus of the text, place a different emphasis upon the exposition of the Last Things. Professors Lewis and McIntosh were correct in their assessment of the thematic emphases which distinguish the *Speculum* from the *Prick*, since the simplification found in the *Speculum*, and its added focus on law and on action, point to an emphasis upon exhortation, as opposed to contemplation. The *Speculum* presents us with a version of the *Prick of Conscience* which focuses on the Four Last Things, not so much as a meditation which eventually leads to conversion of life, but as an immediate spur to action: the attempt is not so much to change one's thought, but to provide a plain answer to the old question, "What must I *do* to gain eternal life?"

This focus on action as opposed to contemplation can be seen both in the simplification of the text through the excision of speculative or illustrative matter, mentioned earlier with reference to both revisions α and β , and in the addition of references to God's law, the commandments, and the works of mercy. Since most of the major omissions arise in the first redaction of the text, the process of simplification begins with the first redaction, and is continued, to a lesser degree, in the second redaction. The absence of some speculative distinctions manifests a desire to simplify the text, to remove musings whose attractions are more contemplative or intellectual than practical. The addition of a ten commandments treatise to the *Speculum*, along with additional references to "Goddus laze" and the works of mercy, provide important positive evidence of this same shift of emphasis. The further additions to the *Speculum* in ll. 723-780 (critique of vanity in dress) and 1874-1884 (a reminder that priests will be judged for the faith of their flock) likewise focus on morality and deeds, rather than upon distinctions or

elaborations. The addition of the ten commandments treatise would appear to indicate some kind of pastoral use, since it broadens the scope of the text for the teaching or preaching of pastoralia.

The additional verses in the second redaction which are critical of the clergy may, as has already been stated, indicate something regarding the immediate use of the text. The Wycliffite controversies during the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth made criticism of the clergy, when aired among the laity, rather suspect; it could be, then, that the *Speculum* was intended for a primarily clerical readership, despite its focus on action and its added pastoral emphasis. As a pastoral resource for the clergy, intended to be mined for personal as well as pastoral use, it could thus contain matter proper for the priest himself, and for his dealings with the laity. The possibility that the second redactor was a member of a religious community (or quasi-religious community, as the Augustinian Canons were) adds further possibilities to this speculation: Dominican or Augustinian friars, or indeed Augustinian Canons, could well be expected to address congregations of clergy (their fellow friars or Canons) or lay congregations, and so such a resource, with matter pertaining to both kinds of congregations, could prove most useful to a friar or Canon. The inconsistencies identified between initial lists and actual contents in Parts V and VI of the *Speculum* appear to indicate that this particular resource was intended for piecemeal use, rather than wholesale memorization, preaching, or teaching.

The structure of the text and its discursive continuity contribute more questions than answers to an overall picture of the use which someone might make of the *Speculum*. The use of rhyming couplets and a four-stress line makes the poem easy to memorize, and this, combined with the catechetical elements present in the text, suggests that the

Speculum was intended for some form of teaching. Unlike resources such as the *Manipulus florum*, or the *Liber de abundancia exemplorum*, where patristic references are strung together under topical heads which can then be indexed, the *Speculum* contains lengthier discourse and omits most of the subheadings given in some manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*.⁵² The presence of longer vernacular discourse and translations within both the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum* makes them less suited to use as the kind of “pastoral dictionaries of quotations” represented by works like the *Manipulus florum* or the *Liber de abundancia exemplorum*, and, to a certain extent, the *Speculum Christiani*. The text is thus meant to be more than a series of quotations from the fathers strung together, and ready for quotation. The quotations themselves, generally set off from the rest of the text by means of underlining, rubrication, *littera notabilior*, or a different script, form landmarks for finding one’s way through the text of the seven “parts” of the poem. The discursive cohesion of the *Speculum* in its additions and omissions presents another difficulty: how would someone make use of a series of lines within the text for pastoral instruction or a homily which must stand necessarily outside of such a smooth and contained whole? If the *Speculum* were meant for use as a whole, then how might the inconsistencies between organizational lists and explications mentioned earlier (i.e. the list of fifteen accusers at the doom, ll. 1761-1836; the list of the pains of hell in part VI) be reconciled with such an approach?

The limitations of the evidence found in the text do not provide for very specific conclusions concerning the identity of the redactor or redactors involved in the production of the *Speculum*, or the use of the text. The text is, however, more than just a compilation

⁵²See pp. XXXIV-XLI in Morris’s edition for a listing of subheadings given in one manuscript, some of which are retained in manuscripts C, H, and D.

of a compilation; it does not offer a mere digest of the *Prick of Conscience*, but it simplifies the contents of its source, and provides a new emphasis upon immediate action in the face of the Last Things, rather than upon contemplation of them as a spur to conversion. This new emphasis, along with the extensive revision of the text and the consistency of the poem within the bounds of its new focus, may provide the justification, at least in medieval eyes, for the new title of the poem in manuscripts **B** and **D**. In any event, we are left with a poem which still proclaims its purpose, shared with the *Prick of Conscience*, although it takes that purpose and develops it in new pastoral directions:

For knowyng of al þos shuld hym lede
 To know his God thurȝe luf and drede,
 And so to come witout delay
 To joy and blis þat lastis ay. (*Speculum*, ll. 173-176)

Chapter Four: The Manuscript Relations of the *Speculum huius vite*

I. Introduction

A number of conclusions have been drawn in the preceding chapters based upon the seeming assumption that manuscripts **C** and **H** represent a manuscript tradition closer to the *Speculum* than any other manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*. It may seem rather odd that such an “assumption” receives its proper scrutiny here, after it has already formed the basis for redactional analysis in the two preceding chapters, yet the manuscript study which lies at the heart of the present chapter necessarily preceded the establishment of the text, and finds its proper context as a justification for the editorial decisions present in our edition. What follows here constitutes a study of manuscript links between the *Speculum* and the *Prick of Conscience*, it is also the burden of this chapter to examine the manuscript evidence which underlies Professors Lewis and McIntosh’s hypothesis that the texts of **C** and **H** provide a link between the larger *Prick of Conscience* tradition (represented by Morris’ text, **Z**) and the *Speculum*.¹ The objection could be made that the present chapter begs the question, since the conclusions offered herein form the basis for conclusions made in preceding chapters. Whilst the conclusions set forth in this chapter ground those made in previous chapters, it by no means constitutes a case of begging the question, since this study of the manuscript relations temporally preceded the establishment of the text, and therefore also preceded the conclusions based upon the examination of the established text.

A. Research to Date

1. Richard Morris’ Edition of the *Prick of Conscience*

Richard Morris produced the only scholarly edition of the *Prick of Conscience* in

¹*Descriptive Guide*, p. 11.

1863, using two manuscripts as the base for his text. At the time, Morris knew of only 12 manuscripts of the *PC*, all but one of which were in the British Library.² Since eight of the twelve manuscripts (London, British Library Arundel 140 ff. 41v-146v [MV26 in the *Descriptive Guide*], Cotton Galba E. IX ff. 76a-113a [MV27], Harley 2377 ff. 1-106 [MV32], Harley 2394 ff. 1-129 [MV33], Harley 4196 ff. 215-258va [MV34], Harley 6923 ff. 2-117v [MV35], Landsdowne 348 ff. 2-127 [MV36], Additional 22283 ff. 243a-259va [MV40]) available to Morris were dialectally northern, and the rest (Harley 1731 ff. 1-133v [SR8 in the *Descriptive Guide*], Harley 2281 ff. 1-64v [SR9], Additional 11305 ff. 3-126v [SR11]; Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library Garrett 138 ff. 1-130 [SR15]) showed evidence of adaptation from northern exemplars, Morris concluded that the *PC* was northern in origin. He illustrated the northern origins of the *PC* through a study of certain elements of the vocabulary in the manuscripts of the *PC* available to him. He discovered that northern words such as *loper*, *dasedness*, *domland*, *saghtel*, *merryng*, *bigg*, *romyng*, *rym*, and *worow* were all changed in the Southern-dialect texts to the less appropriate and Southern *leper*, *coldness*, *droubelond*, *pees*, *lowryng*, *riche*, *roryng*, *slouh*, and *strangly*.³ On the basis of his judgement about the northern origins of the text, Morris chose British Library MS Cotton Galba E. ix as the best representative of the

²Morris lists only ten of these manuscripts, but makes reference to the others (British Library Harley 2281 and British Library Arundel 140). Morris also makes mention of a text shown him by a Mr. Yates, which he called simply "Yates," a manuscript which corresponds to Princeton University Library Garrett 138.

³Richard Morris, ed., *The Pricke of Conscience* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1863), p. II. Morris made it clear that he had many other examples of this kind, but not enough space to list them all. Morris gave no line numbers for the occurrence of these words, making it difficult to locate them and check his work. A quick survey of these words in the *Middle English Dictionary* shows that some of these examples, such as *dasedness*, are indeed northern. The examples in the *MED* for *loper* and *domland* are only found in the *PC*. Some of these words likewise have Southern occurrences: *bigg* (in the sense of "rich") occurs in Malory, and *saghtel* has a South East Midlands equivalent of *sahhtlen*.

northern manuscripts to hand, and used it as his base text.⁴ Only later did he realize that this manuscript was incomplete, and so he supplied the missing lines (lines 1538-1729, and 6923-9210 in the edition) from British Library MS Harley 4196, having concluded that this Harleian manuscript was “the best of [the] northern copies and differs but slightly from the copy which has supplied the present text.”⁵ Morris’ choice of a base text was later proven felicitous, since later research would confirm that the two manuscripts he chose, of the eleven manuscripts he had an opportunity to examine, were likely close to the original form of the poem.

2. Derek Britton’s Research and Morris’ Edition

The question of the interrelationship among the various manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*, and the determination as to which family of manuscripts came closer to the original, was developed gradually over the hundred years from Morris’ edition to the appearance of the *Descriptive Guide*.⁶ Percy Andreae, in his dissertation *Die Handschriften des Prick of Conscience von Richard Rolle de Hampole im Britischen Museum* (Berlin: G. Bernstein, 1888), analyzed eighteen manuscripts, collating three passages, corresponding to Morris’ ll. 1836-1927, 5126-5204, and 9335-9402. On the basis of this collation, he concluded that the manuscripts could be divided into four groups, A, B, C, and Z, the last of which contained those manuscripts closest to the original source. Derek Britton, building on Andreae’s work, collated completely eighteen

⁴Richard Morris, ed., *The Pricke of Conscience* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1863), p. III.

⁵Morris, p. II, note 2.

⁶I am indebted to the work of S.A. Waters, “A History of *Pricke of Conscience* Studies,” *Studia Neophilologica* 55 (1983), pp. 147-151 for the following comments on the scholarship of Andreae.

manuscripts of the Northern version of the *PC* for an edition of the poem.⁷ In an article for the journal *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* dealing with some fragments of the *PC* in Dublin Trinity College MS O.2.40, he produced a stemma for the work, “without justification at this stage, and without discussion of its relationship to other stemmata of the *P of C*.”⁸ Britton placed Morris’ two base texts, BL Cotton Galba E.ix and BL Harley 4196 among those closest to the original, although, according to his comments, BL Add. 33995 was the better choice for a base text. Lewis and McIntosh largely accepted Britton’s estimation, and concur with Britton’s judgement that these three manuscripts, along with Bodleian Rawl. Poet. 175, and Wellesley Coll. 8, are the manuscripts closest to the presumed original.⁹

3. Morris’ Edition in Lewis and McIntosh’s *Descriptive Guide*

Since Morris’ time, the tally of extant manuscripts has risen to 115, all of which Lewis and McIntosh have described in their *Descriptive Guide*. Drawing upon their own collations of certain discrete portions of the text,¹⁰ and correlating these collations with information from scholarship published since Morris’ edition,¹¹ Lewis and McIntosh drew

⁷The manuscripts are: British Library (hereafter BL) Add. 33995, 24203, 25013, 32578; BL Cotton Galba E. ix, BL Harley 4196, 2394, 6923; Wellesley, Mass., Wellesley College 8; Bodleian MSS Rawl. Poet. 175, Rawl. C. 891, Bodley 99; Fitzwilliam Museum McLean 131; Cambridge, St. John’s College 80; Dublin, Trinity College MSS 158, 157; Lambeth Palace 260; Sion College Arc. L. 40. 2/E.25. Britton gives no rationale for choosing this set of manuscripts, beyond saying that he is interested in editing the northern version of the text.

⁸Derek Britton, ‘Unnoticed Fragments of the *Prick of Conscience*’, *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 80 (1979), 327-34.

⁹*Descriptive Guide*, footnote 14, and p. 6.

¹⁰Corresponding to lines 328-47, 644-97, 934-53, 1666-85, 2692-715, 3968-91, 4207-96, 6423-40, 7534-48, and 9575-601 in Morris’ edition; see *Descriptive Guide*, p. 6, note 17.

¹¹Comprised of articles listed in the bibliography to the *Guide* under the following names: Andreae, Percy; Britton, Derek; Bülbring, Karl D.; D’Evelyn, Charlotte; Humphreys, K.W. and J. Lightbown. The test passages for all of these studies correspond to ll. 1836-927, 5126-204, and 9335-402 in Morris’ edition. See *Descriptive Guide*, p. 6, notes 16, 17.

some self-confessedly tentative conclusions as to the manuscript relations of the poem.

Their philological research led them to agree with Morris' estimation that the *PC* was originally northern, since "many of the early manuscripts,¹² as well as those that are closest to the presumed original,¹³ are in northern dialects, and scholars have been in agreement that the poem was written in the north of England, probably in Yorkshire."¹⁴

Lewis and McIntosh then distinguished the manuscripts of the northern version (ninety-seven in total) from a "more radically and thoroughly revised Southern Recension,"¹⁵

found in eighteen manuscripts. They subdivided the Main Version into four Groups, "on the basis of varying length of copies, rearrangement or addition of material, and line-by-

line textual revision."¹⁶ The first of these four groups holds "among others, the

manuscripts that are closest to the presumed original (M[ain]V[ersion] 27, 34, 44, 83, and

96)."¹⁷ The second group's "most striking characteristic is a new sixteen-line preface to

Book IV, though it has many other readings that differentiate it from the other three

groups."¹⁸ The *Guide* is remarkably silent about what characteristics distinguish the third

group, and although it mentions that the fourth group includes three subgroupings, each of

which has some distinguishing characteristic, the *Guide* neglects to describe what

¹²Listed as MV 5, 27, 34, 35, 41, 44, 62, 83, 93 in *Descriptive Guide*, note 13, p. 4.

¹³Listed as MV 27, 34, 44, 83, 96 in the *Descriptive Guide*, note 14, p. 4.

¹⁴*Descriptive Guide*, p. 4.

¹⁵*Descriptive Guide*, p. 5.

¹⁶*Descriptive Guide*, p. 6.

¹⁷*Descriptive Guide*, p. 6. The *Guide* identifies these manuscripts respectively as: London, British Library Cotton Galba E. IX, ff. 76a-113a, Harley 4196, ff. 215va-258va, Additional 33995, ff. 102a-155a; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson poetry 175, ff. 1a-55b; Wellesley, Massachusetts, Wellesley College Library, 8, pp. 12-247.

¹⁸*Descriptive Guide*, p. 6.

characteristics unify this group. The *Guide* lists Morris' two base manuscripts, British Library Cotton Galba E. IX, ff. 76a-113a, and Harley 4196, ff. 215va-258va, as part of the group deemed closest to the presumed original, which helps to justify the use of Morris' text as the most accessible reference to this "original version." McIntosh and Lewis concede as much when they grant in the *Descriptive Guide* that they have drawn upon Morris' text in their references to the "original" of the poem, as well as in their line references.¹⁹ Although Morris' edition cannot be said to be an ideal reference,²⁰ it provides the most accessible approximation of an "original" version of the *Prick of Conscience* at the present time, and hence this study has made use of it as a basis for comparison with the *Speculum huius vite*.

4. The *Speculum huius vite* in Lewis and McIntosh's *Descriptive Guide*

The *Speculum* appears in the two manuscripts described in the beginning of the first chapter of the present study, **D** (Dublin, Trinity College MS 155, pp. 149-238), and **B** (Oxford, Bodleian MS Additional A. 268, ff. 117ra -139rb), which are numbered S1 and S2 in the *Descriptive Guide*. The descriptions of these manuscripts in the *Guide* do not say exactly how they compare in terms of content, beyond acknowledging that the Dublin manuscript has only "c. 2542 ll. in the extant text."²¹ The comparison between the

¹⁹p. 2, note 2.

²⁰See Derek Britton's review of the *Descriptive Guide* in *Medium Aevum* 53 (1984), p. 316, where he points out that Morris' edition "has substantial editorial errors of omission and line-numbering" and that three sets of Latin quotations (ll. 1145-51; 6635-6; 6794-5) included in the text "are certainly spurious, having perhaps been drawn into the body of the text from marginal annotations in an exemplar." Britton could be referring to the fact that none of the three quotations in question has a subsequent English translation, and the first quotation is, as acknowledged by Morris, "absent from most of the MSS" (Morris, note 1, p. 32).

²¹*Descriptive Guide*, p. 159.

Prick of Conscience and the *Speculum* given within the *Guide* provides a few preliminary, general comments regarding the content of the poems and the extent to which the *Speculum* abbreviates the text of the *PC*, expressed only as a calculation of the number of lines in each work, with the added statement that the *Speculum* also includes substantial passages without any parallel in the *PC*. The basis of the comparison between these two texts never gets clearly stated in the *Guide*: did Lewis and McIntosh perform a complete collation of the *PC* with the *Speculum*, or did they collate just the test passages used earlier to distinguish among the subgroups of the Main Version? The authors of the *Guide* also mention the curiously close relationship between the text of the *Speculum* and two particular manuscripts of the *Prick*:

The *Speculum* may have been made from a manuscript of the version that appears in MV 11 and 14 (a subgroup of Main Version Group I, the one closest to and presumably including the original), for some of the added Latin quotations appear in both, the nine tokens of the day of judgement in MV 11 and MV 14 (reduced from the ten of the original) have been further reduced to eight in the *Speculum*, and there are other similarities (at least in Books II and III).²²

The *Guide* makes no reference to the extent of the collation made between these two *Prick* manuscripts with the *Speculum*, beyond pointing out that it was incomplete. The descriptions of MV 11 (otherwise known as **C**, Cambridge, University Library MS Dd.12.69, ff. 37-97v) and MV 14 (otherwise known as **H**, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Library, English 515, ff. 1-77), found on pages 43 and 46 respectively of the *Guide*, state that both are highly condensed, periphrastic texts sharing some Latin quotations with **B** and **D** which are not found in **Z**. The descriptions of MV 11 and MV 14 do not further specify the relationship of these manuscripts, one to the other, or their

²²*Descriptive Guide*, p. 11.

relationship to the *Speculum*.

B. Methodology— General Overview

Two principal problems, then, arise in the attempt to delineate the relationship between the manuscript traditions of the *Speculum* and the *Prick of Conscience*: how much do the two manuscript texts of the *Speculum* resemble one another, and therefore constitute a separate tradition; how do these manuscripts then relate to the manuscripts of the *PC*? Parts of the first question have already been resolved in the foregoing textual studies: the distinct qualities and coherence of the *Speculum* have already received scrutiny in Chapter Three, and the use of one quotation to represent readings from **B** and **D** in previous chapters implies that the text of the *Speculum* is stable from one manuscript to the other. The resolution of the first question requires a collation of the two manuscripts, and a general statement of the conclusions arising from such a collation. The response to the second question follows on naturally from the resolution of the first question, but requires some testing of the conclusions put forward by Lewis and McIntosh regarding manuscripts **C** and **H**.

II. General Conclusions Regarding the Collation of B with D

The first stage of inquiry produces no surprises, considering Lewis and McIntosh's statements regarding the two manuscripts of the *Speculum huius vite* and their agreement: there are relatively few substantial variations in the readings of **B** and **D**. The very paucity of textual variants in our edition supports this statement. Such a conclusion, however, must be accompanied by the proviso that the text of **D** is imperfect at the end, containing only 2,230 English lines to **B**'s 2,722. Although one might conjecture that greater variation in the two texts could have occurred in the remaining 490 lines which **D** lacks, the extensive evidence of agreement in the preceding lines renders such a conclusion

unlikely. The rhyme-words used in all of the couplets of the two texts are substantially the same, disregarding differences in spelling, and all of them are in the same order in both manuscripts. Most divergences between the two texts consist in the inclusion or omission of one or two words. The one portion of text where **D** greatly disagrees with the reading of **B** involves a relatively short passage, and can be easily explained as a scribal error. **D** has four lines and a Latin quotation which do not appear in **B**, although two of the four lines, along with a preceding Latin quotation, correspond to a passage in **Z** (ll. 6745-6748):

B, fol. 135ra, ll. 16-19

And wit oþer mykil sorow shal þai mete

As David sais þe holy prophete

Quia fel draconum vinum eorum et venenum aspidum et cetera

D, p. 235, l. 22-p. 236, l. 3.

And wiþ mychel oþer sorowe schul þei mete

As Daud seip þe holy prophete

**Ignis et sulfur et spiritus procellarum
pars calicis eorum**

Fure and brinstone and stormes seip he

To peyne hem sore her dryng schal be

And muchel oþer bytternes þei schul haue

As God hymselfe wittenes wel thys lawe

Quia fel draconum vinum eorum et venenum aspidum et cetera

Both **B** and **D**, like most *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts, distinguish Latin quotations from the rest of the text, although each does so in a different way: **B** makes use of a textura script (as opposed to the Anglicana of the English text), whilst **D** uses red underlining. One might assume from the agreement of **B** and **D** in this particular detail that the exemplar(s) of these manuscripts likewise distinguished Latin quotations from the English text by some means. As can be seen above, the close proximity of the two Latin quotations, and their equally distinctive quality, could have drawn the **B**-scribe's eye further down the page, causing him to take up his copy at the quotation "**Quia fel draconum . . .**" This discrepancy between **B** and **D** might then not be as drastic as it

seems at first glance. It does, however, indicate that **D** could not have descended directly from **B**.

The evidence to prove that **B** could not have descended directly from **D** is not as dramatically clear as the testimony given above for the opposite conclusion. In a few lines, the **D**-text introduces a significant word (i.e., not simply an article) which disagrees with readings in **BCHZ**:

B (l. 156) Quat he wos, and now is, and shal be C, H What hymself was, is, and shal be Z (l. 212) What him-self was, and es, and sal be	D (p. 155, l. 15) What he <i>sumtyme</i> was and now is and shal be
B (l. 1465) þat myȝt liȝtly men begyle C, H þat myȝt liȝtly men begile Z (l. 4241) þat he mught lightlyer men bygile	D (p. 204, l. 26) þat myȝt lyȝtly men þerwiþ bygyle
B (l. 1545) For bot his daies were shortent, sais hee C, H But his daies were shorted seiþ he Z (l. 4575) Bot his days war abreged says he	D (p. 208, l. 11) For but hys dayes were schorten þenne seiþ he
B (l. 1670) For I haue synned mych azayne þe C, H For lord I haue synned to moche to þe Z (l. 5092) For-why I haf synd ogaynes þe	D (p. 214, l. 5) For I haue synned ful mychel aȝeynes þe

The agreement of **B** with the rest of the manuscript tradition against the readings of **D** seems to indicate that **B** is copied from another source than **D**. Evidence of misreadings in **D** against the witness of **B** and one or more of **C, H, or Z** supports this conclusion. The most striking of the misreadings in **D** occurs at ll. 2033-2038 of the *Speculum* (**Z**, ll. 6445-

6448):

B

For al þe erth be skyl may likond be
To a round appul on a tree,
Þat euon in þe mydell has a colke.
And so hit may to an egus 3olke,
For as a hole is euon in mydward
Þe 3olke of an egg quen hit is hard,

Z

For alle erthe by skille may likend be
Til a rounde appel of a tre,
Þat even in myddes has a colke,
And swa it may be tille an egge yholke;
For als a dalk es even lmydward
Þe yholke of þe egge, when it es hard,

D (p. 230, ll. 3-8)

For alle þe erþe by skyl may lykened be
To an rounde appul on an tree
Þat euene in þe mydel haþ a corke
And soo it may to an neyes 3olke
For as a hole is euene in mydwarde
Þe 3elke of an neye whan hyt is harde

C, H

For al þe erþe be skile may lykned be
To a round appyl of a tre
Þat euene in þe myddel haþ a cork
And so it may to aneyes 3olk
For as a dalkys euene is in mydward
Þe 3olke of aney whanne it is hard,

The rhyme *colke:3olke* in **BZ** has been altered to the Southern²³ *corke:3olke* in **CHD**, which produces an inexact rhyme. The Northern and Scandinavian *egg* in **BZ**, which should read *ei*²⁴ in the South, is run together with its indefinite article in **CH** to read *aney(es)*, and is even further confused to read *an neye(s)* in **D**. The *MED* does not record any forms for *ei* which include an *an-* or *n-* prefix. Somewhere in the transmission of the text, the Northern form *egg* has been altered to the Southern form *ei*, and then idiosyncratically written as *neye*, a form which would cause consternation for the **B**-scribe if he were copying directly from **D**. A mistranslation of *Speculum* ll. 178a,b (“Forma, fauor populi, feruor iuuenilis, opesque/ Surripuere tibi noscere quid sit homo”) appears in **D**: the translation for “feruor iuuenilis” is “brennyng of 3outhe” in **B** (l. 180), **C**, and **H**, but **D** reads “brennyng of pou3t.” **D**’s error is not an isolated one, since Morris records *thoght* at l. 250 of his text, but includes the variant *yhouth* in a note at the foot of the

²³See “colk” *MED* and *OED*.

²⁴See entries for “ei” and “eg(ge)” *MED*

page. This misreading suggests that the **B**-scribe either had the verse in the form attested by **C** and **H** before him, or that the respective scribes of **B**, **C**, and **H** independently spotted the error and corrected it themselves. The absence in **B** of subheadings which originate in the *PC* tradition and appear in **D** (see editorial insertions at *Speculum* ll. 1758a, 1836a, 1866a, 1916a, 1990a) would be rather odd if the **B**-scribe were copying from **D**. On the strength of the evidence rendered by additions and misreadings in **D**, it appears that the **B**-scribe used a manuscript other than **D** as his exemplar. The otherwise close correlation of **B** and **D** supports the conclusion that they originate, at the very least, from a common source which included the abbreviations and additions which distinguish the *Speculum* from the *Prick of Conscience*. With this high degree of agreement in mind, quoted passages from the *Speculum*'s **B**-text will continue to serve in the place of quoting from both **B** and **D**.

III. Testing Lewis and McIntosh's Conclusions

A. Means of Testing

The complexity of the second stage of this inquiry requires an equally complex method of investigation. Lewis and McIntosh identified two *PC* manuscripts, **C** (Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Library MS Dd.12.69; "MV 11" in the *Guide*) and **H** (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library MS 155; "MV 14" in the *Guide*), as those most closely related to the text of the *Speculum*, but they did not clearly identify the bases for their conclusion. The *Guide* states that the abbreviated nature of **C** and **H**, along with the appearance of some additional Latin *auctoritates* in them which the *Speculum* contains, but which are not found in **Z**, support the conclusion that these two manuscripts, of all the *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts, are most closely related to the

Speculum. This self-acknowledged tentative conclusion, then, warrants some testing. The sheer number of *Prick* manuscripts makes a complete collation of them with the *Speculum* not impossible, but impractical for the immediate purpose; a reliable, yet less labour-intensive method of checking Lewis and McIntosh's conclusions must be found. Such a test would have to involve searching a representative number of *PC* manuscripts for some feature distinctive to the *Speculum*.

1. Test Passages

The use of Latin quotations in both texts provides convenient data for a quick comparison of the various manuscript versions of the texts. Both the *Speculum* and the *Prick of Conscience* contain a liberal sprinkling of Latin *auctoritates*, which, for the most part, are distinguished in the manuscripts from the English text through distinctive script (as in Bodleian Add. A. 268) or underlining (as in Trinity 155, along with initial *litterae notabiliorae*), or by rubrication. The English text immediately before or after these quotations usually provides a translation and some remarks related to the quotation. The larger portions of text where the *Speculum* differs from Morris' edition of the *PC* often contain additional Latin *auctoritates* which either do not appear in the text of the *PC*, or which repeat a quotation found in a completely different location within the *PC*. Of the 179 Latin quotations in the *Speculum*, 49 do not have a parallel in Morris' edition. Since the Latin quotations are frequent and are easily distinguished from the English text in manuscripts of the *Prick*, they provide a good basis for a "spot-check" of Lewis and McIntosh's conclusions, assuming that the presence or absence of certain quotations may reliably reflect the presence or absence of the corresponding English translation and text.

2. Test Sample of Manuscripts

Such an examination must utilize a random test sample of a representative number

of manuscript texts. The *Prick of Conscience* appears in 32 manuscripts in Oxford University and College libraries: Ashmole mss. 41, 52, 60; Bodley 99; Digby mss. 14, 87, 99; Douce mss. 126, 141, 156, 157; English poetry a. 1; Junius 56; Laud misc. 486; e Musaeo 76, 88; Rawlinson A.366, C.35, C.319, C.891, D.913 (two fragments); Rawlinson poetry 138, 139, 175; Selden Supra 102*; St. John's 57, 138; Trinity 15, 16A, 16B, 142; University 142.²⁵ In addition to these manuscripts categorized by McIntosh and Lewis as manuscripts of the main version, three manuscripts containing what appears in the *Guide* as a Southern recension of the *Prick of Conscience* are also in the Bodleian: Bodley 423, Laud misc. 601, and Lyell empt. 6.²⁶ A survey of these manuscript names reveals that they have arrived at their present repositories from diverse sources over a lengthy period of time. The collection in Oxford libraries thus represents a random set of *PC* manuscripts, brought together without any underlying organizational scheme or interest. In addition, all the manuscript groups of the Main Version identified in the *Descriptive Guide* are represented, except Group III (which includes only three manuscripts): Rawlinson poetry 175 belongs to Group I; Ashmole 60 and e Musaeo 76 represent Group II; English poetry a.1, Ashmole 41, and Rawlinson C.319 represent the first subgroup of Group IV; Douce 156, Trinity Coll. 16A, and Trinity Coll. 16B represent the second subgroup of Group IV; Digby 14 and Laud Misc. 486 represent the third subgroup of Group IV manuscripts. Excluding Rawlinson D. 913 as a small fragment, this random sample of 31 manuscripts, representing 26% of all known *Prick* manuscripts, provides a convenient basis for testing Lewis and McIntosh's conclusions regarding the relationship

²⁵The descriptions of these manuscripts can be found in the *Descriptive Guide*, listed as MV 59-90.

²⁶These manuscripts are listed as SR 12, 13, and 14 in the *Descriptive Guide*.

between the *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts and the *Speculum huius vite*. Armed with such passages and a random sample of manuscripts, a reasonably reliable test can be conducted.

B. Results of the Test

The results of this examination of the random sample of manuscripts in Oxford and of **C** and **H** allow for a general acceptance of Lewis and McIntosh's conclusions. Out of the 33 manuscripts surveyed, only three had any of the *Speculum*'s additional Latin quotations: **C**, **H**, and Rawlinson Poetry 139 (identified as MV 82 in the *Descriptive Guide*). The text of **C** contains 14 of the 49 additional Latin quotations found in the *Speculum*, in the sequence in which they are found in the *Speculum*; **H** contains 12, again in the same sequence. **H** possibly included two more of these additional quotations in the first few leaves of the manuscript, which are now missing; the text in **H** begins at l. 129 of the *Speculum*, and at about l. 169 in the text of **Z**. Rawl. Poet. 139 contains only two additional quotations, neither of which occur in the same sequence as they do in the *Speculum*.

A number of other details argue against grouping the Rawlinson manuscript with **C** and **H** as the *PC* manuscripts closely related to the *Speculum*. The first of the two additional Latin quotations found in the Rawlinson text, "*maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis*," (Ps. 118:21) appears twice in the *Speculum*: once in a place which corresponds to the prologue in the *Prick of Conscience*, and again in a commentary on the ten commandments added to the end of what corresponds to the first part of the *PC*. The quotation appears only once in the Rawlinson manuscript, in the section on purgatory (part IV of the *Prick of Conscience*). Of the two *Speculum* quotations, the second one most resembles the text from the Rawlinson manuscript:

Rawl. Poetry 139, f. 47r

And Daud þe **prophete** to ous doþ say
þei ben **cursid** þat fro þi **biddingus** bowen
away

Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis

And holy writ in places fele
Witnesseþ þat is not to hele
þat þe preiers of hem ben **cursid** verely
þat her eres bown away
Fro þi **biddingus** lord þat þei him noȝt
heere

Speculum

For God bitturly curses þoo
Pat `**hys**` **hestis** boȝen froo:

Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis

For he excuses non *unkunyng*,
Bot mon be besy in [*lernyng*],
(ll. 133-136)

As God thurgh his holy **prophet**
In holy writ says as we rede,

Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis

Lord God, he sais, **curset** be al þoo
Pat `**þi**` **cumaundmentis** boȝen froo.
Alas, quat wyl þen com hom till,
Pat breken hom all day wit gode wyll;
For certis, þai mon *neuer* wele spede,
Pat to his *comaundmentis* takis no hed.
(ll. 433-440)

The above texts do not share much vocabulary, beyond words which could have easily come to the minds of two independent translators: “prophet” is a common medieval term for any Old Testament author; “cursed,” and “biddings/commandments” are likewise frequently found equivalents for *maledicti* and *mandata*.²⁷ The second quotation, “*si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*,” (Matt. 19:17) appears in the first part of the *Speculum*, immediately preceding the second of the two *Speculum* quotations above. The Rawlinson manuscript carries the same quotation in a portion of text corresponding to the seventh part of Morris’ edition of the *Prick of Conscience*. The translations for this text found in both manuscripts show some similarities in vocabulary:

Rawlinson Poet. 139, 94v

Kyndely crist þat wey ous dude ken
And bid kepe þe **comaundementus** ten
Seying þat sueþ wite ye wel

Speculum huius vite, ll. 427-432

And þus Crist hymself us tellus
As it is writon in his **gospellus**:
Si uis ad uitam [*ingredi*, *serua*

²⁷See the entry for “prophet(e)” in the *MED*, sense 2(d); see also the entry for “biddinge,” *MED*, sense 3(a); see also the entry for “cursed” in the same work — in three of the examples from the Wycliffite Bible, a form of *maledictus* has been translated as “cursed.”

As recorder þe gospel
 Si vis vitam ingredi serua mandata
 3if þou in to lyf wilt entre seiþ he
 þe comaundementus to kepe bisye þee

mandata]
 If þu will haf þe lif þat euer shal be,
 Kepe his comaundmentis he biddis þe;
 And bot mon hom kepe witout delay,
 He ys curst of God witouton nay,

This second text shows a much greater similarity in vocabulary, but again, the similarities spring, for the most part, from the constraints of translating the text. Two independent writers, bolstering their argument with this scriptural quotation, could not help but mention that the highest authority, Christ himself, makes this statement. Most of the rest of the shared vocabulary, with the possible exclusion of “bid” and “biddus” could come from the common word-store used to translate such a passage. The translations of both these quotations, as they are found in the Rawlinson manuscript and in the *Speculum*, show some similarities in their vocabulary, yet it is hard to know whether the constraints of translation necessitate such common vocabulary, or if these similarities reveal a genuine dependence. The fact that both quotations are scriptural and therefore part of a commonly used source, and that each text uses these quotations in widely different contexts, argues in favour of coincidence rather than dependence.

Compared to the two additional quotations in the Rawlinson manuscript, the much larger number of additional quotations which **C** and **H** (14 for **C**, 12 for **H**) share with the *Speculum* confirm the greater proximity of these latter manuscripts to the *Speculum*. Considering the comparatively large number of similarities between the texts of **C** and **H** with the *Speculum*, the coincidental similarities seen in the Rawlinson manuscript, and the lack of any such similarities in the other Oxford *PC* manuscripts, it seems reasonable to conclude that **C** and **H** provide a more proximate link between the *Speculum* and its immediate precursor among all other *PC* manuscripts. The best way for determining the

exact nature of the interrelationships among these three texts, as Lewis and McIntosh suggest in the *Guide*, would be a thorough study of the two versions, in the form of a collation of all four of the texts **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H**.

IV. A Collation of the Text of **C** and **H** with the *Speculum*

A. Agreement between **C** and **H**

We must first discover to what degree **C** and **H** are related, if we are to speak meaningfully of any interrelationships among these texts and the *Speculum*. The collation of **C** and **H** reveals that they are very closely related beyond their similarity with regard to the aforementioned Latin quotations. Taking into account the fact that **H** begins imperfectly and thus lacks about 116 lines found at the beginning of **C**, there are only 28 lines out of just over 3,000 in total, which have precedents in Morris' edition, but are peculiar to either the individual manuscript **C** or the individual manuscript **H**. Most of the remaining lines in **C** and **H** correspond in their rhyme-words and in their order. In the rare instances where rhymes differ between the two manuscripts, the rest of the lines usually remain recognizably the same:

C, fol. 48v., ll. 1,2

þe more *in* malice and febilnesse
Eiþer of hem troubled isse

fol. 50v., ll. 28, 29

On is as seiþ holy writ
For God *hem* first togeder set

fol. 51r., ll. 22, 23

Boþe goode and yvel hit shal þorug sprede
But yvel men auzte hit most drede

fol. 54r., ll. 7,8

Wrecchede soule he seiþ what may þu seie
Whanne þu depertest fro þy body awaye

H, fol. 12v., ll. 18,19

More in malyce and in rebelnes
Eyþer of hem trowbled ys

fol. 16r., ll. 1,2

On ys as seiþ holy wryt
For God hem furst to gader knyht

fol. 16v., ll. 3,4

Boþe yuel and gode alle it shal þorw flete
But yuel men auzte it most drede

fol. 19v., l. 23 - 20r., l. 1

Wrecched soule he seyde what may þu be
Whenne þu departest fro þi body awaye

Most of the remaining divergences in the two texts involve the inclusion, omission, or rearrangement of a few words within the lines. **C** and **H** also share 109 lines which have no parallels in either Morris' edition, or the *Speculum*. One of the longest sustained passages of these lines unique to **C** and **H** serves to illustrate the degree of agreement present in these two manuscripts:

C , f. 61r, ll. 4-13	H , f. 28v, ll. 13-21
As seiþ Daud þe holy prophete	As seiþ Daud þe holy prophete
As hit is wretyn in holy writte	As hit ys in holy wryt ywrete
Oracio eius fiet in peccatum et iterum	Oracio eius fiet in peccatum. Iterum
sine caritate nichil placet deo	sine caritate nichil placet deo
That is what we don or praye	Þat ys what we don or praye
And haue no3t wit us charite aye	And haue not wip us charite aye
Hit is no3t plesynge to God almy3ty	Hyt ys not plesynge to God almy3ty
As clerkes fynde wretyn witturly	As clerkes fynden wryten wytterly
And þerfore if ony help of god shal be	Þerfore 3if eny help of god shal be
Us behoueþ to haue loue and charite	Us byhoueþ to haue loue and charite

There are, then, relatively few differences between the two texts which would indicate that they derive from radically different families of manuscripts.

The 28 lines peculiar to either **C** or **H** mentioned above are spread fairly evenly throughout either text, with no one passage of consecutive lines of this kind exceeding a length of four lines, as in the following example:

C , fol. 45r. ll. 2-5	H , fol. 7v. ll. 4-9.
Ne riche ne pore ne bonde ne fre	Ne ryche ne pore ne bonde ne fre
Lered ne lewede what so he be	Lerede ne lewede what so he be
Þanne shal he fynde litel mater	Þat ne shal turne aftur his dep
To make joye while he is here	To poudre and erþe and stynkyng breþ
	And þus ho so wol byholde and se
Z , ll. 884-887; 890, 891; 895, 896	What he was and what he shal be
Ne riche, ne pure, bond ne fre,	Þenne shal he fynde lytel matere
Lered or lawed, what-swa he be,	To make ioye whyle he ys here
Þat he ne sal turne at þe last oway,	
Til poudre and erthe and vyle clay;	
.....	
Þat unnethes any man wille se	
What he was, and what he sal be.	

.....
He suld fynd ful litel matere
To mak ioy whilles he here duelles,

The above lines from **H** which are not in **C** clearly have precedents from the *PC*, as testified by **Z**. The evidence above, and in other instances where **H** and **Z** agree against **C**, establish that **C** could not have served as the exemplar for **H**. A similar divergence of **H** from the shared witness of **C** and Morris’ text occurs later, in Part IV, on Purgatory:

C , f. 57r., ll. 6-9	H , f. 23v., ll. 12-14
For in þe comyne stede somme ben noȝt	For in þe comyn stude somme ben not ay
ay	In fele studes specially in her gost
But beþ punesched here boþe nyȝt and day	Where þey haue synned in body most
In fele stude specially in here gost	
Where þey haue synned in body most	

Z, ll. 2879-2881
For in þe comon stede som er noght ay,
Bot er here punyst, outhen nyght or day,
In sere stedes specialy in gast,
Whar þai haf synned in body mast.

The second half of the couplet “ay/day” might have gone missing in **H** through scribal error. The absence of one line in **H**, a small absence in and of itself, does argue against the use of **H** as the exemplar for **C**. Another instance where **C** disagrees with **H** occurs within a series of those lines with no precedent in Morris’ edition, once again in the part on Purgatory:

C , f. 60v., ll. 21-25	H , f. 28v., ll. 3-5
And masse of prestes in good lyvyng	And masse of prestes in good lyuyng
þat ha forsake þis worldes lykyng	þat haue forsaken þis worldes lykyng
And ben besi in good praiere	By wey of ryȝtwysnesse helpe may be
Most helpen to þe soules þere	In almes to pore men as ȝe may se
Be wey of rithwisnes help may be	
In almes to pore men as ȝe may se	

The absence of the couplet in **H** is of dubious significance in the example above, since

Morris’ edition provides no other point of reference from which to judge whether this might be an omission in **H**, or an expansion in **C**. The evidence in all the examples quoted above from the 28 lines peculiar to either **C** or **H** indicates, then, that whilst **C** and **H** are related, they do not stand in a relationship of direct descent, one from the other.

B. General Areas of Agreement in C, H, and the *Speculum*

The statistics detailing the similarities between **C**, **H**, and the *Speculum* in terms of numbers of lines have already received some attention in the table presented in the preceding chapter. These foregoing statistics must be qualified, however, by the observation that in some (albeit relatively few) cases it can be rather difficult to tell the degree to which the texts of **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** owe something to the text of the *PC*. This usually occurs in two types of instances: either the wording (and in some cases, the rhyme) has changed, or the manuscript texts summarise the reading found in **Z**. The four manuscripts in question contain readings which may closely approximate passages found in **Z**, but which do not share the rhymes found therein:

Z, ll. 1326-1331
 He says, “continuel hele here
 And plenté of worldly gudes sere,
 Er taknes, als in boke writen es,
 Of þe damnacion þat es endles.”
 And to þis wordes, þat sum men myspays,
 Accordes Saynt Gregor, þat þus says:
**Continuus successus temporalium,
 future dampnacionis est indicium.**

H, fol. 11r, ll. 11-17
 He seiþ contynual hele here
 And plente of worldly godys y fere
 Is tokene as we fynde y wryten
 Of euer lastyng payne and dampnacioun
 And Seynt Gregory seiþ also
 And cordeþ wel þerto
Continuus successus temporalium

C, fol. 47r, ll. 15-22
 He seiþ continual hele here
 And plentee of worldles good ifere
 Is tokne os we fynde wretyn
 Of euerlastyng payne and dampnacioun
 And Seynt Gregory seiþ also
 And acordeþ well þerto
**Continuus successus temporalium,
 future dampnacionis est indicium**

Speculum, ll. 667-672b
 And sais, contynual hele here,
 And plenty of worldus gode ifere,
 Is a token, as sais þis holy mon,
 Of euerlastyng payne and damnacion.
 And Sayn Gregory sais also
 And profurs be gode reson þerto:
Continuus successus temporalium

future dampnacionis est indicium**future damnacionis est indicium**

The third and fourth lines in the above quotations share several items of vocabulary — “token,” “everlasting pain,” and “damnation” — but the texts of **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** do not share the rhymes of the equivalent two lines in **Z**. The rhyme *es:endlles* becomes *writen:dampnacioun* in **C** and **H**, and *mon:damnacion* in **B** and **D**. The rhyme-word *sere* in the second line of Morris’ text becomes *ifere* in all four of the manuscript texts. The amount of agreement in the texts thus far clearly indicates an indebtedness in the manuscripts to the text of the *PC*. The last two English lines leading up to the Latin quotation exemplifies another, more difficult kind of parallelism: a case where only one or two words are the same in **Z** and in **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D**. In this particular case, only the words *acordes* and *Seynt Gregor* from Morris’ text appear in some form in **C** and **H**, whilst **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** agree in most of the reading in the same two lines. Despite the paucity of agreement between the manuscript readings and the text in **Z**, these last two lines in **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** have been taken by this study as parallels to the lines in **Z** because they occur in the same context as they do in **Z** (i.e. they introduce the same Latin quotation) and they share some, although not much, vocabulary.

The amount of abridgement in all four manuscript texts likewise reveals another similarity: the patterns of omission in **C**, **H**, and the *Speculum* are often similar. The reordering and recasting of a number of lines in the Prologue of the *PC* can be seen in the following lines from Morris, **B**, and **C**²⁸:

Z, ll. 87-100

And, if he fraward be, to wende
Til pyne of helle, þat has nan ende.

B, ll. 69-74

And if we be fraward, we mon wend
Wit fendus of hell witouten end.

²⁸The text of **H** is imperfect at the beginning, and so does not include these lines.

Ilk man þat here lyves, mare and lesse,
 God made til his awen lyknesse;
 Til wham he has gyven witte and skille
 For to knaw bothe gude and ille,
 And fre wille to chese, als he vouches
 save
 Gude or ille whether he wil have;
 Bot he þat his wille til God wil sette,
 Grete mede þarfor mon he gette;
 And he þat til ille settes his wille
 Grete payne sal have for þat ille;
 Whar-for þat man may be halden wode,
 Þat cheses þe ille and leves þe gude.

Bot þu, mon, may be holden wod,
 Þat choses þe eul, and leues þe gude,
 Syn ich mon has a fre will,
 To chose þe gode and lef þe ill.

C, fol. 38r, ll. 20-25
 And if we be froward we mowe wende
 To þe peyne of helle þat haþ no ende
 But þat man may be holde wood
 Þat cheseþ þe euyll and leueþ þe good
 Seþe eche man haþ a fre wille
 To take wheþer he wolle good or ille

The six lines in **C** and **B** both come from the *Prick* as illustrated in the passage from **Z**, but they are plucked out rather selectively, and they are rearranged in both. The first rhyme-word for the couplet *skille:ille* in **Z** (ll. 91, 92) becomes *wille*, and the whole couplet, radically revised, appears in a position in **C** and **B** after those verses which correspond to **Z**, ll. 99-100. All four manuscripts show a great deal of agreement in the patterns of abridgement in the third part of the poem: at one point, **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** contain text parallel to ll. 1818-1831 in **Z**, picking up the text again at ll. 1836-1843; then again at ll. 1852-1863, ll. 1876-1883, and ll. 1890-1895. Such consistency among the four manuscripts in their patterns of abridgement must either be a result of some relationship of the manuscripts, or of an amazing coincidence.

Not all of the patterns of abridgement, however, illustrate the same degree of agreement. At times the text of **C** and **H** includes more material from the *Prick of Conscience* than the text of **B** and **D**:

Z, ll. 468-487:
 Þan has a man les myght þan a beste
 When he es born, and es sene leste:
 For a best when it es born, may ga
 Als tite aftir, and ryn to and fra;

C
 Þanne haþ a man lasse mitt þan a best
 Whanne he is boren and his synne is lest
 For he haþ no mizth to stonde ne crepe
 But ligge and sprawle crie and wepe

Bot a man has na myght þar-to,
 When he es born, swa to do;
 For þan may he noght stande ne crepe
 Bot ligge and sprawel, and cry and wepe.
 For unnethes es a child born fully
 þat it ne bygynnes to goule and cry;
 And by þat cry men know þan
 Whether it be man or weman,
 For when it es born it cries swa:
 If it be man it says "a. a",
 þat þe first letter es of þe nam
 Of our forme-fader Adam.
 And if þe child a woman be,
 When it es born it says "e. e."
 E. es þe first letter and þe hede
 Of þe name of Eve þat bygan our dede.

But unneþes is a child bore fully
 But þat he begynne to 3olle and cri
 And criep .A. 3if he be man
 And .E. 3if he be a womman
 As A is þe furste *lett*re of Adam
 And E of Eue þe furste womman

H
 Þenne haþ a man lasse myȝt þan haþ a
 beste
 Whanne he is bore and his synne ys leste.
 For he haþ no myȝt to stonde ne crepe
 But lygge and sprawle crye and wepe.
 For unneþe ys a chyl bore fally
 þat he ne lyuueþ to 3olle and crye.
 And cryep .A. 3if hit be a man
 And .E. 3if hyt be a womman.
 A. ys þe furst lettur of Adam
 And .E. of eue þe furst womman.

Speculum, ll. 281-286

Þen has a mon las myȝt þen a best,
 Quen he is born, and his synne is lest,
 For he has no myȝt to stond ne crepe,
 Bot lye and sprawle, crye and wepe,
 And cres .A. first if he be mon,
 And .E. if he be a womon.

Although **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** together lack text equivalent to **Z** ll. 470-473, the way in which **C** and **H** deal with the material equivalent to **Z** ll. 476-487 differs markedly from the way in which **B** and **D** abbreviate it. **C** and **H** both include lines corresponding to **Z** ll. 476-477, and a fuller treatment of ll. 480-487, although all four of **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** subsequently lack much further material on the same subject in **Z** ll. 488-494. All four manuscripts likewise take up their text again after the above passages at text equivalent to **Z** l. 508. The patterns of abridgement in all four manuscripts, then, contain many similarities, but they also indicate some complexities in the relationship of the manuscripts; **C** and **H**, except for one instance dealt with below, contain more text from

the *Prick of Conscience* than **B** and **D**, although they often depart from and pick up the text of the *PC* in the same places.

The areas of agreement between **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H** against Morris' edition likewise indicate a certain complexity in their relationship: although the four manuscripts share some sustained passages, as in ll. 1481-1502 of the *Speculum*, some significant variations occur within such passages. One such variation occurs in the passage just mentioned, at ll. 1489, 1490 of the *Speculum*:

Speculum, ll. 1485-1490c
 And of men hor liflode sech,
 Wit leysyngus and wit payntyd speche.
 Þai sal be counselors of lordus of londus,
 And draze mych pepul in to hor hondus,
 and hereof Crist warnet us, as we sal
 here,
 In his gospel on þis manere:
Attendite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt
ad uos in vestimentis ouium intrinse-
cus autem sunt lupi rapaces

C, fol. 65r l. 25-v l. 4
 And of men þei wole here lyflode seche
 Wit lesynges and wit peynted speche
 Þei wolen be conseilours of lordes of
 londes
 And drawe moche peple in to here hondes
 And queynte clopyng haue of mennes
 fyndynge
 And seie þei ben holiere in lyvyng
 And of suche prophetes in þe gospels
 Crist hymself techen us well
Attendite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt
ad vos in vestimentis ouium et cetera

H, f. 34r, l. 19-v, l. 5
 And of men þey wol here lyuelode seche
 Wiþ lesynges and peyntede speche
 Þei shul be consellours of lordes of londes
 And drawe mucche peple in her hondes
 And queynte clopyng han of mennus
 fyndynge
 And seyen þei ben holiest of lyuyng
 And of suche prophetes in þe gospel
 Cryst hymself techen us wel
Attendide a falsis prophetis qui veniunt
ad vos in vestimentis ovium et cetera

In this passage, which generally illustrates fairly close agreement among all the texts, the readings part company at l. 1491 of the *Speculum*. **C** and **H** share four lines of introduction to the Latin quotation which do not occur in the *Speculum*. The agreement

between **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** against **Z**, combined with the large amounts of abbreviation in both versions represented by these manuscripts, indicates that they all share some common source outside the *PC*.

C. Areas of Disagreement

The amount of agreement between **C**, **H**, and the *Speculum* might lead one to suspect a direct relationship of descent between these two *PC* texts and the *Speculum*, but evidence of particular disagreements between them illustrate that their relationship is more difficult to assess. Alongside the similarities of these three texts lie some features which distinguish the text of the *Speculum* from the other two. The *Speculum* contains three sizable portions of text (*Speculum*, ll. 403-580 — a treatise on the ten commandments; ll. 723-780 — a digression on the vanity and sensuality of current fashions; ll. 1423-1454 and 1456-1461 — a description of the Antichrist and his activities) with no parallel in **Z**, **C**, or **H**. In total, there are 528 distinctive lines in the *Speculum* which, other than in the three instances just mentioned, are spread throughout the text. There is one instance (corresponding to **Z** ll. 1334-1337, 1354,1355; *Speculum*, ll. 673-678) where the text of the *Speculum* agrees with text found in Morris' edition against the witness of both **C** and **H**:

Z, ll. 1332-1337, 1354, 1355:
**Continuus successus temporalium, fu-
ture dampnacionis est indicium.**
He says, “continuel happy commyng
Of worldly gudes, es a takenyng
Of þe dampnacion þat sal be,”
At þe last day, with-uten pit .
.....
þe quilk, als says wyse men and witty,
Onence God es bot foly.

Speculum (B), ll. 672a-678:

C, fol. 47r:
**Continuus successus temporalium
future dampnacionis est indicium**
He seiþ hit is a shewynge to be
Of dampnacioun and peyne witoute pyte
þerfore to heuene may no man come
þat foleweþ þe world and his wysdome
For wisdom of þe world witturly
Is no3th to God but gret foly

H, fol. 11r:

**Continuus successus temporalium
future damnacionis est indicium**

He sais, *continual* happe comyng
Of worldus godus is a tokonyng
Of þe damnacion þat shal be
At þe last day, wit out pyte,
þe quych sayn wyse men and wytty
A3aynus God is no3t bot foly.

**Continuus successus temporalium
future dampnacionis est indicium**

He seiþ it ys a shewyng to be
Of dampnacioun and peyne wiþoute pyte
þerfore to heuene may man not come
þat foleweþ þe world 7 hys wysdome
For wysdom of þe world wytterly
Is not to God but gret foly

The agreement between the *Speculum* and **Z** in the first couplet after the quotation (*comyng:tokonyng*), and the absence of this same couplet in both **C** and **H** tells us much about the relationships between the four texts. The couplet in question contains a literal translation of the Latin quotation, which one would expect in the text of the *PC*, given that fairly literal translations follow most of the other Latin quotations in **Z**, and in all of the *PC* texts discussed thus far. The appearance of this same couplet in Morris' base text, which was among those recognized as being "closest to the presumed original" by Lewis and McIntosh, confirms that the *Speculum*, in these two lines, likely preserves a reading closer to the original reading of the *PC* than the readings found in **C** or **H**. The other points of agreement between **Z** and the *Speculum* in the four lines which follow serve to support this argument. The discrepancy in the four texts above points out, then, that the *Speculum* does not descend directly from the text of **C** or **H**, since the *Speculum* contains, in lines 673-678 quoted above, some text which is closer to the presumed original *PC* than **C** or **H**. There are three other brief passages where the *Speculum* agrees with **H** and **Z** against **C** (*Speculum* ll. 365-366; 397-398; 1935-1938), but other agreements between the *Speculum* and **C** against **H** argue against any speculations that either **C** or **H** may be closer in relationship to the text of the *Speculum*.

The agreement between the *Speculum* and **Z** against **C** and **H** becomes even more important when one considers that in most places where parallel readings exist in the

Speculum, **Z**, **C**, and **H**, but where there are significant variations in the text, such as different word order, or differences in vocabulary, or differences in rhyme, the text of **C** and **H** more closely approximates the text of **Z**. The use of variant word order in the passages below is more marked in the *Speculum*:

Z, ll. 528-536

þus es a man, als we may se,
In wrechednes borne and caytefté,
And for to life here a fon dayse,
þar-for Iob þus openly sayse;
Homo, natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis.
He says, "Man þat born es of woman
Lyfand short time to [sic] ful-fild es þan
Of many maners of wrechednes."
þus says Iob, and swa it es

H, fol. 5v, l. 23-6r, l. 8

þus ys a man as 3e may se
In wrecchednesse bore and caytifte.
And forte lyue here a fewe dayes
þerfore Job þus by man says
Homo natus de muliere brevi viuens tempore repletur multis miseriis
He seiþ man bore ys of womman
Lyuynge in tyme fulfyld ys þan
Of mony maner of wrecchednesse
So seiþ Job and soþ hyt ys

C, fol. 43r, ll. 13-22

þus is a man as 3e may se
In wrecchednesse borne and caytifte
And forto lyue here a fewe dayes
þerfore Job þus be men saies
Homo natus de muliere breui uiuens tempore repletur multis miseriis
He seiþ man þat boren is of a womman
Lyuyng in tyme fulfuld is þan
Of many maner of wrecchednesse
So seiþ Job and soþ it is

Speculum, ll. 299-304

þus is a mon as 3e may see,
In wrecchetnes born, and caytifte
And for to lif here a fewe days,
As Goddus laze to us sais:
Homo natus de muliere breui uiuens tempore [repletur multis miseriis]
A mon þat of womon born is
Liffyng here, shorte his tyme is,
And `3et`, ouer al fulfild is he,
Of wrecchetnes þat he con not see.

The vocabulary is extremely close in all four passages, until the second line after the Latin quotation; then the expression "many maners" in **Z**, **C**, and **H**, cannot be found in the *Speculum*. In the *Speculum*, the shortness of time for the man born of woman is emphasized by the recasting of the second line after the Latin quotation, and the rest of the passage is likewise recast, providing new rhyme-words, *is:is* and *he:see*. Other subtle differences surface on close inspection: **Z**, **C**, and **H** all attribute the quotation to Job, whereas the *Speculum* attributes it to "Goddus laze." Wider divergences in vocabulary

can be seen in the following passage:

Z, ll. 6053-6068

Som sal noght deme, bot be demed
 Til helle, and fra God be flemed,
 Als þas þat er fals cristen men,
 Þat keped noght þe comandmentes ten,
 And wald noght here forsake þair syn,
 Bot whils þai lyfyed ay dwelle þar-in.
 Som sal noght be demed þat day
 Þat sal wende to helle and dwelle þar ay,
 Als paens and sarazyns þat had na law,
 And Iewes þat never wald Crist know,
 Þarfor þai sal ga til payne endeles,
 With-uten dome, for þus writen es:

H, f. 51v, ll. 2-11

Somme shul not deme but be demed
 To helle and fro god be flemed
 Þat kepeþ not þe comaundmentys ten
 And wol not here forsake her synne
 Somme shul not be demyd þat day
 Þat shul wende to helle and dwelle þer ay
 As paynymes and saresouns þat had no
 lawe
 Þe Iewes þat neuer wolde Crist knowe
 Þerfore þey shul goo to peyne endeles
 Wipoute dome þus wryten it ys

C, 78r, ll. 17-26

Somme shulle nozt deme but be demed
 To helle and from god be flemed
 Þat kepte nozt þe comaundementes ten
 And wolde nozt here forsake here synne
 Summe shulle nozt be demed þat day
 Þat shulle wende to helle and dwelle þere
 ay
 As payneines and sarazyns þat hadde no
 lawe
 Þe Iewes þat wolde neuere Crist knowe
 Þerfore þei shulle go to þe peyne endeles
 Witoute dom for þus writen hit is

Speculum, ll. 1939-1948

Som shal nozt deme bot demet be
 Fro God and all his holy company,
 For þai wold nozt dedly syn flee,
 Ne kep þe comaundmentis wilfulle.
 Bot sum shal nozt be demet þen, as Crist
 sais,
 As hethon men þat ben witouton faith.
 For þai ben demet now to hell worthele,
 Þat wil not beleue in Crist trule,
 And þen shal go to payn endles,
 As in þe gospell writon it is:

The above quotations differ greatly in the vocabulary used, despite the fact that all four share a fair degree of content. The first two lines in **C** and **H** are the same as the equivalent lines in **Z**. **B** and **D** have rearranged the lines in order to accommodate a new rhyme; the statement also gets completely recast in the second of the two lines, where **B** and **D** say that the damned will be sent “Fro God and all his holy company,” emphasizing the *terminus a quo*, rather than the emphasis on the *terminus ad quem* found in **C**, **H**, and **Z**, when they state that the damned will be sent “to helle and fro God be flemed.” All four of **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** lack any equivalent to ll. 6055 and 6057 in **Z**, leaving **C** and **H** without any rhyming partners to the lines “þat kepte nozt þe comaundementes ten” and “And

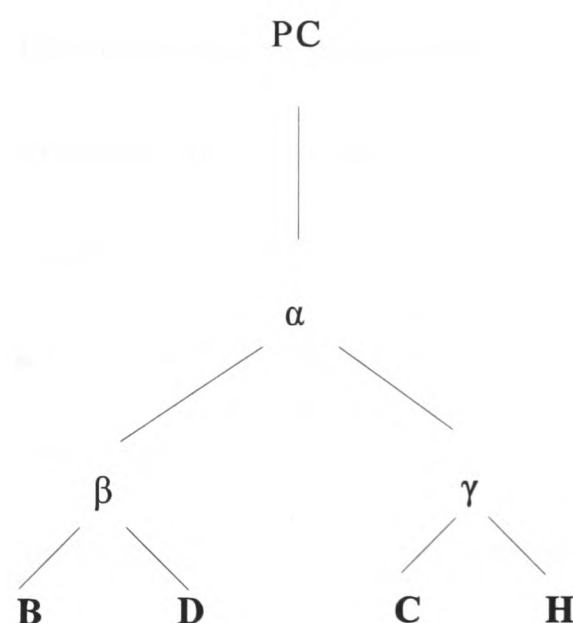
wolde no3t here forsake her synne.” The *Speculum* recasts this whole section with a new rhyme and a rearrangement of the vocabulary, “For þai wold no3t dedly syn flee/ ne kep þe comaundmentis wilfulle.” Whilst **C** and **H** contain the couplet ending in *day:ay* found in **Z** ll. 6059, 6060, **B** and **D** lack the second line of the couplet, and in its stead, they have a paraphrase which criticizes “hethon men” (as opposed to the named “sarazynes”, “paens,” and “iewes”) not for their lack of law (as in **Z**, **C** and **H**) but for their refusal to believe in Christ. In the last two lines, **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** all return to something approaching **Z**. Of the four texts, **C** and **H** maintain more of the rhymes and vocabulary found in **Z** than the equivalent text in **B** and **D**.

There are approximately 109 lines of English where the text of **C** and **H** does not agree with either **Z** or the *Speculum*, and these lines are dispersed fairly evenly throughout both manuscripts. The largest sustained passages of these lines in **C** and **H** appear in three places: there are 11 lines which occur between what are ll. 1291 and 1292 in the *Speculum*; there is one passage of 8 lines (between ll. 1554, 1555) and one passage of six lines (occurring between ll. 1502, 1503). There are, then, no particularly large, sustained passages in **C** or **H** where the text appears to be an interpolation of new material of the same magnitude as the commentaries on the ten commandments, on worldly vanity, and on the life of the Antichrist found in the *Speculum*.

V. **Conclusion: The Relationship of the Manuscripts and the Base Text for the Present Edition of the *Speculum huius vite***

On the basis of what has already been stated about the larger similarities and dissimilarities present in **C**, **H**, and the *Speculum*, we can now draw some conclusions about their relationship. The material which these three texts share over against the witness of **Z**, along with their brevity, argues for at least one stage of redaction somewhere

between Morris' base texts and the appearance of the *Speculum*, **C**, and **H**. The witness of ll. 673-678 in the *Speculum*, shared with Morris' edition, against the corresponding texts in **C** and **H** indicates that, while the *Speculum* descends from the first stage of redaction, it does not derive from the same exemplar as **C** and **H**. The large amount of material unique to the *Speculum*, and its greater degree of abbreviation, indicate that the *Speculum* derives from yet another redaction of the text occurring somewhere between the first stage and the extant manuscripts **B** and **D**. At the very least, the evidence thus far indicates the following series of relationships:



The text of α would, then, represent the first stage of redaction described above, and would thus not only be an abbreviated version of the original *Prick of Conscience*, but it would also contain those 221 lines shared by **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H** which have no parallels in the *PC*. “ β ” would then represent the second stage of redaction, and would include the presumed archetype of the *Speculum*, containing the 528 lines and the Latin quotations unique to the *Speculum* which are shared by **B** and **D**. β would also preserve the reading found in **Z**, ll. 1332-1337, 1354, 1355 (*Speculum* ll. 673-678), whereas γ , the hypothetical

archetype of **C** and **H**, would alter these same lines in the manner reflected in the shared reading found in **C** and **H**. The evidence thus far supports the conclusion, made by Lewis and McIntosh, that the *Speculum* “is closely related to, and probably made from, the version contained in [**C** and **H**]”²⁹ with the qualification that the text in **C** and **H** descends from α without going through the second stage of redaction found in β , and could thus be said to represent most closely, of all the *PC* manuscripts, the version from which β , **B**, and **D** all take their origin.

The choice of the base text for the edition of the *Speculum* which follows is rendered simpler by the relative stability of the text manifested in the close readings of **B** and **D**, and by the missing folios at the end of manuscript **D**. In terms of their descent from β , neither **B** nor **D** manifest any obvious sign of priority, at least as far as the extant text in both manuscripts is concerned. Despite the earlier conjectural date of writing given for manuscript **D** (*s.xiv. ex.*), and the relative clarity of the hand in that text, its incompleteness provides the principal argument for the use of **B** as the base manuscript for the text. The dialects of the manuscripts, which will receive their proper analysis in the next chapter, shed further light upon the question of the descent of the text, and provide some support for the choice of **B** as an appropriate base text for the poem.

²⁹*Descriptive Guide*, p. 160.

Chapter Five: The Language of the *Speculum huius vite*

I. Introduction

A. A Brief Survey of Investigations into the Language of the *Speculum*

Conclusions regarding the language of the *Speculum huius vite* are naturally bound up with investigations of the language of the *Prick of Conscience*: indeed, no independent study of the language of the *Speculum* exists, beyond the brief localizations given in the *Descriptive Guide* for its manuscript texts, and Linguistic Profiles (hereafter referred to as “LPs”) for these same manuscripts (LP 167 for the text of **B**, and LP 184 for the text of **D**) in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*. Although much of the early research in Morris’ introductory notes and in the *Descriptive Guide* do not have a direct bearing on the language of the *Speculum*, the localization of the language of the *Prick*, or at least of those manuscripts closest to the *Speculum*, could aid in the search for further information regarding the origin and development of the *Speculum*, particularly if linguistic features in **B** and **D** reveal anything about the language of their respective exemplar(s). In view of this aim, a brief review of scholarship concerning the language of the *Prick* will be followed by a statement of the difficulties regarding the dialect of the *Speculum*, which in turn will be followed by a more detailed investigation of the language of the text in both **B** and **D**.

1. Conclusions Regarding the Language of the *Prick of Conscience* in Morris’ Edition and in Lewis and McIntosh’s *Descriptive Guide*

John Bale’s *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, published in the mid-sixteenth century, identified the *Prick of Conscience* with the fourteenth-century writer Richard Rolle of Hampole, an attribution which stood until the beginning of the present century. The attribution clouded the issue of the language of the text, since the attribution, rather than an independent study of the dialects represented in the manuscripts, tended to determine

early opinions as to the geographical origin of the text.¹ Morris' edition of the *Prick of Conscience* in 1863 identified Richard Rolle as the author of the text, but Morris did not merely pass on a tradition of attribution without critical investigation: his conviction that the text was northern in origin, drawn from his own studies of the vocabulary in the twelve manuscripts he knew², was what led him to concur with the traditional attribution. Finding that many of the twelve manuscripts contained northern forms, or evidence that northern forms had been changed to less adequate southern forms, Morris concluded that the poem came from the north; and since the traditional attribution fitted very well with this localization, Morris likewise credited the work to Richard Rolle. Lewis and McIntosh, having examined all the manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*, concluded that many of the early manuscripts³ of the poem are dialectally northern, "and scholars have been in agreement that the poem was written in the north of England, probably in Yorkshire."⁴ Since the early identification of the *Prick of Conscience* with Richard Rolle skewed the estimation of its place of origin in early scholarship, Morris' earlier research, and Lewis and McIntosh's own investigation of the language, furnishes much more firm evidence than the scholarly tradition does for the provenance of the poem.

¹See *Descriptive Guide*, p. 3, n. 9 and p. 12, n. 32. Lewis and McIntosh state that Bale only knew one particular Latin version of the text which contained an attribution to Rolle; the attribution persisted until Hope Emily Allen's studies, "The Authorship of the *Prick of Conscience*", *Studies in English and Comparative Literature*, Radcliffe College Monographs, 15 (Boston: McGinn and Co., 1910) pp. 115-170, and *Writings Attributed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for his Biography*, Monograph Series, Modern Language Association of America (New York: D.C. Heath and Co., 1927), pp. 372-397.

²This has already been discussed in the previous chapter on manuscript relations; see p. 3 of that chapter.

³Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 131, ff. 1-113v; British Library (hereafter BL) Cotton Galba E. IX, ff. 76a-113a; BL Harley 4196, ff. 215va-258va; BL Harley 6923, ff. 2-117v; BL Add. 24203, ff. 1-150v; BL Add. 33995, ff. 102a-155a; Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter "Bodleian") Bodley 99, ff. 1-120v; Bodleian, Rawl. poetry 175, ff. 1a-55b; Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library, Taylor MS of the *Prick of Conscience*, ff. 1-126v.

⁴*Descriptive Guide*, p. 4.

Yet the more general question of the origin of the *Prick of Conscience* forms only a rather large backdrop to more proximate questions regarding the origin of the *Speculum huius vite*. The discussion of the manuscripts of the *Speculum* in the present study concurs with the conclusion, found in the *Descriptive Guide*, that the two *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts related most closely to the *Speculum* are **C** and **H**, identified in the *Guide* as MV 11 and 14 respectively. The dialects of these two manuscripts, however, serve only to cloud the question of the origin of the *Speculum*: the *Guide* states that **C** is “a probably Sussex transcription of an exemplar in a rather standard form of language.”⁵ **H**, on the other hand, is probably from Worcestershire, but contains “suggestions of a Gloucestershire dialectal element.”⁶ According to the *Guide*, then, both **C** and **H** come from areas notably south of the Yorkshire origins of the *PC*. A bewildering variety of dialects, namely those of Yorkshire, Sussex, and the South-West Midlands, thus present themselves as those of which one might find traces in the original *Speculum*. Lewis and McIntosh’s analysis of the dialects of **B** and **D** serves to stabilize this picture within the Midlands, since both texts are, according to them, in Midlands dialects — **B** coming from South Lancashire, and **D** from South-west Derbyshire.⁷ There are no guarantees, however, that the scribes of **C**, **H**, and the two *Speculum* manuscripts left behind any dialectal traces of the exemplars leading back to the common root of the version found in all four manuscripts; the scribes may have been entirely consistent in transcribing their texts using their own, more familiar spellings. The main difficulty in assessing the reliability of these localizations is that the authors of the *Guide* do not

⁵*Descriptive Guide*, p. 44.

⁶*Descriptive Guide*, p. 47.

⁷*Descriptive Guide*, pp. 159-160.

indicate precisely how much of the various texts they examined in making their judgements, beyond saying that “not all texts of the *Prick of Conscience* have been analysed in their entirety.”⁸ A resource published four years after the appearance of the *Guide*, and dependent upon the research which went into the *Guide*, not only went into more detail, but also presented the relevant evidence for evaluation.

2. Analysis and Conclusions Printed in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*

In 1956, Prof. Angus McIntosh argued the case for a science of graphemic analysis parallel to the science of phonetic analysis. There he stated that written Middle English should be treated, not principally as a means for understanding different varieties of the spoken language, but rather as a system of language “operating in its own right — a system specifically of written language such as we might envisage flourishing even if all its users were deaf and dumb.”⁹ The study of orthography as a system, like the systematic study of pronunciation, could reveal distinctions which, although they might have no correlation to distinctions in pronunciation, are, nevertheless, reflections of a regional variety of the written language:

We have observed that written texts lack anything which reflects certain phonetic variants present in their spoken equivalents. But they also manifest other new distinctions of their own, distinctions which are in no sense a reflection of, or correlated with, anything in the spoken language. The spoken manifestations of Middle English have thus no monopoly in this matter; nor do they control, by the total extent of their own deviation one from the other, the extent to which corresponding written manifestations may deviate.¹⁰

⁸*Descriptive Guide*, p. 30.

⁹Angus McIntosh, “The Analysis of Written Middle English,” *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1956, p. 53.

¹⁰*Ibid*, p. 33.

McIntosh then sets out a way forward for a graphemic analysis of Middle English texts, analogous to the analysis of the spoken language: a comprehensive examination of visible graphic data would then be followed by an attempt to distinguish which features are relevant for establishing linguistic distinctions from those which are irrelevant.¹¹ Only then can one provide a set of “graphemes” (on the analogy of “phonemes” for the spoken language): “The process of ‘graphemicising’ can only come later; there is no trustworthy way of short-circuiting the procedure of having to make a general ‘impressionistic’ examination of variants without a knowledge of their precise status or significance.”¹² The procedures utilized in producing the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* followed this basic outline by first finding a body of data and then sifting it for significant graphemic variations.

The *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, published in 1986 but supported by twenty years of previous work, began with the examination of texts which could be associated with a particular place through non-linguistic evidence, such as local wills and legal texts. A study of the orthographical features of these texts provided a list of significant variations in particular words and features affiliated with the places where the texts were written. These then provided the basis for a questionnaire which was applied to another set of texts which could not be linked to a place by non-linguistic means. The responses to the questionnaire from each of this second series of texts enabled the compilers of the *Atlas* to determine a “place”, or at the very least, a working environment, for some of the scribes of the various texts. It was the next stage of investigation which introduced an element of controversy into the proceedings: the compilers of the *Atlas*

¹¹Ibid., p. 43.

¹²Ibid., p. 43.

deemed some forms taken from this second set of texts graphemically relevant, and added them to the questionnaire. This step involves the assumption that additional, particular graphemes in graphemically-located texts were in turn graphemically homogeneous with the identified locale, and thus could be applied to further texts. This assumption of homogeneity, however, bends the whole procedure into a rather neat circular shape, since graphemically-localized texts provide in turn further graphemes for localization of other texts. The questionnaire, enlarged with graphemes extrapolated from the second set of texts, was applied to yet another series of texts, which were in turn localized. The reliability of this last procedure would depend on how thoroughly the compilers and editors of the *Atlas* sifted their data and saw a correlation between the elements they added to the questionnaire and a particular locale. The answers to the questionnaire for each manuscript in the study were developed into a linguistic profile for each manuscript text, and the various responses to the questionnaire enabled the authors of the *Atlas* to compose a series of “dot-maps” graphically representing which spelling forms appeared in which locatable and localized documents (without, however, distinguishing between these two varieties of documents). Each manuscript containing a particular form is identified in its place with a black dot for each item of the questionnaire. Geographical “clustering” and patterns of dots indicate those locales particularly associated with an item. The maps allow researchers to collate responses to the questionnaire from a manuscript text and compare these responses with those of the texts localized in the *Atlas*. By overlaying the various responses to the questionnaire on a map, one can find a narrower localization for a particular manuscript.¹³

¹³See Michael Benskin, “The ‘Fit’-technique Explained.” *Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, ed. Felicity Riddy. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1991), pp. 9-26.

The *Atlas* contains a number of linguistic profiles for manuscript texts of the *Prick of Conscience*, and each profile lists a summary of the responses to the questionnaire which surfaced from the study of the manuscripts. The *Atlas* provides linguistic profiles for both manuscripts of the *Speculum huius vite*, which agree with the localizations found in the *Guide*. This should come as no surprise, since the efforts which went into the production of the *Guide* formed part of McIntosh's research for the purposes of producing the *Atlas*. The responses to the questionnaire for **B** appear in Linguistic Profile (LP) 167 in the County Directory, among the entries for Lancashire in volume two of the *Linguistic Atlas*, and the responses for the text of **D** appear in LP 184 among the entries for Derbyshire in the same volume.¹⁴ The responses for both texts, as the localizations suggest, present no surprises, considering their fairly consistent agreement with the conclusions of the *Guide*. Like the study in the *Guide*, the linguistic profiles arise from evidence drawn from differing lengths of text: in the case of **B**, folios 117 r - 136 r (ll. 1-2338), practically the whole text of the *Speculum*, received a thorough examination, compared to thirty pages (149-179; ll. 1-840) in **D**. A survey of the responses with reference to a word-index of **B** reveals that the linguistic profile accurately reports the responses of **B** in almost all the essential details; the more particular examination of the language of **B** which follows will investigate one lapse in the account given in LP 167. A less systematic and sporadic survey of **D** likewise supports the responses listed in LP 184. If the associations drawn between particular graphemes and places indicated by the vast research underlying the *Linguistic Atlas* are correct, then the record in the Linguistic

¹⁴Angus McIntosh, M.L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*, vol. iii (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), p. 207 (for **B**); p. 72 (for **D**). Hereafter cited as *LALME*.

Profiles for forms in **B** and **D** should provide accurate localizations for each manuscript text of the *Speculum*.

B. Aspects of Language in the *Speculum* which Require Further Resolution

The *Linguistic Atlas* answers many of the questions regarding the language of the two extant texts of the *Speculum huius vite*, but it cannot answer a question which concerns deviations from, rather than consistencies with, certain regional forms. The next stage of inquiry attempts to reach behind the regional forms of these two texts to see whether they surrender any clues about the geographical origin of the *Speculum*, and since this involves an examination of forms (if any exist) which deviate from those expected in the locales indicated by the *Linguistic Atlas*, the questionnaire results found in the two immediate linguistic profiles cannot supply much help. Poetic texts offer an advantage over prose texts in considerations of this kind, since scribes who would ordinarily change all spellings into their own regional spellings in a prose text are reluctant to do so when it would sacrifice a rhyme in a couplet. When they do change the word-form or the rhyme, it usually leaves some evidence of tampering, such as a new rhyme-word, an imperfect rhyme, or other re-writing in place of a rhyming word or rhyming pair which would not rhyme in the redactor's dialect. In some cases, new rhymes found only in **B** and **D** contain dialectal features which would not rhyme in the different dialects attested in **Z**, **C**, and **H**. If the manuscripts of the *Speculum* share any of these peculiarities in contradistinction to the texts of **Z**, **C**, and **H**, then the logical assumption is that their common source contained the same dialectally significant peculiarity. Word-forms and imperfections in the rhymes of the *Speculum* may well indicate one way past the regional dialectal variants of **B** and **D**, into the original dialect of the *Speculum*. That way is fraught with a number

of difficulties.

The examination of peculiarities in word-forms found in **B** and **D** presumes that both manuscripts show a certain consistency in spelling which would highlight the peculiarities of spellings passed down from the sources of the text in these two manuscripts. A survey of a computer-generated word index of **B** reveals that although certain words are spelt in slightly different ways, they rarely vary in the spelling of the stressed syllable:

apostel (ll. 626, 630, 684, 1640), apostil (l. 1613), appostel (l. 405);
 bysshoppus (l. 529), bisshopus (l. 557); bitterly (l. 1738), bittirly (l. 2254),
 bitturly (l. 133); blessed (1956, 1957, 2607), blesset (ll. 2600, 2669),
 blessyt (2549); blis (ll. 68, 82, 86, 110, 128, etc.; 22 occurrences), blisse (ll.
 80, 842, 1072, 2022, 2329, etc.; 8 occurrences); brichil (l. 256), brichel (l.
 1550); buxome (l. 240), buxoum (l. 67); clansed (ll. 1077, 1235), clensed
 (l. 1116), clenset (l. 1179); comaundment (ll. 493, 497), cumaundment (ll.
 475, 483, 489, 491); damned (l. 1950), damnet (l. 1876); departis (ll. 853,
 1044), departus (l. 930); derknes (ll. 2095, 2190, 2193, 2196), derknys (l.
 2187); ensaumpel (l. 758), ensaumpul (ll. 565, 1883); envy (l. 1540), envie
 (l. 1181); febell (ll. 1328, 1967), feble (l. 2383), febul (l. 1550), febull (l.
 1888); fedd (l. 1863), fedde (l. 1961); folk (ll. 179, 1975, 2166), folke (ll.
 602, 1455, 1557, 1920); gifes (l. 360), giffus (l. 1231), gifus (ll. 570, 1896,
 2130); grucchon (ll. 190, 193), gruchon (l. 187); heuen (ll. 39, 64, 479,
 482, etc.; 14 occurrences), heuon (ll. 9, 80, 223, 234, etc.; 51 occurrences);
 honger (ll. 1257, 2093, 2160), hongur (ll. 57, 1399, 2166, 2170, 2186);
 keppet (ll. 54, 514), keppt (l. 948), kept (l. 776); knowen (*pa.pl.* ll. 1034),
 knowon (*pa.pl.* ll. 1387, 2063); lond (ll. 19, 687, 1472, 1481), londe (ll.
 479, 502, 2630); lucifer (l. 222), lucyfere (l. 574); mater (ll. 214, 218, 221,
 227, 232, 249), matere (l. 401); meke (ll. 138, 240, 244, etc.; 8
 occurrences), mek (ll. 560, 563); mykel (ll. 1997, 2139), mykell (l. 2142),
 mykil (ll. 233, 516, 1320, etc.; 7 occurrences), mykyll (ll. 1246, 1916);
 oponly (ll. 322, 765, 1779, 2462), opunly (ll. 1126, 1720, 1777), hopunly
 (1707); perel (l. 1168), perell (l. 129), perill (l. 56); pistell (l. 1478), pistil
 (l. 765), pistill (l. 548), pistul (ll. 452, 1830); plente (ll. 1178, 2016, 2658),
 plenty (l. 668); sodanle (ll. 1603, 2237), sodanly (ll. 580, 752, 1585, 1600),
 sodenle (l. 738), sodenly (ll. 1386, 1593); þan (ll. 1643, 1724, 1824, 2466,
 2661), þanne (l. 2555), þen (ll. 13, 215, 281(1), 291, etc.; 88 occurrences);
 trule (l. 1946), truly (ll. 93, 510, 936, etc.; 11 occurrences).

Although the list above is not exhaustive, it does point out the generic spelling variations found in the text of **B**. The value of the vowel in unstressed syllables above is expressed

as <i>, <y>, or <e>, and occasionally (see *oponly/opunly* and *pistill/pistul* above) <o> or <u>, all of which likely represent attempts to render the value [ə], the common value which vowels in unstressed syllables shared after about A.D. 1000.¹⁵ The variations in final *-is*, *-es*, and *-us* in plural nouns also indicates some confusion on the part of the scribe regarding how to record the value of the vowel in unstressed syllables: *doyngis* (l. 1674), *doyngus* (ll. 1450, 1454); *fendis* (ll. 1144, 2248), *fendus* (ll. 70, 724, 1020, 1148, etc.; 14 occurrences); *joys* (l. 1286), *joyus* (ll. 2452, 2692); *daies* (ll. 1545, 1547, 1551), *days* (ll. 301, 948, 1543, 1587, 2071), *dayus* (ll. 1555, 2679). In some cases, such as “joys” and “days” above, the scribe leaves the vowel out completely. Occasional doubling of consonants likewise occurs (e.g. *febul/febull*, *giffus/gifus*, *grucchon/gruchon*, *keppt/kept*, *mykel/mykell*, *perel/perell*, *pistil/pistill*, *than/thanne*). Final *-e* sometimes appears where one might expect a final *-y* (e.g. *sodanle*, *plente*, *trule*), but it becomes a seemingly optional appendage in most other instances (e.g. *blis/blisse*, *febell/feble*, *folk/folke*, *lond/londe*, *meke/mek*, *than/thanne*). This confusion about final *-e* causes some doubts about whether final *-e* would have been voiced or silent in the dialect of **B**. General impressions of the text of **D** indicate similar spelling variations to those found in **B** as the following pairs testify:

apostel (ll. 626, 630, 684, 1640), apostul (l. 1613); byshopes (l. 529), bysshopis (l. 557); blisse (l. 68), blis (l. 110); comaundmentis (l. 34), comaundmentes (l. 63); heuen (l. 223), heuene (l. 234); conceyuet (l. 274), conceuet (l. 275); body (l. 360), bode (l. 356); among (l. 1479), emong (l. 1480); grutchen (ll. 187, 190), grutchyn (l. 193); zifep (l. 2130), zeueth (l. 360); honger (ll. 57, 1257, 1399), hongur (l. 2160); londe (ll. 19, 502), lond (ll. 479, 687); mater (ll. 214, 218, 221, 227, 232, 249), matere (l. 401); opunle (l. 322), opunly (l. 765), opunlyche (l. 1126); perel (ll. 129, 1168), perylle (l. 56); pistyl (l. 452), pystel (l. 548); sodenly (l. 580), sodeynlyche (l. 752); þanne (1643), þan (1724); trewly (ll. 93, 510, 936), trewle (l.

¹⁵Bennett and Smithers, p. xxiv.

1946).

Despite the abundance of examples quoted above, both **B** and **D** have generally stable spelling systems; any dialectally significant spellings will be noted duly in the particular examination which follows.

Another difficulty in attempting to reach beyond the texts of **B** and **D** to the original dialect of the *Speculum* stems from the disagreement between the late medieval notion of what is acceptable rhyme, and the most common modern notion of the same. The rhymes in the *Speculum* do not always strike the modern ear as particularly euphonious; in a number of instances, rhymes involve a match of two unstressed syllables: *nothyng:lyfyng* (ll. 191, 192), *endyng:lifyng* (ll. 267, 268), *partyng:lifyng* (ll. 797, 798), *truly:purgatory* (ll. 1079, 1080), *holynes:witnes* (ll. 1337, 1338), *bodely:almyzty* (ll. 971, 972), *redy:namly* (ll. 1791, 1792), *gloryng:brennyng* (ll. 2145, 2146). Other rhymes match a fully-stressed syllable with an unstressed syllable or a secondary-stressed syllable: *is:wrecchednes* (ll. 169, 170), *see:perte* (ll. 311, 312), *is:besynes* (ll. 313, 314), *be:poverte* (ll. 537, 538), *free:honeste* (ll. 639, 640). Still other rhymes are inexact: *redy:be* (ll. 417, 418), *ryztfully:deze* (ll. 1005, 1006), *here:prayere* (ll. 1179, 1180), *se:bode* (ll. 1307, 1308), *perfytylly:perby* (ll. 1497, 1498), *straitle:be* (ll. 1683, 1684), *flee:wilfulle* (ll. 1941, 1942), *sothly:me* (ll. 1971, 1972), *derknys:sese* (ll. 2187, 2188), *swiftnes:riztwis* (ll. 2369, 2370), *blis:witnes* (ll. 2421, 2422). The lines in **Z** which correspond to those from the *Speculum* cited immediately above do not bear the same rhymes, although similar sorts of rhymes occur fairly often in **Z** as well:

bygynnyng:endyng (ll. 7,8); godhede:anhede (ll. 13, 14); service:wise (ll. 125, 126); foly:worthy (ll. 267, 268); com:cristendom (ll. 548, 549); bere:shortere (ll. 742, 743); complexcion:condicion (ll. 768, 769); corrupcion:carion (ll. 846, 847); shynand:wonand (ll. 996, 997); fleshely:lychery (ll. 1140, 1141); here:messangere (ll. 2020, 2021);

aparty:mercy (ll. 3580, 3581); come:marterdome (ll. 4379, 4380);
les:unkyndenes (ll. 5586, 5587); grysely:myghty (ll. 6999, 7000).

The rhymes in the *Speculum* also indicate a tolerance for assonance on the pairs of final consonants d/p, p/t, t/d, m/n, and ng/nd as illustrated in the following examples:

rede:kepe (ll. 59, 60), kepe:mede (ll. 63, 64), David:wit (ll. 203, 204),
proude:aboute (ll. 249, 250), non:caytifdom (ll. 287, 288), slepe:shet (ll.
389, 390), prophet:redde (ll. 433, 434; 799, 800; 849, 850; 1447, 1448;
1879, 1880), hede:kepe (ll. 423, 424), dred:kepe (ll. 453, 454),
wrong:lond (ll. 501, 502), lond:emong (ll. 687, 688), mete:drede (ll. 915,
916), ichon:hom (ll. 1039, 1040), hede:prophet (ll. 1461, 1462), sone:some
(ll. 1527, 1528), mon:dome (ll. 1575, 1576), monhed:wepe (ll. 1737,
1738), don:ouercome (ll. 2013, 2014), hade:debate (2119, 2120),
cum:tribulacion (ll. 2337, 2338), rede:mete (ll. 2627, 2628).

The obvious absence of rhyme in some pairs of line-endings suggests the surrender of form for the sake of the content, or the inability of a scribe to alter pairs of lines so that they rhymed satisfactorily in his own dialect, as in the following: *fele:here* (ll. 1089, 1090; 1099, 1100; 2303, 2304; 2423, 2424), *laze:safe* (ll. 1435, 1436), *had:perte* (ll. 2301, 2302), *zere:wele* (ll. 2435, 2436), *be:perre* (ll. 2685, 2686). A proviso should be added to this list: the final “e” on “perre” could be a closed French *e* (i.e. equivalent to modern French *é*), thus rendering a rhyme of sorts on the word “be.” The apparent unconcern for perfection in rhyme illustrated in all the cases listed above creates problems in assessing whether or not an unrhymed, or imperfectly rhymed pair of lines originates in a marred attempt to render once-perfectly rhymed lines into a dialect where they do not rhyme. The pair *faith:sais* found in **B** at ll. 1943-1944, for instance, could be a reflection of an earlier perfect rhyme *faith:saith*, or it might also be another example of a lack of rhyme.

Since the text of the *Speculum* is rather more like a patchwork quilt than a piece of whole cloth, one must treat any dialectal evidence with extreme caution. An anomalous northern rhyme in a part of the *Speculum* derived from the *Prick of Conscience* might do

no more than indicate the northern origins of the latter — which would be important if evidence from the study of the manuscripts had not already indicated that the *Speculum* comes from the main, and not the southern, version of the *PC*. Rhymes found in those portions of text common to **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H**, but which do not appear in **Z**, may help to localize the origins of the first of the two redactions (represented by the symbol “ α ” on the stemma) which produced the *Speculum*. The variegated nature of the *Speculum* also has its advantages insofar as the four related manuscripts just mentioned each represent different dialects. Thus any agreement of these four in certain rhymes or word-forms anomalous to at least three of them (since the anomalous dialect may be shared by the scribe of one of the four manuscripts in question) may reveal the dialect of α . The evidence found in those portions of text unique to the *Speculum* will be of most interest, since it will furnish any clues about the localization for the second redaction of the text (symbolized by the graph “ β ” on the stemma), which makes the *Speculum*, unlike the text in **C** and **H**, more than simply a version of the *Prick of Conscience*.

The following study of the language proposes to investigate the language of **B**, the only complete manuscript text of the *Speculum*, pointing out its characteristic dialectal features. Any anomalies discovered will provide some specific items for investigation in the other text of the *Speculum*. The text of **D** may corroborate the evidence found in **B**, and it might also supply a way of checking any anomalous forms of words which occur within the line, as opposed to limiting the following study to rhyme-words alone. If both **B** and **D** agree in the use of a form which is anomalous to both, and this form agrees with forms attested in anomalous rhymes, then one can be reasonably certain that the source of the anomaly arises from the *Speculum*, and not from the caprices of scribal error. A general summation of the evidence, along with some final conclusions, appears after the

following examination of the two texts.

II. The Language of Oxford, Bodleian MS Additional A. 268, ff. 117ra-139rb and Dublin, Trinity College MS 155, pp. 149-238.

A. General Features

As one would expect, the general features in the language of **B** support the information given in the Linguistic Profile for the text. The mixture of some features from the North (the development of OE *hw*, the retraction of OE *-æld* to <-ald>) and from the Midlands (the treatment of OE *ā*, the endings of third person present indicative singular and present indicative plural verbs, present participle forms, the forms for third-person plural pronouns, and the spelling of retracted OE *-æld* as <-old>) and the absence of any Scottish forms (confusion of *-is*, *-isc* in the suffix; *ai*, *ei*, *oi* used for OE *ā*, *ē*, *ō*) suggests the North Midlands as the most likely provenance for **B**. Some West Midland features (the development of OE *eo*, *y*, *a* + lengthening groups, and *a* + nasal) narrow this broad localization to the North-west Midlands. In the interests of thoroughness and clarity, the following sections will present several specific examples of the features outlined above along with the anomalous variants in each category, if any exist.

1. Northern/Southern Features

a. Third-person Singular Present Indicative Verbs

The endings of verbs and their present participles in **B** indicate that the text belongs somewhere in the midlands. The third-person singular present indicative ends invariably in a final “s”, and most usually with *-us*, *-es*, or *-is*, as the following instances illustrate:

acordis, accordis (ll. 204, 2700), availus (l. 2269), beddus (l. 498), begilus (l. 612), behofes (l. 112), behose (ll. 820, 1273, 1500), chalangis (l. 964), choses (l. 72), clanes (l. 1105), comes (l. 844), comus (ll. 354, 371, 372,

412, 749, 851, 903, 941, 1386, 2061), consentis (l. 1848), cres (l. 285), delytus (l. 863), departis (l. 853), departus (l. 930), dos (ll. 99, 1099, 1103, 1109), endis (l. 1191), excuses (l. 135), falles (l. 320), fallus (ll. 1569, 1633), faris (l. 1305), farus (l. 2531), flizes (l. 2273), folzes (l. 1524), foloes (l. 24), forbedus (ll. 499, 764), forgetis (l. 970), getis (l. 1172), grefus (l. 99), groes (l. 374), helpus (ll. 144, 1091, 1314), knawes (ll. 155, 159), knowus (l. 2470), lazes (l. 611), lastis (ll. 128, 176, 246, 425, 992, 1072), lastus (ll. 644), ledus (l. 679), lernus (l. 563), lettus (l. 864), leues (l. 72), lifes (l. 359), makis (l. 656), mas (l. 1009), puttus (ll. 864, 973), sles (l. 848), smylus (l. 611), stondis (l. 2116), sonnus (l. 1582), spekis (l. 1032, 1042, 1505, 2023, 2112), takus (881), techys (200), teches (936, 1126, 1271, 1334), tellus (ll. 308, 322, 323, etc.; 17 occurrences), thenckis (l. 962), venges (l. 740), warnus (ll. 388, 1457), wynnus (l. 1107).

A number of these instances occur at the end of lines as rhymes, but they are mostly rhymes on another third-person present indicative singular verb:

lerus:berus (ll. 405, 406); gefus:lifus (ll. 77, 78; 359, 360; 1895, 1896);
worschipus:kepus (ll. 25, 26); brennus:rennus (ll. 2115, 2116); sais:plais
(ll. 653, 654); has:tas (ll. 907, 908).

All of these instances would rhyme in any dialect, since the inflectional endings in both words would change in the same manner according to the dialect — hence the following pairs in **D**: *zeveþ:lyfeþ* (ll. 77, 78; 359, 360; 1895, 1896); *worshyppip:kepyþ* (ll. 25, 26); *brennyþ:rennyþ* (ll. 2115, 2116); *seipe:pleipe* (ll. 653, 654); *hap:tape* (ll. 907, 908)¹⁶.

There are, however, a few instances where a third-person indicative singular verb rhymes on a noun or adverb ending in *-us* or *-es*: *tellus:gospellus* (ll. 427, 428); *thrallus:callus* (ll. 601, 602); *ellus:dwellus* (ll. 1073, 1074); *days:sais* (ll. 1543, 1544; 1555, 1556); *thewus:shewus* (ll. 909, 910); *tellus:ellus* (ll. 307, 308; 323, 324 343, 344; 361, 362; 961, 962; 1197, 1198; 1733, 1734; 1783, 1784; 1909, 1910; 1929, 1930; 2039, 2040);

¹⁶The contracted form “tape” of the verb “take,” although rare, does occur in Gower (*Confessio Amantis* in *The English Works of John Gower*, ed. G.C. Macaulay *EETS* es 81 (1900), v. 48; vii. 1074 — in both instances *tath* rhymes with *hath*), and in Chaucer (variant for *taketh*, l. 728 in the *Man of Law's Tale*, attested to by mss. Oxford Christ Church 152; Cambridge University Library Gg.iv.27; Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Hengwrt 154; see *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987), p. 1125). The pair *hap:tap* is not, then, as anomalous as it might first appear.

bozes:groes (ll. 373, 374). Almost all of these last examples can be traced back to the *Prick of Conscience*, but there are a number of important exceptions: the pairs *tellus:gospellus* (ll. 427, 428) and *tellus:ellus* (961, 962) occur only in **B** and **D**. The verb “tellus” in both these pairs rhymes on a plural noun and an adverb, both of which ordinarily end in *-s*, which suggests that third-person present indicative singular verbs ended in the Midland or Northerly *-s* in β , the archetype of the *Speculum*. One anomalous rhyme mentioned earlier, which occurs at ll. 1943, 1944, clouds the issue:

B:	D (p. 226)
Bot sum shal noȝt be demet þen as Crist sais	But summe schul noȝt be demed þanne as Crist seiþ
As hethon men þat ben witouton faith	As heþen men þat byn wyþ outen feiþ

This rhyme, which has no parallel in **C**, **H**, or in **Z** and which remains awkward in **B**, rhymes perfectly in **D** because of the ending of the third-person present indicative singular in *-þ* as opposed to the usual Midlands and Northern form in *-s*. A single piece of evidence does not make a case for the whole, however; this instance could simply reveal the tolerance of the poet’s ear for imperfect rhyme, or his knowledge of the alternative third person singular indicative ending.

The inconsistency of the endings of third-person singular present indicative verbs in **D** do not help to clarify whether these same verbs originally ended in *-þ* or *-s* in the *Speculum*. Some of these verbs appear in **D** at different points with one or the other ending:

behoues (l. 820), behoueþ (l. 112), behoue (l. 1500); beres (ll. 406, 540, 547, 564, 759, 2151), bereþ (l. 394); brynges (l. 298), bryngeþ (l. 1011); comes (ll. 372, 412, 1386), comeþ (ll. 354, 371, 844, 851, 903, 2061), comyþ (l. 941); departes (l. 930), departeþ (l. 853); has (ll. 283, 465, 543, 809, 840), haþ (ll. 29, 73, 130, 160, 268, 278, 281, 346, 348, 349, 829, 835, 903, 907, 954, 959); helps (ll. 144, 1314), helpiþ (ll. 1091); lastes (ll. 128, 176, 246, 644, 1072), lastis (l. 425), lastiþ (l. 992, 1072); seys (l. 302).

seyes (l. 1556), seiþ (ll. 152, 188, 189, 653, 1943); schewes (l. 910, 2017), scheweþ (ll. 1678, 2191); witnessiþ (l. 666), wittenes (ll. 799, 1653, 1829, 1879), wytenes (l. 1224).

The rest of the third-person indicative singular verbs in **D** are fairly equally divided on the basis of the two endings:

ending in -s: acordis (l. 204), byddes (ll. 430, 475, 483, 489, 493, 495, 501, 505), bygyles (l. 612), cheses (l. 72), consentes (l. 1848), cryes (l. 285), drawzes (l. 643), dwellus (l. 1074), endis (l. 1191), excuses (l. 135), groues (l. 374), knowes (ll. 155, 159), lawzes (l. 611), lerns (l. 563), leres (l. 405), leues (l. 72), mase (l. 1009), pleynes (l. 731), proues (l. 626), semes (l. 2015), schakes (l. 1578), smyles (l. 611), telles (ll. 308, 322, 323), þenkes (l. 961), warnes (ll. 388, 1457), wynnes (l. 1107).

ending in -þ: byteþ (l. 2102), brennyþ (ll. 2115, 2130), clanseþ (l. 1105), deliteþ (l. 863), dop (ll. 99, 1099, 1103, 1109), fallyþ (l. 320), falleþ (ll. 1569, 1633), fareþ (l. 1305), foloweþ (ll. 24, 1524), forþeteþ (l. 970), 3eueth (ll. 77, 360, 1231, 1896, 2130), goþ (ll. 1010, 1170, 1677), greueþ (l. 99), kepyþ (l. 26), lediþ (l. 679), letiþ (l. 864), lyfeþ (ll. 359, 1005, 1007, 1895), lyfiþ (l. 78), liþ (l. 698), luffiþ (l. 25), makeþ (l. 656), passeþ (ll. 24, 202, 713, 2131), preyþ (l. 1329), putteþ (ll. 864, 973), rennyþ (l. 2116), serueþ (ll. 1101, 1104), sleeþ (l. 848), sounþ (l. 1582), spekiþ (ll. 1032, 1042, 1850, 2023, 2112), spekeþ (ll. 260, 272, 1505, 1531), standiþ (l. 2116), takeþ (l. 881), techiþ (ll. 200, 936, 1126, 1271, 1334), vengeth (l. 740).

Both endings occur in those portions of the text associated with **Z** (e.g. *acordis*, *bygyles*, *byteþ*, *departeþ*, *fareþ*, *forbedys*, *groues*), those portions associated with the text of the first redaction, α , (*behoueþ* l. 112, *comeþ* ll. 851, 903, *seiþ*, *proues*, *mase*, *endis*), and those associated with the text of β (*behoueþ* l. 1273, *bryngeþ* l. 1011, *clanseþ*, *comeþ* l. 844, *fallyþ* l. 320, *leres*, *byddes* [all instances], *lerns*, *pleynes*). The use of one ending or the other in **D** is therefore not associated with the dialect of any of the redactions.

There are a number of possible explanations for the variation in forms found in **D**.

The variation of forms in **D** for third-person singular present indicatives could indicate a scribe who came from a border area, or a scribe who inconsistently translates an exemplar from a *-s* area into his own *-þ*. Another possible explanation for the variation in endings

could be varying “stints” of two scribes, one who comes from a more northerly region, and the other from a more southerly area. The scribe or scribes involved in the production of **D** could be copying slavishly the dialectally mixed features of his exemplar. The difficulty with this hypothesis is the occasional variation from one verb-ending to the next within a matter of a few lines, as in the following excerpt:

But he þat riȝt lyffynȝ wole loke,
 Shalt first bygynne, as seiþ þo boke,
 To knowe hymselfe what he is,
 And put hym to verey mekenes.
 For he þat knowes wel *and* con see
 What he sumtyme was, *and* now is, *and* shal be,
 A wyser mon he may be tolde
 Wheþer he be ȝong mon or olde,
 Þen he þat knowes alle oþer þing
 And of hymselfe haþ noo knowyng. (**D**, ll. 151-160, p. 154)

The passage contains two examples of a third-person present indicative singular verb in *-þ* (*seiþ* l. 152, and *haþ*, l. 160), and two examples of the same variety of verb ending in *-s* (*knowes*, ll. 155, 159), all within the space of nine lines. A similar example from a little further on in the text illustrates that this phenomenon is not an isolated occurrence:

When men byn strengest þei passe away,
 Riȝt as a blossom of a tree,
 Þat fallyþ when it is fayrest to see,
 And how foule it is afturward
 Tellus us opunle seynt Bernard
Homo nichil aliud est quam sperma fetidum,
saccum stercorum, et esca vermium
 Þis holy man seiþ as þo boke tellus (**D**, ll. 318-323, p. 160)

The ending for third person indicative singular verbs changes no less than four times, and once within the same line (*fallyþ* l. 320; *tellus* l. 322; *seiþ* l. 333; *tellus* l. 333). It must be said, however, that there are three large areas of **D** which use one ending to the exclusion of the other: all the third-person indicative singular verbs (with the exception of *seiþ*, which appears throughout the text with a final *-þ* except when it appears at the end of a

line) in ll. 374-643 end in *-s*, whilst the same species of verbs in ll. 1231-1569, and ll. 2023-2131 end exclusively in *-þ*. The “scribal stint” theory is not substantiated by the appearance of any similar distinguishing Northern and Southern features in the text of **D**, so one must fall back on one of the other explanations for the variation found in **D** in this particular feature of the text: the scribe of **D** either comes from a border area, or he has inconsistently translated the third-person singular present indicative verb-forms of his exemplar.

b. Plural Present Indicative Verbs

Most plural indicative verbs in **B** have either no ending or an *-e* ending (which may be meaningless), or they end in *-n* (a feature usually associated with the Midlands):

no ending/ -e ending: bere l. 2492; be ll. 120, 517, 1498, 2642; bring ll. 366, 367, come ll. 2388, 2477; crye l. 2222; cum l. 2646; de3e l. 66; do l. 1972; dra3e l. 754; dwell l. 2710; ende l. 1003; fall l. 2452; fare ll. 2309, 2525(2); fynd ll. 42, 177, 490, 1761, 2350; fynde ll. 690, 773; go ll. 66, 846; grete ll. 2222; haf ll. 27, 119, 121, 123; here ll. 187, 1617, 1626; kepe l. 1497; knaw l. 810; lif ll. 184, 1794; luf ll. 448, 2639, 2640, 2645; show l. 445; suffir l. 1250, suffur ll. 1112, 1189; swere l. 446; tak l. 526; take l. 342; tell ll. 1607, 1612, 2032, 2085, 2150; trow l. 191; use l. 1949; wend ll. 976, 2416; worschip l. 517, write l. 1799

ending in -n: beron l. 824; ben ll. 193, 195, 197, etc.; bo3en ll. 134, 436; breken l. 438; comon l. 899; coueten l. 530; coueton l. 2329; de3en l. 738; dispisyn l. 729; don ll. 519, 1202, 2234; dredon 642; dwellen l. 2602; endyn l. 918; endon l. 977; fallen l. 149; fleen l. 827; fol3en l. 1924; for3eten l. 1247; forsakyn l. 2396; gifen l. 2348; gifon l. 599; gon ll. 2042, 2330; grefon l. 662; grucchon ll. 190, 193; gruchon l. 187; han ll. 663, 709, 2528; knawen l. 124; laston l. 1286; ledon l. 641; letton l. 178; lifon l. 2526; louen l. 2354; lufen l. 28; maken l. 805; makon ll. 598, 601, 638, 745; passen, passon ll. 1844, 2446; reuon l. 181; sayn l. 677, 1013; synnon l. 1672; speken, spekon l. 194, 1542; stiron l. 791; swen l. 1928; tellon l. 2573; touchon l. 1354; waxon l. 190; weron l. 721; weton l. 1245; wurschippen l. 21.

A very few indicative plural verbs end in *-s*: *auaylis* l. 726; *bers* l. 1338; *bes* l. 1736;

callus 602; *demys* l. 330; *dwellus* ll. 1102, 1733; *has* ll. 141, 541, 1736; *helpus* 1095; *lise* l. 1306; *semes* 329; *takis* l. 440; *tellus* ll. 1410, 1636, 2039, 2713; *wendus* l. 1287. All of

these last examples derive from the *Prick of Conscience*, which comes as little surprise since one would normally expect either *-s* or no ending at all (if a pronoun immediately precedes the verb) on plural indicatives in the North.¹⁷ None of the plural indicatives in *-n* comes at the end of a line in **B**, except for the single self-rhyming pair *ledon:dredon* (ll. 641, 642), which appears as *leden:dreden* in **D**, and *ledep:dredep* in both **C** and **H**. The rhymes on verbs without any ending, or ending in *-s*, are few but significant, since most of them are paired with words that would not produce a rhyme if the verb ended in *-n* or *-p*:

semes:demys (ll. 329, 330); ellus:dwellus (ll. 1101, 1102); dwellus:tellus (ll. 1733, 1734); hell:dwell (ll. 2709, 2710); here:bere (ll. 2491, 2492); fare:care (ll. 2309, 2310); monkynd:fynd (ll. 41, 42; 689, 690); mynd:fynd (ll. 177, 178; 489, 490); þoo:goo (ll. 803, 804); here:manere (ll. 187, 188); fell:tell (ll. 1611, 1612); hell:tell (ll. 2031, 2032; 2085, 2086; 2149, 2150)

The absence of any ending on verbs of this kind fits in well with the northern origins of the *Prick of Conscience*, and most of these rhyming pairs come directly from that work. The pair *semes:demys* is a self-rhyme, and thus indicates little of dialectal significance. The rhyme *dwellus:tellus* matches a third-person plural indicative with a third-person singular verb, which would rhyme in all areas except the East Midlands, where the endings (*-en* for the plural, *-ep* for the singular) would not match.¹⁸ All of the pairs rhyming on “fynd” and “fare,” however, occur in material shared by **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H**, and so they give some small testimony to the dialect of the first redaction. Only five plural present indicative verbs occur at the end of lines in material found uniquely in the *Speculum*, and in four of the five cases, they rhyme with words which indicate either a lack of any inflectional endings on verbs of this number and mood, or an ending in *-s*:

¹⁷ “In Northern texts the verb ending is generally lost when the plural pronoun immediately precedes the verb.” Burrow and Turville-Petre, p. 32.

¹⁸ See Bennett and Smithers, p. xxxv.

tailus:avaylis (ll. 725, 726); *dwellus:tellus* (ll. 1733, 1734); *mynd:fynd* (ll. 489, 490); *end (sb.):wend* (ll. 2415, 2416); *here (adv.):bere* (ll. 2491, 2492). The first pair of the five, *tailus:avaylis*, rhymes a plural noun with a third-person plural present indicative verb. The usual ending for plural nouns in all dialectal regions was the same *-s* ending which one sees in use today (the plural ending *-(e)n* is a possibility, although an unlikely one, in southern texts¹⁹). If the indicative plural verb-form ended in *-þ*, which is usual in most southern texts,²⁰ it would produce the imperfect rhyme *tailus:avayliþ*; but the rhyme would be rendered perfect if the verb ended in the more northerly *-s*, which is the form which appears in both **B** and **D**. The second of the five rhymes involving present indicative plurals in material unique to the *Speculum*, *dwellus:tellus*, has been explained above, and it eliminates the East Midlands as a possible place of origin for the rhyme. The last two of the five pairs only appear in **B**, since the text of **D** ends imperfectly at l. 2240. A plural pronoun or subject appears just before each of the verbs without any final *-s* (*wend* l. 2416 and *bere* l. 2496), something which was a common practice in the North.²¹ The appearance of rhyme only on plural present indicative verbs without a final *-n* or *-þ* within material only found in the *Speculum*, as well as in material derived from the *Prick of Conscience* and the first redaction, could indicate a more northerly origin for the *Speculum*, despite the frequency of the *-n* ending in the rest of the text of **B**. The absence of any inflectional endings on plural present indicatives could also indicate the gradual disappearance of inflections towards the end of the fifteenth century in the Midlands and the South, but the additional evidence of present indicative plural verb

¹⁹See Burrow and Turville-Petre, pp. 21-23.

²⁰Burrow and Turville-Petre, p. 32.

²¹Burrow and Turville-Petre, p. 32.

endings in *-s*, an ending which survived into the seventeenth century in northern texts, strengthens the argument that the *Speculum* originated in an area with present indicative verb endings in *-s*, except where a personal pronoun immediately preceded the verb. The text of **D** agrees with the evidence given in **B** for the endings of all its present indicative plural verbs, with the following exceptions: *deen* (l. 66); *done* (l. 1972); *drawzen* (l. 754); *suffren* (l. 1112); *tellen* (l. 1607). Some plural indicative verbs in **D** end in the southern ending *-þ*, such as *bip* (ll. 146, 195, 869, 1384; also appears as *bup* ll. 268, 341, and *bep* l. 1498), *dop* (l. 1202), *helpip* (l. 1095), and *gop* (l. 66), which appear with a southern ending. The *-þ* endings on the plural indicative forms of “be” and “go” are clearly minority forms for the more frequent *byn* and *go*. Plural indicative verbs with endings in *-þ* do not appear at the end of any lines, and appear so infrequently in **D** that they probably indicate nothing more than **D**’s more southerly origins.

c. Present Participle

The present participles in **B** most frequently end in *-ing*, but occasionally end in *-and* in those parts of the text derived from the *Prick of Conscience*. The endings of the present participles are exactly the same in both **B** and **D**:

ending in -yng: bozyng (l. 2499), brennyng (ll. 1153, 1198, 1199, 1755, 2094, 2107, 2114, 2125, 2137, 2146), vpbryngyng (l. 730), clansyng (ll. 1074, 1114), comyng (l. 1382), demyng (l. 1932), dredyng (ll. 826, 1674), endyng (ll. 420, 834, 1055, 1386), geduryng (l. 1484), glouyng (l. 2145), 3eldyng (l. 1392), knawyng (l. 115), liffyng (ll. 304, 825, 1090, 1150), lifyng (ll. 1307, 1931, 2204, 2405, 2421), menyng (l. 1615), rennyng (l. 2119), schewyng (l. 772), shynyng (ll. 2365, 2629), syngyng (l. 2652), stynkyng (l. 398), stondyng (ll. 1756, 2500), wallyng (l. 2284), wonnyng (l. 2197)

The present participles ending in *-and* almost all occur at the end of a line, and almost all appear in the *Prick of Conscience*:

undirstond:comand (ll. 785, 786; **Z** ll. 1548, 1549); undirstond:lyfand (ll.

119, 120); *sembland:lifand* (ll. 2671, 2672; **Z**, ll. 9302, 9303 and **H** 75v: *sembland:wonand*; **C**97r: *sembland:dwelland*); *semand:hond* (ll. 1702, 1703; **Z** ll. 5289, 5290), *shynand* (l. 2511; **Z** l. 8531)

The single exceptional pair, *undirstond:lyfand*, appears quite differently in **Z** and in **C** (it does not appear in **H** because the manuscript is imperfect at the beginning):

Z, ll. 151-154:

Bot som men has wytte to understand,
And yhit þai er ful unkunand,
And of som thyng has na knawing
þat myght styrre þam to gude lyfyng

C, f. 39r:

But somme men haue þat understondyng
3ut be þey unkynde *and* yuell liuand
And of *grace* haue no knowyng
þat shulde stere hem to good leuyng

D, p. 153:

For *summe* men haue witte to undyrstonde
But 3itte þei be unkynd and yuel lyfnand
þerfore of grace haue þei no knowyng
þat shuld styr hom to gode liffyng

B, ll. 119-122:

For som men haf witt to undirstond
Bot 3et þai be unkynd and eul lyfand
þerfore of grace þai haf no knawyng
þat shuld stirre hom to gude lifyng

The text of **D** and **B** has preserved a reading from the *Prick of Conscience* in the first line, which could not have happened if the text of α , the common archetype of **C**, **H**, **D**, and **B** did not contain the same reading. The text of α must have likewise contained a rhyme on the infinitive “understand,” as testified in **Z**, **D**, and **B**. **D**, **B**, and **C** all testify to a changed rhyme word in the second line, a present participle on the stem *lyf-*, but the only participial form that would rhyme with the infinitive “understand” would be one ending in *-and*. Therefore, the text of α probably read *understand:lyfand*, and the confusion of endings in **C** came into the text of **C** at a later stage of redaction (represented by γ on the stemma), with the change of the infinitive in the first line for the verbal substantive “understandyng.” This theory may indicate more northerly origins for α , since the alteration to the second line involves the insertion of a more northerly form “lifand” rather

than the more geographically dispersed “lifyng” into the text.²² One challenge to such a theory appears in another part of the text:

Z, ll. 5414, 5415:

þe world about þam sal be brinnande,
þe devels on ilk syde þam sal stande

C, 74r:

þe world aboute hem shal be brennynge
þe deuelys on uche side of hem stondynge

H 45v, 46r:

þe world aboute hem shal be brennyng
þe deuelys on uche side hem shul be
stondynge

Speculum ll. 1755, 1756

þe word about hom shal be brennyng,
And the fendus of hell on ich side
stondynge

The pair *brennyng:stondynge* would appear to take its origin in α , since it appears in **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** as an alteration of the reading in **Z**; however, as it stands in all four manuscripts, it is a self-rhyme, and could thus have originated just as well in the more northerly pair *brennand:standand*. There are a number of examples where self-rhyming pairs of present participles in **Z** appear in **C**, **H**, **B**, and **D** with southern endings (*liffyng:dredynge* ll. 825, 826 in **B**, **D**, **C** 49v, **H** 14r, but *lyfand:dredand* in **Z**, 1668, 1669; *lifyng:demyng* ll. 1931, 1932, **B**, **D**, **C** 78r, **H** 51r but *lifand:demand* in **Z** ll. 6045, 6046; *glouyng:brennyng* ll. 2145, 2146, **B**, **D**, **C** 84r, **H** 59r, but *glowand:brynnand* in **Z**, ll. 6669, 6670). There are no rhymes on the *-yng* form of the present participle in any of the material which the *Speculum* shares with **C** and **H**, which supports the thesis that the present participle of α ended in *-and*.

Rhymes on the *-yng* form of the present participle occur only in self-rhymes in the *Speculum* (hence such pairs as *liffyng:dredynge* ll. 825, 826, *lifyng:demyng* ll. 1931, 1932, and *glouyng:brennyng* ll. 2145, 2146) or in rhymes in material unique to the *Speculum*.

²²See *LALME*, vol. i (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), map 346 (Pres. part.: ‘-and(-)’ type, excl. *-aund(-)* and *-annd(-)*), p. 391; most of the texts carrying this form of the present participle are from areas North of a rough line from the Mersey to the mouth of the River Blackwater. Cf. map 345 (Pres. part.: ‘-ing(-)’ and ‘-yng(e)’ types) p. 391.

Two rhymes in the *Prick of Conscience* have been altered in **B** and **D** to accommodate a rhyme on a present participle ending in *-yng*: *understondyng:comyng*, ll. 1381, 1382 (*understande:comande* in **Z**, ll. 4002, 4003; **C** 62v, **H** 30v) and *brennyng:wonyng*, ll. 2107, 2108 (*brinnand:hand* in **Z**, ll. 6579, 6580 and in **C** 83r, **H** 58r). In both pairs, a verbal substantive stands in the place of another element which rhymes only on the northern *-and* ending for the present participle found in **Z**, **C**, and **H**. The alterations indicate the use of the *-yng* ending for the present participle in β , the archetype of the *Speculum*, a hypothesis supported by the further evidence of two rhyming pairs which involve a present participle rhymed with a verbal substantive: *schapyng* (*vbl.sb.*):*bryngyng* (*pres. part.*), ll. 729, 730; *lifyng* (*vbl.sb.*):*dredyng* (*pres. part.*), ll. 1673, 1674. In addition to this evidence, no present participles ending in *-and* appear in those lines which only occur in the *Speculum*. The use of the *-yng* ending for present participles was not geographically limited, and so this form in the *Speculum* does not provide significant evidence for localization.

d. Third-person Plural Pronouns

The third-person plural pronouns in **B** invariably follow the pattern for most midland texts of the period: *pai* is used no less than 262 times for the nominative, whereas *hom* and *hor* appear in the oblique cases. This usage also appears in **D** as *pei*, *hem*, and *her*, with the oblique cases appearing as *hom* and *hor* before l. 872.²³ The preservation, in the oblique cases, of a form with initial *h* rules out the North-east Midlands or the North as

²³This strict demarcation of the spelling in the oblique cases of the third person plural pronoun in **D** may indicate another hand in the **D**-scribe's exemplar, since there is no discernible change in the hand of **D** at that point. This hypothesis is supported by the sudden appearance, after l. 872, of the spelling "sch-" for "sh-" in such words as "shall" and "shuld", as well as the sudden shift from medial "o" to a medial "a" in the word "mon" after l. 836; a fuller discussion of this phenomena and others appears later in this study.

a possible localization for either **B** or **D**.²⁴ The single occurrence of *paimself* in **B** at l. 1727 appears as *hemself* in **D** p. 216, **C** 73r, **H** 45r, and as *pam-self* in **Z** (l. 5374), and it does not occur in **B** or **D** in rhyme (although this would not resolve much, since the rhyme would certainly occur on the second syllable *-self* rather than on the syllable in question), nor, indeed, anywhere else in the text. The more usual form for this word in **B** is *homself* (ll. 342, 573, 601, and 757). This single appearance of a northern form among an abundance of midlands forms lacks any other evidence to support a hypothesis for its appearance, and so remains a mystery.

The value of the medial vowel in the oblique form *hom*, however, offers significant evidence concerning the localization of β . Medial *o* in the oblique cases of third-person plural pronouns, according to the evidence given in the *Linguistic Atlas*, occurs for the most part in the Northwest Midlands, whereas medial *e* is geographically widely distributed.²⁵ The oblique form *hom* occurs as a rhyme word in the following rhymes: *ichon:hom* (ll. 1039, 1040; *uchon:hem* in **D**); *hom:cum* (ll. 1457, 1458; *hem:come* in **D**); *hom:cum* (ll. 1491, 1492; *hom:come* in **D**). The first of these rhymes, *ichon:hom*, appears as a completely different rhyme in the corresponding lines of **C**, **H**, and **Z** (*halely:worthy* **Z** ll. 2416, 2417; *holly:worpy* **C** 54r, **H** 19v), and the other two rhymes occur in lines unique to the *Speculum*. The rhyme *hom:come* in **D** (ll. 1491, 1492) exhibits a rare exception to the *hem* form usually found in **D** after l. 872. The medial vowel of *come* shows evidence of being a medial $\bar{o}$, since it is rhymed on reflexes of OE $\bar{o}$ in other rhymes: *come:dome* (*Speculum*, ll. 837, 838; 897, 898; 1351, 1352; 1603, 1604;

²⁴see vol. i, map 52, p. 317, *LALME*.

²⁵For medial *o*, see dot maps 48 (p. 316) and 61 (p. 320) in *LALME*, vol. i.

1667, 1668; 1675, 1676; all but the rhyme at 1675, 1676 are found in **CH** — cf. **Z** 1858, 1859; 5089, 5090); *come:don* (ll. 1029, 1030; 1587, 1588; 2013, 2014 — all of which are found in **CH**). All the instances of *come* in the foregoing rhymes involve infinitive forms of this verb, which descend from the OE *cuman*, rendering the *u* of the verb subject to vowel lengthening, especially in the North. Jordan notes that in the North in the thirteenth century, and in the Northwest Midlands a little later, reflexes of OE *ū* are frequently rhymed on reflexes of OE *ō* by the lengthening of *ū* in open syllables (itself a characteristically Northern change), as seen in rhymes such as *loved:behōved*, or (as witnessed above) *come:dōme*.²⁶ This suggests that the value of the medial vowel in *come* would have been [o:] in **Z**, **C**, **H**, and in material peculiar to **B** and **D**. The value of the medial vowel in *ichon*, as a reflex of OE *ā* (*aeghwilc an*), would have been a long slack *o* ([ɔ:]) — see discussion in next section), which is borne out in other rhymes within the *Speculum*: *ichon:ston* (OE *stān* ll. 469, 470); *ichon:non* (OE *nān* ll. 475, 476). The rhymes *come:hom* therefore pair a medial *ō* (close or slack) with the medial vowel of the third-person plural pronoun, which indicates that the graph for the medial vowel of oblique forms of the third-person plural pronoun in β would have been <o> (as testified in **B** and the first 871 lines of **D**) rather than <e>, given that <e> never appears as a graph for [o:] or [ɔ:]. On the basis of the evidence given in the *Linguistic Atlas* about the localization of texts with *hom* forms, the rhymes involving *hom* in **B** and **D** appear to place the text of β in the Northwest Midlands.

e. Development of Old English *ā*

The reflex of Old English *ā* appears as <o> in **B** in nearly all cases, as the

²⁶Richard Jordan, *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, tr. Eugene Joseph Crook (The Hague: Mouton) §38, 3., and Remark, p. 66. Hereafter cited as “Jordan”.

following examples illustrate:

bon (OE *bān* ll. 1150, 2209), brode (*brād*, ll. 581, 756), cloth (*clāþian* ll. 1822), clothes (*clāþes* ll. 1966), clothyng (*clāþian* l. 771), gost (*gāst*, ll. 2418, 2553), hole (*hāl* ll. 707), holeness (*hālig+ness* l. 1464), holy (*hālig* ll. 42, 203, 259, etc. — 78 occurrences), holynes (ll. 1337, 1440), holly (*hāllice* ll. 1627, 2700), homelich (*hām+lic*, l. 1832), hote (*hāt* ll. 1199, 1203, 2087, 2103, 2109, 2115, 2153, 2277), liflode (*līflāde* l. 1485), lo, loo (*lā* ll. 273, 749, 1711, 1713, 1872), lodly (*lāþlic* l. 1144), lord, lorde, lordus (*hlāford* ll. 27, 44, 255, etc.; 31 occurrences), lore (*lār* ll. 518, 906, 2055), mo, moo (*mā* ll. 901, 1177, 1925, 2281, 2588), moon (*mān* l. 254), mor, more (*māra* ll. 35, 52, 77, 124, 225, 226 etc.; 62 occurrences; end of line: ll. 517, 661, 1301, 1799, 2243, 2410, 2467, 2479, 2490, 2536, 2594), most (*māst* ll. 36, 76, 316, 403, etc.; 17 occurrences), noȝt (*nāwiht*, *nāwuht*, *nauht* ll. 217, 343, 361, 508, 632, 678, 962, 986, 989, 1073, 1101, 1783), non, none (*nān* ll. 12, 27, 135, 287, etc.; 39 occurrences), nothyng (*nān+þyng* ll. 16, 191, 298, 324, etc. — 25 occurrences), ogh, oȝt (*āhte* ll. 185, 457), oȝt (*āwiht*, *āwuht*, *āuht*, *āht* ll. 2, 1061, 1580), on, one, oon (*ān* ll. 862, 871, 893, etc.; 26 occurrences; only “oon” and “one” at end of line: ll. 1087, 2210, 2581), only (*ānlic* ll. 12, 571, 2065, 2082, 2084, 2701), ros (*rās*, 3sg.pret.ind. of *risan* l. 1621), so (*swā* ll. 8, 111, 175, etc.; 135 occurrences), soo (*swā* ll. 220, 414, 637, 1915), sore (*sāre* ll. 569, 662, 1302, etc.; 7 occurrences), sore, sory (*sārig* ll. 277, 1266), ston, stonus (*stān* ll. 470, 1213, 1660, 2687, 2692), þo, þoo (*þā* ll. 104, 133, 435, 803, 1393, 1643, 1823, 2533, 2666), þos (*þās* ll. 173, 1053, 1635, 1788, 1955), todes, todus (*tādige* ll. 385, 390), token, tokon, tokon(u)s (*tācen*, *tācne* ll. 375, 445, 784, etc.; 11 occurrences), two (*twā* ll. 219, 470, 576, 620, 890), wo, woo (*wā*, ll. 312, 413, 516, 575, 1916, etc.; 16 occurrences), woȝe (*wāȝ*, *wāh* l. 2127)

Most of the rhymes involving words within this list are cases of self-rhyme:

bon:non (ll. 1149, 1150); bon:one (ll. 2209, 2210); go:woo (ll. 699, 700); go:so (ll. 1271, 1272); more:lore (ll. 517, 518); more:sore (ll. 661, 662; 1301, 1302; 2243, 2244); moo:woo (ll. 1925, 1926); gost:most (ll. 2553, 2554); ichon:non (ll. 475, 476); oon:non (ll. 1087, 1088); fontston:non (ll. 1213, 1214); non:gon (ll. 2063, 2064); soo:woo (ll. 413, 414; 1915, 1916); also:go (ll. 2505, 2506);

The text of **D** has the very same reflex <o> for Old English *ā* as the text of **B**, a reflex which generally occurs in texts south of the rivers Ribble and Humber.²⁷ The seeming anomalous cases of *halȝe* (*hālgian*, l. 490), *hater*, *hatter* (*hātre* ll. 1206, 1208, 2124,

²⁷Bennett and Smithers, p. 44.

2126, 2283), found in both **B** and **D**, can be explained by the shortening of long vowels before clusters of consonants which do not constitute lengthening groups, a change which occurred sometime before the year 1000.²⁸ The only cases of rhymes of Old English /a:/ on /ɔ:/ in **B** and **D** occur in material which cannot be found in any of the other sources: hote:bote (*OE hāt:bōt* ll. 2109, 2110); before:more (ll. 2535, 2536). The first of these two pairs involve an adaptation of a rhyme from the *Prick of Conscience*:

Z, ll. 6595, 6596:

þe first als I tald es þe fire hate,
þat na thyng may sleken ne abate;

C, f. 83r:

þe first peyne is as i told is fuyr hate
þat no þyng may it sleke ne bate

H, f. 58r:

þe furst as y tolde ys fuyr so hote
þat no þing may sleke ne bate

B, ll. 2109, 2110, **D**, p. 232

þe first þat I told, fire so hot
þat [noþing] may hit slek, ne be his bote

The original rhyming pair involved the verb “abate” as the second element, and this has been preserved in **C** and **H** as “bate”. This verb, however, has been exchanged in **B** and **D** (and thus presumably in β) for the Old English noun *bōt*, which would have produced the sound /bo:t/ in Middle English. The rhyme, as it stands in both **B** and **D** is, strictly speaking, inexact, since the <o> writing for OE *ā* in Middle English dialects generally represented the sound [ɔ:],²⁹ and thus the pair *hot:bote* would have yielded a rhyme of [ɔ:] on [o:]. The second pair of anomalous rhymes, *before:more*, which only occurs in **B** (because **D** is imperfect at the end) presents the problem of vowel length, since *beforan*, the OE antecedent to the first word of the pair, had a short, as opposed to a long *o*. Assuming, however, that the short *o* in *beforan* underwent lengthening as a vowel in an

²⁸Jacek Fisiak, *A Short Grammar of Middle English* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 30.

²⁹Jordan, §44, pp. 72, 73.

open stressed syllable,³⁰ it would have rendered the sound /ɔ:/.³¹ The rhyme *before:more* thus makes better sense,³² and is thus another example of the change of OE /a:/ > /ɔ:/ in the text of β. One further anomalous rhyme which appears only in **B** and **D** gives cause for some comment:

B, ll. 565, 566

And sais, ensaumpul I haf gifon to 3ow
 þat ri3t as I do, do 3e ri3t so

D, p. 169

And seiþ, ensaumple I haue 3euen to 3owe
 þat ry3t as I doo, do 3e ry3th so

The reflex of OE *ā* in both texts (ME *so* < OE *swā*) is paired with an initial OE *ēo* + *w*, (ME *3owe* < OE *eow*). Such a rhyme would only be perfect assuming that: 1) *3ow* would have been pronounced, not as Modern [ju:], but more like [jɔ:] or [jo:]; and 2) the OE *ā* of *swā* became [ɔ:]³³ in the dialect of β. The word *3ow* only occurs at the end of one other line in the *Speculum*, rhyming with *þoo* at ll. 1393, 1394:

Z, ll. 4027, 4028

Crist als tite answerd þan þan,
 And sayd lukes þat yhow desayve na man

C, f. 62v

Crist anon answerede hem þanne
 Loke þat 3ow disseyue no manne

H, f. 31r

Cryst anon answerede hem þo
 Loke þat no man disceyue 3ow so

B, ll. 1393, 1394, **D** p. 201

Crist anon onswaret hom þoo:
 Lokes þat non dissayfe 3owe

Since *þoo* most likely descends from OE *þā* (judging from the context), this last rhyme supports the assumptions regarding the phonetic value of *3ow*, stated above. The two rhymes mentioned earlier, *before:more* and *hote:bote*, along with the rhyme of *3ow*

³⁰Kenneth Sisam, ed., *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), p. 279.

³¹Jordan, §35, p. 61.

³²Although, according to Jordan, it would not have been a perfect match: ‘Even in Chaucer this /ɔ:/ can rhyme with the continuation of the OE *ā*, however it did not fall together completely with it, because the continuation of OE *o* was not so open . . .’, §35, 3., p. 61.

³³One would ordinarily expect /o:/ in a reflex of OE *ā* after *w*; but “*s(w)o* ‘so’ as a result of being atonic lost *w* so early that it remained at the /ɔ:/ level,” Jordan §45., 1., p.75.

([jɔ:]):so deliver some solid evidence for the development of OE [a:] > [ɔ:] in the archetype of the *Speculum*, which would place β somewhere south of the Ribble-Humber line.

f. *a* + Lengthening Groups (nd, ng, ld, rd)

The data rendered below for this particular category require a cautionary preface, since the ME reflex for OE *a* before lengthening groups is a somewhat slippery indicator for the purposes of localization. Richard Jordan, in his *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*, states that the *-ond* reflex for OE *-and* had a Northern limit because the Northern *ā* was not rounded, so that such nouns as *lond* and *hond* in the South appeared as *land* and *hand* in the North.³⁴ Yet Jordan also admits that throughout the fifteenth century the Northern short *a* form gradually “pushed back more and more the — now mostly shortened — *o* forms like *hond*, *lond* . . . in [the East Midlands] progressively to the south, in London and the literary language.”³⁵ OE *a* before *ng* generally produced [ɔ:] in the Midlands and the South, which was later shortened to [ɔ], and usually written <o> as in *long* and *song*.³⁶ The dot-maps for the *amang* and *among* forms of the item “among” in the *Linguistic Atlas* support Jordan’s conclusions, since they clearly show the presence of *-ong* forms south of a rough line joining the mouths of the rivers Ribble and Humber, in both the East and West Midlands, and the absence of such forms north of that rough line.³⁷ The reflex for OE *-and* could, therefore, identify

³⁴Jordan, §31, p. 52; see also the accompanying map, p. 55.

³⁵Jordan, §269, p. 233. See also the supporting evidence given in the *Linguistic Atlas*, map 936 (-and: ‘-and’ type), p. 514.

³⁶Jordan, §§31 and 269, pp. 52 and 233 respectively.

³⁷*LALME*, vol. i, maps 685, 686, p. 473.

texts from the East Midlands and the North in the later fifteenth century, whereas the <-ong> reflex for OE *-ang* occurs more generally across the Midlands and South.

The reflex for OE *ǣ* followed by lengthening groups is fairly consistently <o> in **B**, as the following examples illustrate:

among, emong, ymong (*on+zemang* ll. 688, 1412, 1479, 1480, 1757, 2094, 2357, 2652); fond (*fandian* l. 1502); hond, honde, hondus (*hand* 280, 480, 1488, 1701, 1873, 2288); honged (*hangede* l. 1692); lond, londe, londus (*land* ll. 19, 479, 502, 687, 1472, 1481, 1487, 2630); long (*lang* ll. 708, 1223, 2072); song (*sang* ll. 2651, 2683); stond (*standan* ll. 279, 283, 1052, etc.; 7 occurrences); stondyng (*standende* ll. 1756, 2500); stondis (*standep* l. 2116); strong (*strang* 392, 1065, 1241, 1658, 1899, 2093, 2135, 2160); understond (*understandan, understandap* 20, 119, 183, 785, 1525); understondon ((*ge-*)*understanden* 1523); understondyng, undirstondyng (*understand-* 346, 348, 1381, 2311), wrong (*Late OE wrang* 501)

There is only one exception in the text of **B** to the phenomenon observed in the examples above, seen in the single occurrence of the plural *landus* at l. 1655 (*londes* in **H** 42r and **C** 71r; not found in **Z**) an anomaly which the text of **D** shares. Such anomalies are, however, more frequent in **D**, which usually has an <o> in most of the instances listed for **B** above, but contains a few <a> spellings, as in the following examples: *hande* (l. 1701, 1873); *hanged* (l. 1692); *stande* (ll. 1052, 1432, 1482, 1751, 1874); *standyng* (l. 1756); *standip* (l. 2116); *understanden* (ll. 1523, 1525); *understandyng* (ll. 346, 348). The occurrence in **D** of an <e> spelling in the substantive plural *hendes* (OE *handum* l. 1488) as the first rhyme-word of the pair *hendes:londes*, could be a retention of an “umlaut-plural *hend* from Norse,”³⁸ but since **D** contains no other examples of this plural form, and it has no parallel in **B**, **C**, or **H** (which all read *hondus:londus* at the same point), it is difficult to attach much weight to the singular occurrence of this Norse form. The imperfect match of an *e* with an *o* in the stressed vowels of the rhyme-words in **D** may

³⁸“hand sb.,” *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed.

suggest that the original pair, found only in *α* as the self-rhyming *londus:hondus* or *landus:handus*, was altered somewhere along the line of descent to **D**; the paucity of evidence and the agreement of **B**, **C**, and **H**, however, makes scribal error an equally plausible explanation for the unique spelling of *hendes* in **D**.

The frequent occurrence in the *Speculum* of self-rhymes on the reflex of OE *ǣ* + lengthening groups presents one major difficulty in attempting to resolve what value OE *ǣ* had when followed by lengthening groups in the texts of any of the precursors to **B** and **D**; almost all of the rhymes on words containing this reflex are self-rhymes (or self-*assonance*), as seen in the following list from **B** and **D**:

lond:among (ll. 687, 688); song:among (ll. 2651, 2652); strong:among (ll. 2093, 2094); stonde (*inf.*, *sj.sg.*):honde (ll. 279, 280; 1873, 1874 — hande:stande in **D** p. 223); lond:understond (ll. 19, 20); lond:hond (ll. 479, 480 — londe:honde in **D**, p. 166); wrong:londe (ll. 501, 502); lond:stond (ll. 1481, 1482 — lond:stande in **D**, p. 205)

Some rhymes involve a present participle ending in *-and* rhymed on a reflex of OE *-and*, but most of these derive from rhymes found in **Z**, and thus do no more than establish the Northern origins of that text: *hond:semand* (ll. 1701, 1702 and in **H** 44r; *hande:semande* in **Z** ll. 5289, 5290, **C** 72v, **D** p. 215); *stonde:raumpande* (ll. 1143, 1144; *stonde:rampand* in **D**; *stande:raumpande* in **Z** ll. 2906, 2907); *understond:comand* (ll. 785, 786, **C** 48v; *understand:command* in **Z** ll. 1548, 1549, **H** 13r,); *understond:lyfand* (ll. 119, 120; *understand:unkunand* in **Z** ll. 151, 152; *understondyng:lifand* in **C** 39r). All of these pairs, except for the last, reflect the Northern origins of **Z**. The explanation regarding the derivation of the pair *understond:lyfand* given above (p. 189), stated that *α* probably read *understand:lyfand*, since **B** and **D** preserve the infinitive “understand” in the first line of **Z**, and contain a rhyme word in the second line which has been changed to a present

participle on the stem *lyf-*; this conclusion necessarily implies that the reflex for OE *-and* present in the word “understand” would have been <a> rather than <o>, and thus it would have come from the Northeast Midlands or the North.³⁹

The rhyme *bond:stond* (ll. 1431, 1432; *bonde:stande* in **D**) provides the only rhyme on the reflex of OE *a + nd* in the text of the *Speculum* which is not a case of self-rhyme, and which is not derived from **Z** or from α . The first rhyme-word descends from late OE *bōnda* (husbandmen, serf), yielding /bo:nd/. The second element of the rhyme, an infinitive derived from OE *standan*, would yield /stand/ in the North and in the East Midlands, and /stɔ:nd/ in the West Midlands and the South.⁴⁰ In either area, then, the rhyme involves a mismatch of tonic vowels, [o:] on [a] in the North and East Midlands, and [o:] on [ɔ:] in the West Midlands and the South. The values [o:] and [ɔ:] stand in closer proximity than the values [o:] and [a], making the West Midlands and Southern rhyme a closer match phonetically speaking — but the degree of tolerance for such mismatched pairs in the mediaeval ear remains a mystery.

A few necessarily tentative conclusions can be drawn from the data given above. The consistent <o> reflex for OE *a + ng* in both **B** and **D** in such words as *among*, *long*, *song* and *strong* identifies both manuscripts as coming from an area south of the rivers Ribble and Humber; since no instances of rhyme other than self-rhyme exist for this reflex, not much can be said about its appearance in β , beyond the speculation that β shared the same consistency of form in this particular feature as the two manuscripts which descended from it. The alternation between <-and> and <-ond> forms in **D**

³⁹See *LALME* map 346 (Pres. part.: ‘-and(-)’ type, excl. *-aund(-)* and *-annd(-)*), p. 391; most of the texts carrying this form of the present participle are from areas North of a rough line from the Mersey to the mouth of the River Blackwater. Cf. map 345 (Pres. part.: ‘-ing(-)’ and ‘-yng(e)’ types) p. 391.

⁴⁰Jordan, §31, p. 52.

suggests that **D** may come from an area further east in the Midlands (seeing that the North has been ruled out by the reflex of OE *-ong*, and the South has been ruled out by the appearance of some <-and> forms for OE *-and*) than **B**, perhaps bordering the regional divide between the two forms. The rhyme *undirstond:lyfand* (**B**, **D** ll. 119, 120) indicates that the reflex of OE *-and* in α was most likely the Northern or East Midlands <-and>. The frequent occurrence of self-rhymes for words containing the reflex of OE *a* followed by lengthening groups makes it that much harder to determine what α or β might have read for this feature.

g. Breaking of Old English α before *-ld* / retraction to <ald>

Old English α before *-ld* always appears in the Midlands form <-old> in both **B** and **D**. An exhaustive list of the instances where this form of breaking occurs in **B** could equally stand for the same list in **D** (the West Saxon forms are given for the antecedents):

behold (*behēaldan*, ll. 354, 364, 399, 1577), bold (*beald* 1058, 2203), cold (*ceald*, ll. 57, 1257, 1404, 2089, 2133, 2135, 2137, 2147), mony-a-fold, monyfold (*manigfeald*, ll. 58, 793, 1258, 1403), hold (*healdan* ll. 105, 337, 1559, 1681), holde (ll. 49, 2134), holden (*healden*, ppl., l. 71), holdon (*healden* ll. 1900, 1907, 1969), old, olde (*ald*; WS *eald* ll. 158, 780, 1623, 1057, 1682, 2204), sold (fr. *sealde*, 3ppretsg of *sellan*, 1597), told (*(ge-)tealde* ll. 157, 794, 1405, 2075, 2109)

Once again, most of the rhymes involving these words are cases of self-rhyme:

cold:monyfold (ll. 57,58; 1257, 1258; 1403, 1404); *cold:hold* (ll. 2133, 2134); *hold:old* (ll. 1681, 1682); *monyfold:told* (ll. 793, 794); *told:old* (ll. 157, 158); *olde:bolde* (1057, 1058; 2203, 2204). The only two rhyming pairs in this category which are not self-rhymes are *hold:fold* (ll. 1559, 1560), and *hold:wold* (ll. 49, 50). The first pair is found only in **B** and **D**, but is based on a couplet found in the *Prick of Conscience*:

Z, ll. 4639, 4640

þat folk Iewes and cristen men sal be
talde

Under a trouthe in haly kirkes falde

C, f. 67v

þat folk Iewes and cristenemen shal be
told

Under one troupe in holy cherche fold

H, f. 37r

þat folk Iewes and cristyn men shul be
told

Under one treupe in holy chyrche fold

B ll. 1559, 1560; **D** p. 209

þe floke bes al cristen men þat Godus laze
sal hold

Under oon truth in holy chirch, þe fold.

The type of rhyme is essentially the same in all four examples, since both *talde* and *hold* are examples of OE *æ* breaking before *-ld*. The word *falde* or *fold* descends from OE *falod*, which, by means of the loss of the unstressed “o” and lengthening before *-ld*, becomes *falde* in the North, and *fold* in the Midlands, which, in turn, is what appears in the quotations above. Although this rhyme might not offer much information, it does illustrate that **B** and **D** (and thus probably **β**) shared the North and Midlands reflex of OE *-æld* with the *Prick of Conscience*. The second of the two rhyming pairs which did not constitute self-rhyme, *hold:wold*, is found in **Z** as *halde:walde* (ll. 79, 80) with evidence of northern unrounding of *ā* after *w*, and so it does not offer much information beyond indicating the northern origins of the *PC*.

h. Development of Old English *hw-*

The two manuscripts of the *Speculum* differ most markedly in this category, which places the text of **B** further north than the text in **D**. The reflex of OE *hw-* in **B** is frequently <qu->, and occasionally <qw->:

quat (*hwæt* ll. 100, 153, 156, etc.; 49 occurrences); quch (*hwilc* l. 1355);
quen (*hwenne*, *hwænne*, *hwanne*, *hwonne* ll. 38, 43, 66, etc.; 90
occurrences); quere (*hwær* ll. 390, 606, 704, etc.; 19 occurrences);
quereuer (*hwær+æfre* l. 1019); querefore, querfore (*hwær+for* ll. 19, 89,
337, etc.; 8 occurrences); quereto (*hwær+to* l. 637); queþer (*hweþer* ll. 50,
158, 842, etc.; 12 occurrences); quy (*hwī*, *hwȳ* ll. 1986, 2011, 2044, 2389,
2537); quych (*hwilc* ll. 114, 677, 698, etc.; 19 occurrences); quyder
(*hwider* ll. 2372, 2379); quyl, quyle, quyles, quyll (*hwile* ll. 184, 959, 971,

1093, 1312, etc.; 11 occurrences); quo (*hwā* ll. 399, 627, 881, etc.; 11 occurrences); quon, quom (*hwām* l. 1376, 2274); quose (*hwæs* l. 2216); qwen (*hwenne*, *hwænne*, *hwanne*, *hwonne* l. 320); qwo (*hwā* l. 2693); qwos (*hwaes* l. 2280)

The other four texts, comprising **Z**, **C**, **H**, and **D**, all have forms with an initial <wh->.

This *qu*- spelling, which usually occurs in texts from the North and Northeast Midlands (north of a rough line traced from the Mersey south to the mouth of the River Stour),⁴¹ marks out **B** as a text originating somewhere in the North, the Northwest Midlands, or the Northeast Midlands (given that East Anglia has been ruled out on other grounds⁴²). The *wh*- forms for all of the words listed above are generally distributed,⁴³ and so do not offer much information about the places of origin for the other four texts in question.

i. Conclusions regarding Northern/Southern features

The general findings thus far support the detailed profiles given for **B** and **D** in the *Linguistic Atlas*. **B** has features which usually occur in Midlands texts such as third person present indicative singular verbs ending in -s, present indicative plurals ending in -n, present participles ending in -yng, third person plural pronouns with an initial *h*- in oblique cases, and a reflex for OE -æld in <-old>. The one feature among those surveyed above which marks **B** out as a North Midlands text is that its reflex for OE *hw* is <qu->, something more frequently found in the North. Whilst the text of **D** agrees with **B** in its use of the present participle, plural indicative verbs, its third-person plural pronouns, and

⁴¹See map 270 (*wh*:- *qu* + vowel and *qw* + vowel) in vol. i of the *LALME* for a general picture of the use of *qu*- for OE *hw*-; for individual items, see maps 326, p. 386 (where: initial *qw* + V and *qu* + V); 341, p. 390 (when: 'q-' type); 251, p. 367 (while *conj.*: forms with initial *q*-); 77, p. 324 (which: all spellings with initial *q*-); 564, p. 445 (whether: *q*- forms); 573, p. 448 (whither: *q*- forms).

⁴²See the following discussion on East/West features.

⁴³*LALME*, vol. i, map 275, p. 373; for individual items, see maps 76, p. 323 (which: all spellings with initial *w*-); 340, p. 389 (when: 'whV-' type); 562, p. 445 (whether: *wh*- forms); 572, p. 447 (whither: *wh*- forms).

its reflex for OE *-æld*, it differs from **B** in its use of third-person present indicative singular verbs ending in *-þ*. This last feature, generally associated with southern texts, distinguishes **D** as coming from a more southerly area than **B**.

The evidence concerning the first and second redactions, α and β , is slight, involving a handful of rhymes and examples. These few pieces of evidence suggest that α originated in the North; hence the lack of inflectional endings on the rhymes involving the verbs *fynd* and *fare*, and the use of *-and* for the present participle in the rhyme *understand:lifand*. The appearance in **B** and **D** of rhymes which indicate a mixture of some Northern and Midland features (absence of inflections in third person plural indicatives; *-s* ending in verbs of the third-person indicative singular; retraction of OE *-æld* to *<-old>*), with features which occur south of the rivers Ribble and Humber (reflex of OE [a:] as *<o>*, the use of the *-yng* ending of present participles) place the text of β somewhere in the Midlands. The evidence given by **B** and **D** indicates that the medial vowel of third-person plural pronouns in β was *<o>*, which the *Linguistic Atlas* identifies as a feature from texts written in the Northwest Midlands. Assuming that the absence of verbal inflections immediately after pronouns arises from a Northern practice (a precarious assumption, it must be said), the text of β probably came from the Northwest Midlands.

2. Eastern/Western Features

a. Development of Old English *eo*

Old English *eo* (short or long) appears almost universally as *<e>* throughout both manuscripts of the *Speculum*. A number of instances of OE *eo* > ME *e* show evidence of expected Anglian smoothing in the late OE period (occurrences of OE *eo* before *c*, *g*, *h*, alone or preceded by *l* or *r*): *derknes* (*dēorc+ness* ll. 2095, 2190, 2193, 2196); *dreze* (WS

drēogan l. 2079); *fleze* (*flēogan* l. 2220); *seke* (*sēoc* ll. 710, 1967, 2383); *seknes*, *seknys* (*sēoc*+*nes*(*se*) ll. 961, 1175, 1177, 1277, 2397, 2399); *werk(e)*, *werkes*, *werkis*, *werkus* (*weorc* ll. 108, 111, 116, etc.; 14 occurrences, none at end of line). The following list of forms for other words containing the reflex of Old English *eo* in **B** could stand for the same list in **D**:

be (*bēon*, 6, 13, 16, etc.; 309 occurrences); bee (*bēon*, ll. 326, 504, 994, etc.; 9 occurrences); ben (*bēop* ll. 143, 146, 193, etc.; 72 occurrences); bes (ll. 1134, 1491, 1559, 1736); betwene (*betwēonum* ll. 890, 1162); brest (*brēost*, l. 2567); crepe (*crēopan* ll. 280, 283, 1660); depe (*dēop* l. 1749), dere (*dēore* ll. 241, 408, 520, 2513); deul, deule, deulus (*dēofol* ll. 876, 1059, 1977, 1982, 2047, 2200, 2206, 2211, 2219, 2257); erth, erthe (*eorþ* ll. 39, 219, 256, etc.; 32 occurrences); erthly, ertly (l. 1990, 2156, 2484); erthlich (l. 2367); feliship (*fēolaga* l. 2604); fend, fende, fendis, fendus (*fēond*, ll. 10, 70, 465, 724, etc.; 24 occurrences); fer (*feor[r]* ll. 1572, 1998); ferre (*feor[r]* ll. 775, 1509, 2027, 2578, 2664); fle, flee (*flēon*, ll. 148, 212, 216, etc.; 23 occurrences); forbede (*forbēodan* l. 407); forbedus (ll. 499, 764), fre (*frēo* ll. 48, 73, 395, 639, 1431, 1658, 2093), fredome (*frēodōm* l. 2387), frele (*frēo* l. 2449), frely (*frēolic* ll. 1909, 1912), frend (*frēond* 627, 712), frendis, frendus (*frēondes* ll. 1202, 1288, 2517); frenship (l. 2493); hefenys (*heofones* l. 314); herd (*heord* l. 1873); hert (*heorte* ll. 138, 520, 589, etc. 15 occurrences); hertis (l. 1534), heuen (*heofon* ll. 39, 64, 86, etc.; 14 occurrences), heuon (ll. 9, 80, 110, etc.; 51 occurrences); knee (*cnēow*, *cnēo* l. 558); lern (*lēornian* ll. 125, 130, 139, 144, 458); lerne (l. 123); lernus (l. 563); leuer (*lēofra* ll. 1651, 2313); prestis, prestus (*prēost* ll. 1291, 1335, 1876, 1881, 1905); se, see (*sēon* ll. 40, 147, 155, etc.; 111 occurrences); seuent, seuon, sevont (*seofon*, *seofunda* ll. 497, 1259, 1369, 2097, 2358 etc.; 9 occurrences); sterrus (*steorra* ll. 1520, 1525); tre, tree, tre(e)s (*trēow* ll. 39, 319, 365, 368, 371, 373, etc.; 13 occurrences); trew (*trēowe* ll. 1501); trewth (*trēowþ* l. 1435); trw, trwe (*trēowe* ll. 103, 588, 641, 1528, 1540);

The cases listed above exhibit none of the spellings <eo, o, oe, u, ue> prevalent in the West Midlands and the South-West, which preserved a close [ø] or [ø:] for OE *eo* or *ēo* respectively, as opposed to the unrounded *e* ([e] or [e:]) usual in the rest of the country.⁴⁴

Data from the *Linguistic Atlas* show that the items “far” (OE *feor*) and “earth” (OE *eorþ*)

⁴⁴Jordan, §65, p. 96 for OE *ēo* and §84, pp. 110, 111 for OE *ēo*; see also the corresponding maps on pp. 97, 113.

with an <e> reflex for OE *eo* are fairly widely distributed, whereas items with *eo* or *u* are geographically restricted to the West Midlands.⁴⁵ A legion of self-rhymes occur in **B**, **D**, and **Z**, mostly involving the final -e of the words *be* and *se*:⁴⁶

be:fle (ll. 843, 844; 943, 944; 819, 820; 1015, 1016; 1035, 1036; 1167, 1168; 1247, 1248; 2719, 2720); fee:be (*fēoh:bēon* ll. 503, 504); see:flee (ll. 147, 148 **Z**; 215, 216); fre:be (ll. 395, 396; 2393, 2394); heuon:seuon (*heofon:seofon* ll. 2357, 2358; **Z**); be:knee (*bēon:cnēow* ll. 557, 558); tre:see (*trēow:sēon* ll. 39, 40; 319, 320; 1691, 1692 **Z**; 2271, 2272); see:be (*sēon:bēon* ll. 155, 156 **Z**; 229, 230 **Z**; 325, 326; 333, 334 **Z**; 339, 340 **Z**; 48 occurrences); be:tree (*bēon:trēow* ll. 1315, 1316; 1499, 1500; 1699, 1700 **Z**; 2034, 2035 **Z**)

Rhymes which marry the reflex of OE *eo* (long or short) to the reflex of OE *e* (or, in two exceptional cases, initial OE *ēa*+g, smoothed to *ē*— see *dreze:eze* and *flee:eze* below) can be found in rhymes in the *Speculum* which derive from **Z**:⁴⁷

brest:next (*brēost*: [Angl.]*nēhsta* ll. 2567, 2568); crepe:wepe (*crēopan:wēpan* ll. 283, 284); depe:kepe (*dēop:cēpan* ll. 1749, 1750); here:dere (*hēr:dēore* ll. 2513, 2514); dreze:eze (*drēogan:ēage* ll. 2079, 2080); fend:end (*fēond:ende* ll. 1523, 1524); flee:eze (*flēon:ēage* ll. 2219, 2220; 2379, 2380); wendus:frendus (*wendan:frēond* ll. 1287, 1288); hert:smert (*heorte:smeart* ll. 883, 884); heuen:steuen (*heofon:stefne* ll. 1641, 1642); euon:heuon (*efne:heofon* ll. 1519, 1520); neuon:heuon (*nefne:heofon* ll. 1561, 1562); se:pe (*sēon:pē* ll. 353, 354); he:see (*sēon:hē* ll. 631, 632); see:me (*sēon:mē* ll. 1965, 1966).

A similar rhyme occurs in material which derives from α , as the following pair attests:

he:se (*hē:sēon* ll. 305, 306; 1081, 1082 **C** 55r, **H** 21r). A few rhyming pairs which appear exclusively in the *Speculum* likewise rhyme a reflex of OE *eo* on a reflex of OE *e*:

⁴⁵*LALME*, maps 737 (earth: ‘erth’ type, incl. ‘herth’ and rare *zerth*) and 756 (far(-): ‘fe(e)r’ type), pp. 481, 484 respectively.

⁴⁶The line numbers given are from the *Speculum*; rhymes which originate with **Z** are labelled, but the line numbers of **Z** are not given; see Appendix for a table of corresponding lines.

⁴⁷Some rhymes of the reflex of OE *eo* (long or short) on Old French <-é> occur in **Z**: contree:free (*contré* [OF]:*frēo* ll. 1657, 1658); see:caytifte (*sēon:captivité* [OF] ll. 299, 300); se:plente (*sēon:plenté* [OF] ll. 2015, 2016). See the next paragraph for parallel types of rhymes in **B** and **D**, and their significance.

dere:fere (*dēore:gefēra* ll. 241, 242); here:dere (*hēr:dēore* ll. 407, 408);
 flee:wilfulle (*flēon:wilfullic* ll. 1941, 1942); heuon:neuon (*heofon:nefne*
 [ON] ll. 2543, 2544); almy3ty:se (*almihtig:sēon* ll. 467, 468); se:sodenle
 (*sēon:-lich* ll. 737, 738); se:bode (*sēon:bodig* ll. 1307, 1308); se:my3te
 (*sēon:mihtig* ll. 399, 400).

The rhymes *flee:wilfulle*, *almy3ty:se*, *se:sodenle*, and *se:bode* involve a reflex of *-ic* or *-ig*, both of which endings would have developed to a final [i:],⁴⁸ paired in the rhyming word with a long [e:] from OE *ēo*, which in the fifteenth century became [i:],⁴⁹ thus rendering perfect the resulting rhyme of a reflex of OE *ēo* on the reflexes of the unstressed suffixes *-ic* and *-ig*.

In a somewhat similar development, a series of couplets rhyme the final French <-é, -i, -ie> on the reflex of OE *eo* found at the end of such words as *be*, *flee*, *see*, and *tree* in **B** and **D** (and in **Z**, **C**, and **H** for those rhymes so marked):

be:charite (*bēon:charité* [OF] ll. 1293, 1294); chastyte:be (*chasteté*
 [OF]:*bēon* ll. 2595, 2596); be:company (*bēon:compainie* [AN] ll. 2599,
 2600); be:contrarye (*bēon:contrarie* [AN] ll. 1425, 1426); be:contree
 (*bēon:counté* [AN] ll. 1399, 1400 **C** 62v, **H** 31r, **Z**; 1471, 1472 **C** 65r, **H**
 34r, **Z**; 2601, 2602 **C** 95v, **H** 73v); be:degre (*bēon:degré* [OF] ll. 541, 542;
 1445, 1446; 1479, 1480; 1881, 1882; 2495, 2496; 2539, 2540); be:dignite
 (*bēon:dignité* [OF] ll. 75, 76 **C** 38r); remedye:flee (*remédie* [OF]:*flēon* ll.
 949, 950); pytee:tree (*pité:trēow* ll. 2019, 2020 **C** 81r, **H** 55r); see:perte
 (*sēon:pertie* [OF] ll. 311, 312 **C** 43r-v, **H** 6r); pauste:see (*pauste* [OF]:*sēon*
 ll. 1375, 1376); mercy:flee (*merci* [OF]:*flēon* ll. 2325, 2326 **C** 89r, **H** 65v);
 free:honeste (*frēo:honesté* [OF] ll. 639, 640); degre:se (*degré:sēon* ll. 529,
 530)

The rhymes of French final *-é* on the final vowel in the English word *be* are legion in the *Speculum*, and have not been listed exhaustively above. The exact value of the French vowels can only be guessed at, but the relatively frequent rhymes above on French final *é* written as <e> or <ee> at least suggests the monophthongization of OE *eo*, which would

⁴⁸Jordan, §136, Remark 2, p. 140.

⁴⁹Jordan, §277, p. 238.

thus accommodate itself to a rhyme on the simple sound in Old French suggested by the single-letter graph in the examples above. If we could be certain that the French vowels which occur in such rhymes had the value /i:/, then the examples above would present solid evidence for the value of the OE *ēo* in the dialect of the *Speculum*.

There are a number of seeming exceptions to the <e> reflex for *eo* manifested in **B** and **D**, many of which arise out of particular philological circumstances. The verb <chose> (*inf.*, *cēosan* 49, 74) in **B**, which manifests an instance of accent shifting after palatals, emphasizing the second element of the OE diphthong (yielding [o:] rather than the unrounded [e:] found in most other cases)⁵⁰ is limited to the Northwest Midlands, while the form found in **D** (<chese>) in both instances is fairly widely distributed throughout the North and the Midlands.⁵¹ The appearance in **B** of the form “faure” (*fēower*, ll. 869, 2071) which resulted from the development [ɔu] > [au] usual for this word in the Northwest Midlands⁵² appears in the less geographically restricted form “foure” in both instances in **D**. Accent-shifting arises again in **B**’s parallel spellings for OE *trēow(i)an*: <traw> (ll. 189, 201, 1383, 1503, 1699) and <trow(e, trowed> (ll. 3, 191, 205). **D** has a consistent spelling (<trow/e>) for the same word. Two rhymes on the reflex of OE *trēow(i)an* occur in the *Speculum*: *traw:now* (*trowe:now* in **D**; ll. 3,4; 1383, 1384; *trow:now* in **Z**, ll. 11, 12; 4004, 4005); *trowed:lowede* (*trowed:lowed* in **D**; ll. 205, 206; not found in **Z**, **C**, or **H**). The first of these two rhymes, attested in two separate

⁵⁰Jordan, §84, Remark 4, p. 112. cf. Mod. E. *choose*

⁵¹*LALME*, vol. i, maps 718 and 719, p. 478.

⁵²Jordan, §109, Remark 2, p. 128: “In addition with /ɔu/ > /au/ . . . OE (Northumb.) *fower* . . . yielded under influence of initial labial and atonic position *fuwer* > *fūr*, *four* /fu:r/, . . . yet here also is found the development /ɔu/ > /au/ in *faur* in NWML and transitional area to the North.”; see also map 774, p. 487 (four(th): ‘faur(-)’ and ‘fawr(-)’ types) as compared to map 775, p. 488 (four(th): ‘four(-)’ and ‘fowr(-)’ types), in *LALME*, vol. i.

places in the text of the poem, rhymes the word in question on the reflex of OE final *ū* (*nū*). If OE final [u:] developed into the diphthong [ɔu] in the fifteenth century,⁵³ then presumably the same [ɔu] diphthong occurred in *trōw*,⁵⁴ and the forms with a medial -a- in **B** thus likely testify to the further development of [ɔu] > [au].⁵⁵ The second of the two rhymes mentioned above, *trowed:lowede*, rhymes the reflex of OE *ēo* in *trēowian* on the reflex of OE *o* in a descendent of OE *lofian*, “to praise.” Since *lofian* is here used as a third-person preterite indicative plural, it would have been rendered *lofodon* in OE. The *o* would have lengthened in the initial open syllable, and the labiodental “f” may have become “w” before the “d” of the weak verb ending⁵⁶ (although the spelling <w> for the voiceless labiodental was not unknown⁵⁷), thus yielding [o:] + w, which eventually results in [ɔu], spelt <ow>.⁵⁸ This would indicate that the vowel of the stressed syllable in “trowed” likewise had the value [ɔu]. The two different spellings “traw” and “trow” in **B**, the former of which may be an attempt to render the later change [ɔu] > [au], do not have any great dialectal significance, as the phonological changes involved are manifested over a fairly wide geographical area. **B** manifests at least one spelling from the Northwest Midlands (<faure>), but there is no available evidence in **B** and **D** to show that β contained the reflex of OE *eo* common in the West Midlands and the South-west of England.

⁵³Jordan, §280, p. 240.

⁵⁴Jordan, §109, Remark 2, p. 128.

⁵⁵Jordan, §105, Remark 1, p. 125.

⁵⁶Jordan, §216, p. 194.

⁵⁷Jordan, §214, p. 191.

⁵⁸Jordan, §106, p. 125

b. Development of Old English *y*

The reflex of IWS *y* (short or long) varies between <i> and <u> in **D**, **C**, and **H**,

but always appears as <i> in the examples from **B** below:

bilded (*byldan* l. 1598); brydals (*brydealu* l. 1590); chirch (*cyrce* ll. 1560, 2619); dide, didon, did (fr. stem *dyd-* ll. 84, 88, 574, 1078, 1222, 1242, 1282, 1575, 1591, 1769, 1853, 1885, 1937, 2423, 2457, 2514); fylth (*fylþ* ll. 361, 378, 2091, 2150, 2155), fire, fyre (*fȳr* ll. 1153, 1198, 1199, etc.; 36 occurrences), first (*fyr(e)st* ll. 7, 152, 162, etc.; 28 occurrences); flyzt, flizt (*flyht*, ll. 310, 2373); fulfill, fulfild, fulfilled, fulfillyng (*fulfyllan* ll. 34, 132, 236, 305, 1555, 1866, 2411, 2496, 2705); gilt (*gylt* l. 1816); hide (*hȳdan* ll. 512, 1669, 1659, 1662, 1669, 1678, 1778, 2044, 2458); kyd, kydde (*cȳðed* ppl. of *cȳðan* ll. 87, 2043); kynd, kynde (*ȝecynde* ll. 21, 26, 28, etc.; 18 occurrences); kyndis (l. 18); kyndness (*ȝecynde* + *ness* ll. 91, 2696); kyndomus, kyngdom, kyngdome (*cyningdom* ll. 1933, 2361, 2472); kyng, kyngis, kyngus (*cyning* ll. 271, 393, 482, etc.; 12 occurrences); lysse (*lys* l. 370); list (*lysteb* l. 965); liper (*lȳpre* l. 596); lityl, litil, lytyl, litill, lityll (*lytel* ll. 249, 1404, 2007, etc.; 9 occurrences); mych (*mycel* 77, 270, 402, etc.; 35 occurrences); mynd, mynde (*ȝemynd* ll. 30, 46, 91, etc.; 16 occurrences); myrth, myrthes, myrthis (*myr(i)ȝþ* ll. 2605, 2656, 2659, 2661, 2667); pytt (*pyt* ll. 2039, 2155, 2289); syn(ne (*synn* ll. 82, 118, 148, etc.; 94 occurrences); syn(n)ful(l (ll. 164, 447, 969, 1053, etc.; 29 occurrences); synnus (*synn* ll. 966, 1039, 1069, etc.; 10 occurrences); synne (*syngian* ll. 751, 1062); synned (*(ȝe)syngod* ll. 1075, 1670); synnon (*syngiað* l. 1672); stern (*styrne* l. 1747); styntyng (*styntende* l. 2278); stird (*(ȝe)styred* l. 2694); stiron (*styriap* l. 791); stirre (*styrian* ll. 33, 122, 125, 216, 870); thynn(e (*bynne* ll. 198, 462); thristed, thristid (*byrstede* 1864, 1962).

These consistent <i> spellings usually occur in texts from the North and Northeast, whereas <e> spellings appear in the Southeast and Southeast Midlands, and <u> spellings in the West Midlands and Southwest.⁵⁹ While the readings in **D** generally agree with those quoted above for **B**, they occasionally appear with <u> spellings for OE *y*, as in the following cases taken from **D**:

bulded (*ȝebylded* 1598); dude, duden (*dyde*, *dydon* ll. 84, 88, 574, 1078, 1575, 1591, 1769, 1853, 1937); fure (*fyr* ll. 1153, 1198, 1199, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1207, 1208, 1210, 1244, 1357, 1601, 1976); hudde (*hȳdan* ll. 1778,

⁵⁹see §§39-42, pp. 66-70 in Jordan.

2044); kude (*cyðed* ll. 87, 2043); lust (*lystep* l. 965); muche (*mycel* ll. 77, 270, 642, etc.; 18 occurrences — *but also found as* miche [ll. 402, 700, 709] *and* mychel [ll. 1670, 1715, 1926]); putte (*pyt* ll. 2039, 2155); þurstede (*þyrstede* 1864, 1962).

Similar cases occur in both manuscripts **C** and **H**, along with an occasional <e> spelling in **C**:

dude (ll. 1853, 1886, 2457; *dede* in **C**); fuyr (ll. 1198, 1199, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1207, 1208, 1210); hud, hudde (ll. 1778, 2044, 2458); kud, kudde (l. 2044); luste (l. 965; *leste* in **C**); muche (ll. 709, 1670, 1715; *moche* in **C**); put (l. 2289); þurstede (l. 1864; 1962; *þrustede* in **C**).

The variants in **D**, **C**, and **H**, taken without any reference to rhymes, might suggest a more southerly or south-western origin for α ,⁶⁰ but the frequent rhymes of the reflex of OE *y* on the reflex of OE *i* make a more compelling counter-suggestion. Such rhymes of *i* on *y* occur in material which comes from **Z**, which bears out the evidence of frequent <i> or <y> spelling found in that text for OE *y* (examples of <i> or <y> spelling from **Z**: dide l. 114; dyd ll. 6213, 8203; fire ll. 3088, 3094, 3095, 3096, 3098, 3099; hyde l. 5255; mykel l. 237, 339, 654, 889, 925, 926; kydde ll. 115, 2408, 4342, 6212; pytt ll. 4946, 7195, 8185). A list of the pertinent rhymes, with the corresponding line numbers in **Z**, follow below:

will:fulfill (*will:fulfyllan* **BD**: ll. 33, 34; 1865, 1866; **Z**: ll. 63, 64; 9499, 9500); spilt:gilt (*spildan:gylt* **BD**: ll. 1815, 1816; **Z**: ll. 5558, 5559); synne:begin (*synne:beginnan* **B**: ll. 1061, 1062; **Z**: ll. 2660, 2661); synne:blynne (*synne:blinnan* **B**: ll. 2105, 2106; **Z**: ll. 6577, 6578); synne:in (*synne:in* **B**: 595, 596; 863, 864; 1013, 1014; 1217, 1218; 1949, 1950; **Z**: ll. 1058, 1059; 1702, 1703; 2352, 2353; 3156, 3157; 6071, 6072); syn:wyn (*synne:winnan* **B**: ll. 1243, 1244; 1995, 1996; 2449, 2450; **Z**: ll. 3212, 3213; 6308, 6309; 8139, 8140); synne:witin (*synne:wipinnan* **B**: ll. 917, 918; 1311, 1312; **Z** ll. 1928, 1929; 3644, 3645)

Identical kinds of rhymes are found in material unique to **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H**, and thus they

⁶⁰See dot-maps 104, p. 330 (much: ‘much’ and ‘muchel’ types, all variants) and 400, p. 404 (did sg/pl: ‘dud(-)’ type, incl. rare *dwde* and *pude*) in *LALME*.

likely took their origin from α :

will:fulfill (**BD**: ll. 1865, 1866; **C**76v, **H**48r); kynde:fynde (*zeczynde:findan* **BD**: ll. 21, 22; kende:fende in **C** 37v; not in **H** because of imperfect beginning to ms.); synne:in (**BD**: ll. 149, 150; 941, 942; 1191, 1192; 2265, 2266; **C**: 39r, 51v, 58r, 87v **H**: 1v, 17r, 25r, 63v); syn:wynne (**BD**: ll. 1195, 1196; **C** 58r, **H** 25r); synne:witin (**BD**: ll. 851, 852; 1251, 1252; 1263, 1264; **C** 50r, 59r, 59v **H** 14v, 26v)

The same kinds of rhyme likewise appear in the following pairs taken from material found only in the texts of **B** and **D**:

did:stid (ll. 1853, 1854; 2677, 2678); will:fulfill (ll. 131, 132); mynd:fynd (*gemynd:findan* ll. 489, 490); pitt:hitt (*pytt:hit* ll. 2155, 2156; putte:hyt in **D**); synne:blynne (ll. 845, 846; 1169, 1170); synne:in (ll. 715, 716; 761, 762; 1111, 1112; 1227, 1228); syne:betyne (*synne:bi+tima* ll. 415, 416); syn:wyn (ll. 117, 118; 2009, 2010); synne:witin (ll. 757, 758); synne *inf*:perin (ll. 751, 752); synne *inf*:begyn (ll. 1061, 1062)

These pairings of OE *y* with OE *i* indicate that the two sounds related to the two graphs have fallen together in the dialects of **Z**, α , and β , a thesis which would in turn place all three of these texts outside of the South and Southwest Midlands, which tended to preserve the more rounded [y(:)], spelt <u> or <ui>.⁶¹ The <u> spellings found in **D** and **H** (and occasionally in **C**), fits in well with the more southerly localizations given for those manuscripts in the *Descriptive Guide*; the occasional <e> spellings in **C** (“dede” and “leste”) may indicate different layers of textual history.

c. $\check{a}$ + Nasal

Although few words in the *Speculum* contain examples of OE $\check{a}$ before a nasal, they are fairly significant words found frequently throughout the text, such as *man*, *can*, and *many*. Both **B** and **D** show different reflexes for this particular phonetic feature, but the reflex changes in the text of **D** at a specific point, somewhere between ll. 836 and 851.

⁶¹Jordan, §42, pp. 69, 70.

after which all cases of *mon* (including *monkynd*, *monnus*, and *monus*), *mony*, and *con* are rendered *man*, *many*, and *can*. This partition in the case of this particular feature coincides with the appearance, mentioned earlier in the appropriate section, of the oblique cases of third-person plural pronouns as *her* and *hem* rather than the previous *hor* and *hom*. Spellings of initial *sh-* in such words as *should* and *shall* also change at the same point, after which *sch-* predominates. The hand of the text remains fairly stable throughout the manuscript, which would indicate that these specific changes in **D** at a fairly well-defined point arise from a change of hand in **D**'s source, and that the **D**-scribe recorded the differing forms of the first and second hands of his exemplar without adapting them to his own dialect. The change of hand does not seem to affect those features which distinguish texts as northern or southern, since the data given for **D** in the preceding sections dealing with such features are fairly consistent. The use of *hom* and *hor* places the first hand somewhere in the Northwest Midlands, but third-person plural pronouns with a medial "e" are fairly widely distributed,⁶² so that the second hand is slightly more difficult to localize. The use of medial *o* in *mon*, *mony*, and *con*, is geographically limited to the West Midlands according to the maps for these items in the *Linguistic Atlas*, but the use of medial *a* in the same items is generally distributed throughout the Midlands.⁶³ The common appearance of <a> for OE *a* followed by a nasal in the second "hand" of **D** does not, therefore, offer significant clues for localization, yet judging from the homogeneity of the two hands in features which indicate northern or

⁶²See the preceding discussion of this feature above, p. 21. See also *LALME*, vol. i, dot maps 48 (p. 316) and 61 (p. 320).

⁶³Compare maps 91 (many: 'mony' type, p. 327), 95 (man: 'mon' type, p. 328), and 715 (can sg/pl.: 'con(-)' and 'kon(-)' types, p. 478) with maps 90 (many: 'many' type, p. 327), 94 (man: 'man' type, p. 328), and 714 (can: 'can(-)' and 'kan(-)' types, p. 477), vol. i, *LALME*.

southern affinities, it would be reasonable to assume that the two hands in **D**'s exemplar were from linguistically proximate areas.

The reflex for OE *a* followed by a nasal is usually <o> in **B**, as illustrated in the following examples:

con, kon (*can* ll. 20, 52, 147, 155, etc); mon (*man* ll. 10, 13, 14, etc.; 223 occurrences); monhed (*man* + *hād* 1737, 1745); mony, monye (*manig*, *monig* 18, 88, 141, etc; 37 occurrences); monyfold (*manigfeald* 58, 793, 1403); monkynd, monkynde (ll. 37, 41, 87, 92, 214, 689, 1664); monnus (*mannes* ll. 818, 854, 1074, 1317); monus (*mannes* ll. 83, 265, 269, etc; 24 occurrences); nome, nomely, nomly (*nama*, *nama* + *līce* ll. 137, 1368, 1458, 1788, 2157); onsware, onswaret (*answerian* ll. 1393, 1898); plonted (*plantian* l. 1598).

A few exceptions appear in the text of **B**: *can* (*can* l. 2356 — end of line); *man* (ll. 1620, 1644, 1723, etc.; 9 occurrences, all at end of line); *manhed* (l. 1691); *manus* (l. 1698); *name*, *namely*, *namle*, *namly* (355, 484, 1395, 1621, 1729, 1792). The one instance of “can” and all but two of the instances of “man” appear in rhymes which can be traced to **Z** (*can:man* ll. 2355, 2356 = **Z** ll. 7889, 7890; *man:pan* ll. 1619, 1620 = **Z** ll. 4983, 4984; 1643, 1644 = **Z** 5046, 5047; 1723, 1724 = **Z** 5370, 5371; 1823, 1824 = **Z** 5578, 5579; 1841, 1842 = **Z** 5652, 5653; 2661, 2662 = **Z** 9268, 9269). Although *manhed* and *manus* are not rhyme-words, they follow the form found in **Z** (ll. 5259, 5278), and are found with the same medial -a- spelling in **C** (72v) and **H** (44r). The alternation of medial *a* and *o* in the spellings for OE *nama* found in **B** presents a problem, particularly in the appearance, at l. 484, of *name* in mid-line; no rhyme taken from **Z** requires its presence, and it stands in the middle of a fairly large portion of material which is unique to the two manuscripts of the *Speculum*. While the spelling <nom(-)> occurs almost exclusively in the Northwest

Midlands,⁶⁴ the spelling <nam(-)> is fairly well distributed throughout the North and North Midlands.

The issue is clouded further by the evidence given by rhymes on the OE *ǣ* + nasal reflex which are not self-rhymes: *man:cristendam* (ll. 1833, 1834); *lesson:mon* (ll. 645, 646); *mon:Jon* (ll. 1789, 1790); *man:come* (ll. 963, 964 C52r, H17v; 2547, 2548 C94r, H72r); *mon:dome* (ll. 1575, 1576 C67v, H37v); *man:damnacioun* (ll. 669, 670). The two rhymes on French cognates (*lesson* and *damnacioun*), along with the rhyme on the proper name “John” (*mon:Jon*) favour *o* rather than *a* as the reflex for OE *ǣ* + nasal, but the precise value of the vowels in the last syllable of each French word remains unclear, just as the value of the medial vowel in the proper name remains a mystery. The rhyme *mon:dome* presents the problem of a dissimilarity in vowel quality (above and beyond the problem of the use of assonance on m/n, which has already been established above). According to Jordan, the word “*dom*” would likely have contained an *ō*, yielding [o:] in the South and Midlands, becoming [u:] later in the fifteenth century; in the North, it yielded [ø:] or [y:].⁶⁵ In the West Midlands the reflex for OE *mann*, <mon>, would probably have corresponded to /mɔn/ ⁶⁶, and the <a> spelling for the same word elsewhere would probably have corresponded to /man/.⁶⁷ The rhyme *mon:dome* thus involves imperfect rhyme, no matter what combinations among the dialectal variants might be tried, although /mɔn/:/du:m/ in the West Midlands is considerably closer than

⁶⁴LALME, map 839 (name: *nom(-)*), p. 498; compare with map 837 (name: *nam(-)*, all simple *a* spellings), p. 498.

⁶⁵Jordan, §53, pp. 84, 86

⁶⁶OE *a* followed by a nasal yielded /ɔ/ in the West Midlands, which was then lengthened to /ɔ:/; Jordan, §25, Remark 1, p. 47.

⁶⁷Jordan, §30, p. 50.

the other possibilities. The rhyme *come:mon* is imperfect for similar reasons, since it matches the reflex of OE *ū* of the antecedent infinitive *cuman*, which was <o>, with the reflex of OE *a* in *man*. The <o> spelling in “come” usually represented /u/ in most areas after the mid-thirteenth century,⁶⁸ and so the tonic vowel in either <mon> or <man> would not provide a perfect rhyming match for <come>. The only remaining rhyme, *man:cristendā*, which arises only in **B** and **D**, involves a rhyme on the OE suffix *-dōm*, which, judging from the *Linguistic Atlas*, appears as <-dam> anywhere south of a rough line drawn from the mouth of the Humber to the northern tip of Morecambe Bay, and as <-dom> over the whole of the North and Midlands.⁶⁹ Jordan states that OE *-dōm* “yielded partly /u/ (written <dum, dom>), partly /ɔ/ > /a/ *dam* which predominates in the North . . . however [it] is also widely spread southwards.”⁷⁰ Of these two options, only /-dam/ (<-dam>) and /man/ (<man>) would provide a match, having taken into consideration the assonance on m/n. The spelling of this pair in **B** (*man:cristendā*) both breaks from the scribe’s regular habit of spelling,⁷¹ and conforms to the conditions of the rhyme just laid out. This single rhyme provides the only evidence for the reflex of OE *a* + nasal in β, which indicates that it would likely have been the more widely distributed <a> spelling, rather than the more geographically restricted <o> spelling. It seems that, on the basis of this reflex alone, no solid case can be made for restricting the provenance of the *Speculum* to the West Midlands, other than making an appeal to the relative frequency of <o>

⁶⁸Jordan, §17, p. 34, and §37, p. 65.

⁶⁹See maps 942 (-dom: ‘-dam’ type, p. 515) and 943 (-dom: ‘-dom(e)’ type, p. 516), *LALME*, vol. i.

⁷⁰Jordan, §137, Remark, p. 140.

⁷¹There are 223 occurrences of “mon,” and the following occurrences of <-dom>: caytifdom (l. 288); cristyndome (l. 164); fredome (l. 2387); kyndomus, kyngdom, kyngdome (ll. 1933, 2361, 2472); wysdom, wisdom (ll. 113, 682, 910, 983, 2453, 2478).

spellings in **B** and in the first 836 lines of **D**.

d. Conclusions regarding Eastern/Western features

The data above from the two manuscripts **B** and **D** generally uphold the localizations given them in the *Descriptive Guide* and the *Linguistic Atlas*. Most of the reflexes in **B** for the features listed above are fairly geographically distributed throughout the East and West Midlands (the <i/y> for OE *y*, <e> for OE *eo*), but the consistent <o> spelling for OE *a* before a nasal marks out **B** as a West Midlands text; this, taken in conjunction with the frequent appearance of the geographically restricted third-person plural pronouns *hom* and *hor* to the Northwest Midlands, supports the conclusion that **B** comes from South Lancashire. The appearance of *u* spelling for *i/y* in **D** may, as has been suggested, indicate more southwesterly origins for that text, yet the sudden difference in the reflex for OE *ǣ* + nasal which appears after l. 836, accompanied by other sudden changes (the form of the third-person plural pronoun, spelling of ‘sh’ as <sch>) at the same point, indicates the presence of two hands in **D**’s exemplar (since the hand of **D** remains consistent throughout). The agreement between the two hands in so many other features makes it likely that the two scribes of **D**’s source come from geographically proximate areas. The first hand, with its frequent use of <o> for OE *a* + nasal, and its use of the third-person plural pronouns *hom* and *hor*, likely comes from the Northwest Midlands, but the second hand, with its geographically dispersed reflexes (<e> for OE *eo*, <a> for OE *a* + nasal) make it much more difficult to place. The occasional occurrence of <u> spellings for OE *y* throughout the second hand may suggest that the second scribe came from the South or Southwest. If the two scribes in **D**’s exemplar came from neighbouring areas, they must have come from the region bordering the Northwest and Southwest Midlands, which would explain the slight differences in reflexes for the

features mentioned above. Since the LP given for **D** is based on a close reading of the first 800 lines of the poem, before the change of hands in **D**'s exemplar, we may assume that the first hand comes from Derbyshire, and the second may come from a nearby region which is just to the Southeast of Derbyshire. This line of speculation would place the text of **D**'s exemplar in a slightly more westerly portion of the Midlands, and would thus place **D**'s exemplar with **B**, within the West Midlands.

The paucity of much clear evidence about the forms in β makes it difficult to provide firm conclusions regarding its provenance in the East or West Midlands. The absence of any of the forms from the West Midlands (<eo, o, oe, u, ue> spellings for OE *eo*, <u> spellings for OE *y*, <o> spellings for OE *a* + nasal) may suggest the East Midlands, but the absence of forms does not provide incontrovertible evidence, especially considering the wide geographical dispersal of the forms which were likely in β (<e> for OE *eo*; <i,y> for OE *y*; <a> for OE *a* + nasal). Evidence from passages shared by **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H** show that α shared the reflexes of β for OE *eo* and *y*, although no significant evidence could be found for the value of the reflex on OE *a* + nasal for material from α . These forms would be consistent with the northern origin posited for α earlier, but, like the forms in β , they show a wide geographical dispersal.

3. Vocabulary

Although the vocabulary of the *Speculum* contains several Scandinavian borrowings, they are not particularly northern in character,⁷² and most of them derive from α or **Z**:

bondis (ON *band* l. 1241 [**C** 59r, **H** 26v, **Z** 3209]); cast (ON *kasta* ll. 681

⁷²None of them can be found in Rolf Kaiser, *Zur Geographie des mittenglischen Wortschatzes*, *Palaestra* 205 (Leipzig: Mayer & Müller, 1937), and most of them occur in Chaucer.

[C 47v, H 11v], 2251 [C 87r, H 63r], 2289 [C 88r, H 64r, Z 7194]); egg, egus (ON *egg* l. 2036 [C 81r, H 55v, Z 6446]; 2038 [C 81r, H 55v, Z 6448]); flitt (ON *flytja* l. 1339 [C 61v, H 29v, Z 3762]); kyndilt (ON *kynd-a* 2113 [H 58r, Z 6603]); likend, likond (ON *líkr*, aphetic of *glíkr*, l. 347 [C 44r, H 7r, Z 606]); loze, lozest, lowe (ON *lágr* ll. 138 [C 39r, H 1r, Z 172], 2128 [C 83v, H 58v, Z 6620], 1121 [C 55r, H 22r, Z 2836]); meke, meke, mekenes, meker, mekly, meknes, meknys (ON *miúkr* ll. 107 [C 38v, 126 [C 39r, Z 158], 138 [C 39r, H 1r, Z 172], etc.; 28 occurrences); omys (ON *á mis* ll. 81 [C 38v, Z 109]); rouke (ON *rūka* l. 2180 [C 85r, H 60v, Z 6765]); same (ON *same, sama* 4 [C 37r, Z 12], 1207 [C 58v, H 25v, Z 3098], 1305 [C 61r, H 29r, Z 3638], 1538 [C 66v, H 36r], 1619 [C 70v, H 41r, Z 4983], 1645 [C 71r, H 41v, Z 5048], 1700 [C 72v, H 44r, Z 5288]); semand, seme, semes, semus (ON *soema* 329 [C 43v, H 6v, Z 569], 1690 [C 72r, H 44r, Z 5258], 1697 [C 72v, H 44r, Z 5277], etc.; 8 occurrences); setus (ON *sæti* 1932 [C 78r, H 51r, Z 6046], 2511 [C 93v, H 71v]); skil, skyll, skyllus (ON *skil* 18 [C 37r, Z 48], 27 [C 37v, Z 57], 46 [C 37v, Z 76], etc.; 13 occurrences); tyl, till (O.Northumb., adopted fr. ON *til* ll. 945 [C 52r, H 17r], 1066 [C 54v, H 20v], 1158 [C 57v, H 24r, Z 2923], 1174 [C 57v, H 24v], 1212 [C 58v, H 25v, Z 3125], 1244 [C 59r, H 26v, Z 3213]); want (ON *vanta* l. 1633 [C 70v, H 41v]).

Some Scandinavian borrowings do appear in **B** and **D** only, but once again, most of these are not geographically limited elements of vocabulary⁷³: *cast* (l. 2139), *getis* (ON *geta* l. 1172), *lause* (appropriation of ON equivalent *lauss*, rather than OE *leas* l. 1431), *mek* (ll. 560, 563), *omys* (l. 1282), *sleze* (ON *slæg-r* 1441), *till* (l. 437), *trist* (adaptation of ON *treysta* l. 579), *waylyng* (ON *veila*+ *-ing* 1011). The only Scandinavian word with Northern associations which appears with any regularity in passages unique to **D** and **B** is the adverb *hethon* (ON *heðan* ll. 290, 807, 970, 2021, 2309).⁷⁴ While this might suggest the North or North Midlands as a possible place of origin for the *Speculum*, the absence of many other northern elements of vocabulary in those lines unique to the *Speculum* tends to cast serious doubt on such a contention.

⁷³All of the following examples are found, for instance, in Chaucer.

⁷⁴See Kaiser, p. 214.

B. The *Linguistic Atlas* and Closer Localization of Forms

The Linguistic Profiles for **B** and **D** in the *Linguistic Atlas* are supported by the data assessed for these two manuscripts thus far, and there is no need to doubt the information provided there. One particular minority form, however, is missing from the LPs for both manuscripts: the form *por(e)*, a fairly rare form⁷⁵, appears for the adverb “there” in **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H**. Every time *pore* appears in the *Speculum*, it appears in a rhyme: *pore:euermore* (ll. 607, 608 [**D**, **C** 45v, **H** 9r; *pore:evermare* **Z** 1070, 1071]; 2593, 2594 [**C** 95r; *pore:evermare* **Z**]); *pore:sore* (ll. 1757, 1758 [**H** 46r, **Z** 5416, 5417]); *more:pore* (ll. 1799, 1800 [**C** 74v, **H** 46v; *mar:par* **Z** 5490, 5491]; 2409, 2410 [**C** 91v, **H** 69r; *mar:par* **Z** 8031, 8032]; 2467, 2468 [**C** 92v, **H** 70r; *mar:par* **Z** 8213, 8214]; 2479, 2480 [**C** 92v, **H** 70v; *mare:pore* **Z** 8295, 8296]; 2489, 2490 [**C** 93r, **H** 71r; *pore:mare* **Z** 8395, 8396]); *lore:pore* (ll. 2055, 2056 [**C** 81v, **H** 56r; *lare:pore* **Z** 6469, 6470]). Each rhyme listed above is a self-rhyme on OE *ā*, so one might argue that *por(e)* arises from the typical Southern and Midland reflex of OE *ā*. All the rhymes above would then be explained as attempts by southern or midland scribes to render northern rhymes into their own dialect by changing a medial <a> graph to a medial <o> graph in the rhyme-words.

Such an explanation does not, however, account for the absence of a *por(e)* form in most other texts of the *Prick of Conscience* examined in the *Linguistic Atlas* and localized in the *Descriptive Guide*. Out of all the Linguistic Profiles given for this form, it occurs as a majority form in the West Riding of Yorkshire (LP 30, 100, 175, 211, 240, 494, 497, 589, 601), Yorkshire generally (LP 199), Lancashire (LP 595), Lincolnshire (LP 46, 549).

⁷⁵See the entries *thor*, *thore*, *yoore*, *yor*, *yor-*, *yore*, *yore-*, *por*, *pore* under “there” in vol. iv, pp. 91, 92 of *LALME*, and map 322 (there: all forms with medial *o*), p. 385, vol. i in the same work.

Cheshire (LP 43), and Cornwall (LP 5010).⁷⁶ Given that the single occurrence in Cornwall is exceptional, the rest of the occurrences cluster in the West Riding of Yorkshire, or generally in the North. The form *pore* appears as a minority form in Nottingham (LPs 2, 514), West Riding of Yorkshire (LPs 217, 454, 488), Herefordshire (LP 7500), Sussex (LP 5850), and in the North generally (LP 22). Once again, the form predominates in the North or North Midlands, the two texts from Herefordshire and Sussex being the only exceptions to this generalization. Since the form *por(e)* is relatively rare and belongs within a reasonably restricted geographical area, it is unlikely that it occurs in **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H** as a dialectal variant, and far more likely that it derives from α , the common antecedent of all four texts.

The presence of *por(e)* in α would agree with the general conclusion outlined above that α probably came from the North, and it seems to indicate its provenance in Yorkshire generally or the West Riding in particular. The localization seems all the more likely when one takes into consideration the scholarly agreement “that the [*Prick of Conscience*] was written in the north of England, probably in Yorkshire.”⁷⁷ In point of fact, two manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*, British Library Add. 25013 (LP 494, West Riding of Yorkshire; Grid 399 428), and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 131⁷⁸ (Hand B; LP 595, Lancashire; not entered on maps), contain the form *por(e)* as a majority form — which is not to identify either manuscript with α , but merely to point out that the form is found in Northern manuscripts of the *Prick of Conscience*.

⁷⁶*LALME*, vol. iv. pp. 91, 92.

⁷⁷*Descriptive Guide*, p. 4.

⁷⁸This is also one of the group identified by Lewis and McIntosh in the *Descriptive Guide* (p. 4) as being among the oldest of *Prick of Conscience* manuscripts.

III. Conclusion

The main purpose of the preceding study was to look at the linguistic forms of **B** and **D** in an attempt to find linguistically significant evidence for any of the earlier stages in the development of the *Speculum*. The evidence rendered by both these manuscripts supported the findings of Lewis and McIntosh in the *Descriptive Guide*, and the conclusions given in the *Linguistic Atlas* for the probable place of origin for both manuscripts of the *Speculum*. Not very much evidence came to light for the assessment of β , but the evidence suggests that it originated in the Northwest Midlands. The evidence in **B**, **D**, **C**, and **H** indicates that α came from somewhere in the North, and, judging from the appearance of a fairly rare word-form, it may have come from the West Riding of Yorkshire. The literal descent of the text is thus also a geographical descent from the North to the Midlands: the texts of **Z** and α , both from Yorkshire, give rise to the version in β somewhere in the North or Northwest Midlands, which then comes to Lancashire and Derbyshire in manuscripts **B** and **D**.

This localization of β confirms the choice of base text outlined in the conclusion to the previous chapter, since it places β with manuscript **B** within the North-West Midlands. The evidence discussed earlier concerning the medial vowel of the third-person plural personal pronouns points to the presence of the localized spelling <hom> in β , which appears throughout **B**, but only within the first eight hundred lines of **D**. One could wish for incontrovertible evidence regarding the localization of β , but given the likelihood that the text of α disseminated from its point of origin in Yorkshire and then was altered to become β somewhere on its journey South, the slightly more Northern dialect of **B** probably resembles the dialect of the *Speculum*'s exemplar more closely than that of **D**. The complete state of **B**, then, taken with its dialectal resemblance to β .

provide good reasons for choosing it as the base text.

Appendix: A Table of Corresponding Lines in ZCHBD

The following table gives the lines from the *Prick of Conscience* which appear in mss. **C** and **H**, and in the *Speculum*. It is difficult in certain cases to determine the attribution of some lines to the *Prick of Conscience*, and so some of the correspondences below, particularly those which are marked as paraphrased, depend upon some subjective judgement. In most cases the criteria for attribution depends upon a similarity in more than two or three significant words of the text (i.e. nouns and verbs rather than articles, prepositions, and common conjunctions). Line numbers in plain text (e.g. 2102-2103) are taken from Morris' edition (**Z**). Line numbers in **bold** text (e.g. **2102-2103**) are from the *Speculum*. If nothing appears in a cell under either column, it means that there is no corresponding passage in the other text for the lines so mentioned. Line numbers in angled brackets ("**<**" and "**>**") denote lines which are paraphrased in **C** and **H**; lines paraphrased in **C** and **H** will be presumed to appear in their paraphrased form in **B** and **D** unless otherwise noted. Where **CHZ** are in agreement, but the *Speculum* contains a paraphrase, the corresponding *Speculum* line numbers will appear in angled brackets. If **C** and **H** contain any unique lines, the number of lines will be recorded in square brackets: e.g. [2 lines]. The following legend interprets the various possible entries in the table:

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>	Interpretation
245, 246		C and H contain ll. 245, 246 of Z , but the same text does not appear in the <i>Speculum</i> .
	64-66	Lines 64 to 66 in the <i>Speculum</i> do not appear in Z , C , or H .
39-44	39-44	C and H contain text which corresponds to ll. 39-44 in the <i>Speculum</i> ; there is no corresponding text in Z .
<480-485>	285, 286	Z ll. 480-485 have been paraphrased in C and H ; the <i>Speculum</i> contains the paraphrased lines much as they appear in C and H .
281, 282	< 183, 184 >	C and H contain Z ll. 281, 282, but the same lines appear in a paraphrased form in the <i>Speculum</i> .
<2760>	< 1091 >	l. 2760 from Z appears in a paraphrased form in C and H ; a different paraphrase for the same line of Z appears at l. 1091 of the <i>Speculum</i> .

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>	Interpretation
[2 lines]		At this point in the text, C and H contain two lines which do not appear in Z or in the <i>Speculum</i> .

Further information regarding Latin quotations and source material can be found in the Notes to the Text and in Chapter Three.

Prologue

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
9-12	1-4
31-38	5-12
39, 40	
41-44	13-16
47-66	17-36
67, 68	
69, 70	37, 38
39-44	39-44
75-80	45-50
51-63	51-63
	64-66
85-88	67-70
99, 100	71, 72
91, 92	73, 74
101, 102	75, 76
105-120	77-92
123	93
94	94
127-135	95-103
104-112	104-112
143-148	113-118

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
151-158	119-126
127-130	127-130
[4 lines]	
	131, 132
133-134a	133-134a
169-174	135-140
183-190	141-148
149, 150	149, 150
	150a
205-208	151-154
211-218	155-162
219-222	
	163-166
223-230	167-174
175, 176	175, 176
241, 242	176, 177
245, 246	
247-252	178a-182
253, 254	
281, 282	<183, 184>
283, 284	
285, 286	184a
287, 288; 293, 294	
	185, 186
297-307	187-195
196-198	196-198
309-325	199-210
328, 329; 348-365; [2 lines]	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
	211-216

Part I: Man’s Wretchedness

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
372-387	217-232
233, 234	233, 234
390-395	235-240
396, 397	
	241, 242
398-403	242a-246
404-413	
	247-254
414-419	254a-258
420, 421	
422-425	260a-262
428, 429	263, 264
432, 433	265, 266
434	267
268	268
438, 439	269, 270
440-449	
	271, 272
450-455	272a-276
458, 459; 462, 463	
277	277
465-469	278-282
474, 475	283, 284

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
476, 477	
<480-485>	285, 286
287, 288	287, 288
508-519	289-298
522, 523	
528-536	299-306
537	
538-543	307-310
544, 545	313, 314
550, 551	311, 312
552, 553	
	315-320
558-573	321-334
586-591	335-340
596, 597	341, 342
600-609	343-350
618-631	351-360
634-651	361-370
656-659	371-374
375-380	375-380
854-859	380a-384
385-388	385-388
876-887	380a-398
890, 891	
	399, 400
895, 896	401, 402
[2 lines]	
	403-580

Part II: The World

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
934	581
582-590	582-590
954, 955	591, 592
593, 594	593, 594
1058-1071	595-608
1072, 1073; 1076, 1077; 1080-1085	
1088, 1089	609, 610
1092-1095	611-614
616a	616a
615, 616	615, 616
1098-1110	617-625
1113-1117	626-628
1120-1125	629-632
1127	633
1129-1133	634-634b
1134-1145	
1152-1156	635-639
1157	
	640
1289-1292	641-644
1293, 1294	
	645, 646
1295-1317	646a-662
1320-1333	663-672b

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
	673, 674 [Z, ll. 1334, 1335] ¹
1336, 1337	675, 676
1352, 1353	
1354-1357	677-678a
1360, 1361	679, 680
681, 682	681, 682
1368-1371	683-684b
685-690	685-690
1382-1389	690a-696
1394-1396	697-699
700	700
1398-1405	
1406-1409	701-704
1412, 1413	705, 706
707-710	707-710
1452, 1453	711, 712
1474, 1475	713, 714
[4 lines]; 1504-1516;	
	715-717
1517	718
1532-1535	719-722
	723-780
1544-1559	781-794
1568, 1569	795, 796
	797
1572, 1573	

¹These lines are not found in **C** and **H**, despite their derivation from the *Prick of Conscience*, and so they illustrate that the *Speculum* does not derive directly from manuscripts **C** or **H**.

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
	798-800
1574, 1575	800a,b
1576, 1577	
1578-1581	801-804
1584-1587	805-808
809, 810	809, 810
1592-1595	811-814
815, 816	815, 816
1602, 1603	817, 818
1610-1615; 1618, 1619	
819-822	819-822
[2 lines]	

Part III: Death

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
1666-1669	823-826
<1670, 1671>	827, 828
1678, 1679	829, 830
831-836	831-836
[2 lines]	
836a	836a
[2 lines]	
837-842	837-842
	843-850
[4 lines]	
850a-854	850a-854
1694-1704	855-864

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
1704, 1705	
865, 866	865, 866
1722, 1723; 1734-1739	
867, 868	867, 868
1818-1831	869-882
1836-1843	882-890
1852-1863	891-902
903-906	903-906
1876-1883	906a-910
1890-1895	915-918
[1 line]	
	919
920	920
1932-1935	920a-922
1940, 1941	923, 924
925, 926	925, 926
[1 line]; 1943	
1946-1953	927-932
1956, 1957	933, 934
1960-1969	935-938
<1971>	939
940-946	940-946
[2 lines]	
1982-1993	946a-954
1994, 1995	
	955, 956
956a-961	956a-961
2005	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
2006	962
2007	
2008-2013	962a-966
967, 968	967, 968
2038-2041	968a,b
2042-2045	<969, 970>
2046, 2047	971, 972
2048, 2049	<973, 974>
2050, 2051; 2054	
	975-977
2055	978
2058-2061	978a-980
2064-2067	981-984
2070-2075	984a-988
2080-2083	988a-990
2118-2121	991-994
2122, 2123	<995, 996>
2124-2129	996a-1000
[1 line]	
	1001
1002	1002
2140, 2141	<1003, 1004>
2142, 2143; [2 lines]	
	1005-1008
2160, 2161	1008a,b
1009, 1010	1009, 1010
	1011, 1012
2352-2355	1013-1016

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
1017, 1018	1017, 1018
2368, 2369	<1019, 1020>
1021, 1022	1021, 1022
2380-2383	1023-1026
<2396-2398>	1027, 1028
1028a-1030	1028a-1030
2404-2407	1031-1032b
2408, 2409	<1033, 1034>
2412-2417	1035-1040
2424-2429	1041-1046
1047, 1048	1047, 1048
1046a,b	1046a,b
[2 lines, and 1 Latin quotation]	
2454-2457	1049-1052
1053-1056	1053-1056
2578-2579	<1057, 1058>
1059	1059
2654-2657	1060-1060b
<2659-2661>	1061, 1062
2672, 2673	1063, 1064
2668, 2669	1065, 1066
2674-2677	1067-1070
2641, 2642	1071, 1072
2680, 2681; 9623, 9624	

Part IV: Purgatory

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
2710-2713	1073-1076
2714, 2715	1077, 1078
2726, 2727	
2728, 2729	<1079, 1080>
2730-2731	1080a,b
<2732-2735>	1081, 1082
2736, 2737	1083, 1084
2740-2743	1085-1088
[2 lines]	
1089, 1090	1089, 1090
2756-2759	
<2760>	<1091>
2761-2763	1092, 1092a
1093, 1094	1093, 1094
<2766-2771>	1095-1098
1099, 1100	1099, 1100
2772-2781	1101-1110
2782-2797	
	1111-1114
2798, 2799	1115, 1116
2806-2828	
2829-2833	1117-1120a
2836-2846	1121-1129
<2847>	1130
[2 lines]	
1131, 1132	1131, 1132

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
2852, 2853	1133, 1134
2854-2887	
	1135, 1136
2897, 2898	1137, 1138
2900, 2901	1139, 1140
2904-2912	1141-1150
1151	1151
[3 lines]	
	1152- 1154
2918, 2919	1155, 1156
2920-2923	<1157, 1158>
2924-2928	1159-1163
1164-1168	1164-1168
[2936, 2937; 2 lines; 2961, 2962]	
	1169-1172
2964, 2965	1173, 1174
[4 lines]	
<2984-3001>	1175-1184
<3004, 3005>	1185, 1186
1187-1196	1187-1196
<3088, 3089>	1197-1200
3090, 3091	1201, 1202
3094-3102	1203-1210
3124-3126	1211-1213
1214	1214
<3152-3155>	1215, 1216
3156-3177	1217-1234
3202-3205	1235-1238

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
3207-3209	<1239-1242>
3212, 3213	1243, 1244
3230, 3231	1245, 1246
1247, 1248	1247, 1248
3232, 3233	1249, 1250
1251, 1252	1251, 1252
3246-3249	1253-1256
1257, 1258	1257, 1258
3266-3269	1259-1262
1263, 1264	1263, 1264
3274, 3275; 3288-3293; 3312-3321; 3326-3335	
1265, 1266	1265, 1266
<3512, 3513>	1267, 1268
3514, 3515	1269, 1270
1271-1274	1271-1274
[2 lines]; 3522, 3523	
	1275-1278
3524, 3525	1279, 1280
3526-3531; 3542-3547	
	1281-1286
3566-3571	1287-1290b
3572, 3573; 3590-3593; 3596, 3597	
1291	1291
3606, 3607; 3614, 3615; 3624-3627; 3650, 3651; [11 lines in C; 7 lines in H]	
	1292-1296
1296a	1296a

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
3630-3647	1297-1314
3648, 3649	
	1315-1321
1322	1322
[1 line]	
	1323-1326
3652-3655	<1327-1330>
	1331-1334
1335-1337	1335-1337
[1 line]	
	1338
3762-3765	1339-1342
3774-3777	1343-1346
3778-3783; [C has 2 more lines]	
	1347-1350

Part V: The Doom

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
3966-3971	1351-1356
3972, 3973	
3974-3987	1357-1370
3990, 3991	1371, 1372
3994-3996	1373-1375
3997	<1376>
3998-4005	1377-1384
4008-4010	1385-1387
4011-4013	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
	1388
4014,4015	1388a,b
4015-4024	1392a-i
4025, 4026	1389, 1390
	1391, 1392
4027-4032	1393-1398
4035-4047	1399-1411
4048	<1412>
4049, 4050	
4051-4054	1415-1418
4055, 4056	
	1419, 1420
4057	1420a
4058-4060	
	1420b-f
4061, 4062	1421, 1422
4063-4072; 4101-4104; 4108, 4109; 4113, 4114; 4117-4122; 4125-4128; 4133-4142; 4149-4152; 4155-4164; 4166, 4167; 4169-4186; 4197-4200; 4202-4210; 4221, 4222	
	1423-1454
4223, 4224	1455, 1456
4225, 4226; 4235	
	1457-1461
4236-4244	1462-1468
	1469, 1470
4245, 4246	1471, 1472
4263, 4264	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
1473-1476	1473-1476
	1477-1480
1481-1488	1481-1488
[4 lines]	
	1489, 1490
1490a-1502	1490a-1502
[6 lines]; 4283, 4284; 4321-4324; 4327-4330	
	1503-1508
4331, 4332	1509, 1510
	1511, 1512
4353-4356	1513-1514b
1515, 1516	1515, 1516
<4415, 4416>	1517, 1518
4417-4422	1518a-1522
4425, 4426	1523, 1524
1525, 1526	1525, 1526
4443-4450; 4471, 4472; 4499-4502	
	1526-1530
4503-4508	1531-1534
4509, 4510	<1535, 1536>
4515-4518	1536a-1538
4523-4526; 4529-4532; 4541-4544; 4563-4570	
	1539-1542
4571-4586	1543-1554
4621, 4622; [8 lines]	
4633-4638	1555-1558

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
4639	<1559>
4640	1560
4647, 4648	
4649-4655	1561-1567
[1 line]	
	1568
4657-4660	1568a-1570
4663-4668	1571-1576
	1576a,b
4671-4674	1576c-e
	1577, 1578
4675-4680	1579-1584
4699, 4700; 4724-4729; 4738-4741; 4745, 4746; 4748-4755; 4758-4767; 4770-4773; 4776, 4777; 4780-4785; 4788-4791; 4794, 4795; 4798-4813; 4816-4823	
	1585, 1586
4824-4836	1586a-j
4839-4854	1587-1602
1603, 1604	1603. 1604
4857-4860; 4899-4906; [2 lines of English; 2 lines of Latin]; 4921, 4922; 4925-4928	
4957-4960	1605-1608
4963, 4964	1609, 1610
4967, 4968	1611, 1612
1613, 1614	1613, 1614
4973-4978	1614a-1618
4983-4990	1619-1626
4999, 5000	1627, 1628

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
5003, 5004	
	1629, 1630
5005, 5006	1630a
5007, 5008	<1631, 1632>
1633, 1634	1633, 1634
5025-5028	1635-1638
5029-5032	
5033-5043	1639-1642
5046-5049	1643-1646
5050-5053	<1647, 1648>
5054, 5055	1649, 1650
<5058, 5059>	1651, 1652
<5063>	1653, 1654
5064-5079	1654a-1662
1663, 1664	1663, 1664
5084, 5085	
	1665, 1666
5086-5092	1666a-1670
5096-5104; [2 lines]; 5112, 5113; 5120, 5121	
	1671-1676
5121-5129	1676a-1680
[2 lines]; 5138-5141	
5149, 5150	<1681, 1682>
5151, 5152	
5153, 5154	1682a
5155, 5156; 5159-5162; 5171-5180	
	1683, 1684

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
5253-5260	1685-1692
5261, 5262	
5263, 5264	1693, 1694
5267, 5268	
5271, 5272	1695, 1696
5281, 5282	1696a,b
5283, 5284	
5277, 5278	1697, 1698
5287-5290	1699-1702
5291-5294	
5301, 5302	1703, 1704
1705, 1706	1705, 1706
5313, 5314	1707, 1708
<5331, 5332>	1709, 1710
5333, 5334	1711, 1712
5337, 5338	1713, 1714
1715, 1716	1715, 1716
5351, 5352	
1717, 1718	1717, 1718
5361-5365	1718a-1720
5368-5375	1721-1728
5378-5391	1729-1738
5392-5393	
	1739, 1740
5396-5400	1740a-1743
5401	<1744>
5404-5417	1745-1758
5422	1759

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
<5423>	1760
5424-5430	1761-1767
<5431>	1768
5432	1769
<5434-5437>	1770-1773
5439-5443	1774-1778
1778a	1778a
5444-5446	1779-1780a
<5447, 5448>	<1781, 1782>
5449-5453	1783-1786
5468, 5469	1787, 1788
5470, 5471	
	1789-1790b
5476, 5477	1791, 1792
	1793-1794a
5478, 5479	1795, 1796
5488-5491	1797-1800
5492, 5493	
5494, 5495	1802a-c
5496, 5497	1801, 1802
5498, 5499	1803, 1804
5516-5521	
5544, 5545	1805, 1806
5546-5549	
	1807-1810
5550-5555	1810a-1814
5558-5565	1815-1822
5578, 5579	1823, 1824

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
<5580, 5581>	<1825, 1826>
	1827-1836
5612, 5613	1837, 1838
5614-5619; 5622-5641	
5642, 5643	1839, 1840
5652-5657	1841-1842c
	1843, 1844
5664, 5665	1845, 1846
5666, 5667	
5668, 5669	1846a
5674, 5675	
	1847, 1848
1848a,b	1848a,b
5680-5683	1849-1850c
<5684-5687>	1851, 1852
5728, 5729	1853, 1854
5731-5734	1854a-1856
5735, 5736	
	1857, 1858
<5764, 5765>	1859, 1860
5766, 5767	1860a,b
5768	
5769	1861
	1862
5770, 5771	1863, 1864
1865, 1866	1865, 1866
5858, 5859; 5862, 5863; 5870, 5871; [2 lines]; 5878, 5879; 5876, 5877	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
5882-5885	1867-1870
5886, 5887	
5888-5892	1870a-1873
5893	
	1874-1884
1885-1888	1885-1888
5922, 5923	
5924-5935	1888a-1898
5936, 5937	
5938-5941	<1899-1902>
5942, 5943	1903, 1904
5944, 5945	
5948-5956	1905-1911
5957	<1912>
5958, 5959	
5962, 5963	1912a
5964, 5965; 6000-6009	
	1913-1916
6010, 6011	<1917, 1918>
6012, 6013	1919, 1920
6014, 6015	
6034-6039	1921-1926
1927, 1928	1927, 1928
6040-6047	1929-1933
6048	
	1934
6049, 6050	1935, 1936
6051, 6052	<1937, 1938>

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
6053	1939
6054	<1940>
6056, 6057	<1941, 1942>
6063	1943
6064-6066	
	1944-1946
6067, 6068	1947, 1948
6069, 6070	1950a
6071, 6072	1949, 1950
6073, 6074	
6075, 6076	<1951, 1952>
6077-6088; 6093-6097; [1 line]	
1953, 1954	1953, 1954
[2 lines]	
	1955, 1956
6144-6146	1960a,b
6147, 6148	<1957, 1958>
6149, 6150	
	1959, 1960
6151-6160	1961-1970
<6175-6178>	<1971, 1972>
6179, 6180	<1973, 1974>
6183-6188	1974a-1977
[1 line]	
	1978
[2 lines];6190-6193; 6196, 6197; [4 lines]	
	1979, 1980
6222-6227	1981-1986

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
6230, 6231	1987, 1988
6232-6235	
6236	<1989>
6237-6241; 6252-6267; 6270-6277; 6286-6291; 6306, 6307	
	1990-1994
6308-6313	1995-2000
2001-2002a	2001-2002a
	2003-2004a
6314-6318	2005-2007
<6319>	2008
6320-6323	
	2009, 2010
6324-6327	2011-2014
6328-6331	
6332, 6333	2015, 2016
6336-6339	2017-2018a
6340, 6341	
2019-2022	2019-2022

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C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
6423-6430	2023-2030
6431-6434	
6437, 6438	<2031, 2032>
6441, 6442	
6443-6450	2033-2040

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
6453, 6454	2041, 2042
6457-6470	2043-2056
6477-6480	2057-2060
<6481, 6482>; 6489, 6490	
6491, 6492	2061, 2062
6493, 6494	
6495, 6496	2064a
6497, 6498	2063, 2064
6499, 6500	
6501, 6502	2065, 2066
6503-6506	
6507-6514	2067-2074
6515-6518	
	2075, 2076
6521-6528	2077-2084
6529-6548 (H ; C lacks ll. 6533, 6534); 6550; [1 line]	
<6551-6556>	<2085, 2086>
6557-6570	2087-2100
6571, 6572	
6573-6579	2101-2107
6580	
	2108
6581, 6582	
6595, 6596	2109, 2110
6635, 6636	2110a,b
6597-6604	2111, 2114
6605, 6606	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
6607-6610	2115-2118
6611, 6612	<2119, 2120>
<6613, 6614>	2121, 2122
6615-6622	2123-2130
6629, 6630	2131, 2132
6625, 6626	2132a,b
6637-6640	2133-2136
6641, 6642	
2137-2139	2137-2139
6654-6658	
	2140
6659-6672	2140a-2148
6675, 6676	2149, 2150
6677, 6678	<2151, 2152>
6679-6684	2152a-2156
6693, 6694	
6695, 6696	<2157, 2158>
6699, 6700	2159, 2160
6707, 6708; 6721, 6722	
	2161, 2162
6723-6734	2162a-2172
6737, 6738	2173, 2174
<6741, 6742>	2175, 2176
6743, 6744	2176a,b
6745	
6746, 6747	<2176c,d>
6747, 6748	
[2 lines]	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
	2176e,f
6753-6756	2176g-2178
6757, 6758; 6761, 6722	
6764, 6765	2179, 2180
6768-6771; 6774, 6775	
6776, 6777	2181, 2182
6780	2183
2184	2184
[2 lines]	
6790, 6791	2186a,b
6792, 6793	2185, 2186
6796, 6797	2187, 2188
6801-6808	2189-2194b
6819, 6820; 6825, 6826	
	2195, 2196
6823, 6824	2198a
6831, 6832	2197, 2198
6841, 6842	2199, 2200
6845, 6846	
<6853, 6854>	2201, 2202
6855-6864	2203-2212
6867, 6868	2213, 2214
6871-6874	2214a-2216
6877-6886	2217-2222
2223	2223
6908-6914	2224-2228
6917-6918	2229, 2230
6923-6926	2230a-2232

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
6927; [1 line]	
	2233, 2234
6929, 6930	2234a,b
6931-6934; 6945-6950	
	2235, 2236
6951,6952	2236a,b
<6953, 6954>	2237, 2238
6955, 6956	
6959, 6960	2239, 2240
6963, 6964	
6965-6974	2240a-2246
[2 lines]; 6982; [1 line]; 6985-6990; [2 lines]; 7019, 7020	
	2247-2250
7021-7026	2250a-2252
7028	2253
2254	2254
7045-7050	2255-2260
7055, 7056	
7057, 7058	2261, 2262
2263-2266	2263-2266
7061-7072	2267-2272
7073, 7074	
7075-7078	2273-2276
7097, 7098	2277, 2278
7115-7120	2279-2282
7125, 7126	2283, 2284
<7123, 7124>	2285, 2286

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
2287, 2288	2287, 2288
7191, 7192	2288a,b
2289, 2290	2289, 2290
7298, 7299	
7300, 7301	<2291, 2292>
7310, 7311	2293, 2294
7306-7309	2295-2298
7310, 7311 [repeated]; 7320, 7321; 7332-7337; 7340-7343	
2299, 2300	2299, 2300
<7432>	<2301>
7433	
7434, 7435	<2302>
<7436, 7437>	
7482, 7483	<2303, 2304>
7484	<2305>
7485; 7504-7507	
	2306
2307-2314	2307-2314
7508-7511	2315-2318
2319-2328	2319-2328

Part VII: Heaven

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
7533-7541	2329-2337
2338-2338b	2338-2338b
7543-7546	2339-2342

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
7547, 7548	
7563-7566	2343-2346
7567-7572; 7578-7579; 7581-7600; 7603-7606; 7613; 7621-7630	
7769, 7770	2347, 2348
7787-7796	2349-2354
7797, 7798; <7799-7802>; 7803, 7804	
7889-7896	2355-2362
7909, 7910	<2363, 2364>
7913, 7914	2365, 2366
7923, 7924	2367, 2368
7933-7938	2369-2374
7941, 7942	
7943-7948	2375-2380
7959-7964	2381-2386
7979, 7980	2387, 2388
7983-7986	2389-2392
7995-7998	
	2393, 2394
8007, 8008	<2395, 2396>
8009, 8010	2397, 2398
<8011, 8012>	2399, 2400
8013, 8014	2401, 2402
8023-8028	2403-2408
8031, 8032	2409, 2410
8039, 8040	2411, 2412
8041, 8042	
8063, 8064	2313, 2314

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
2415-2416b	2415-2416b
8067, 8068	2417, 2418
2419, 2420	2419, 2420
	2421-2428
8071-8074	2429-2432
8075-8078	
	2433, 2434
8079, 8080	2438a,b
8081-8084	2435-2438
8093	2439
8094	
	2440-2442
8097, 8098	<2443, 2444>
8099, 8100	2445, 2446
8137-8139	2447-2449
<8140>	2450
[2 lines]	
8175, 8176	2451, 2452
8187, 8188	
8189, 8190	2453, 2454
8201-8214	2455-2468
8277, 8278	2469, 2470
8283, 8284	2471, 2472
8287-8296	2473-2480
8377, 8378	<2481, 2482>
<8379, 8380>	2483, 2484
8385, 8386	<2485, 2486>
8387-8390	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
8391, 8392	2487, 2488
8395, 8396	2489, 2490
8397, 8398	<2491, 2492>
2493, 2494	2493, 2494
	2495, 2496
8493, 8494	<2497, 2498>
8495, 8496	2499, 2500
8499, 8500	2501, 2502
[2 lines]	
8503-8506	2502a-2504
8525, 8526	2505, 2506
2507	2507
8528	
	2508
8529-8532	2509-2512
8533, 8534	
8535-8542	2513-2518
	2519, 2520
8559, 8560	2521, 2522
8563-8576	2523-2536
8605, 8606	2537, 2538
8623, 8624	
	2539, 2540
8627, 8628	2541, 2542
8633-8636	2543-2546
8643-8646	2547-2550
8649, 8650	
8651-8658	2551-2558

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
8665, 8666	
8667-8670	2559-2562
8679, 8680	2563, 2564
8681-8686	
	2565, 2566
8687-8690	2567-2570
<8691, 8692>	2571, 2572
8693-8698	2573-2578
8700	2579
<8702>	<2580>
8703-8706	
8709-8712	2581-2584
8715-8718	2585-2588
8723-8725	2589-2591
2592	2592
8729-8734	2593-2598
8737, 8738	<2599, 2600>
8761-8764	
8765, 8766	2601, 2602
	2603, 2604
9007-9010	
9011, 9012	2605, 2606
9013, 9014	<2607, 2608>
9015, 9016	2609, 2610
2611-2616	2611-2616
9125, 9126	
9127-9144	2617-2632
2633, 2634	2633, 2634

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
9151-9153	2634a-2636
9232-9235	2637-2640
2641, 2642	2641, 2642
8783-8786	2642a-2644
9236-9239	2645-2648
9250, 9251	
9252-9259	2649-2656
9262	2657
9263	
	2658
9266-9269	2659-2662
9272-9274	2663-2665
9275	<2666>
9276, 9277; 9280-9283; 9290-9291	
9292, 9293	2667, 2668
9300-9305	2669-2674
9306, 9307	
	2675-2678
9308-9312	2678a-2680
[2 lines]	
	2681, 2682
9315, 9316	2683, 2684
9319-9324	2685-2688b
9327-9330	2689-2692
9351, 9352	
2693, 2694	2693, 2694
	2695-2698
9487-9490	

C, H	<i>Speculum</i>
9491-9494	2699-2702
9495, 9496	
9497-9500	2703-2706
9509-9520	2707-2718
2719, 2720	2719, 2720
9623, 9624	2721, 2722

