Abstract

Instruction, Devotion, Meditation, Sermon:
A Critical Edition of Selected English Religious Texts
in Oxford, University College 97
with a Codicological Examination of Some Related
Manuscripts

Jill C. Havens
Lady Margaret Hall
University of Oxford

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The thesis is comprised of an edition of thirteen Middle English religious texts found in the three earlier 'booklets' of Oxford, University College 97. The texts cover a range of genres including instructional, devotional, meditational and homiletic texts. Each text has been critically edited with full apparatus, including a textual analysis of the manuscripts edited.

The texts edited from the first booklet are: 'An Exposition on The Ten Commandments', 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament', 'The Visitation of the Sick', and 'An Exposition on the Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum'. Texts from the second booklet edited are: 'A Treatise on the Two Ways by Sir John Clanvowe' and 'An Exposition on the Pater Noster in Short.' The remaining texts edited come from the third booklet: 'The Twelve Articles of the Faith', 'The Mirror of Sinners', 'A Meditation of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ', 'A Good Meditation for One to say Alone', 'The Meditation of St Anselm', 'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday', and finally, 'A Sermon by John Gregory, Austin Friar of Newport.'

The introductory chapter to the critical edition examines the availability of exemplars, the dissemination of texts via booklets, the personal tastes of the compiler and the utility of the texts, all factors which may have influenced the compiler/owner in his choice of texts for each booklet and for the entire manuscript. The first portion discusses the dissemination patterns for the texts based on the textual analyses from the critical edition and a codicological examination of the other manuscripts involved. The second portion examines the literary content and practical function of the texts, the thematic coherence of the texts within each booklet and within the three booklets as a whole.

The thesis also includes a detailed description of Oxford, University College 97, a selective catalogue from the 54 manuscripts collated and a glossary.

Instruction, Devotion, Meditation, Sermon: A Critical Edition of Selected English Religious Texts in Oxford, University College 97 with a Codicological Examination of Some Related Manuscripts

Volume I

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Hilary 1995

JILL CAROLINE HAVENS

Lady Margaret Hall

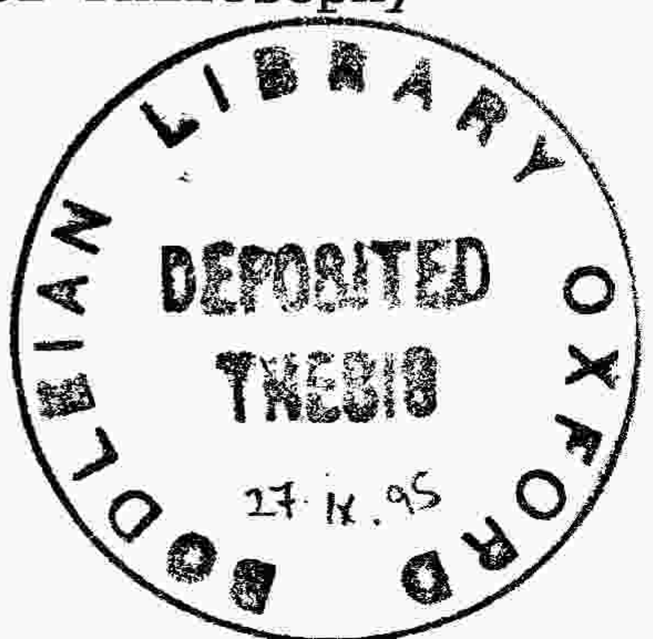


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I dedicate this work to my parents who have stood behind me every step of the way in this and in all other endeavours I have undertaken. Their love and support through prosperity and adversity have been a wellspring to which I constantly return.

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR TEXTS FROM EDITION OF U:

'Ten Commandments'	'An Exposition on the Ten Commandments'
'Seven Commandments'	'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament'
'Visitation'	'The Visitation of the Sick'
'Diliges'	'An Exposition on the Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum'
'Two Ways'	'A Treatise on the Two Ways by Sir John Clanvowe'
'Pater Noster'	'An Exposition on the Pater Noster in Short'
'Articles'	'The Twelve Articles of the Faith'
'Mirror'	'The Mirror of Sinners'
'Five Wounds'	'A Meditation of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ'
'Med. Alone'	'A Good Meditation for One to say Alone'
'Med. St Anselm'	'The Meditation of St Anselm'
'Three Arrows'	'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday'
'Sermon'	'A Sermon by John Gregory, Austin friar of Newport'

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Arundel Cat.	Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum ns.I.i: The Arundel Manuscripts (London, 1840).
Atlas	A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English, eds. A. McIntosh, M.L. Samuels and M. Benskin (Aberdeen, 1986).
BL	British Library, London
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Cat. of Additions	Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum (1836/40-1906/10, London, 1843-1912).
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
CUL	Cambridge University Library
CUL Cat.	A Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge (5 vols., Cambridge, 1856-67).
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CYS	Canterbury and York Society
D&P	see Dives and Pauper
DPR	De Proprietatibus Rerum, see Bartholomew Anglicus
EETS	Early English Text Society; OS indicates Original Series, ES Extra Series, and SS Supplementary Series.
Emden Oxford	see Emden (1957-9).
Emden Cambridge	see Emden (1963).
EV	Early Version of the Wycliffite Bible
EWS	see English Wycliffite Sermons
FM	see Fasciculus Morum

Harleian Cat.	A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum (4 vols., London, 1808-12).
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Hunterian Cat.	P.H. Aitken and J. Young, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1908).
IMEV	C. Brown and R.H. Robbins, Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943); Supplement by R.H. Robbins and J.L. Cutler (Lexington, 1965).
IPMEP	R.E. Lewis, N.F. Blake and A.S.G. Edwards, Index of Printed Middle English Prose (London, 1985).
Jolliffe	P.S. Jolliffe, A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance (Subsidia Mediaevalia 2, Toronto, 1974).
LFC	see The Lay Folks Catechism
LV	Late Version of the Wycliffite Bible
Manual	J.B. Severs and A.E. Hartung, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1500 (9 vols. continuing, New Haven, 1967-).
MED	Middle English Dictionary, eds. H. Kurath, S.M. Kuhn, and J. Reidy (Ann Arbor, 1952-), vols. A-S.
MLR	Modern Language Review
N&Q	Notes & Queries
ns	new series
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
PL	Migne, J.P., Patrologia Latina Cursus Completus (Paris, 1844-64).
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
'PT'	'The Parson's Tale' from Chaucer's 'The Canterbury Tales'
Quarto	H.O. Coxe, revised by R.W. Hunt,

	Bodleian Library Quarto Catalogues II: Laudian Manuscripts (Oxford, 1973).
Rawlinson Cat.	W.D. Macray, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Partis Quintae Fasciculus Primus viri Munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson (5 vols., Oxford, 1862-1900).
RS	Rolls Series (London, 1858-1911).
SEWW	see Selections from English Wycliffite Writings
SP	see The Scale of Perfection
Summary Cat.	F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (7 vols., Oxford, 1895-1953).
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
WB	Walter Brut's testimony in The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe
Whiting	B.J. Whiting and H.W. Whiting, Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500 (London, 1968).
WHS	Worcestershire Historical Society
WLFC	Wycliffite interpolated version of The Lay Folks Catechism

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS WITH SIGLA

The following is a list of the manuscripts used for this edition given in alphabetical order by their sigla. Where two or more manuscripts from the same library are listed consecutively, the city and library are given for the first and then represented by five dashes (-----) for the others. For convenience, an abbreviated form of this list has been pasted onto the inside back cover of Volume II.

A	London, British Library, Arundel 197
Ad	----- Additional 10036
Al	----- Additional 17013
Ar	----- Arundel 286
B	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 3
Bl	----- Bodley 938
C	London, Lambeth Palace Library 3597 (ex Throckmorton MS, Coughton Court)
D	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 13
Dd	Cambridge University Library Dd.1.17
Do	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 246
E	Edinburgh University Library 93
F	Cambridge University Library Ff.2.38
F^1	----- Ff.5.45
F^2	----- Ff.6.55
G	Princeton University Library, Garrett 143
H	Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 496
H^1	----- Hunterian 520
Ha	London, British Library, Harley 1706
Harley	----- Harley 535
He	----- Harley 2388
Hl	----- Harley 2385
Hr	----- Harley 2339
Hy	----- Harley 4012
I	----- Harley 218
J	----- Harley 2398
K	----- Additional 32320
L	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 23
La	----- Laud Misc. 210
Ld	----- Laud Misc. 524
Lm	----- Laud Misc. 174
Ly	----- Lyell 29
L^1	London, Lambeth Palace Library 432
M	San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 147
M^1	----- HM 744
N	Cambridge University Library Nn.4.12
O	London, British Library, Royal 17.A.xxvi
P	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2125
Q	Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390
R	Manchester, John Rylands Library, Eng. 85
Ry	----- Eng. 412
R^1	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A.381
R^2	----- Rawlinson A.423
S	London, British Library Additional 22283

(Simeon)

So London, Society of Antiquaries 300
T Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.53
Ta Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 336
Td Dublin, Trinity College 432
Tk Tokyo, Takamiya Collection 65
(ex Bradfer-Lawrence 8)
Tr Dublin, Trinity College 69
U Oxford, University College 97
V Oxford, University College 4
W London, Westminster School 3
X London, British Library, Harley 2346
Y ----- Harley 211
Z London, Society of Antiquaries 687

Description of

Oxford, University College 97 (U)[1]

s.xiv ex.-s.xv med.

1. 1^{r}-2^{r} *De prophesia sancti Thome de Canturbyre. When þat I Thomas, Arschebyschope of Canturbyry, went out of Ynglond and fled into Fraunce and come to þe pope Alysander...alle þat ben in þys worlde wep upon hure for þe malyce þat schall habounde vpon Egypte, et cetera.*

   'The Vision of St Thomas Becket at Sens', including the gift of the Ampulla and prophecies about a crusading king in English.

   PL 190:391-4 (for the Latin text).[2]

2. 2^{r-v} *The lyllye schall dwelle in þe better partye and schal entre into þe lande of þe lyoun, lackyng helpe for why þe bestys...and þen schalle þe Son of Man take a mervayles syne and to þe holy lande schalle goo, et cetera.*

[1] To avoid repetition, much of the information regarding individual texts edited in this thesis has not been given here but is mentioned in the introductory chapters for each text. As with the other manuscript descriptions to follow, all abbreviations have been silently expanded, modern punctuation, capitalisation and word separation have been used. The desciption given below has been based on the following previous descriptions: H.O. Coxe, Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur (Oxford, 1852), i.Collegii Universitatis 28-9; H.G. Pfander, The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England (New York, 1937), 54-66; A.I. Doyle 'A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th, and early 16th Centuries with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy therein' (unpubd. PhD. thesis, Cambridge, 1953), ii.148-161; Wimbledon's Sermon, Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue: A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century, ed. I.K. Knight (Duquesne Philological Studies 9, Pittsburgh, 1967), 17-18; E.P. Wilson, 'A Critical Text, with Commentary, of MS English Theology f.39 in the Bodleian Library' (unpubd. B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1968), ii.30-8; V.J. Scattergood, The Works of Sir John Clanvowe: The Boke of Cupide and The Two Ways (Cambridge, 1975), 21; C.A. Martin, 'Edinburgh University Library MS 93: An annotated edition of selected devotional treatises with a survey of parallel versions' (unpubd. Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1978); A.I.Doyle, 'University College, Oxford, MS. 97 and its relationship to the Simeon Manuscript (British Library Add. 22283)', So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Middle English presented to Angus McIntosh, eds. M. Benskin and M.L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), 265-82; S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist VIII: Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in Oxford College Libraries (Cambridge, 1991), 109-112.

[2] For more about this and the other prophecies, items 2, 3, and 39, see R. Taylor, The Political Prophecy in England (New York, 1967), passim.

The prophecy about 'The Lion, the Lily and the Son of Man' in English.

3. 2^{v}-3^{r} *Hec Henricus prophecia. Prophesia Henricus ab origine mundi sex mille quingentorum triginta sex anni est...Signum mirabile interpretatur signum crucis.*

A Latin interpretation of the above attributed to *Henricus in hystorijs almanorum sicut Merlinus in hystorijs Britannorum.*

3^{v} blank.

4. 4^{r-v} Table of Contents in English by William Smith, Historian of University College, 17^{th} c.[3]

5. 5^{r}-80^{v} *Dolfactus in ciuitate Romana regnauit qui tantum filiam habebat pulcram valde et a patre multum dilectam...ad penitenciam post eorum lapsum sed nolo iudicium vt descendant ad infernum.*

'Gesta Romanorum' in Latin.

H. Oesterley, Gesta Romanorum (Berlin, 1871-2), 196, 273-509.

6. 81^{r}-82^{r} *De bello dei contra Turcos et paganos. Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum Deum semper Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus...et omnipotens Deus ad laudem sui det Cristianis victoriam contra maledictos Saricenos, Amen.*

Papal bull in Latin of Calixtus III to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bourchier, in 1456 on the struggle against the Turks.

7. 82^{r-v} *Hec predicta sunt contenta in bulla pape \C/alixti tercij missa in Angliam Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi anno domini...Istas tres orationes prescriptas misit papa Calixtus tercius diuersis personis, et cetera.*

Further notes on the above including three short Latin prayers.

8. 82^{v}-83^{r} *De prophesijs autenticorum. Hec sunt nomina illius regis qui sanctam crucem inueniet ...et nomen erit Edwardus.*

[3] See R. W. Hunt, 'The Manuscript Collection of University College, Oxford: Origins and Growth', The Bodleian Library Record iii (1950-1), 13-34.

A list of prophecies in Latin.

9. 83^{r} *De prophesia. M simplex Domini CCCC. quater lxj numerati, Non erit Angulorum rex de stirpe priorum. Of I, R and L ende schal spryng, A, N and D yf hit ys to count, and of alle crysten kyngus crowne schall he beere and Ynglond wholle schalle he holde into hys hondus.*

A Latin distich followed by an English prophesy with reference to the year 1461.

Doyle (1981), 281 n.77.

10. 83^{v} *Contra fluxum. Take þre ȝolkis of eggis thys beton...at nyȝt or morne as hoot as he may ete hit.*

Medicinal recipe.

11. 83^{v} *Medicina pro stygmate. Take a hondfull of synkfoyle, a halpeny wyȝt of...so euery tyme when he felyth hyt.*

Medicinal recipe.

84^{r-v} blank.

Booklet I

(Quire missing here)

12. 85^{r} *...petit hoc sacramentum deuote licet postea...peccatores et sola penitentia post baptismum tollit peccatum. Expliciunt quinque verba.*

A fragment of the 'Quinque Verba'.[4]

13. 85^{r}-93^{v} *Hic incipiunt decem precepta Dei. Alle maner of men shulden holde Goddes biddyngges, for withowten holdynge of hem...and þat schal euere be with God and his aungeles withowten endynge. To þat ioye, God vs brynge, Amen.*

'An Exposition on the Ten Commandments'.

See ii.1-93.
IPMEP 48.
Manual VII.xx.43.

[4] See the brief description of this treatise in W.A. Pantin's The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1955), 277-8.

14. 93^{v} *Here bygynnen the vij commaundement3 of þe Newe Testament. Thise been þe seuene comaundement3 of þe Newe Testament...Thise seuene comaundement3 of þe Newe Testament enclosen the ten comaundement3 of þe oolde lawe and sumwhat moore.*

'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament'.

See ii.94-9.
Manual VII.xx.169.

15. 93^{v}-97^{r} *Here begynneth how men þat been in heele schuld visite seeke folke. My deere sone or doughter in God, it semeth yat you hiest the faste in þe way...Receyue it and help it, for in thyne mercyful hondys I putte it, Amen.*

'The Visitation of the Sick'.

See ii.100-60.
IPMEP 460(b).
Manual VII.xx.215.

16. 97^{r}-98^{r} *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua, et cetera. Luce decimo. Thou schalt loue thi Lord thi God of al thyn herte, of al thy lyf, of al thi mynde...we ben i-holde by charite to brynge men to good lyf vp oure kunnyng and myght. Explicit.*

'An Exposition on the Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum'.

See ii.161-71.
IPMEP 155.

17. 98^{r-v} *Hec Bernardus viij^{o} florum capitulo quadragesimo quinto. Arbitror quod tu qui in congregacione es bene vnus si vnus ordinabiliter...set dicas cum Psalmista non nobis Domine non nobis set nomini tuo da gloriam. Explicit.*

Latin extract from Book VIII of Flores usually attributed to William, Monk of St Martin, Tournai, though here attributed to Bernardus.

18. 98^{v}-100^{r} *Epistola sancti Bernardi de cura et modo rei familiaris vtilius gubernande. Gracioso et felici militi Raymundo domino Castri Ambrosij ...quibus abiectis bibet cum eo doloris calicem quem optauit ad quem eam perducat sua dampnabilis senectus. Explicit.*

The Latin text of Bernardus Silvestris' De Cura Rei Familiaris though here attributed to St Bernard.

Bernardus de Cura Rei Famuliaris with some Early Scottish Prophecies, ed. J.R. Lumby (EETS OS 42, 1870), vi-ix.

19. 100^{r} *Bernardus hec. Caue aliene vite esse curiosus explorator...de me illa fecisset si accepisset in me similem potestatem. Explicit.*

A Latin sententia ascribed to Bernardus.

100^{v} blank.

Booklet II

20. 101^{r}-114^{r} *Redde racionem villicacionis tue, Luce xvi^{o}. My deere frendes, ȝe shuln vndirstoonde yat Crist Ihesu auctour and doctour of treuthe...and ioye for þe eendeles blisse yat þei haan in þe sight of God. Cui sit honor et gloria in secula seculorum, Amen.*

The two-part sermon by Thomas Wimbledon given at St Paul's Cross, London in 1388.
Wilson (1968), i.47-177.
Knight (1967), 61-128.
IPMEP 560.

21. 114^{r}-123^{v} *This tretis next folewynge maade Sir Iohan Clanevowe knyȝt, þe laste viage yat he maade ouer the greete see in whiche he dyede, of whos soul Ihesu haue mercy, Amen. The gospel telleþ yat in a tyme whanne oure Lord Ihesu Crist was heere vpon eerthe...til þat we comen to yat blisse yat he hath ordeyned for hem yat louen hym, Amen.*

'A Treatise on the Two Ways by Sir John Clanvowe'.
See ii.172-270.
IPMEP 680.
Manual VII.xx.133.

22. 123^{v}-124^{v} *Heere bygynneth an exposicioun of þe Pater Noster in schort. Crist oure goodeheed of al hooly chirche and oure God, he tauȝt vs to preye þe Pater Noster...or so profitable eiþer, so yat cristene men preyen it as hem oweth for to doo?*

'An Exposition on the Pater Noster in Short'.

See ii.271-80.
IPMEP 128.

Booklet III

23. 125^{r}-127^{r} *Heere bigynnen þe twelue articles of the feith. Thise been the articles of the feith of cristene men, þat euery cristene man schulde bileeue...This laste article of oure feith sette seynt Mathie the apostle. Heere eenden the twelue articles of oure feith.*

'The Twelve Articles of the Faith'.

See ii.281-301.
IPMEP 668.
Manual VII.xx.5.

24. 127^{r}-131^{v} *Heere bigynneth a sentence ful good and profitable to rede which is i-cleped the myrour of synneres. For þat we been in the wey of this failyng lyf ande oure dayes passen as a schadewe ...To þe whiche blisse God brynge vs, that boughte vs with his precious blood, Amen.*

'The Mirror of Sinners'.

See ii.302-47.
IPMEP 213.

25. 131^{v}-133^{r} *A meditacion of þe fyue woundes of Ihesu Crist. Byhold specialy in þe fyue mooste notable woundes...Therfore, reste þee heere, counforte þee heere, lyue in Cristys herte withouten eende, Amen.*

'A Meditation on the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ'.

See ii.348-58.
IPMEP 109.

26. 133^{v}-153^{r} *Heere bigynneth a trete þat Richard hermyte maade to a good ankeresse þat he louede. In euery synful man or womman þat is bounden in deedly synne...þanke God and prey for me. The grace of Ihesu Crist be with þee, and kepe þee and me also, Amen.*

Richard Rolle's 'The Form of Living'.

S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson (ed.), Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse edited from MS Longleat 29 and related manuscripts (EETS OS 293, 1988), 1-25.
IPMEP 351.
Manual IX.xxiii.11.

27. 153^{r}-155^{v} *Heere bigynneth a ful good meditacion for \oon/ to seie by himself aloone. 3ef þou coueite to be maad cleene in soule, as it may be heere...þough I haue most neede, but in alle þe creatures, quyke and deede, whiche þow hast bou3t with thy precious blood, Amen.*

'A Good Meditation for One to Say Alone'.

See ii.359-83.
IPMEP 336.

28. 155^{v}-158^{v} *Heere is a good meditacion the which seynt Anselme maade. My lif fereth me soore, for whan I bisyli enserche it...and preise þee with hem, and þat I, withouten eend, ioye in þee with alle þoo þat louen þi name, Amen.*

'The Meditation of St Anselm'.

See ii.384-438.
IPMEP 462.

29. 158^{v}-162^{r} *Of þree arwes þat schullen bee schot on domesday. Who so wol haue in mynde þe dreedful day of doom so þat he mowe be moeued...To þe whiche kyngdom and ioye he brynge vs, þat bou3te vs with his precious blood, Amen. Nomen scriptoris saluet deus omnibus horis.*

'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday'.

See ii.439-503.
IPMEP 842.

30. 162^{v}-170^{r} *Per proprium sanguinem introiuit ad Hebreos ix^{o}. 'Be his awne propre blode he entred in.' Blode kyndely maketh a tree...and when þou gost hennys, ioy euerlastyng, Quod nobis concedat qui sine fine viuit et regnat, Amen. Explicit bonus sermo per Iohannem Gregory Fratrem Augustinensem de Neuport.*

'A Sermon by John Gregory, Austin friar of Newport.'

See ii.504-40.
IPMEP 538.

31. 170^{r}-171^{r} *Copia testamenti Roberti Folkyngham. In þe name of almyghty Ihesu, I, Robart F., beynge in hool and cleere mynde...anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo} nonogesimo nono, et commissa est administracio Iohanne relicte et executore reseruatis.*

A copy of the English will of Robert Folkyngham dated 12 December 1399.[5]

C. Horstman (ed.), Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole and his Followers (London, 1896), ii.448-49.

32. 171^{r}-172^{r} *Hec indentura facta inter religiosos viros dominum Abbatem de A. et eiusdem loci conuentum...millesimo quadringentesimo et anno regni Henrici quarti post conquestum primo.*

172^{r-v} *Obligacio. Nouerint vniuersi nos I permissione divina Abbatem monasterii et cetera et eiusdem loci...Datum in festo sancti et cetera anno regni Henrici quarti post conquestum primo.*

172^{v} *Acquitancia. Nouerint vniuersi per presentes me William C. clericum recepisse de religiosis viris...datum die decimam mensis April' anno regni Henrici quarti post conquestum primo.*

A Latin document recording the purchase of annuities by William Counter (clericum) from the Abbot (J. Merston, 1390-1413) and Convent of Alcester, Warwickshire, in the year 1400.

33. 172^{v}-173^{v} *Alia indentura. Hec indentura facta septimo die mensis Julij anno regni Ricardi secundi post conquestum...sigillum officij nostri dicte indenture apposuimus datum die et anno supra dictis.*

173^{v} *Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes litterae peruenerint...anno regni Ricardi secundi post conquestum vicesimo secundo.*

173^{v}-174^{r} *Nouerint vniuersi per presentes nos priorem et conventum...In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum commune in domo nostra capitulari presentibus apposuimus datum et cetera.*

A Latin document recording the purchase of annuities by J. B. de N. (John Brugge) from the Prior (William Cheritone) and Convent of Llanthony iuxta Gloucester on 7 July 1399.

[5] There is also a will for Joan Folkyngham, Robert's wife, dated 1400 and preserved in the Guildhall Library, London (Reg.1, p.28), though I have not yet seen it. See Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London, ed. M. Fitch (The Index Library--British Record Society 69, 1979), i.137.

34. 174[r] *Permutacio. Reuerendo in Christo patri ac domino divino Henr' permissione diuina Coventre et Lichfield Episcopo...Die mensis Octobre anno Domini millesimo ccc. quarto.*

A copy of a request in Latin for the exchange of benefices between Walter de Clyfford, Rector of Stretton le dale, Hereford and William Smythecote, Rector of Hammere, Shropshire, in the Lichfield diocese in the year 1304 (probably 1394).

35. 174[r-v] *Presentacio ecclesie. Reuerendo in Christo patri ac domino divino Ricardi permissione diuina Wygorn' Episcopo...Die mensis Octobre anno Domini millesimo ccc[mo]. nonagesimo secundo.*

The presentation in Latin by Sir William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny, of William Counter (capellanum) to the parish church of Pirton, Worcester on 15 October 1392.[6]

36. 175[r] *Ecclesia sancti Pauli London' continet infra limites suos tres acras terre et dimidiam ...preter staciones Rome que sunt xliiij[orum] anni et quam plura alia beneficia. Explicit.*

The dimensions of St Paul's Cathedral in London and the deposit of relics in 1339. This and items 37 and 38 were probably copied from a tablet in St Paul's.

A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483, ed. Sir N.H. Nicolas (London, 1827), 174.

37. 175[v]-176[r] *Anno Domini cxl. Inuencio ymaginis crucifixi ad ostium Boriale in magno fluuio Thamisie...in medio post nonam erat terre motus magnus per totam Angliam.*

A brief chronicle in Latin from AD 140 to 1382.

Nicolas (1827), 174-5.

38. 176[r]-179[v] *In principio creauit Deus celum et terram et omnia que in eis sunt...Anno m.ccc. lxxxxix tercio Idus Octobris apud Westmon' coronacio illustris regis Henrici quarti.*

A longer chronicle in Latin from Creation to the accession of King Henry IV, 1399.

[6] See T. Nash, Collections for the History of Worcestershire (1782), ii.259.

Nicolas (1827), 176-180.

39. 179^{v}-185^{r} *Hic incipiunt prophecie Merlini. Sedente itaque Vortigerno rege Britonum super ripam exhausti stagni...Confligent venti diro sufflamine et sonitum inter sydera conficient.*

The prophecy of Merlin in Latin from Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Historia Regum Britannie'.

The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, I: Bern, Burgerbibliothek MS. 568, ed. N. Wright (Cambridge, 1984), 74-84.§111-§117.

185^{v} blank.

40. 186^{r-v} *Offic' domini arc<...> Staffordie dilc<..> nobis in Christo...officij nostri tercio die mensis Aprilis anno Domini millesimo cccc^{mo}.lx^{o}.*

A copy of a letter in Latin from the Archdeacon of Stafford to the Dean at Lapley and Trysull in 1460 concerning a convocation at St Paul's in London.

41. 186^{v} *Nouerint vniuersi presentes...*

Latin note copied from the beginning of an earlier document, either items 32 or 33.

Lande to William Farmton vj s. viij d., to be raypayde the nextt Sonday after the ffeest off the assumption off oure Lady, sainte Mary.

42. (pastedown of back cover) *Omnis spiritus laudet dominum deum.*

Latin note copied from item 6.

Festum patris, Festum matris gloriose.

Latin notes of hymns.

U. Chevalier, Repertorium Hymnologicum (Louvain, 1892), i.6262.

Be hyt knowen to alle men þat syr Jon Kendale, vicare of Wemborn...in store vnto þe terme of bryty wynter suyng.

An agreement in English between John Kendale, John Koke and John Dudley for lands at Caldwell and indentures in small villages near Lapley and Trysull in 1460/61.

Physical description: i (paper flyleaf) + 186; modern pencil foliation in top right hand corner, earlier alternating ink and pencil pagination in top middle margin in same 17th century hand as item 4 (incorrect, numbers p. 347 twice, actual total number of pages is 372, not 370); manuscript divided into two halves: (ff. 85-186) earlier Booklets I, II and III of parchment, later portion (ff. 1-84) in paper with parchment leaves protecting inside and outside of each quire; dimensions of leaf: 220mm x 145mm, written space: 170mm x 110mm; text of entire manuscript in single columns; pricking made by pen knife in Booklets I-III, pages frame-ruled after folding, in pencil in Booklet I, (117r-124v in Booklet II, 168r-186r of Booklet III) and in ink in Booklets II and III, no pricking or ruling in items of later portion; collation: 1 paper flyleaf, 1^4 (ff. 1-4), $2\text{-}6^{16}$ (ff. 5-84), $7\text{-}18^8$ (ff. 85-180), 19^8 lacks 6, 8 pastedown (ff. 181-186); evidence of booklets:[7] Booklet I (ff. 85-100), incomplete (quire(s) missing at beginning), last folio blank on verso side with no catchword, Booklet II (ff. 101-124) has no catchword at end of last quire, Booklet III (ff. 125-186), has no catchword at end of last quire; no quire signatures; catchwords: in Booklets I and II on first three and last folios of each quire (except quires 8 and 11 with no catchwords on last folios, and quire 10 with catchwords on first four folios), in Booklet III on second, third and last folios of quires 12 and 13, on first three and last folios of quires 14 and 15, and on first three folios of quires 16 and 19, none on quires 17 and 18, in later part of volume, no catchword at end of quire 1, catchwords appear on second folio (f.6v) of quire 2, on last folio (f.36v) of quire 3, on recto side of sixth folio (f.50) and on verso side of last folio (f.52) of quire 4, catchwords appear on first, sixth and last folios (ff. 53v, 67v, 68v) of quire 5 (catchword on f.53v does not seem to match first word on following page), and in quire 6, catchwords appear on recto sides of second and fourth folios (ff.70, 72); Booklets I-III written by same scribe in an Anglicana hand, with some headings in Bastard Anglicana, and reveals influence of secretary hand in single compartment a and short s occasionally used, especially in Booklet III, scribe seems more conscious of detail at beginning of Booklet III, items 1-3, 5-11 and 40 are in same late 15th c. secretary hand, and later items 41 and 42 are in various hands of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; punctuation: in Booklets I-III is consistent use of medio distinctio or punctus, punctus elevatus, virgulae, and paraphs, in Booklet III (ff. 133r-136r) punctus elevatus has

[7] A further discussion about the physical evidence for Booklets I-III is given in the Introduction, i.48-56.

additional dash and virgulae are in ink of text, only period used in later portion of manuscript; decoration: in Booklets I-III are 3-line, 2-line and 1-line Lombardic capitals in red by main hand, and first folio of quire 2 (f. 5^{r}) has 4-line Lombardic capital in blue and red with red and blue scrollwork bordering text, headings of texts, paraphs, virgulae, litterae notabiliores, and underline of Latin quotations in rubric in Booklets I-III, and litterae notabiliores stroked in yellow in quires 13-16 (133^{v}-162^{r}); Cushioned bevel binding of mid-fifteenth century, which measures same as leaves, untanned skin scored onto wooden boards (front board now detached), 4 double thongs, and two single thongs at either end, pegged-in, typical of fourteenth and fifteenth century, front board detached, skin on spine almost gone, hole for a central pin on back cover and staple marks on bottom of front cover.

Provenance and ownership: Booklet I probably dates around 1390-1400 based on its position within the manuscript, coming before Booklet II, though this is not necessarily the case. Booklet II is dated no earlier than 1391, the date of Sir John Clanvowe's death referred to in the heading of his treatise.[8] Booklet III dates no earlier than 1400-1, as these dates are referred to in several of the legal documents. These Booklets represent a personal collection of both religious works and copies of legal documents which were probably owned by a priest, clerk or literate layman. H.G. Pfander was the first to suggest that the owner may have been William Counter, a priest and clerk of Sir William Beauchamp, due to the frequent occurrence of the initials W.C. in a number of the legal documents at the end of Booklet III.[9] This suggestion was later supported by A.I. Doyle and E.P. Wilson, both drawing further evidence from the literary contents of the manuscript, particularly Beauchamp's affiliation with Sir John Clanvowe and the house of Austin Friars at Newport.[10] Based on the document given on the last folio (f. 186), Booklets I-III must have exchanged hands later in the century (around 1456-61) to a clerk or priest in Staffordshire, possibly John Kendale, vicar of Womborn, who perhaps bound these booklets to the later items 1-3 and 5-11 to create the present manuscript.

[8] For more on the date of Clanvowe's death and the incipit, see notes to the text for lines 1-4 (ii.260-1).

[9] Pfander (1937), 54.

[10] Doyle (1953), ii.148-52 and (1981), 272-4; Wilson (1968), ii.35-7. For more discussion on Clanvowe and Beauchamp, see ii.202 n.71, and Beauchamp and the Newport house, see ii.509.

After this, the manuscript seems untraceable until its donation to the library at University College, Oxford, by Thomas Walker sometime before 1665.

Dialect: As will become apparent to the reader from the later discussion of text dissemination, the various sources of the three booklets and individual texts within each booklet is varied. Given the number of the texts edited here and the complexity of their transmission, a linguistic analysis of this manuscript, in order for it to be complete, would then require individual examinations of each text, a task far beyond the scope of this thesis. For the present, the following brief discussion locating the dialect of the scribe based on earlier work by A.I. Doyle and C.A. Martin should suffice. Doyle, himself, asserts that the linguistic character of U is 'mixed', but finds it is probably of western Worcestershire, and this evidence is supported by the documentary contents of U.[11] Martin offers an analysis based on the text of the 'Meditation of St Anselm' only, though he also suggests that the dialect is of a 'mixed' quality and perhaps represents several dialectal 'layers' of influence. Nevertheless, he places the manuscript, not only based on dialect but also reinforced by the documentary evidence, in the western Wocestershire border with Herefordshire.[12]

[11] Doyle (1981), 272.

[12] Martin (1978), i.268-9, and see his chart i.262.

A CATALOGUE OF SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS

The following is a list of all the manuscripts used for the critical edition, with a catalogue describing some selected ones after it. The list provides references to printed descriptions available elsewhere for those manuscripts which will not to be described here. Those manuscripts chosen to be described here, though mentioned in this initial list, are noted with *Description below*. The full description for these selected manuscripts is then given in catalogue form after the list of all the manuscripts.

In the list, the manuscripts have been grouped into sections depending upon the number of texts each shares with U: manuscripts in section I share one text, manuscripts in section II share two texts, and so on. Within each section, the manuscripts are listed as they would be in a catalogue, by city, library, collection and shelfmark. The siglum for each manuscript is given in parentheses after the shelfmark, and the name of the text found in each manuscript is given in abbreviated form near the right-hand margin. For those manuscripts in sections I, II and III which are not described here, the folios for the texts are provided under the abbreviated title.

In an effort to conserve space, all of the manuscripts in the first section will not be described, but references are provided to the most complete and accessible descriptions available for them. These references do not aim to be comprehensive, but serve as a guide to the most reliable source(s) for the contents, provenance and physical makeup of each manuscript. The manuscripts in the other groups will be described in varying detail according to the number of texts they share with U. If a recent and very thorough description is available for a manuscript in sections II and III, reference will be given to that source.

It is not intended, nor does it seem necessary, that the descriptions given here should provide full palaeographic details for each manuscript, but they will center mainly on the contents, the physical makeup of the manuscript, particularly collation and booklets, and any evidence of medieval ownership.[1] In the special case of the Simeon manuscript, while space does not allow for a complete description, I have thought it convenient for the reader to provide a brief list of its contents, giving the item number,

[1] The evidence for booklets will be based on the checklist devised by P.R. Robinson, 'The "Booklet": A self-contained unit in composite manuscripts', Codicologica 3 (1980), 47-8 and supplemented by R. Hanna III, 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations', Studies in Bibliography 39 (1986), 107-9. See the Introduction, i.48-53, for further discussion.

folios and familar title for each item.

The conventions used for recording the details for each physical description will follow those used by N.R. Ker in his Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries.[2] Current manuscript foliation will be retained in the descriptions. No note will be made of the dimensions of the leaf and the written space, the pricking and ruling, or the punctuation, unless these are unusual. Most of the manuscripts described here have little, if any, decoration, except for the use of decorated initials, rubric capitals and underlining. Thus, decoration will only be noted if different from this or if inconsistently used. Catchwords, quire and leaf signatures will only be noted if they are still visible and provide some information about possible booklet formation. In describing the script, the terminology from M.B. Parkes' English Cursive Book Hands will be used.[3] Descriptions will conclude with a note on the medieval provenance of the manuscript (if evident), including any additional comments about the manuscript.

(*) denotes those manuscripts which have been consulted in microfilm form only.
(#) denotes those manuscripts which have been consulted only once.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

I.

Cambridge

University Library Dd.1.17 (Dd) 'Visitation' (pp.550-552)

CUL Cat. i.15-26.
Piers Plowman, The B Version: Will's Visions of Piers Plowman, Do-Well, Do-Better and Do-Best, eds. G. Kane and E.T. Donaldson (London, 1975), 2-3.

University Library Ff.2.38 (F) 'Three Arrows' (33^{v}-35^{r})

F. McSparran and P.R. Robinson, Cambridge University Library MS Ff.2.38 with an Introduction by F. McSparran & P.R. Robinson (London, 1979), xii-xvii, xxi-xxv.

University Library Nn.4.12 (N) 'Visitation' (29^{v}-37^{v})

CUL Cat. iv.499.

[2] Ker (1969), I.vii-xiii; (1977) II.vii-ix; (1983) III.vii.

[3] M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands (revd. London, 1979).

Dublin

 # Trinity College Library 432 (Td) 'Visitation' (88^{r}-89^{r})

M.L. Colker, Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts in Trinity College Library Dublin (Dublin, 1991), ii.855-66 (erroneously includes the 'Visitation' fragment as part of the beginning of Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* (ii.861)).

London

British Library, Add. 10036 (Ad) 'Three Arrows' (85^{r}-91^{r})

P. Brown and E.D. Higgs, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist V: A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Additional Collection (10001-14000), British Library, London (Cambridge, 1988), 1-3.

British Library, Add. 17013 (Al) 'Articles' (3^{v}a-4^{r}b)

Francis, W.N. (ed), The Book of Vices and Virtues: A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the 'Somme Le Roi' of Lorens D'Orleans (EETS OS 217, 1942), xlvii-xlviii (text is described as part of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues').

British Library, Add. 32320 (K) 'Visitation' (5^{v}-19^{v})

Cat. of Additions: 1882-1887 102.

British Library, Arundel 286 (Ar) 'Commandments' (179^{r}-191^{v})

Arundel Cat. 84-5.
R. Hanna III, 'The Origin and Production of Westminster School MS. 3', Studies in Bibliography 41 (1988), 209-10.

British Library, Harley 211 (Y) 'Visitation' (65^{r}-69^{r})

Harleian Cat. i.66-8.

British Library, Harley 218 (I) 'Commandments' (159^{r}-167^{r})

Harleian Cat. i.69-70.

British Library, Harley 535 (Harley) 'Med. St Anselm' (121^{r}-125^{r})

Harleian Cat. i.343.

British Library, Harley 2346 (X) 'Commandments' (34^{r}-47^{r})

Harleian Cat. ii.662.

British Library, Harley 2385 (Hl) 'Diliges' (3^{v}-4^{r})

Harleian Cat. ii.676-8.

British Library, Harley 2388 (He) 'Three Arrows' (1^{r}-3^{v})

Harleian Cat. ii.678-9 (text is item 1, described as: 'Part of an old Discourse upon the Last Judgement...').

British Library, Harley 2398 (J) 'Visitation' (156^{r}-160^{v})

Harleian Cat. ii.684-5.
Knight (1967), 7-9.
Wilson (1968), ii.22-3.

British Library, Harley 4012 (Hy) 'Mirror' (73^{r}-77^{r})

Harleian Cat. iii.103-4 (text is not listed in contents, but is found between items 3 and 4).
E.P. Wilson, 'A Middle English Manuscipt at Coughton Court, Warwickshire, and British Library MS. Harley 4012', N&Q ns 24:4 (July-August 1977), 299-303.

Lambeth Palace Library 432 (L^{1}) 'Visitation' (68^{v}-74^{v})

M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Medieval Manuscripts (Cambridge, 1932), ii.599-601.

Society of Antiquaries 300 (So) 'Mirror' (100^{r}b-106^{r}a)

Ker (1969), i.310.

Society of Antiquaries 687 (Z) 'Commandments' (pp.412-430)

Piers Plowman, The A Version: Will's Visions of Piers Plowman and Do-Well, ed. G. Kane (London, 1960), 11-12.
Ker (1969), i.314.

Manchester

John Rylands Library, Eng. 412 (Ry) 'Mirror' (34^{v}-39^{r})

G.A. Lester, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist II: A Handlist of the Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (Cambridge, 1985), 58-63.

Oxford

Bodleian Library, Bodley 938 (Bl) 'Visitation'

(236^{v}-243^{v})

Summary Cat. II.i.578-9 (3054).
Wilson (1968), ii.14-17.
Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xli.
Hanna (1988), 208-9.

Bodleian Library, Douce 246 (Do) 'Diliges'
(103^{v}-106^{r})

Summary Cat. IV.566-7 (21820) (text is described as 'a sermon on Luke X.27...').
L. Braswell, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist IV: A Handlist of Douce Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Cambridge, 1987), 46-50.

Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 524 (Ld)
'Commandments'
(11^{r}-17^{v})

Quarto 378-80, addenda col. 568.
Wilson (1968), ii.40-2.
Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xliii.

Bodleian Library, Lyell 29 (Ly) 'Mirror'
(94^{v}-99^{v})

A. de la Mare, Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by James P.R. Lyell (Oxford, 1971), 59-61.

Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A.381 (R^{1})
'Commandments'
(107^{r}-111^{v})

Rawlinson Cat. 380-1.

Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A.423 (R^{2})
'Commandments'
(1^{r}-6^{v})

Rawlinson Cat. 405-7.

University College 4 (V) 'Visitation'
(16^{v}-23^{r})

Ogilvie-Thomson (1991), 102.

Paris

* **Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390** (Q) 'Commandments'
(1^{r}-23^{v})

W.P. Cumming, 'A Middle English MS in the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Paris', PMLA 42 (1927), 862-4.
Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xxxvi.
Hanna (1988), 211-12.
J. Simpson, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist VII: A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in Parisian Libraries (Cambridge, 1989), 22-8.

Princeton

\# **University Library, Garrett 143** (G) 'Commandments' (1^{r}-21^{v})
R.K. Root, 'Poems from the Garrett Ms.', Englische Studien 41 (1910), 360-79.

San Marino

* **Huntington Library, HM 147** (M) 'Articles' (3^{r}-4^{r})
Francis (1942), xlix-l.
R. Hanna III, The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist I: A Handlist of Manuscripts containing Middle English Prose in the Henry E. Huntington Library (Cambridge, 1984), 20-1 (text is described as part of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues').

* **Huntington Library, HM 744** (M^{1}) 'Commandments' (13^{v}-23^{v})
Hanna (1984), 33-35.

Tokyo

* **Takamiya Collection 65** (Tk)[4] 'Med. St Anselm' (7^{r}-9^{v})
ex Bradfer-Lawrence 8
P.M. Giles, 'A Handlist of the Bradfer-Lawrence Manuscripts deposited on loan in the Fitzwilliam Museum', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society vi.2 (1973), 88.

II.

Cambridge

University Library Ff.5.45 (F^{1}) 'Mirror' (3^{v}-13^{v})
CUL Cat. ii.501-3. 'Three Arrows' (46^{v}-51^{r})
Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xlii.

University Library Ff.6.55 (F^{2}) 'Mirror' (142^{v}-154^{v})
CUL Cat. ii.547-8. 'Three Arrows' (155^{r}-166^{v})
Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xlii.

Dublin

* **Trinity College Library 69** (Tr) 'Commandments'

[4] I am grateful to Jeremy Griffiths for providing me with a complete physical description of Takamiya 65 and to Toshiyuki Takamiya for his help in locating the microfilm deposited in the British Library.

'Seven Commandments'
T.K. Abbott, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin (London, 1900), 9 (no mention made of the 'Seven Commandments').
Colker (1991), i.118 (no list of the English contents except the Psalter).

Description below

Edinburgh

University Library 93 (E) 'Med. Alone' (90^{r}-95^{v})
'Med. St Anselm' (95^{v}-100^{r})

C.R. Borland, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library (Edinburgh, 1916), i.149-50.
Martin (1978), i.1-14.
EWS (1988), II.xvi-xviii.

Glasgow

University Library, Hunterian 520 (H^{1}) 'Mirror' (134^{v}-142^{r})
'Three Arrows' (142^{r}-147^{r})

Hunterian Cat. 422-4.

London

British Library, Harley 1706 (Ha) 'Mirror' (106^{r}-110^{r})
'Three Arrows' (110^{v}-114^{r})

Harleian Cat. ii.178-9.
A.I. Doyle, 'Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society XXV.ii (1958), 222-43.

British Library, Harley 2339 (Hr) 'Mirror' (49^{r}-62^{r})
'Three Arrows' (62^{v}-72^{r})

Harleian Cat. ii.658.
A.I. Doyle, 'A Treatise of the Three Estates', Dominican Studies III.4 (Oct-Dec. 1950), 351-8.

British Library, Royal 17.A.26 (O) 'Commandments' (1^{r}-4^{r})
'Visitation' (30^{r}-36^{v})

G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections in the British Museum (London, 1921), ii.220.
Hanna (1988), 210-11.

Lambeth Palace Library 3597 (C) 'Mirror'
ex Throckmorton MS, Coughton Court (2^{r}b-4^{v}a)
'Three Arrows'
Wilson (1977), 295-99. (4^{v}a-6^{r}b)

In Jolliffe's listing of manuscripts for this text (F.8), he cites two Throckmorton manuscripts one at Coughton Court and the other at Buckland House. It appears that these two are one and the same manuscript. The manuscript containing the 'Mirror' was first described as deposited at Buckland House in HMC (Tenth Report, Appendix part IV (London, 1885), 168-76). No manuscript under this description appears in the HMC inventory for Coughton Court (Third Report, Appendix (London, 1872), 256-58). Subsequently, a manuscript of similar description was listed in the Christie's auction catalogue for Dec. 20, 1972 (Lot 205) as belonging to Coughton Court, but it was then withdrawn from auction. The manuscript was finally sold after 1977 by Quaritch to Lambeth Palace Library and is now Lambeth Palace MS 3597. It appears that the single manuscript, while originally at Buckland House, was moved to Coughton Court, and does not represent another separate manuscript.
Friends of Lambeth Palace Library: Annual Report (London, 1990), 4-6.

Manchester

John Rylands Library, Eng. 85 (R) 'Mirror'
(54^{v}-64^{r})
'Three Arrows'
(72^{v}-81^{v})

Lester (1985), 14-24 (Lester's addition of BL Add. 60577, the Winchester Anthology, to the list of manuscripts containing the 'Mirror' is incorrect).

Oxford

Bodleian Library, Bodley 3 (B) 'Mirror'
'Three Arrows'
Summary Cat. II.i.80 (1843).

Description below

Bodleian Library, Douce 13 (D) 'Three Arrows'
(33^{v}-48^{v})
Summary Cat. IV.493 (21587). 'Mirror'
Braswell (1987), 2-5. (49^{r}-65^{v})

Bodleian Library, Tanner 336 (Ta) 'Mirror'
'Three Arrows'
A. Hackman, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum

Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Pars Quarta, codices viri admodum Reverendi Thomae Tanneri (Oxford, 1860; repr. Oxford, 1966), cols 733-4.

Description below

III.

Cambridge

Magdalene College, Pepys 2125 (P)

'Med. Alone' (117^{r}-118^{r})
'Mirror' (126^{r}-128^{v})
'Three Arrows' (128^{v}-130^{v})

R. McKitterick and R. Beadle, Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, Volume V, Part i: Medieval Manuscripts (Cambridge, 1992), 54-61.

Trinity College, B.14.53 (T)

'Med. Alone'
'Med. St Anselm'
'Three Arrows'

M.R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1900), i.462-3 (familiar titles of the texts are not given, but they are items 1, 2 and 3).

Description below

Glasgow

University Library, Hunterian 496 (H)

'Mirror' (9^{v}-18^{r})
'Med. St Anselm' (178^{v}-183^{v})
'Three Arrows' (183^{v}-189^{v})

Hunterian Cat. 408-9.

London

British Library, Arundel 197 (A)

'Med. Alone' (1^{r}-3^{v})
'Med. St Anselm' (3^{v}-7^{r})
'Three Arrows' (7^{r}-10^{r})

Arundel Cat. 51 (texts are described as part of 'Fervor Amoris').
Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum, eds. J. Ayto and A. Barratt (EETS OS 287, 1984),

xxvi-xxviii, xxix.
M. Connolly, 'Public Revisions or Private Responses? The Oddities of BL, Arundel MS. 197, with Special Reference to "Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God"', The British Library Journal 20:1 (Spring 1994), 55-64.

Westminster School 3 (W) 'Diliges' (73^{r}-88^{r})
'Visitation' (105^{r}-112^{r})
'Commandments' (119^{v}-121^{r})

Wilson (1968), ii.24-6.
Ker (1969), i.422-4.
Hanna (1988), 197-9.

Oxford

Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 23 (L) 'Mirror'
'Med. St Anselm'
'Three Arrows'

Quarto 65-6, addenda col. 543.
D. J. Lloyd, 'An edition of the prose and verse in the Bodleian manuscript Laud Miscellaneous 23' (unpubd. PhD. diss., Yale, 1943).

Description below

Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 210 (La) 'Diliges'
'Visitation'
'Commandments'

Quarto 181-3, addenda col. 552 (catalogue doesn't distinguish between two 'Commandments' texts: end fragment on f. 147^{r-v} and ff. 147^{v}-156^{v}).
Hanna (1988), 210.

Description below

IV.

Oxford

Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 174 (Lm)
'Med. Alone'
'Med. St Anselm'
'Three Arrows'
'Mirror'

Quarto 158-9, addenda col. 550 (catalogue describes the 'Med. Alone' as 'Rules for confession of sin').
Wilson (1968), ii.18-20.

Description below

V.

London

British Library, Add. 22283 (S)

Cat. of Additions: 1854-60, 623-6.
A.I. Doyle, 'The Shaping of the Vernon and Simeon Manuscripts', Chaucer and Middle English Studies in honour of Rossell Hope Robbins, ed. B. Rowland (London, 1974), 328-341 and as reprinted in Studies in the Vernon Manuscript, ed. D. Pearsall (Cambridge, 1990), 1-13.
Doyle (1981), 265-82.
The Vernon Manuscript: A Facsimile of Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. Eng. Poet. a. 1, with an Introduction by A.I. Doyle (Cambridge, 1987), fold-out fly-leaf at end of facsimile and 1-16 (manuscript described in conjunction with Vernon).

Abbreviated list of contents:

I.

1. 1^{r}a-30^{v}a Part of 'Northern Homily Cycle'
2. 30^{v}a-32^{v}b 'How a Man shall live Perfectly'
3. 32^{v}b-c 'The Visions of St Paul'
4. 33^{r}a-61^{v}a 'Speculum Vitae'
5. 61^{v}a-c 'Five Wounds', ii.348-58.

II.

6. 62^{r}a-78^{v}a 'The Pricke of Conscience'
7. 78^{v}a-80^{v}a 'The Prick of Love' of St Edmund Rich
8. 80^{v}a-c 'A Disputation Between Body and Soul'
9. 81^{r}a-83^{r}b 'A Disputation Between a Good Man and the Devil'
10. 83^{r}b-84^{v}b 'On Hell, the Planets and the Heavens'
11. 84^{v}b-87^{v}a 'Chateau D'Amor' of Robert Grosseteste
12. 87^{v}a-88^{v}a 'Ypotis'
13. 88^{v}b-90^{v}c Shorter Hortatory Poems
14. 90^{v}c-91^{v}b 'Robert of Sicily'

15. 91^{v}b-c 'A Disputation Between Jesus and the Masters'

III.

16. 92^{r}a-115^{v}b 'The Book of Vices and Virtues' including:

92^{r}a-93^{v}a 'Ten Commandments', ii.1-93.
93^{v}a-b 'Twelve Articles', ii.281-301.
(rest of column 93^{v}b left blank)
94^{r}a-98^{v}b on 'The Seven Deadly Sins'
98^{v}b-101^{r}a on 'The Virtues'
101^{r}a-b 'Pater Noster', ii.271-80.
101^{r}b-115^{v}b a longer tract on 'The Pater Noster'

17. 116^{r}a fragment of the 'Two Ways', ii.172-270.

18. 116^{r}a-116^{v}a 'Med. Alone', ii.359-83.

19. 116^{v}a-117^{r}a 'Med. St Anselm', ii.384-438.

20. 117^{r}a-117^{v}a 'Three Arrows', ii.439-503.

21. 117^{v}a-118^{r}b 'Mirror', ii.302-47.
(rest of column 118^{r}b left blank)

22. 118^{v}a-c 'Proverbs of the Prophets'

23. 119^{r}a-123^{r}a 'Parvus and Magnus Cato'

24. 123^{r}b-124^{v}b 'The Stations of Rome'

25. 124^{v}b-125^{v}b 'A Disputation Between Mary and the Cross'

26. 125^{v}b-126^{r}c 'The Pistyl of Susanne'

27. 126^{r}c-128^{v}a 'The King of Tars'

28. 128^{v}b-134^{r}c Some of the Vernon Lyrics

IV.

29. 135^{r}a-146^{v}b 'Stimulus Amoris'

30. 146^{v}b 'Nine Points most pleasing to God'

31. 146^{v}b-147^{r}a 'Unkind Man'

32. 147^{r}a-147^{v}a Richard Rolle's 'The Commandment'

33. 147^{v}a-150^{v}a Richard Rolle's 'Form of Living'

34. 150^{v}a-151^{v}a Richard Rolle's 'Ego Dormio'

35. 151^{v}a-160^{v}b Walter Hilton's 'Scale of Perfection'

36. 160^{v}b-162^{v}b Walter Hilton's 'Epistle on Mixed Life'

37. 163^{r}a-164^{v}b St Edmund's 'Mirror'

38. 165^{r}a-165^{v}a 'The Abbey of the Holy Ghost'

39. 165^{v}a-168^{r}a 'The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost'

40. 168^{r}a-170^{v}b 'De Spiritu Guidonis'

41. 170^{v}b 'Form of General Confession'

42. 171^{r}a-172^{v}b 'A Talking of the Love of God'

CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS

The format for descriptions is as follows:

Name of ms: date:

Detailed list of contents: item number, folios, *incipit, first line...last line, explicit*, familiar title, brief bibliographical information, (if the item is edited in this thesis, only the familiar title is given with a page reference to the edition. If the text is a fragment, the fragmentary end is quoted). All abbreviations are silently expanded. Capitalization, punctuation and word-separation are editorial.

Physical description: number of leaves, foliation, material, (dimensions of leaf and written space), (pricking and ruling), collation and booklets, (catchwords, leaf and quire signatures), number of scribes and script, (punctuation), (decoration), binding.

Medieval ownership: medieval provenance and any further information about the manuscript's history.

Dublin, Trinity College Library 69 (Tr)[5] s. xiv/xv

1. i^{r} *Ad inclitum Cristiane militie ducem Sebastianum carmen. Christi miles aue Sebastiane, Princeps militie dei potentis.*

   'Hymn to St Sebastian' in Latin in 16c. hand, incomplete.

   Translatio Psalmorum Davidi...per Iohannem Hyde.

   Table of manuscript contents in 16c hand.

2. 1^{r}-55^{v} *Beatus vir qui non...þis is þe leue of holy chyrche þe whych, bot ȝif ech man haue beleuyd trewlych and fastelych, he may noȝt be saued. Explicit psalterium translatum in anglicum Iohanni Hyde constat.*

   'The Midland Prose Psalter' with Old and New Testament Canticles.

   The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter, ed. K.D. Bülbring (EETS OS 97, 1891), I.vii-viii, x.

[5] The description given here is based on Abbott (1900), Colker (1991) and a microfilm copy of the manuscript, therefore the physical description is incomplete and unreliable.

IPMEP 114.
Manual II.iv.11.

3. 55^{v}-64^{v} *Hic incipit prologus libri de secretis celestibus qui dicitorum Apocalipsis in anglicis. Saynte Poule þe apostel sayþ þat all þo þat wyll priuylych leuen on Ihesu Cryste schal sofre...þat þai do wondres and gader þe kynges to ge...*

'The Apocalypse' in English. Text is interrupted by a misplaced quire of 'The Pricke of Conscience'. See items 4 and 10, below.

E. Fridner (ed.), An English Fourteenth Century Apocalypse Version with a Prose Commentary: Edited from MS Harley 874 and ten other manuscripts (Lund Studies in English 29, Lund, 1961).
IPMEP 584.
Manual II.iv.49.

4. 65^{r}-72^{v} *...ne þanne schal no man buxum be i-founde...þe wich schulle accuse al sinful* <...>.

'The Pricke of Conscience', lines 4071-5525, the quire has been misplaced and should come between ff. 104 and 105. See item 10, below.

5. 73^{r}-78^{r} *...geders in batayles betokneþ þat riȝt as þe deuyl, þurȝ anticriste and his disciples, schal make...þat we may cum with hym to blis in body and in soule, and dwel with hym withoute ende, Amen.*

Continuation of item 3.

6. 78^{r}-79^{r} *Here begynneþ a tale of charite. Many man spekeþ of charite þat wote neuer what it is... Godd ȝeue vs to louen hym, þat we mote cum to hym and wonne with hym withoute ende, Amen* <.....>

'A Tale of Charite'.

Jolliffe G.17.

7. 79^{r}-82^{v} 'Commandments', ii.1-93.

8. 82^{v} 'Seven Commandments', ii.94-9.

9. 82^{v}-83^{r} *Quicumque loca sancta regni Ierosolomitani scire desiderat incipiat ab Ebron...est mons Oleueti.*

A Description of the Holy Land and vicinity.

10. 83^{v}-123^{v} *Here bygynneþ þe bok þe wich is cleped þe pricke of consciense þe whyche is...þe wich place he vs alle bringe þat for mannis loue made alle þinge. Amen.*

'The Pricke of Conscience.'

R. Morris (ed.), 'The Pricke of Conscience' a Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole (Berlin, 1863).
Manual VII.xx.18.

11. 124^{v} *Of humy-my-lyte and lon-lynes comythe grace, but where as pryd and enuy ys vertu hathe no place.*

Written twice in different hands of the 16c.

i (? plus additional paper flyleaves) + 124 + (? plus additional paper flyleaves); later ink foliation at top righthand corner correct, ink foliation at inside bottom margin, incorrect, skips 67 and ends at 84; parchment; collation: 1^{8} (ff. i-7), 2^{8} lacks one ? (ff. 8-13), 3^{4} (ff. 14-17), 4-7^{8} (ff. 18-49), 8^{8} lacks one ? (ff. 50-56), 9-16^{8} (ff. 57-120), quire 10 (ff. 65-72) is misplaced and should come between quires 14 and 15 (ff. 104-5), 17^{4} (ff. 121-124); no evidence of booklets despite change in hand, which occurs in the middle of quire 12; catchwords on all quires except 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 17, twice in quire 9 (ff. 63, 64) and six times in quire 11 (ff.75-80); quire signatures on quires 1: a, i-iv, 2: i-iii, 16: e, i-iv; two scribes, scribe A in an Anglicana bookhand: 1^{r}-64^{v}, 73^{r}-83^{r}, and scribe B in a textura hand: 65^{r}-72^{v}, 83^{v}-123^{v}; binding later?, as quire 10 was probably misplaced then.

Medieval ownership: the explicit to the Psalms on f.55^{v} which mentions John Hyde, may either refer to the scribe of the text or the owner of the manuscript, various arguments are put forward in Bülbring. The only John Hyde I have found was in Oxford around 1463 and died in 1504 which may be too late.[6]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 3 (B) s. xv in.

1. iii^{r} *1.2.3...þis is þe rule of augrym...in þe tenþe place a þousand þousand þousand sibis hym-silf 1000000000.*
The Rule of Arithmetic in 15c hand similar to hand of items 4-7.

2. iv^{v} Note in English in 16c hand.

3. v^{r} Note in Latin, same hand as item 2.

4. 1^{r}-162^{v} *This tretis compilid of a pore caitif and nedi of goost help of al cristen peple, bi þe*

[6] Emden Oxford, 992.

greet mercy and help of God...þat we moun regne wiþ þee in eendeles blis, Amen. Here endiþ þis tretijs þat is clepid þe pore caytif.

The complete text of 'The Pore Caitif'.

Sr. M.T. Brady, '"The Pore Caitif", edited from MS Harley 2336 with introduction and notes' (unpubd. PhD. diss., Fordham, 1954).
Jolliffe B.
Manual IX.xxiii.87.

5. 162^{v}-172^{r} 'Mirror', ii.302-47.

6. 173^{r}-180^{r} 'Three Arrows', ii.439-503.

7. 180^{v} *Here bigynneþ a rule þat telliþ what maters ben writun in þis book þat is clepid pore caitif suynge bi ordre...of þre arowis.*

   List of manuscript contents.

8. 181^{r} Note in Latin in same hand as items 2 & 3.

9. 181^{v}-183^{r} *ffor the disceas in my maistres brest....*

Fragments of medicinal recipes in 15c anglicana book hand.

v + 187 (or v + 182 + v); pen foliation 1-180, later pencil foliation numbers f. 140 and torn leaves after it as 140 a, b and c, because of this correction f. 180 is numbered in pencil as 182, though crossed out, then flyleaves after are numbered in pencil 181, 182, 183, and the last 184, with a note below that it should be 186, but this is incorrect because it skips a stub between ff. 182 and 183, so correct total of leaves should be 187; parchment; collation: i^{6} lacks 4; 5 cut in half (ff. i-v), 1-6^{8} (ff. 1-48), 7^{8} lacks 6 (ff. 49-55), 8-17^{8} (ff. 56-135), 18^{8} lacks 7; 6 and 8 badly torn (ff. 136-140c), 19-23^{8} (ff. 141-180), 24^{6} lacks 5; 2,3 and 4 badly torn (ff. 181-184); no evidence of booklets, though possibly at end of 'Mirror' text, as verso side of f.172, the end of quire 22, is ruled but left blank, though a catchword at the bottom matches the beginning of the 'Three Arrows' in quire 23; uses catchwords throughout; quire signatures: a-z, i-iiij; one scribe throughout in a textura hand; red and blue borders with scrollwork on ff. 2^{r}, 23^{r}, 69^{r}, 81^{v}, 99^{v}, 162^{v}; later binding.

Medieval ownership: 'Mathewe dwellyng at the signe of the white bere at wolchirche in bukkelersebury' (Bucklesbury, Berks.) is written in a 15c hand (same as item 9) on f. 184^{r}, and 'Rycardus Hall' in a 16c hand on the same folio. On f. v^{v}, the name George Clifford, Third Earl of Cumberland (1558-1605) appears in a 16c hand, the same as items 2, 3 and 8, and writes 'Grosthed which is oft alegid in this booke for ane awter was a great lernyd man and bishope of Lincolne her in England'. Notes also on f. i^{r}, at the top though almost illegible: '<...> to do in þis bok of lyuyng <...>', and at the top of f. ii^{r}: 'yo <...> wile of kyng Pharas as it is writon in Godys law Exodi viii° xii° were he tels yat God did many...'.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 336 (Ta) s. xv in.

1. iv^{v} Table of contents in later 17c/18c hand.

2. 1^{r}-20^{r} *The grounde of al godenesse is stedfast feiþ eiþir bileeue, for þer þorou grace and mercie is purchasid of God...world wiþouten eend, þilk ioie he to us graunte þat bouȝte us with his herte blode, Amen. Here endiþ þe crede.*

   'Exposition on the Creed' from 'The Pore Caitif'.

   Brady (1954).
   Jolliffe B.
   Manual IX.xxiii.87.

3. 20^{v}-82^{r} *A man axide Crist what he schulde do for to haue þe lijf þat euir schuld laste, and Crist seide to him aȝen...graunte us Ihesu Crist, þat lyueþ and regniþ wiþouten eende, merciful God, Amen. Here eendiþ þe ten comaundementis.*

   'The Ten Commandments', including the 'Prologue' and 'The Charge of the Hestes' from 'The Pore Caitif'.

   Brady (1954).
   Jolliffe B.
   Manual IX.xxiii.87.

4. 82^{r}-103^{v} *And bigynneþ þe pater noster. Crist seiþ who þat loueth him schal kepe hise commaundementis and þei þat...and to come to euerlastyng rest of blisse, þidir he brynge us þat bouȝte man wiþ his precious blode, Amen.*

   'Exposition on the Pater Noster' from 'The Pore Caitif'.

   Brady (1954).
   Jolliffe B.
   Manual IX.xxiii.87.

5. 103^{v}-111^{v} *Here sueþ þe charter of heuen. Everi wise man þat cleymeþ his heritage eiþir axeþ greet pardoun kepeþ bisili and haþ ofte mynde... and my werkes to be worþi up feiþ al þis sentence seiþ seint Austyn in his book to þe ȝerle Iulian.*

   'The Charter of Heaven' from 'The Pore Caitif'.

   Brady (1954).
   Jolliffe B.
   Manual IX.xxiii.87.

6. 111^{v}-122^{r} *Almiȝti God seiþ, bi hooli Ioob, þat al mannis lijf upon erþe is fiȝtyng, þat is aȝens goostli enemies and synne...and makeþ it to see God and ofte to fle to heuene bi desire, hopynge to dwelle þere world wiþouten eende, Amen.*

'The Rule of Man's Body' from 'The Pore Caitif'.

Brady (1954).
Jolliffe B.
Manual IX.xxiii.87.

7. 122^{r}-132^{r} 'Mirror', ii.302-47.

8. 132^{r}-141^{r} 'Three Arrows', ii.439-503.

9. 141^{r}-145^{v} *Here is declarid breueli who breken þe ten comaundementis of God: proude men, worldli men and fleschli men breken...Here eendiþ þe x comaundementis schortli declarid, almiȝti Ihesu <g> graunte us grace to kepe hem, Amen.*

Rhetorical version of 'The Ten Commandments'.

C.A. Martin, 'The Middle English version of the Ten Commandments, with Special Reference to Rylands Eng. 85', BJRL 64 (1981), 201-5.

iv + 145 + vi; earlier ink pagination (1-393) has been changed to modern pencil foliation; parchment (2 paper flyleaves at beginning and 3 at end); collation: i^{2} paper flyleaves (ff. i-ii), ii^{2} parchment flyleaves, the first is a stub and the second was pastedown (ff. iii-iv), 1-3^{8} (ff. 1-24), 4^{6} (ff. 25-30), 5^{10} (ff. 31-40), 6-17^{8} (ff. 41-136), 18^{6} (ff. 137-142), 19^{4} 4 is stub; extra bifolium which was part of pastedown (?) added between 3 and 4 (ff. 143-145, i-iii), 3 paper flyleaves (ff. iv-vi); no evidence of booklets; catchwords used on quires 1-18; later hand has lettered quires from A-W in ink in bottom margin; single scribe in Bastard Anglicana hand; later binding.

No evidence of medieval ownership.

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.14.53 (T) s. xv in.

Booklet I

1. 1^{r}-127^{r} *Here begynneþ þe prolog of a tretijs þat is clepid þe pore caitif. This tretijs compilid of a pore caitif and nedi of goostli help...þat we moun regne with þee in eendeles blis. Amen. Here endiþ þe tretijs þat is clepid þe pore caitif.*

The complete text of 'The Pore Caitif'.

Brady (1954).
Jolliffe B.

Manual IX.xxiii.87.

127v-128v blank.

Booklet II

2. 129r-132v 'Med. Alone', ii.359-83.

3. 132v-136r 'Med. St Anselm', ii.384-438.

4. 136r-140v 'Three Arrows', ii.439-503.

5. 140v-141r *A seeli \soule/ askide of God clennesse of soule and God apperide to hire and seide ȝif þu wilt haue þat...þe þridde is þat þu deme alwey my seruauntes werkis not after þi feelyng but after my doom.*

   An extract from the 'Documento' of St Catherine of Siena.

   Horstman (1895), i.108.
   Jolliffe I.7(c).
   IPMEP 409.

   141v-144v blank.

iii + 144; modern pencil foliation; parchment with paper flyleaves; collation: i^2 unnumbered paper flyleaves, ii^3 (ff. i-iii) parchment flyleaves, i original pastedown (leaves have traces of original Latin text in rubric, book of hours, missal?) $1\text{-}12^8$ (ff. 1r-96v), 13^8 (ff. 97r-104v, 3-6 folios misplaced during rebinding, ff. 99 and 100 should appear after ff. 103-104), $14\text{-}16^8$ (ff. 105r-128v), 17^6 (ff. 129r-134v), 18^{10} (ff. 135r-144v), one unnumbered paper flyleaf; evidence of booklets: Booklet I (ff. 1r-128v) and Booklet II (ff. 129r-144v) different scribal hands, page format and style, quire length, last folios of both booklets blank, change in quality of parchment; catchwords on all quires of first booklet on the verso side of each last folio, no catchwords used in Booklet II; quire signatures in Booklet I: quires 1-8: a-h, i-iiii, quires 9-11, in modern pencil: i-l, i-iiii, quire 12: m, i-iiii, quires 13-14, in modern pencil: n-o, i-iiii, quire 15, p, i-ii, quire 16, q, i-iiii, no quire signatures in Booklet II; two different hands: scribe A (Booklet I) is a textura hand, while scribe B (Booklet II) is an anglicana book hand; illuminated initials with green, blue and red appear in the first booklet, and particularly noteworthy is the elaborate scrollwork which frames all the catchwords; no decoration in Booklet II, though space was left for rubric titles and initials which were never executed; later binding.

Medieval ownership: the names and dates: 'Philemon Holland, Coventr. 1583' and 'Thomas Dowghtie, Hoxton', 1609 appear on f. 1r. The ascriptions 'The boke of Thomas Philips broght in by hym' appears in an earlier 16c hand on f.ii. On f. 142v, in a 15c hand, is written: 'In the name of God, amen. Henry vi, the grace of God, King of Inglond & of France, Lord, of Irelond, Prince.'

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 23 (L) s. xv in.

1. 1^{r}-2^{r} Notes in several later hands

2. 2^{v} Table of contents in later hand. *In this M.S. are conteyned these seuerall tracts....*

Booklet I

3. 3^{r}-23^{r} *Here begynnyn þe ten comaundementis of God. Where is any man now o dayes þat askyth how I schal loue God and myne euene cristen...and heuene riche blisse schal be oure heritage, to þat hy blis now brynge vs, he þat bouȝt vs so dere on þe rode tre, Amen.*

'An Exposition on the Ten Commandments'.

Copy not mentioned by A.L. Kellogg and E.W. Talbert, 'The Wycliffite Pater Noster and Ten Commandments, with Special Reference to English MSS. 85 and 90 in the John Rylands Library', BJRL 42 (1956), 345-77 or Martin (1981).

4. 23^{r}-39^{v} *Crist þat deide for þe saluacoun of mankynde upon þe cros, graunt vs grace to ascape þe sliȝe ensailing of þe fend þat we ne be na lost for synne at our laste ende, Amen. Two þingis I haue purposid þoruȝ Goddis grace to do in þis litle tretijs...þat we mowe be worþi to be takin to þat ȝoie of heuene þat euere more schal laste, Amen.*

A short prayer followed by Richard Lavenham's 'Treatise on the Seven Deadly Sins'.

A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins by Richard Lavynham, O. Carm, ed. J.P.W.M. van Zutphen (Rome, 1956).
Jolliffe F.2(a).
IPMEP 789.
Manual VII.xx.106.

40^{r-v} ruled but blank, except for later pen trials on the verso side.

Booklet II

4. 41^{r}-44^{v} Collection of brief tracts: *Here suen seuene vertues aȝens þ[e] vij dedly synnes...Here suen seuene vertues...Here suen þe fiue wittis bodili...Here suen þe fiue gostly wittes...Here suen þe werkys of bodyli mercy...Here begynnyn þe seuene werkis of merci gostly...Here begynnyn þe vij ȝiftis of þe Holy Gost...How man schal ȝelde a streit rekenyng of þre goodys...Here suen*

þe seuene sacramentis of holi chirche þe whiche euery cristen man and woman moste bileue, þat þei han vertu to fulfelle þat þyng for whiche þei ben ordeyned...Here sueþ a prolog of þynges þat folwen for more declaracoun of þyngis aforn... here endyt þe prolog.[7]

5. 44^{v}-46^{v} *And here bigynnyn þe xij lettynges of preyere. Þe first lettyng of preiere is þe synne of hym þat preieþ...and so bi grace to haue þe effect of þi preiere and after to come to blisse withou3ten ende. Here endiþ þe xij lettyngis of preiere.*

'The Twelve Lettings of Prayer'.

Jolliffe M.4.
Manual VII.xx.248.

6. 46^{v}-49^{r} *And here bygynnyþ a litil processe þat symple men or wymmen of lytil cunnyng mowun þenke or preie in here bygynnyng. First whanne þou schapist þe to preie...almi3ti God haþ writen to þe þese fewe wordis in helpyng of þi soule, Amen.*

The AB Chapter of the 'Fervor Amoris' followed on ff. 49^{r-v} by:

Seynt Denis in his bok of Goddis names in þe chpitre (sic) of ri3tfulnes. He þat þenkyþ dilygently þe medys of lijf tocomyng beri3t paciently alle yuelis of þis present lijf, for he tempriþ þe bitternes of þis lijf bi swetnes of þat lijf.

M. Connolly (ed.), Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God (EETS OS 303, 1993), 41-4.
Horstman (1896), ii.102-105.
Jolliffe H.15.
IPMEP 362.
Manual IX.xxiii.41.

7. 49^{v}-53^{v} 'Mirror', ii.302-47.

8. 53^{v}-55^{r} *And here bigynnyn xiiij maneris of peynis of helle. Seint Paul, spekyng of þe ioyes þat God hath ordeynid to trewe keperis of his lawe...ne schulen neuere take þe wayes to be sawed and Iob seiþ þat in helle is non a3en beiyng.*

[7] The last tract describes the preceding and following texts in Booklet II, showing how the scribe put them together as a coherent group in the form of a booklet.

'The Fourteen Pains of Hell'.

Manual VII.xx.246.

9. 55^{r}-57^{v} 'Med. Anselm', ii.384-438.

10. 57^{v}-60^{v} 'Three Arrows', ii.439-503.

11. 60^{v}-70^{r} *Here sueþ a schort declaracioun of bileue in general. Also as touchyng þe crede, we schulen vnderstonde þre maneres of beleeue...þus shal ȝe cetesynis with mercy and grace be browȝt to blisse withouten ende, Amen.*

Includes various brief tracts on the creed, ten commandments, the two commandments of the New Testament, the five words of Christ on the cross, the five conditions of charity, etc.

12. 70^{r}-74^{v} *\Here bygynniþ the medita<...> of seynt Austyn to confort synful folke serm<....>./ Ad quos nos perducat dominus Ihesu Christus, Amen. Seynt Austyn þe holy doctour techiȝt þorwȝ declaracioun...and brynge me to þi blysse for þi grete mercy. Misere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam et secundum multitudinem miseracionum tuarum dele iniquitatem meam.*

A meditation attributed to St Augustine.

Horstman (1896), ii.377-80.
Jolliffe I.32.
IPMEP 574.
Manual IX.xxiii.82.

13. 74^{v}-$75a^{v}$ *Fffrendis (sic) seynt Ion Crisostom, in þe omelie vpon þe gospel of þis day, seiȝt þat euery beest resonable and vnresonable...boþe to vnderstonde and to knowe hye þynges, Christ techiþ men whanne he ableþ hem to vertue and ȝyueþ...*

Sermon on Ecclesiasticus 13:19, text incomplete.

75b-d ruled but blank, except for later pen trials.

Booklet III

14. 76^{r}-102^{v} *Here bigynneþ a tretise þat cardenal Bonauenture maad of Cristis passioun. The tyme neyȝhynge and comynge of þe myseraciouns and mercyes of þe Lord...þat regnyþ wiþ þe Fadir and þe Holy Goost bi alle worldis of worldis, Amen. A culpa tristi protegat nos passio Cristi, Amen.*

Complete independent translation of the 'Meditationes Vitae Christi'.

E. Salter, 'The Manuscripts of Nicholas Love's *Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* and related texts', Middle English Prose: Essays on Bibliographical Problems, eds. A.S.G. Edwards and D. Pearsall (London, 1981), 126 (2.A.ii).
IPMEP 553.
Manual IX.xxiii.62.

15. 102^{v}-110^{v} *Here been gaderyd counceylis of seynt Isodore to enfourme man how he shulde fle vices and folwe vertuis...no thyng for worldly opynyoun but only for lyff euerlastynge, Amen. These ben counceylys goode and helsum yif they haue wylful execusyoun.*

'The Councils of St Isidore'.

Horstman (1896), ii.367-74.
Jolliffe I.22(c).
IPMEP 491.
Manual VII.xx.155.

16. 111^{r} *Augustinus de contemptu mundi. Yif thow seye to me this is an hard word, I may not forsake the world and hate my flessh...and to the erthe thow shalt turne. Memento quod ciuis es et in cinerem reuerteris fac bene dum viuis post mortem viuere si vis.*

A translation of 'De Contemptu Mundi' attributed to St Augustine.

Horstman (1896), ii.374-5.

17. 111^{v}-112^{v} *Whan lyf is moost louyd and deep is moost hatyd, thanne deeth drawyth his draut and makith man ful nakid...so that erthe fro this erthe stye upon thyn hyȝe hille, Amen. Par charite God it graunte that it so be.*

Poem 'Earth upon Earth'.

Horstman (1895), i.373-4.
The Middle English Poem Erthe upon Erthe, ed. H.M.R. Murray (EETS OS 141, 1911).
Manual IX.xxii.264b.
IMEV 704, 3985; Supplement 702.5.

18. 112^{v}-114^{r} *Tangere qui gaudes meretricem qualiter audes palmis pollutis regem tractare salutis. \hic in decretis/. Whi is the word belouyd that fals is and veyn...it is no worshipe but a charge lordshipe to taaste.*

Latin and English verses.

H. Walther, Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi (Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina II, Göttingen, 1967), V.31040.

19. 114^{r} *Omnia terrena per vices sunt aliena...non perdit merita si moriatur ita.*

Latin distichs.

Walther (1965), III.20088; (1963), I.5559; (1964), II. 15169; (1965), III.19544.

20. 114^{v}-115^{v} More English and Latin verses in a later hand.

115 (actually 118); pencil foliation in modern hand counts folios 75(a,b,c,d); parchment; i^{4} lacks 2, 1 pastedown (ff. 1-2), 1-4^{8} (ff. 3-34), 5^{6} (ff. 35-40), 6-7^{8} (ff. 41-56), 8^{8} (ff. 57-64; the original sixth leaf was cut away and a replacement inserted so stubs are visible before leaf 4 and after the new leaf 6; the scribe of the replacement leaf, f. 62, attempted to copy the original hand), 9^{8} (ff. 65-72), 10^{6} (ff. 73-75d), 11-15^{8} (ff. 76-115), 16^{8} (only stubs remain of entire quire); evidence of booklets: Booklet I (ff. 3-40) folio 40 ruled but left blank and ends quire, Booklet II (ff. 41-75) the end folios 75b, c and d are ruled but blank, and internal evidence (item 4) explains that the group of texts in Booklet II follow a specific pattern, Booklet III (ff. 76-115) the change in quire signatures between booklets and in the last one, a change in hand; catchwords used throughout, except at the ends of booklets (between quires 5,6 and 10,11); quire signatures for Booklet I: a-d, i-iiij (quire 5 cut-off?), Booklet II: i-iiij, Booklet III: no quire signatures; three Bastard Anglicana hands, scribe A: ff. 3-61, 63-75, scribe B: ff. 76-114, scribe C: f. 62 (though this may be scribe B); medieval binding.

Medieval ownership: a 16c hand on f. 115^{v} has written 'Beniamyne ffell oweth this booke' and 'Beniamine ffell ys the <...>'.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 210 (La) s. xv

1. i^{v} two notes in 15c hands: *'Beatus est dare quam accipere sic exponitur. It is more blessed condicioun forto <g>yue better þing þan forto take þing lesse worþi', and 'I seche a þouthe [sic] þat <edy> eldyth noȝt, I seche a lyf þat dyeþ noȝt, I seche ioye wiþowte drede, I seche rychesse wiþowte nede, I seche ful blisse withowte stryfe, and þerfore þus I lede my lyf.'*

IMEV Supplement 1356.3.

2. iii^{r-v} list of contents in later hand and notes in Latin: *A d[i]uine manuscript wherin are conteyned ...Richardus Hampole vixit anno Domini 1340.*

Booklet I

3. 1^{r}-19a^{v} *In euery synful man and womman þat is bounden in dedly sy[nn]e þere be thre wrecchednessus þe whiche bringeth hem to þe deth of helle...and pray for me. Þe grace of Ihesu Crist be with þe and kepe þe. Explicit tractatus qui vocatur Forma viuendi compositus a Ricardo heremita de Hampole qui obiit ibidem anno Domini M^{o} CCC^{o} xl^{o} ix^{o} et cetera.*

Richard Rolle's 'Form of Living'.

Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 1-25.
IPMEP 351.
Manual IX.xxiii.11.

19b ruled but blank.

Booklet II

4. 20^{r}-76^{v} *To knowe þe bettere my purpos in þis boke, wite ȝe wel þat I desire euerych man and womman and child to be my moder...his dwellyng place, his schep, his enemys, and when þei ben hys enemys and how men schul clyrifie his fader.*

'Book to a Mother.'

A. J. McCarthy (ed.), Book to a Mother (Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92, Salzburg, 1981).
Jolliffe A.5(a).
IPMEP 767.
Manual VII.xx.16.

5. 77^{r}-93^{v} *Alle þese þynges Crist techeþ in þe gospel of Seynt Ion and seiþ, '3if ȝe dwellen in my word, verreily ȝe schul be my disciples...þat he clepid alle to lerne of him, þerfore to him heriynge, ioie and worschipe in worldes of worldes, Amen.* Continuation of "Book to a Mother" JCH 22/7/91

6. 94^{r}-95^{r} 'Diliges', ii.161-71.

7. 95^{r}-97^{v} *Et erunt vt complaceant eloquia oris mei, et meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo semper. And þe wordes of my mouþ shal be to queme þee, and þe þenkyng of my þouȝt euere in þi siȝt... whos soule bihoueþ nedys mysperische for, Apud Dominum gressus hominis dirigentur et viam eius volet. Anentis God þe goynges...*

Exposition on Psalms 18:15 to 36:24 from Rolle's Psalter, incomplete.

H.R. Bramley (ed.), The Psalter or Psalms of David...by Richard Rolle of Hampole (Oxford, 1884), 71-134.
IPMEP 271.
Manual II.iv.12.

(Quire missing here)

8. 98^{r}-99^{r} fragment of 'Visitation', starts: *...richesse but specialiche and stedefastliche on þe...*, ii.100-60.

9. 99^{r}-114^{r} *Primum capitulum de tribulacione. Da nobis auxilium de tribulacione. Þow soule trubled and tempted to þe is þis word schewed þat þou... wyche graunt vs Ihesu Crist þat wiþouten ende lyueþ and regneþ, Amen, Amen, Amen. Expliciunt remedia contra tribulaciones.*

'The Twelve Profits of Tribulation'. A translation of the 'Tractatus de Tribulatione' (version B).

Horstman (1896), ii.45-60.
Jolliffe J.3(b).
IPMEP 141.
Manual IX.xxiii.81.

10. 114^{r}-132^{v} *Frend in Crist as seynt Poule seiþ, we ne hauen here no cyte þat is dwelling, but we sechen on þat is to come hereafter...þe riȝt weye to heuene is to beleuyn stedefastliche in Crist and to kepe þes two comaundementes of loue.*

Extract from 'The Life of Soul'.

Þe Lyfe of Soule, ed. H.M. Moon (Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 75, 1978), 1-65.
Jolliffe H.4(b).
IPMEP 243.

11. 132^{v} *Þis letter suyng wrot oure lady Marye with here owne hand and sende hit \to/ Ignacie þe martyr. Þe blessed virgyn Marye wrote...Goddis priuete ben schewed to hem. Hugo de Sancto Victore in prologo super Apocalipsi.*

A Letter from the Virgin to St Ignatius.

12. 133^{r}-134^{r} *Seynt Austyn in a book þat he made of twelue mysvses seiþ þat þe nynþe mysvse is of a wicked kyng þe whyche whanne...and þus seiþ seynt Austyn word by word. Here endeþ a tretys of xxiii riȝtwisnes þat seynt Austyn maade þe whyche longen to þe lyf of a kyng.*

'The Twenty-three Righteousnesses' attributed to St Augustine.

13. 134^{r}-136^{r} *And here begynnyn þe xvi condicouns of charite. Seynt Poul spekiþ of charite and seiþ on þis wyse, ȝif I speke wiþ mannes tunge...and ȝif he be vnkunnyng, hym oweiþ for to lere et cetera. Explicit. Here eendiþ þe condicouns of char\i/te.*

'The Sixteen Conditions of Charity'.
Jolliffe G.4(e).
Manual VII.xx.58.

14. 136^{r}-146^{v} *And begynniþ þe Abbeye of Holy Goos[t]. Here is þe book þat spekiþ on a place þat is i-clepid þe abbeye of þe Holy Gost...and as he þouȝte of mannus soule and on þe abbeye of þe Holy Gost, he founde anoþer suster...*

fragment of 'The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost'.

Horstman (1895), i.337-356.
C.E. Fanning, '"The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost": a critical edition from all known extant manuscripts, with introduction, notes, and glossary' (unpubd. PhD. diss., Fordham, 1975).
Jolliffe H.9(b).
IPMEP 590.
Manual VII.xx.186.

(Quire missing here)

15. 147^{r-v} fragment of 'Commandments', starts: ...*of God and of heuene\ly/ goodes...*, ii.1-93.

16. 147^{v}-156^{v} *Here endiþ oon pa\y/re comaundementis and here begynnen anoþere payre comaundemetis. Now vndurstondeþ þe comaundementes of God þat alle...and ledeþ hem to þe endeles ioye of heuene to seen Goddys face wiþouten ende and so it be, Amen.*

'A Treatise on the Ten Commandments'.
Not mentioned by Kellogg and Talbert (1956) or Martin (1981).

17. 157^{r}-165^{r} *I knowlech and ȝelde me gylty to God almiȝti and to holy chirche and to þe gostly Fader undur God, þat I ofte tymes siþen I was... and sikerly, who so doþ þus, he schal not euel dye ne faile of Goddys mercy at nede.*

A form of confession.

Jolliffe C.20.

18. 165^{v}-168^{r} *Also I seyde þat a man þat wil be saued, he mut kepe þe ten comaundementes þe whiche stonden but in twey poyntes...as Crist hymself tauȝt it, and not acombered ne clouted be cursed clerkes of anticristes couent.*

A collection of treatises on the Ten Commandments, the Seven Bodily and Ghostly deeds of mercy, the Apostles' Creed, etc.

19. 168^{r}-174^{v} *Here begynneth materes of holy wryȝt þat is nedeful to be knowen. Seynt Austyn seiþ whoso precheþ þe gospel to wynne þerwiþ his liflode...þei don sacrilege, þefte and raueyne for al þat þei taken to hemself ouere a pore liflode þat hem nedeþ.*

20. 174^{v}-179^{v} *For ȝe schul vnderstande þat al a mannes lif, fro þe first poynt to þe last, þe fend is aboute to bryng a man oþer a womman...to endeles blis Crist Ihesu kyng bryng ȝow þat for ȝow sched his hert blood, Amen.*

Extract from an Easter Day Sermon.

Jolliffe K.9.

Booklet III

21. 180^{r}-185^{v} *Þis is þe abbey of the Holy Gost þat is founden in a place þat is clepud concience. My dere broþer and sister, I se weel þat many wolde ben in religioun...þorow þe besechyng of hys dere moder seynt Marye, Amen. Here endeþ of þe Holy Gost.*

'The Abbey of the Holy Ghost'.

Horstman (1895), i.321-337.
Rev. D.P. Consacro, 'A critical edition of "The Abbey of the Holy Ghost" from all known extant English manuscripts' (unpubd. PhD. diss., Fordham, 1971).
Jolliffe H.16(c).
IPMEP 39.
Manual VII.xx.184.

22. 185^{v}-187^{r} English notes and verses in several 15c hands.

iii + 187 (should be 188, as 19 is counted twice: a and b, in later pencil foliation); parchment; collation: i^{4} lacks 1, 2 original pastedown (ff. i-iii), 1-3^{10} (ff. 1-29), 4^{8} (ff. 30-37), 5-10^{10} (ff. 38-97), quire(s) missing, 11-12^{10} (ff. 98-117), 13^{10}

lacks 10 (ff. 118-126), 14-15^{10} (ff. 127-146), quire(s) missing, 16-17^{10} (ff. 147-166), 18^{10} lacks 10 (ff. 167-175), 19^{4} (ff. 176-179), 20^{6} (ff. 180-185), 21^{2} two leaves, second of which was pastedown (ff. 186-187); evidence of booklets: Booklet I (ff. 1-19b) folio 19b is ruled on both sides, but left blank with no catchword, Booklet II (ff. 20-179) which ends without a catchword, Booklet III (ff. 180-6), changes in quire signatures between Booklets I and II, Booklet II and III start with different hands and use different quire signatures; catchwords on all except quires 2, 13, 18, 19 and 20; quire signatures on quires 1 and 2: a-b, i-v, on quires 3 to 10: a-h, i-v, none visible on 11 and 12, on 13: i-v, none visible on 14-17, on 18: t, i-v, none visible on 19, but i-iii on 20; possibly four scribes, scribe A: 1^{r}-19^{v}, scribe B: 20^{r}-93^{v}, 168^{r}-179^{v}, scribe C: 94^{r}-168^{r}, scribe D: 180^{r}-185^{v}; all hands are variations of Anglicana Formata and Bastard Anglicana; medieval binding.

Medieval ownership: the only evidence appears on f. 187^{r} where a list of accounts in a 15c hand mentions *streynesham* (Strensham) in Worcestershire.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 174 (Lm) s.xv

Booklet I?

1. 1^{r}-24^{v} *Here begynnyn þe seuen psalmes. O Goddis worchip þat dere vs bouȝt, to whom we owen to make our mone...in heuen kyngdom me to seysen, graunt vs oo God and persones þre, Amen. Here endyn þe vij spalmes.*

   Maidstone's version of 'The Seven Penitential Psalms'.

   Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms edited from Bodleian MS Rawlinson A. 389, ed. V. Edden (Heidelberg Middle English Texts 22, Heidelberg, 1990).
   Manual II.iv.18.

2. 24^{v}-31^{r} *Here begynnyþ Benedicite. Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino; laudate et super-exaltate eum in secula. Þis spalme was maad aftir a miracle þat God dide in tyme of Nabugodonosor ...we hopen þat God wole blisse vs boþe here and in heuene.*

   Wycliffite commentary on the Canticles.

   T. Arnold (ed.), Select English Works of John Wyclif (Oxford, 1871), iii.62-71.
   IPMEP 134.
   Manual II.iv.12-13.

3. 31^{r}-37^{v} *Quicunque vult saluus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat Catholicam fidem. It is seid comely þat þer ben þre credis...as popes, cardynales and bisshopis shuld more specialy*

kunne þis crede and teche it to men vndir to hem.

Wycliffite commentary on the Canticles.

Arnold (1871), iii.71-81.
IPMEP 134.
Manual II.iv.12-13.

4. 38^{r}-69^{r} *Coueyte to telle shortly by þe ordre of þe holy gospel þe lyf of þe glorious virgyn Marye ...and if I haue seid as I ouȝte not, swettest Ihesu forȝyue þou and þyne, Amen. Here endiþ þe lyf of oure lady seynt Marye.*

A translation of Thomas of Hales' 'The Life of Our Lady'.

The Lyf of Oure Lady: The Middle English Translation of Thomas of Hales' Vita Sancte Marie, edited from MS St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle E.I.I, ed. S.M. Horrall (Heidelberg Middle English Texts 17, Heidelberg, 1985).

5. 69^{r}-76^{r} *Meditacioun of þingis doon aftir þe deeþ of Crist. Ferþermore, oure blissid Lady and hir blissid felouship þer togider sittynge vnder þe cros...þat regniþ wiþ þe Fadir and þe Holy Goost by alle worldis of worldis, Amen. Here endiþ þe tractacioun of Bonauenture.*

Part of an independent translation of the 'Meditationes Vitae Christi'.

Salter (1981), 126 (2.A.vi).
IPMEP 553.
Manual IX.xxiii.62.

6. 76^{r}-79^{r} *Non confundentur in tempore malo, et in diebus famis saturabuntur, quia peccatores peribunt. Þei shulen not be ashamyd in euel tyme and in day of hungir...meke men, fayrnesse of feble, prosperte of trauelyng men, counfort of sorewful men, honour of religioun, multiplying of merytes, frende of God, fourmere of alle þingis.*

Revised version of Psalm 36:20 from Rolle's Psalter incorporating a tract on virginity.

D. Everett (ed.), 'The Middle English Prose Psalter of Richard Rolle of Hampole', MLR XVII.iii (July 1922), 217-27; MLR XVIII.iv (Oct. 1923), 381-93.
IPMEP 271.
Manual II.iv.12.

7. 79^{r}-81^{v} *A schort reule of lif for ich man in*

general and for prestis and lordis \and laboreris/ in special, how ich man schal be sauyd in his degree if he wile hymsilf...to whom be glorie, ioie, worchip and honour into world of worlddis withouten ende, Amen. I haue seet myn hert <myn> soo hyȝe, me lykiþ no loue þat lowere hijs.

'A short rule of lif'.
Arnold (1871), iii.204-8.
Wilson (1968), i.36-46.
IPMEP 203.
Manual II.iii.28.

Booklet II?

8. 82^{r}-85^{r} 'Med. Alone', ii.359-83.

9. 85^{r}-88^{v} 'Med. Anselm', ii.384-438.

10. 88^{v}-93^{r} 'Three Arrows', ii.439-503.

11. 93^{r}-98^{r} 'Mirror', ii.302-47.

12. 98^{r}-103^{v} Various pen trials in later hands, including poem (101^{v}-102^{r}): 'He yat in yowthe no vertu wyll vse, all honor in age wyll hym refuse', and an incomplete copy of a letter (102^{v}): 'Right worchypfull and my...glad to here of...'.

i + 98 + v (later pencil foliation counts end flyleaves: i + 103); parchment; collation: i^{2} (pastedown and flyleaf), 1-7^{8} (ff. 1-56), 8^{8} 4 and 5 singletons (ff. 57-64), 9^{8} (ff. 65-72), 10^{9} 9 is singleton (ff. 73-81), 11^{8} (ff. 82-89), 12^{10} (ff. 90-99), 13^{4} (ff. 100-103); evidence of booklets: possibly Booklet I (ff. 1-81) where an extra leaf has been added to finish quire 10, and Booklet II (ff. 82-99) where a new hand starts quire 11, quire signatures absent in Booklet II; catchwords used, except for quire 3; quire signatures for quires 1-10: a-k, i-iv, though no longer visible on quires 1, 2 and 5; three possible scribes, scribe A: ff. 1-28^{r}, 79^{r}-81^{v}, scribe B: ff. 28^{v}-79^{r}, 95^{r}-98^{r}, scribe C: ff. 82^{r}-94^{v}; all hands are Bastard Anglicana; medieval binding.

Medieval ownership: the name of a Sir Richard Ketchyn of Croyden, Surrey (c. 1515) appears on ff. 66^{v}-67^{r}, 74^{v}-75^{r}, 99^{r}: 'Iste liber pertinet ad me Ricardus Kytchyn', also a Richard Clark, or Bark, of Huckyn in Kent appears on ff. 66^{v}, 91^{r}, 99^{r} and 101^{v}: 'Homo est qui scripsit latro est qui legit sit in quid Ricardus Clarke.' And on f. 98^{v} appears 'Item vnto Welliam Ryeplye of Barwyck' in Sussex and on f. 1^{r} a 'Ricardus Pawe huius libri possessor est' in a 16c hand.

THE TEXTS OF OXFORD, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE 97: THEIR PATTERNS OF DISSEMINATION AND LITERARY CONTENT

I. INTRODUCTION

Ralph Hanna III, in his article on London, Westminster School 3, has intimated the need for a new kind of critical edition:

> A further conclusion strongly suggested by my discussion is the need in Middle English studies of a new type of critical edition. Customarily editions are text-centered: that is, they choose for central objects of study single works which they abstract from manuscript context. I do not wish to argue that anyone should want to print a bad text, simply because it appears in one manuscript or another. But I hope that I have suggested that the combination of works which a single manuscript offers could be a perfectly sound basis for a series of critical texts with full apparatus.[1]

Hanna continues to explain how an edition of a group of texts within one manuscript, which includes the study of text transmission and reception, could reveal much more about 'the nuts and bolts of literary history', and enable us to learn about how texts became '"accepted works"'.[2]

A critical edition based on a series of texts found in a single manuscript is useful in determining whether a particular text was considered part of a 'package', kept together with its companion texts, or separate, placed in context according to the needs of

[1] Hanna (1988), 207.

[2] Hanna (1988), 207.

the individual compiler. When texts are consistently kept together we are, perhaps, witnessing the establishment of a literary tradition, a tradition which is strengthened as each compiler who receives these texts maintains their unity as a group and copies them as such into his manuscript. The content of a text also has considerable bearing on where it is placed within a manuscript, and often compilers would keep texts together which were thematically linked or complementary.

It is the purpose of this thesis to follow this suggestion and present a critical edition of thirteen Middle English religious texts from Oxford, University College 97. This manuscript (hereafter referred to as U) contains in its three booklets, which represent the earlier portion of the manuscript, a collection of instructional, devotional, meditational and homiletic material that circulated amongst a fairly large, though perhaps geographically local, group of scribes. There are over fifty other manuscripts which contain copies of one or more of the thirteen texts edited here, and it is my aim to offer some insight into a few of the very complicated inter-relationships within this group of associated manuscripts.

The thesis does not aim to be a comprehensive study, as there is still much more to be done in this area of anonymous devotional texts and their manuscript contexts, but will examine the two main

factors which probably affected the compiler/scribe in his selection of texts chosen for his manuscript: the availability of exemplars and the personal taste or apparent need of the compiler/scribe himself. As a collection of texts from various sources, the three booklets of U appear to be originally a deliberate and purposeful compilation, with little that is superfluous, even down to the Latin documents which served an important role for the owner as a personal record. A miscellaneous aspect, however, may reveal itself in the unpredictable and random manner in which these texts were possibly acquired.

II. THE BOOKLETS IN OXFORD, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE 97

The existence of three booklets in U is based upon numerous criteria, but primarily on those developed by P.R. Robinson in her article 'The Booklet: A Self-contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts', and later supplemented by R. Hanna III in his article 'Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations'.[3] Robinson's checklist contains ten points for the physical identification of a booklet and argues that 'the occurrence of one or more of such features in a manuscript strongly suggests that it is composed of "booklets".'[4] Some of

[3] Robinson (1980), 46-69, and Hanna (1986), 100-111. The booklets in U have been discussed by Doyle (1981), passim. See the description of U, i.1-13.

[4] Robinson (1980), 52.

Robinson's points are relevant in the determination of booklets in U and these are discussed below.[5] Several other points describe features which are not present in the booklets of U and these include: (1) variation in the size of leaves between booklets, (2) differences in handwriting between booklets, (3) variation in the style of decoration, (5) differences in the sequence of quire signatures, (7) change in the number of leaves per quire, and (8) modifications in the structure of the quires within the booklet (made either longer or shorter to fit the text or texts the booklet contains).[6]

Apart from Booklet I which appears to lack an initial quire, all of the booklets begin and end with the beginning and ending of the texts therein contained.[7] In accordance with Robinson's fourth point, there are various patterns of catchwords connecting the quires within each booklet, but there are no catchwords at the ends of the three booklets. Robinson's sixth point is more difficult to prove, but the soiled or rubbed appearance of the outer leaves of the booklets may attest to their separate use. On the recto side of the first folio of Booklet I (the text

[5] Robinson (1980), 47-8.

[6] Robinson (1980), 47-8.

[7] This aspect is stressed by Robinson: 'It must be emphasized at the outset that the existence of a 'booklet' is established only if its content forms a self-sufficient unit. The beginning and end of a 'booklet' always coincides with the beginning and end of a text or a group of texts' ((1980), 47).

of 'The Ten Commandments') there appears, midway down the inside margin and running into the left hand side of the text, a worn area much the size of a thumb print and this may very well be the place where, from the constant handling of the booklet, a thumb has worn away the ink. Though this booklet is incomplete, perhaps this mark indicates that the preceeding quire or quires were missing for some time before they were bound together in the present volume. Likewise, on the verso side of the last folio of Booklet II and the recto side of the first folio of Booklet III, the ink has been worn away and the scribe, either the same or a later one, has had to re-write the text, very carefully going over the letter forms in a darker ink.[8]

Other evidence present in U is much more convincing. According to Robinson's ninth point, when a text does not fill the entire quire at the end of a booklet, the last folio or folios are left blank.[9] This is apparent at the end of Booklet I, where half the recto side and all of the verso side of the last folio have been left blank.[10] This does not, however, happen at the ends of Booklets II and III.[11]

[8] For more on the implications of this restoration on the text of 'The Twelve Articles of the Faith' at the beginning of Booklet III, see the introduction, ii.281-4.

[9] Robinson (1980), 48.

[10] See the description of U, i.5 (f.100^{v}).

[11] See the description of U, i.5, 10.

The last point in Robinson's checklist, the addition of 'filler' material on originally blank leaves at the end of a booklet, is evident in Booklet I, where it appears that the scribe was left with several empty folios after the 'Diliges Dominum' treatise. While some of the space is still blank (as mentioned above), the scribe tried to fill the gap with various Latin extracts attributed to St Bernard.[12] In a similar fashion, the end of Booklet III was used as a place for the scribe to copy various legal documents which pertained to his career or which he found interesting or relevant to his work as a clerk.[13] The remainder of the space at the end of Booklet III was subsequently filled with texts by later hands.

R. Hanna III has added three more points to Robinson's list: (1) shifts in the type and/or quality of vellum or paper between booklets, (2) variation in the sources for the texts of the different booklets, and (3) differences in subject matter from one booklet to the next.[14] While the first of these additional points is irrelevant in the discussion of U, the second provides more significant proof for the existence of the booklets in U, as well as the

[12] See the description of U, i.4-5.

[13] See the description of U, i.7-10.

[14] Hanna (1986), 108.

dissemination of those texts via booklets.[15]

The evidence for Hanna's second additional point, the variation of sources between booklets, can also be determined by the collation of the texts contained in them, combined with the comparison of the contents of the related manuscripts. As will be examined later, all three booklets in U reveal very different dissemination histories, and it appears that the texts in each of these booklets came from different sources and circulated within different dissemination 'pools'. Likewise, the subject matter of these booklets also varies (Hanna's third additional point): the first booklet is comprised of pastoral texts, the second a combination of instructional, devotional and homiletic texts, while the third is of predominantly private devotional and meditative material.[16]

It seems reasonable to suggest, as Hanna does, that a compiler would attempt to group together texts similar in content and purpose.[17] But it may also be worth suggesting that this same process could be used in the production of booklets intended for circulation as exemplars, thus keeping the same texts together in a number of manuscripts, forming what Robinson

[15] Hanna has already demonstrated the second and third points in his study of London, Westminster School 3 ((1988), 197-218).

[16] Doyle (1981), 271-2.

[17] Hanna (1986), 109, who discusses Robert Thornton's attempts to compile his texts by content in Lincoln Cathedral 91 and BL Additional 31042.

described as 'self-contained units'.[18]

Further evidence to support the existence of three separate booklets in U comes from the examination of U by A.I. Doyle, in which he adds the instance of variation between booklets of graphetic details such as the scribe's form and usage of *y* for *þ*, *þ* for *y*, and *ȝ* for *þ*.[19] The scribe of U occasionally succumbs to confusion between *þ* and *y*, and this confusion could be attributable to hypercorrection in cases where it appears that the scribe has attempted to change the form, adding *y* attributes (a descending tail and a dot above the main body) to a thorn.[20] But such confusion may also hint at the scribe's uncertainty in the utilisation of these forms, particularly when the difference between the actual letter shapes is sometimes difficult to distinguish. Though the scribe normally uses distinctively different forms for *þ* and *y*, there is a range of forms between them which could be confused. Likewise, because the scribe uses both a *þ*-shaped letter for *y* and a *y*-shaped letter for *þ*, his confusion seems to have lain in this problem of differentiating the graphs and was not necessarily due

[18] Robinson (1980), 46.

[19] Doyle (1981), 270-1.

[20] For example, this occurs with *bigynneth* in the rubric for the first commandment at the bottom of f.85^{r}, and possibly again with *neynthe* in the rubric for the ninth commandment on f.92^{r}.

to hypercorrection.[21]

The usage of the various forms *þ/y/ȝ* and instances of *þ/y* confusion for each booklet in U are given below. Under (1) the use of *you* as the nominative singular pronoun is discussed; under (2) the use of *þ*; under (3) the use of *ȝ*; and under (4) examples of *þ/y* and *þ/ȝ* confusion.

Booklet I

(1) *you* regularly used for the nominative singular.
(2) *þ* commonly used for [þ] in pronouns *þe, þei, þow, þi(n), þiself*, articles *þat, þe, þis, þo*, conjunctions *þough, þan*, adverbs *þerfore, þerto, þenne, þus, þer*, less frequently for verbs *þenke, þank* and nouns *þing, þefte, þouȝt*. The usage of *þ* decreases towards the end of the booklet.
(3) *ȝ* used as [z] after final *t* in *commaundementȝ, seruantȝ*, and in initial and medial positions in *ȝachee* and *LaȝaR*. *ȝ* represents [þ] in *ȝre* and *ȝridde*.
(4) *þ/y* confusion occurs in the 'Ten Commandments': *yraldam* (103), *coueþtous* (104), *Þsaias* (119), *yus* (619) and the 'Visitation': *sorwþng* (32).

Booklet II

(1) *you* used as the nominative singular decreases: occurs only twice in the 'Two Ways' (120, 864) and not found in the 'Pater Noster'.
(2) *þ* commonly used as above, but particularly in the inflexional ending for the third person singular present indicative: *-eþ*.
(3) *ȝ* used as [z] after a final *t* as above, and for [þ] in *ȝree, ȝridde*, and *ȝritty*.
(4) *þ/y* confusion in the 'Two Ways': *yerfore* (161, 672), *yerof* (266, 973), *yerto* (660, 818, 998); and the 'Pater Noster': *yerinne* (13).

Booklet III

[21] For more on *þ/y* confusion see M. Benskin, 'The letters <þ> and <y> in later Middle English, and some related matters', Journal of the Society of Archivists 7 (1982), 13-30. He maps the various usage of *þ/y* and places the category in which U falls, I, in the North and East Midlands (15). Doyle also comments on the scribe's inconsistent use of a dot over both *þ* and *y* (another example occurs in the rubric for the 'Five Wounds' where the þ of *þe* and the y of *fyue* are both dotted), adding further to the argument that the scribe was not wholly confident in his use of these forms, as already illustrated above.

(1) *you* for the nominative singular used only four times in the 'Mirror' (198, 214, 310, 321), absent in the last four texts of the booklet: the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm', the 'Three Arrows' and the 'Sermon'.
(2) *þ* used same as above.
(3) *ȝ* is less commonly used for [z] after a final *t*, though it appears once in the Latin word *omnibuȝ* in the 'Mirror' (183).[22]
(4) *þ/ȝ* confusion in the 'Sermon' (478), where the scribe has *þongest* for *ȝongest*. *þ/y* confusion in the 'Mirror': *seiþnge* (33), the 'Five Wounds': *þs* (128) and the 'Med. St Anselm': *þuele* (95).

Doyle concludes that while a lapse of time may have produced these variations of use between booklets, the practice present in the different exemplars may have also influenced the scribe of U.[23] Indeed, in some cases it appears that the variation in the use of these forms between booklets corresponds with evidence to be given later for the dissemination of some of the texts in separate exemplars. In particular, the absence of the forms *you* and *yat* (both of which occur frequently throughout the other texts) in the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm' and the 'Three Arrows' corresponds with the dissemination of these three texts together in the same exemplar.[24] Similarly, the *-eþ* inflexional ending for the third person singular present indicative appears only in the second booklet (the form in the first and third booklets being *-eth*) and might hint at the scribe's

[22] This may have resulted from a confusion of the Latin abbreviation ᵹ for *-us*. A similar case is given by Benskin ((1982), 24 n.20) where he discusses the development of the modern abbreviation *viz* for the Latin *videlicet*.

[23] Doyle (1981), 271.

[24] See i.82-98.

following the practice in his exemplar for that booklet.

In the next few sections of the Introduction, Hanna's additional points, particularly the second, will be examined, while his third point, the literary cohesiveness of the texts in each booklet, will be discussed in the latter part of the Introduction. In the ensuing discussion, the dissemination patterns for the texts of the three booklets will be examined in an effort to show one aspect which would have influenced the creation of U as a compilation, that of the availability of exemplars and the dissemination of particular texts alone or together, perhaps in the form of circulating booklets, and perhaps disseminated out from some sort of stationer or a less-organised centre.

III. BOOKLET I AND THE DISSEMINATION PATTERNS OF SOME OF ITS TEXTS

The texts of Booklet I examined here are: 'An Exposition on the Ten Commandments', 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament', 'The Visitation of the Sick', and 'An Exposition on the Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum'.

The first, third and fourth texts of this booklet are found in a varied and large number of manuscripts, especially the 'Ten Commandments'. And something should be said first about the variety and number of

other texts that are also shared between some of them, and which may have travelled with those in the exemplar used for U. These additional texts present a complicated network making it difficult to decipher their dissemination patterns with any certainty until more of them have been critically edited and the relationships between the manuscripts further assessed. Because, as will be shown below, the evidence of dissemination patterns for this specific group of texts in U is very weak and inconclusive, some attention will be paid to these other texts in the hopes that they might shed some light on the close connections which seem to link this entire group together.[25]

In order to keep the argument here unencumbered by redundant information, a chart has been created to illustrate more clearly the large number of texts which are shared amongst several of the manuscripts. The chart and discussion include only those manuscripts which contain several shared texts. Not all of the manuscripts which appear on the chart are included in the discussion, though a brief mention of their character is made in the list which follows the chart. A number of other manuscripts which contain only one of the texts in U and none of the others,

[25] Doyle, in his thesis, concluded that 'Though not necessarily at all closely related, these volumes have similar contents and are from the same region'((1953), ii.159), but in the following discussion I hope to show how very closely these manuscripts are related both textually and bibliographically.

have been omitted from both the chart and the discussion, but are mentioned in the list which follows the chart.

In the chart, the numerous texts, including the four which are edited in this thesis, are listed in the left hand column in abbreviated form. The manuscripts are listed by sigla across the top and are given in rough chronological order with each time period (early 15th c., etc.) separated by a double line.[26] The numbers in the chart refer to the order in which the texts are found within each manuscript. These numbers refer only to the order of the texts which are mentioned in the chart, not to all of the texts contained in each manuscript. When the texts appear in sequence the numbers are given consecutively: 1,2,3, etc. If the text is the first to appear in that manuscript it is marked with an asterisk before the number one: *1; if it is the last, the final number is followed by an asterisk: 5*. If there is a gap (where texts not included in the chart occur) between the texts in the chart, this is indicated with a hyphen. When a text is preceded by a gap, the hyphen comes before the number: -1; and when the text is followed by a gap, the hyphen comes after the number: 1-. If the text is preceded and followed by texts not included in the chart, it is

[26] The approximate dates given for all the manuscripts are based on those given in the catalogue descriptions listed on i.14-26 or the descriptions given here in the select catalogue on i.27-45.

shown as: -1-.

After the chart is a list of all the manuscripts which share one or more of the four texts from the first booklet in U. This list is in rough chronological order with the sigla of each manuscript given in bold print. The folios for the texts are then listed, the texts identified only by their number which has been given to them in the chart. The manuscripts in the list which do not appear on the chart are indicated by a bold asterisk (*) in the left hand margin. For these manuscripts, a brief description of their contents is given. This list is then followed by another which gives the full titles and references for the texts that appear in the chart. The titles are given in the order in which they appear in the chart, and the references included are to the most complete listings of the manuscript witnesses for each of these texts.

	/ LATE 14TH & EARLY 15TH C. /				EARLY 15TH C. /				EARLY 15TH C.						MID 15TH C.				/LATE 15TH C.
TEXTS \ MANUSCRIPTS	U	S	Tr	La	O	W	Bl	N	J	Ar	Q	G	Z	Hl	Y	Ld	M1	R1	L1
The Ten Commandments	*1	-1-	-2	-6-	-1-	2				4*	*1	*1-	2-			-1-	-3-	-3-	
The Seven Commandments	2		3-																
The Visitation of the Sick	3			-3-	4	-4-	8-	4-	-4						-2-				2-
Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum	4-			-2-		-6								3-					
Rolle's The Form of Living	-6-	-2		*1-		-10	-7				-5					-2-			
Rolle's Ego Dormio		3-				11*					6*								
Þe Lyfe of Soul				-4-						-1-									
16 Conditions Of Charity				-5-			-5-												
Abbey of the Holy Ghost				-7*															-1
Translation of Apocalypse			-1-		5-														
Treatise on Virtues					-2-						4-								
Four Things Needful					-3		-1												
Benjamin Minor						3-				-3									
Treatise on Maidenhood						9-				-2-									
Wycliffite Pater Noster							-3	-1	6-										
Treatise on Tribulation							-9	-5*											
A Short Rule of Life						8	2-		-7*										
Of Wedded Men and Wives						7	-6-		5										
Wycliffite Ave Maria						-1	4-												
Rule of Life of Our Lady						-5-	10-												
Wycliffite tract on the Apostles Creed (LFC)								3			2								
Wycliffite tract on the Ave Maria (LFC)								2						-2					
Five Things To Love God									-1			-2							
Of Man in Body and Soul									2			3-							
Wycliffite tract on the Pater Noster (LFC)											3			*1-					
Lavynham's 7 Deadly Sins													-1		-1-				
Wimbledon's Sermon	-5-								3-							-3-			
Councils of St Isidore																	-1	-1	
De Contemptu Mundi																	2-	2-	

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATED TO BOOKLET I[27]

Late 14th to Early 15th C.

S: 1(92ra-93vb), 2(147va-150v), 3(150va-151v); see description, i.24-6

Tr: 1(55v-64v), 2(79r-82v), 3(82v); see description, i.27-9.

La: 1(1r-19av), 2(94r-95r), 3(98r-99r), 4(114r-132v), 5(134r-136r), 6(147r-v), 7(180r-185v); see description, i.38-42.

***Dd**: The first portion contains chronicles and historical writings, the second contains the 'Visitation' (31r-32r) between the B-text of 'Piers Plowman' and 'The Travels of Sir John Mandeville'. The copy of the 'Visitation' is of poor quality and seems unsuitably placed within this context.

Early 15th C.

O: 1(1r-4r), 2(27v-28r), 3(29r-v), 4(30r-36v), 5(37r-106v).

W: 1(68r-72r), 2(73r-88r), 3(88v-103v), 4(105r-112r), 5(115r-117v), 6(119v-121r), 7(121r-132v), 8(132v-135v), 9(137r-152v), 10(205r-225r), 11(225r-231r).

Bl: 1(10r-v), 2(10v-13r), 3(24r-35v), 4(35v-39v), 5(56r-58r), 6(62r-73v), 7(209r-236v), 8(236v-243v), 9(248r-262r), 10(262r-265r).

N: 1(12v-25v), 2(25v-27r), 3(27r-29v), 4(29v-37v), 5(40r-56v).

J: 1(128r), 2(128r-129r), 3(140r-153r), 4(156r-160v), 5(160v-166v), 6(166v-174r), 7(188v-190v).

***K**: An English manual of the use of Sarum. The text of the 'Visitation' (5v-19v) is incomplete, but based on the content of the rest of the manuscript, it is doubtful that the missing quire contained any of the other texts discussed here.

Ar: 1(115r-128v), 2(134v-148v), 3(161r-178v), 4(179r-191v).

Q: 1(1r-23v), 2(24r-27r), 3(27r-30r), 4(30r-37r), 5(58r-95v), 6(95v-108v).

[27] For further information about these manuscripts, see the select catalogue on i.14-45.

G: 1(1^{r}-21^{v}), 2(36^{r-v}), 3(36^{v}-38^{r}). A collection of mainly instructional material. Its copy of the 'Ten Commandments' has been considerably altered.

Z: 1(192^{r}-205^{r}), 2(205^{v}-214^{v}). Contains a variety of pastoral texts, but also 'The Pricke of Conscience' and the A-text of 'Piers Plowman'.

***I**: A miscellaneous collection of English and Latin texts. The 'Ten Commandments' (159^{r}-167^{r}) is found in a self-contained parchment quire placed within a series of paper quires containing medicinal recipes, astrological material and some Latin religious fragments. This copy is remarkably close in textual relation to U, and because it seems to be an independent booklet which has been randomly placed within this codex, perhaps this provides physical evidence of this text's independent circulation as a single booklet.

***R^{2}**: A collection of Latin constitutions such as Pecham's and other Latin and English tracts on instructional teaching. The text of the 'Ten Commandments' (1^{r}-6^{v}) is incomplete at both ends and lacks a folio within the text. It seems that the text, as an instructional one, was deliberately placed within this codex which may have been useful for a well-educated priest. The copy is not very closely related to U, but is part of the textual subgroup which includes the later Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson A.381 and London, Society of Antiquaries 687.[28]

Hl: 1(1^{r-v}), 2(3^{r}), 3(3^{v}-4^{r}). A collection of tracts some of them attributed in the hand of the scribe to Wyclif, including the 'Diliges' tract. Textually, the Harley copy of the text is very close to Westminster School 3, and both seem to have descended directly from Laud Misc 210.[29]

Mid 15^{th} C.

Y: 1(35^{r}-46^{v}), 2(65^{r}-69^{r}). An eclectic collection of texts mostly of Latin and English instructional material, with various treatises, charms and medicinal recipes. Internal evidence suggests that this manuscript was possibly owned by a Carmelite Friar.

***V**: The 'Visitation' text (16^{v}-23^{r}) is the only

[28] For more on the R^{1}-group, see ii.9-14.

[29] See ii.161-5.

English one amidst this collection of Latin texts on death and dying. The copy of the text itself is not particularly close to any of the other manuscripts.

Ld: 1(11^{r}-17^{v}), 2(53^{r-v}), 3(59^{r}-66^{v}). A miscellany of Latin and English texts combining sermons, catechetical material with scriptural and patristic extracts. Its copies of Wimbledon's Sermon and Rolle's 'Form of Living' are not at all closely related to U, nor to the other earlier manuscripts of Bodley 938, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, Laud Misc. 210 and Westminster School 3.[30]

M^{1}: 1(4^{r}-10^{v}), 2(10^{v}-11^{r}), 3(13^{v}-23^{v}).

R^{1}: 1(3^{r}-5^{v}), 2(5^{v}), 3(107^{r}-111^{v}).

***X**: Contains the text of the 'Ten Commandments' (34^{r}-47^{v}) which appears after a series of sermons and starts another series of texts on the 'Ten Commandments' including various sentences on the commandments and the plagues of Egypt. Its copy is relatively close to U, though based on the content of the manuscript, the text was probably chosen to accompany the others that follow it.

Late 15^{th} C.

***Td**: An unusual collection of miscellaneous pieces including some of Chaucer's verse, a few romances, some political advice and accounts of some of the Wars of the Roses, and a mystery play. A fragment of the 'Visitation' (88^{r}-89^{r}) is found in an incomplete booklet which also contains Rolle's 'Emendatio Vitae'. The copying of the text of the 'Visitation', only distantly related to U, was never completed.

L^{1}: 1(37^{v}-68^{r}), 2(68^{v}-74^{v}). Its copy of the 'Visitation' is very closely related to U, Bodley 938 and Royal 17.A.26, but it shares no other texts with these manuscripts. It contains a copy of the 'Abbey of the Holy Ghost', some saints' lives, a collection of stories, and tracts from St Bridgit.

***Do**: Contains the latest copy of the 'Diliges Dominum' (103^{v}-106^{r}), and consists mainly of a primer in English.

[30] See discussion of manuscript relationships in Knight (1967), 27-32 and Wilson (1968), ii.78-9.

LIST OF TEXTS FROM CHART

'An Exposition on the Ten Commandments', ii.1-93.
'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament', ii.94-9.
'The Visitation of the Sick', ii.100-60.
'An Exposition on Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum', ii.161-71.
Richard Rolle's 'The Form of Living': Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xxvi-xliv.
Richard Rolle's 'Ego Dormio': Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xliv-xlv.
'Þe Lyfe of Soul': Jolliffe H.4(a&b); IPMEP 243.
'The Sixteen Conditions Of Charity': Jolliffe G.4(e).
'The Abbey of the Holy Ghost': Jolliffe H.16(c).
An English Translation of 'The Apocalypse': IPMEP 584.
An Orthodox treatise on the Three Theological Virtues: Jolliffe G.11; Manual II.iii.22; Hudson (1973), 251.
'Four Things Needful': Jolliffe I.9.
An English translation of Richard of St Victor's 'Benjamin Minor': IPMEP 4.
A Treatise on Maidenhood: Jolliffe G.16(a&b).
A Wycliffite tract on the 'Pater Noster': IPMEP 604; Manual II.iii.14; Hudson (1973), 250.
A Treatise on Tribulation: Jolliffe J.13.
'A Short Rule of Life': IPMEP 203; Manual II.iii.28; Hudson (1973), 251; Wilson (1968), I.iii.
'Of Wedded Men and Wives and their Children also': IPMEP 521; Manual II.iii.26; Hudson (1973), 1251.
A Wycliffite tract on the 'Ave Maria': IPMEP 276; Hanna (1988), 197, 203.
'The Rule of the Life of Our Lady' from the Meditationes Vite Christi: IPMEP 22.
A Wycliffite tract on the 'Apostles' Creed' associated with The Lay Folks Catechism: IPMEP 403; Manual II.iii.16; Hudson (1973), 250.
A Wycliffite tract on the 'Ave Maria' associated with The Lay Folks Catechism: IPMEP 455; Manual II.iii.15; Hudson (1973), 250.
'Five Things Needful to Love God': Jolliffe D.8.
'Of Man in Body and Soul': Jolliffe D.13; IPMEP 814.
A Wycliffite tract on the 'Pater Noster' associated with The Lay Folks Catechism: IPMEP 810; Manual II.iii.13; Hudson (1973), 250.
Richard Lavynham's tract on 'The Seven Deadly Sins': Jolliffe F.2(a); IPMEP 789.
Thomas Wimbledon's Sermon: Knight (1967), 27-9; Wilson (1968), I.iii.
'The Councils of St Isidore': Jolliffe I.22(c).
An English translation of the 'De Contemptu Mundi' attributed to St Augustine: Jolliffe I.20(a).

A large proportion of the manuscripts here relevant are of the early fifteenth century, and tracing the dissemination histories of the three texts reveals that each was probably circulated separately or with several other texts. U is one of the earliest manuscripts to contain these texts and the order in which they appear in U, the 'Ten Commandments', the 'Seven Commandments', the 'Visitation' and the 'Diliges Dominum', may have been the order in which these texts were originally disseminated. But this order is not replicated elsewhere.

The other early manuscript is London, British Library Additional 22283, the Simeon manuscript.[31] Dating from the end of the fourteenth century, Simeon contains only a copy of the 'Ten Commandments' from the first booklet in U, here incorporated into the body of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues', replacing another ten commandments text which is found in this compilation in the other two existing manuscripts: San Marino, Huntington Library HM 147 and London, British Library Additional 17013.[32]

The copy of the 'Ten Commandments' in Simeon is not textually very close to U, especially in comparison with the other manuscripts to be discussed

[31] For a brief list of its contents, see i.24-6.

[32] Francis (1942), Appendix I, 316-333, where the text has been printed from S.

below.[33] Because it is the only text from the first booklet that U and Simeon share, perhaps it can be suggested that the text of the 'Ten Commandments', as early as the late fourteenth century, was disseminated on its own. However, the text in Simeon has been deliberately used to replace another 'Ten Commandments' treatise, part of the original compilation. Because the scribe seems to have heavily edited parts of the compilation itself, it may also be suggested that the scribe or compiler of Simeon extracted this version from an exemplar distant from U.

Another early manuscript offers evidence contrary to that in Simeon. Dublin, Trinity College 69, dated around 1400, is the only other known manuscript to contain the 'Ten Commandments' followed by the 'Seven Commandments of the New Testament'. As this manuscript dates perhaps within the same decade and is textually close to U, it seems that these two texts were probably circulating together at the end of the fourteenth century. Because these two texts are together in both manuscripts and their versions are closely related, it may also be possible that these two texts circulated together in a booklet. But there is no evidence that this pattern continued.

The last manuscript from this early period is

[33] See ii.1-22.

Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 210.[34] This manuscript contains all three texts: the 'Ten Commandments', the 'Visitation' and the 'Diliges Dominum', but their order is reversed, they are separated from each other and written by different hands.

In Booklet II of the Laud manuscript, the order of the three texts is as follows: the 'Diliges Dominum', followed by another text in a different hand, a fragmentary portion of the 'Visitation' (in another hand with a quire missing before it), six other texts of various content, and the fragmentary text of the 'Ten Commandments' (another missing quire before it). Though textually the versions of these three in Laud Misc. 210 are consistently close to U, it is possible that they came from separate exemplars which were, perhaps, circulated amongst the same group of scribes. Alternatively, these three texts may have appeared in the same exemplar, but the scribe or compiler of Laud Misc. 210 decided to rearrange the order of the texts to suit the plans of the codex he was creating. This may be supported by the fact that the rubric at the end of the 'Ten Commandments' fragment joins it with another 'Ten Commandments' text which then follows: 'Here endiþ oon pa\y/re comaundementis and here begynnen anoþere payre comaundeme[n]tis' (f.147^{v}). What the scribe meant by

[34] See the full description on i.38-42.

'payre' is difficult to know as only one text follows the fragment. While the quire lost from before the first 'Ten Commandments' text may have contained the other half of that pair, the second 'Ten Commandments' text ends mid-quire, so it does not seem that the other half of the second pair is missing. It is possible that the scribe copied this rubric from his exemplar in which two pairs of texts were present, though he chose not to copy all of them. But if the rubric is original to the scribe of Laud Misc. 210, such internal evidence hints at the scribe's attempts to order his codex, perhaps arranging his texts in an order different from the exemplar he was copying.

The Laud manuscript is also closely linked with a number of other manuscripts (see chart) through a network of shared texts some of which are not found in U. It seems that Laud Misc. 210 has a particularly close affiliation with London, British Library Arundel 286. Despite the fact that their versions of the 'Ten Commandments' differ considerably, they appear to have descended from the same archetype for their versions of 'Þe Lyfe of Soul'.[35]

Thus, by the close of the fourteenth century, there is insufficient evidence to give any indication of dissemination in particular patterns. Laud Misc. 210, however, has provided an introduction to the

[35] H.M. Moon (ed.), Þe Lyfe of Soule (Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 75, 1978), xx-xxi.

large number of later manuscripts which are interconnected through a greater range of devotional texts shared between them as illustrated in the chart above. This group of manuscripts, particularly those of the early fifteenth century, seem to contain texts taken from a 'pool' of material which may have been available, a 'pool' from which the compilers/scribes of these manuscripts could pick and choose the texts they desired for their compilations.[36]

London, British Library Royal 17.A.xxvi dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and contains in its second booklet both the 'Ten Commandments' and the 'Visitation', but with a number of texts separating them, and there is no evidence that the 'Diliges Dominum' was ever included. Both copies of the texts in the Royal manuscript are very closely related to U, and it may be suggested that the two were copied from the same exemplar, though their order may have been altered.[37]

The 'Ten Commandments' (the first text in Booklet II of Royal) is followed by a series of other instructional texts such as 'The Seven Deadly Sins', 'The Bodily and Ghostly Mercies', 'The Theological Virtues', and so forth. The placement of the 'Ten Commandments' at the beginning of this group of

[36] This idea of a dissemination center for this particular group of manuscripts has previously been explored by Hanna (1988), 206.

[37] See the introductions to each text, ii.1-22, ii.121-32.

catechetical texts seems appropriate. The placing of the 'Visitation' at the end of the same booklet is less comprehensible, preceeded by a text on 'The Four Things Needful'. This manuscript, interestingly enough, shares a copy of the English translation of 'The Apocalypse' with TCD 69, thus connecting these two more closely.

Slightly later than the Royal manuscript, dating from the beginning of the century to around 1440, is London, Westminster School 3. Like Laud Misc. 210, it also contains all three texts from U, and its order reflects that of the texts in U. However, the 'Ten Commandments' is separate in Booklet II of Westminster, while the 'Visitation' and the 'Diliges Dominum' are found in Booklet III, separated from each other by three other texts. The Westminster School manuscript is closely related in each of its copies of these texts to U and to the Royal manuscript.[38]

It may be suggested that if the texts did not circulate together in the same exemplar, possibly in the form of a booklet, the same set of exemplars (or booklets) were shared amongst the same group of scribes. The fact that the Westminster manuscript seems to be very closely connected to a large group of manuscripts, not only textually, but also through their sharing of a set of other texts as shown by the

[38] See the introductions for each of these texts, ii.1-22, ii.121-32, ii.161-5.

chart, suggests the existence of a close-knit group of scribes or some base, a stationer of some sort, from which all of these texts were disseminated.[39]

Westminster School 3's most significant relationship is with Bodley 938, with which it shares five other texts as shown on the chart.[40] But in both manuscripts, these texts, and also the 'Visitation', are scattered throughout in various booklets and in differing orders. Their copies of the 'Visitation' are closely related, though Bodley's copy of the 'Form' is much closer to Laud Misc. 210.[41] It is difficult to say what the textual relationships are between Bodley 938 and Westminster School 3 until critical editions of some of these other texts have been made. But due to the number of shared texts alone, some close link between them may exist. Westminster School 3 also shares two texts each with Arundel 286, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, Harley 2398, and Simeon, and one text each with Laud Misc. 210 and 524.[42]

No other manuscript related to the first booklet of U contains more than one of the four texts, but the

[39] Again, see Hanna's conclusion (1988), 206-7; See also P.R. Robinson in her introductions to Manuscript Tanner 346: A Facsimile, (The Facsimile Series of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer I, Suffolk, 1980), xxv, and Manuscript Bodley 638: A Facsimile, (The Facsimile Series of the Works of Geoffrey Chaucer II, Suffolk, 1982), xxxvii.

[40] Hanna (1988), 203-4.

[41] Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), lii-lxv.

[42] Hanna (1988), 200, 209; Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), lvi.

remainder discussed here share enough of the other texts amongst themselves to merit a brief mention and have been included in the chart, especially the group of Bodley 938, CUL Nn.4.12, Harley 2398, Arundel 286 and Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 938 contains a copy of the 'Visitation' which is textually very close to U.[43] The manuscript is very closely related to Westminster School 3, with which it shares five other texts.[44] Bodley 938 shares a number of other texts with the same group of manuscripts as Westminster School 3, particularly three with Harley 2398. According to E.P. Wilson in his edition of 'A Short Rule of Life', the copy of the text in Bodley 938 and that also found in Harley 2398 may have descended from a common ancestor.[45]

Cambridge University Library Nn.4.12 is an instructional compilation which covers the standard catechetical material starting with a different version of the 'Ten Commandments'. It contains a copy of the 'Visitation', but also shares a number of texts with a variety of the other manuscripts. CUL Nn.4.12 shares a copy of the expanded Wycliffite version of the 'Apostles' Creed' with Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, but because the Paris manuscript does not

[43] See ii.100-32.

[44] Hanna (1988), 203-4.

[45] See Wilson (1968), ii. 71-77, esp. 75-6.

contain a copy of the 'Visitation', it is impossible without further analysis (not involving U and thence not undertaken here) to determine if these two manuscripts are textually linked. The same seems to be the case for Harley 2385 which contains a copy of the 'Diliges Dominum' and not the 'Visitation', though both Harley 2385 and CUL Nn.4.12 share a copy of the expanded Wycliffite version of the 'Ave Maria' tract associated with the Lay Folks Catechism.[46] These two examples, as well as a number of others, also hint at the previously suggested concept of a centre from which all of these texts disseminated.[47] While the scribe of U selected some of the texts from the larger range that may have been available, the other scribes chose different ones.

Another manuscript which contains the 'Visitation' and overlaps in content with the group of manuscripts discussed above, especially with Bodley 938 and Westminster School 3, is Harley 2398. But this manuscript also shares two texts which are found together in the same order in Princeton University Library, Garrett 143. According to Jolliffe, it appears that these two texts may have circulated together, perhaps in the form of a booklet, as they

[46] A. Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks Catechism', Viator 16 (1985), 250.

[47] Other instances where two manuscripts do not share the same text from U, but share one or more others included in the chart occurs between Simeon and Bodley 938, Harley 2398 and Laud Misc. 524, London, Society of Antiquaries 687 and British Library, Harley 211.

are found together in these two manuscripts, and in Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 520; these are the only known copies.[48]

In the last booklet of London, British Library, Arundel 286, is found a very abridged copy of the 'Ten Commandments'. The text is the only one contained in a separate booklet added to the end of the manuscript. Arundel 286 shares copies of texts, one with Laud Misc. 210 and two with Westminster School 3 as seen on the chart.

The last manuscript discussed here is the Paris manuscript Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390 which starts its pastoral collection with the 'Ten Commandments'. It is then followed by a copy of the 'Apostles' Creed' which it shares with CUL Nn.4.12 mentioned above. It also shares a copy of a 'Pater Noster' tract with Harley 2385. After this comes a treatise on the theological virtues which it shares with the Royal manuscript. Finally, it shares copies of the English works of Rolle with Bodley 938, Laud Misc. 210 and Westminster School 3. Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève only shares copies of the 'Form of Living' with Bodley 938 and Laud Misc. 210, but it shares both the 'Form' and the 'Ego Dormio' with Westminster School 3. Though the two manuscripts, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève and Westminster, are not close textually

[48] Jolliffe D.8, D.13. See i.90 for a discussion of Hunterian 520 and its role in the dissemination of texts from Booklet III of U.

in their copies of the 'Ten Commandments', they are very close in their versions of the 'Form' and the 'Ego Dormio', and it is interesting to note that they are much more closely related to the copy in Simeon than to the one in U.[49]

Through the early fifteenth century, it appears that a number of the manuscripts were closely linked, evidenced either by their close textual relationships in one or more of the texts edited here, or through their sharing of several other texts. One particular group of manuscripts stand out: Royal 17.A.xxvi, Westminster School 3, Bodley 938, CUL Nn.4.12, Harley 2398, Arundel 286, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, Harley 2385 and Garrett 143. They are also connected to the earlier manuscripts of Laud Misc. 210 and TCD 69. As Hanna has suggested in his study of the manuscripts related to Westminster School 3, there may have been an established centre from which these texts were disseminated either in the East Midlands, Cambridge, or London.[50]

This idea of a 'dissemination centre', whether a stationer or something less organised, can be further supported by instances as we have seen above with CUL Nn.4.12, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, and Harley 2385, when two manuscripts share the same text or

[49] Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), lvi.

[50] Hanna argues for a center where scribes from the East Midlands used texts from West Midlands sources ((1988), 206).

texts between them, but share different texts with U. It may be that several texts, such as the four from the first booklet in U, circulated together, perhaps with others like Rolle's 'Form of Living', but that the scribes made their selection depending on the plans for their own codex.

The manuscripts of the mid-fifteenth century are not as closely related to each other nor do they share as many texts between them as we have seen with the earlier manuscripts, though a note should be made of the relationship between San Marino, Huntington Library HM 744 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson A.381. HM 744 is an instructional manual with a text on the 'Seven Works of Bodily Mercy' and two treatises on the 'Ten Commandments' (including the one here). Though textually very close to Laud Misc. 524, Harley 2346 and the earlier Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, it is still comparatively distant from U. It shares a copy of the 'Councils of St Isidore' and a translation of the 'De Contemptu Mundi' attributed to St Augustine with Rawlinson A. 381, and in both manuscripts the texts appear together and in the same order.[51]

Through the middle of the fifteenth century, the disparate nature of the dissemination of these three texts in U continues. The lack of any dissemination patterns and the decreasing number of shared texts

[51] Jolliffe I.20(a), I.22(c).

continues into the later half of the fifteenth century. The circulation of the three texts of the first booklet in U seems in the early stages to have been amongst a closely-knit group of scribes. Though much of this analysis has been reliant on the evidence of other texts which are shared between these manuscripts, the physical similarity of the majority of the manuscripts (apart from the large Simeon and CUL Dd.1.17) would support this conclusion.

Most of the manuscripts range in size from quite small to medium (the size of a modern hardcover).[52] Those which form the group discussed above, Royal 17.A.xxvi, Westminster School 3, Bodley 938, CUL Nn.4.12, Harley 2398, Arundel 286, Harley 2385 and Garrett 143, are of medium size and somewhat thick.[53] The quality of their text is neat, clear and of a professional calibre. The layout is often standardised with rubric headings and capitals, as in the text of the 'Visitation' in Royal 17.A.xxvi, Westminster School 3, Bodley 938, CUL Nn.4.12, Harley 2398. However, the treatment of the headings for each commandment in the 'Ten Commandments' varies. They were frequently omitted, as we find in the Royal manuscript, and the inclusion of these headings in the

[52] This survey obviously excludes those manuscripts which have only been consulted in microfilm form: Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, Huntington HM 744 and TCD 69.

[53] As Hanna describes Westminster School 3: 'a squat and thick volume' ((1988), 197).

margin in some of the manuscripts, as in the case of Westminster School 3, hints that they might have been an afterthought. The scribal hands vary in style, but are predominantly Bastard Anglicana or Anglicana Formata.

Estimating the time for the execution of each manuscript can only be made in vague terms. Manuscripts completed over a brief period may be those which have a single scribe and show little variation in that single hand. Though only seen on microfilm, an example is Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390: the manuscript itself seems to be small and thin, its single scribe is neat, professional and consistent, and little variation occurs throughout. Manuscripts completed over a longer period of time may have a number of scribes and a variation in quality between them. Laud Misc. 210 is a perfect example of where the quality of the entire manuscript is relatively good, but there are many hands which contribute. The other manuscripts of the distinct group discussed above fall more frequently into this second category, especially Royal 17.A.xxvi, Westminster School 3, Bodley 938 and CUL Nn.4.12.

From this brief analysis, it can be concluded that there is probably sufficient evidence here to warrant a much more detailed study of the physical aspects of this specific group of manuscripts. That the majority of manuscripts fall into similar

categories of size, layout and quality might suggest some professional enterprise. Likewise, that some appear to have been created over a longer period of time may further imply that this professional venture was less centralised.

IV. BOOKLET II AND THE DISSEMINATION PATTERNS OF SOME OF ITS TEXTS

Booklet II need only be discussed briefly here because of the three texts it contains, two are shared exclusively between U and Simeon: Sir John Clanvowe's treatise on 'The Two Ways' and the brief 'Pater Noster' tract which follows it and which in Simeon has been incorporated into the text of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues'. As will be shown later in the introductory chapters to the texts in this edition, the versions in these two manuscripts do not vary greatly and only attest to the close relationship between them.[54]

The other text, which starts the second booklet, is the popular sermon given by Thomas Wimbledon at St Paul's Cross in 1388. This text has not been included in this edition because several critical editions are already available.[55] The text is not found in Simeon, though, considering the large portion of the Simeon manuscript which has not survived, such a text,

[54] See ii.172-4, ii.271-3.

[55] Knight (1967), 61-128 and Wilson (1968), i.47-177.

as well as a number of others which are found in U, might also have been included in Simeon.[56]

I.K. Knight and E.P. Wilson have shown that it is very difficult to decipher any strong textual connections between the various manuscripts which contain copies of this sermon, though there is a group of four manuscripts, including Harley 2398 mentioned above and Pepys 2125 discussed below, which seem to have been closely related.[57]

V. BOOKLET III AND THE DISSEMINATION PATTERNS OF SOME OF ITS TEXTS

The group of texts which make up a significant portion of the third and final booklet of U offer some obvious examples of the possible dissemination of the texts together. The four texts discussed are: 'The Mirror of Sinners', 'A Good Meditation for One to Say Alone', 'The Meditation of St Anselm', and 'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday'. But before an examination of these texts, we must consider the others in this booklet.

The text of 'The Twelve Articles of the Faith' was originally part of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues', and is found in the two complete versions of this compilation in San Marino, Huntington Library HM 147 and London, British Library Additional 17013. It

[56] As suggested by Doyle (1990), 12.

[57] Knight (1967), 27-9; Wilson (1968), ii.78-9.

is also part of the same compilation in Simeon, but the Simeon version is closer to U, both being very different from the other two.[58] The text in U appears separately at the beginning of the third booklet and its placement there is very puzzling, though perhaps it suggests that parts of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues' circulated separately or that the scribe of U had access to the entire compilation, deciding only to include the 'Twelve Articles'. Neither of the other two manuscripts share any other texts with U or the other manuscripts mentioned here, except that Add. 17013 shares a tract on the 'Pater Noster' with Harley 2398 and Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390, both discussed above.[59]

The text of 'The Meditation of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ' is shared only with Simeon. While probably included here because of its thematic similarity to the rest of the meditative texts which follow, in Simeon it has been placed at the end of the first booklet, written in a different hand, and may have been used there as a filler at the end of the quire.[60]

The other text, Richard Rolle's 'The Form of Living', has not been edited for this thesis because

[58] See ii.284-91.

[59] This 'Pater Noster' tract is printed from BL Add. 17013 in Francis (1942), Appendix III, 336-9.

[60] Suggested by Doyle (1988), 272 and (1990), 11. See the list of contents for S on i.24-6.

a recent critical edition is already available and easily accessible.[61] The assessment of the textual relationships, some already mentioned above, has helped to reaffirm the close connection between Westminster School 3 and Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390. But their version is also closely related to the one in Simeon, much closer than Simeon is to U; though, as S.J. Ogilvie-Thomson has shown, U may have been related to the archetype from which these copies descended.[62] There is also evidence that the Westminster copy is a conflation of a Simeon-type text and that in Bodley 938. As for the other copies of the text, particularly CUL Nn.4.12, Laud Misc. 210 and 524, and Pepys 2125, it is difficult to express accurately what their relationships to the others and to each other might be.

When looking at the other manuscripts which contain copies of the meditative texts, the patterns become quite obvious and appear in complete contrast to the lack of any pattern for the texts of Booklet I. There are a number of different patterns, and the earliest suggests that the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm' and the 'Three Arrows' appeared together in an exemplar, while the 'Mirror' was disseminated in a separate exemplar. There is, however, substantial evidence that from the beginning of the fifteenth

[61] Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), text:1-25, variants:87-134.

[62] Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), lii-lxv, and esp. lvi.

century the four texts were also disseminated as two pairs: the 'Med. Alone' with the 'Med. St Anselm', and the 'Mirror' with the 'Three Arrows.' All of these patterns are reinforced by the textual relationships that exist between the manuscript witnesses. That the manner in which some of these texts circulated was indeed in booklet form may be suggested by some cases, as will be shown below in Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.53 and Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 174, where the texts are often together in a separate and distinct booklet at the end of a manuscript, the other contents of the manuscript being considerably different from them.

The various dissemination patterns to be discussed here are illustrated by the following chart. This chart works in a way similar to the previous one on the texts of the first booklet, though it is to be read horizontally.[63] However, the texts are limited to the four in Booklet III of U to be discussed here ('Mirror', 'Med. Alone', 'Med. St Anselm', 'Three Arrows') and are given across the top of the chart. The manuscripts are listed in general chronological order down the first column.[64]

[63] See i.57-9 on how to read the chart.

[64] The approximate dates used for all the manuscripts are based on the catalogue descriptions listed on i.14-26 and on the descriptions given here in the select catalogue on i.27-45.

MSS↓	MIRROR	MED ALONE	MED ST ANSELM	THREE ARROWS
Late		*14th*	*Century*	
U	-1-	-2	3	4-
S	4-	-1	2	3
Early		*15th*	*Century*	
Lm	4*	-1	2	3
T		-1	2	3-
H	-1-		-2	3-
L	-1-		-2	3-
P	-2	-1-		3-
H^1	-1			2-
F^2	-1			2*
B	-1			2-
Ad				-1-
He				*1-
Hr	-1			2-
R	-1-			-2*
D	2-			-1
Ta	-1			2-
F^1	-1-			-2-
Ry	-1-			
So	-1-			
Ly	-1-			
Mid		*15th*	*Century*	
A		*1	2	3-
Hy	-1-			
E		-2	1-	
Tk			-1-	
Late		*15th*	*Century*	
Ha	-1			2-
C	-1			2-
F				-1-

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATED TO BOOKLET III

Late 14th c.

S: 1(116ra-116va), 2(116va-117ra), 3(117ra-117va), 4(117va-118rb); see description, i.24-6.

Early 15th c.

Lm: 1(82r-85r), 2(85r-88v), 3(88v-93r), 4(93r-98r); see description, i.42-5.

T: 1(129r-132v), 2(132v-136r), 3(136r-140v); see description, i.32-3.

H: 1(9v-18r), 2(178v-183v), 3(183v-189v).

L: 1(49v-53v), 2(55r-57v), 3(57v-60v); see description, i.33-8.

P: 1(117r-118r), 2(126r-128v), 3(128v-130v).

H1: 1(134v-142r), 2(142r-147r).

F2: 1(142v-154v), 2(155r-166v).

B: 1(162v-172r), 2(173r-180r); see description, i.29-30.

Ad: 1(85r-91r).

He: 1(1r-3v).

Hr: 1(49r-62r), 2(62v-72r).

R: 1(54v-64r), 2(72v-81v).

D: 1(33v-48v), 2(49r-65v).

Ta: 1(122r-132r), 2(132r-141r); see description, i.30-2.

F1: 1(3v-13v), 2(46v-51r).

Ry: 1(34v-39r).

So: 1(100r-106r).

Ly: 1(94v-99v).

Middle 15th c.

A: 1(1r-3v), 2(3v-7r), 3(7r-10r).

Hy: 1(73r-77r).

E: 1(90^{r}-95^{v}), 2(95^{v}-100^{r}).

Tk: 1(7^{r}-9^{v}).

Late 15th c.

Ha: 1(106^{r}-110^{r}), 2(110^{v}-114^{r}).

C: 1(2^{r}b-4^{v}a), 2(4^{v}a-6^{r}b).

F: 1(33^{v}-35^{r}).

The bulk of the manuscripts which contain one or more of these texts date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, U and Simeon being two of the earliest. Using these two manuscripts as a starting point we have the earliest pattern of dissemination. In both U and Simeon, three of the texts are found together in the following order: 'Med. Alone', 'Med. St Anselm' and 'Three Arrows'. The 'Mirror', however, is found in different locations in U and Simeon. In U it appears just before the 'Five Wounds' and the 'Med. Alone', and in Simeon after the 'Three Arrows'. Textually, it is highly likely that U and Simeon shared the same exemplars for this group of texts.[65] From the location of these texts in each of these manuscripts, the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm' and the 'Three Arrows' were perhaps together in one exemplar, and the 'Mirror' in a separate one.

The dissemination of the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm' and the 'Three Arrows' as a group in this order continues into the early fifteenth century and is found in Trinity College, Cambridge, B.14.53 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 174. In Trinity B.14.53, these three texts, along with an extract from the 'Documento' of St Catherine of Siena, form a separate booklet which was at some later time bound with an independent copy of 'The Pore Caitif' by a

[65] See the introductions to these texts, ii.310-22, ii.359-65, ii.400-10, ii.439-467.

different scribe.[66] The 'Mirror' is not found in the Trinity manuscript, though it is possible that, before this booklet was joined to the copy of 'The Pore Caitif', it contained another quire which may have included the 'Mirror'. Laud Misc. 174 follows the pattern in Simeon with the three texts followed by the 'Mirror', and it is possible, since the four texts are together in a separate booklet at the end of the manuscript, that they were also together in the same exemplar.[67]

Textually, both Trinity B.14.53 and Laud Misc. 174 are consistently close to U and Simeon in their copies of these texts.[68] This evidence seems to point to a central group of texts, the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm', and the 'Three Arrows' in a single exemplar at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Other patterns in the dissemination of these texts appear during the early fifteenth century. The 'Mirror', the 'Med. St Anselm', and the 'Three Arrows', are found in Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 496 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 23. There is no evidence that the 'Med. Alone' was ever present in either, since in both manuscripts

[66] See the description Trinity B.14.53, i.32-3.

[67] See the description of Laud Misc. 174, i.42-5.

[68] See the introductions for these texts, ii.310-22, ii.359-65, ii.400-10, ii.439-467.

other appropriate texts have been inserted between the 'Mirror' and the 'Med. St Anselm'.[69] It seems feasible that the 'Med. St Anselm' and the 'Three Arrows' were from the same exemplar, whereas the 'Mirror' was in a separate one. The most obvious explanation for this absence of the 'Med. Alone' is that the text was not included in the scribe's exemplar, but, since Laud Misc. 23 is textually closely related to U, Simeon, Laud Misc 174 and Trinity B.14.53, it is also possible that its exemplar contained the 'Med. Alone', though the scribe chose not to copy it. The 'Med. St Anselm' in Hunterian 496 is textually related to a later manuscript, the mid-fifteenth-century Edinburgh, University Library 93 which also contains the 'Med. Alone'. The exemplar of Hunterian 496 may have contained that text, though the scribe decided to omit it. But the situation is complicated by the evidence of Hunterian 496's relationship with the textual subgroup that I have named the 'D-group' and which will be discussed later.

In contrast to Hunterian 496 and Laud Misc. 23 is Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2125. In Pepys 2125 the 'Med. Alone' appears with the 'Three Arrows' and the 'Mirror', but it is separated from them by several other texts. The text of the 'Med. Alone' in Pepys 2125 is uniquely altered and ends imperfectly;

[69] In Hunterian 496, 'The Pore Caitif' and 'To Kunne to Dighe' have been inserted. In Laud Misc. 23, 'The Fourteen Manners of the Pains of Hell' has been inserted.

though one leaf is missing after it, that would not have been sufficient to complete the text of the 'Med. Alone' and also the 'Med. St Anselm'. The following leaf has an iconographic representation of the name of *ihesu* on it with a few symbolic representations of the name perhaps used for meditation, which may have been used as a substitute for the 'Med. St Anselm'. That the texts of the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' are together in Pepys 2125, and may have come to the scribe that way in an exemplar, provides evidence for another pattern of dissemination which seems to have been common: the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' circulated together as a pair.

A group of four early-fifteenth-century manuscripts contain the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' together as a unit without the 'Med. Alone' or the 'Med. St Anselm'. Three of these manuscripts make up a strongly-connected textual subgroup which I have named the 'H^1-group': Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian 520; Cambridge, University Library, Ff.6.55; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 3.[70] Because these two texts appear together in the same order in all of these manuscripts, and because both copies of the texts in these manuscripts are consistently closely related, the exemplar used by the scribes probably contained both texts as a pair.

[70] For discussion of the H^1-group, see ii.310-22, ii.452-6.

There are two other early-fifteenth-century manuscripts, London, British Library, Add. 10036 and Harley 2388, which are textually part of the H^1-group, but do not contain the 'Mirror' text. While it is difficult to determine the reasons for this absence in BL Add. 10036, it can be accounted for in Harley 2388. The text of the 'Three Arrows' in Harley 2388 is a fragment, lacking the first sixty lines. It is very possible that the preceding quires, now missing, contained the beginning of the 'Three Arrows' as well as the entire text of the 'Mirror'.

Another early-fifteenth-century manuscript which contains these two texts together is London, British Library, Harley 2339. This manuscript is textually unrelated to the H^1-group, and its copies of the two texts are textually inconsistent: while its copy of the 'Three Arrows' is very close to those of U and Simeon, its copy of the 'Mirror' is much closer to a different textual group.[71] Harley 2339 seems to belong to another tradition in which the 'Three Arrows' and the 'Mirror' were disseminated separately.

There are several other early fifteenth-century manuscripts which seem to be witness to this tradition. In these manuscripts, the two texts are both present, though they are separated from each other and placed in different positions in each manuscript. However, unlike Harley 2339, the same

[71] See the introductions to these texts, ii.310-22, ii.456-67.

group of manuscripts are textually related for each of these two texts. So it seems possible to suggest that these two texts, perhaps physically separate in different exemplars, were shared amongst the same group of scribes or that the two texts were together in the same exemplar, but placed within each manuscript in accordance with the individual scribe's plan for his codex.

In Cambridge, University Library, Ff.5.45, four texts on death and dying have been placed between the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows'. These texts also appear separated from each other in a strongly-connected textual subgroup which I have called the 'D-group'[72]: Manchester, John Rylands Library, Eng. 85; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 13 and Tanner 336, and Hunterian 496.[73] The 'Mirror' is followed by the 'Charter of Heaven' (from 'The Pore Caitif') and the 'Three Arrows' in Rylands Eng. 85; and in Hunterian 496 by the entire text of 'The Pore Caitif', 'To kunne to dighe' and the 'Med. St Anselm'. In Douce 13, the 'Three Arrows' precedes the 'Mirror' and in Tanner 336 the 'Mirror' is followed by the 'Three Arrows'.[74]

[72] For discussion of the D-group, see ii.445-52.

[73] Hunterian 496 is also part of this group though it has already been discussed above for containing the 'Med. St Anselm', i.89.

[74] Ten manuscripts which contain both the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' also contain the whole or parts of 'The Pore Caitif': Hunterian 520, CUL Ff.6.55, Bodley 3, Douce 13, Tanner 336, Rylands Eng. 85, Hunterian 496, Society of Antiquaries 300, Lyell 29 and Rylands Eng. 412. It seems that these two texts were companion pieces to 'The Pore Caitif'. The only edition of 'The Pore Caitif' available is still Sr M.T. Brady's unpublished Ph.D.

Textually, the version of the 'Three Arrows' witnessed in these four manuscripts is so different from the text of U that it has had to be printed here as a parallel text.[75] It seems most likely that Rylands Eng. 85, Hunterian 496, Douce 13 and Tanner 336 shared similar exemplars for this text, but their versions of the 'Mirror' differ considerably. Because of this, and because the order in which these two texts appear in each manuscript is different from that in the others, it would seem that each text circulated independently.

Further evidence that the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' were disseminated during the early fifteenth century in separate exemplars is found in the few manuscripts which contain only the 'Mirror': Manchester, John Rylands Library, Eng. 412, London, Society of Antiquaries 300, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lyell 29.

Thus the manuscripts from the close of the fourteenth century to the first decades of the fifteenth, exhibit several patterns of dissemination. The earliest is that of the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St

dissertation.: '"The Pore Caitif", edited from MS Harley 2336 with introduction and notes' (Fordham, 1954). See also her articles 'The Pore Caitif: An Introductory Study', Traditio 10 (1954), 529-48; 'Lollard Sources of The Pore Caitif', Traditio 64 (1988), 389-418; 'Lollard Interpolations and Omissions in Manuscripts of The Pore Caitif' in De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life in Late Medieval England, ed. M. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), 183-203. Though in none does she discuss the presence of the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' as possible companion pieces to 'The Pore Caitif'.

[75] See the parallel text on ii.491-503.

Anselm' and the 'Three Arrows' in one exemplar and the 'Mirror' in another. The dissemination of the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' reflects two other patterns: that of circulation as a pair in the same exemplar, and that of independent texts in separate exemplars. But did these patterns continue into the decades of the middle and late fifteenth century?

The manuscripts from the middle decades of the fifteenth century offer little evidence for the continuation of these patterns of dissemination. The only later manuscript to reflect the earlier pattern of the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm' and the 'Three Arrows' disseminated together is London, British Library Arundel 197. Arundel 197 lacks a copy of the 'Mirror' and includes the same extract from the 'Documento' of St Catherine as found in the earlier Trinity B.14.53, but these texts are placed at the beginning of the manuscript and are not contained in a separate booklet. Likewise, the versions of the texts have been significantly altered, showing a scribe who took editorial liberties with his texts.[76] Though the scribe of Arundel 197 has uniquely altered his copies, the readings of its texts show that it is still distantly related to the earlier group of manuscripts.[77] But why he kept the texts in the same

[76] See Connolly (1994), passim.

[77] See the introductions to these texts, ii.359-65, ii.400-410, ii.439-67.

order is difficult to determine, unless, perhaps, it can be assumed that that was the order present in the exemplar he copied.

Two mid-fifteenth century manuscripts contain the 'Med. St Anselm': Tokyo, Takamiya Collection 65 and Edinburgh, University Library 93. In Takamiya 65, the 'Med. St Anselm' is the only one of these four texts in this small volume, and there is no indication that it ever contained the others. EUL 93 contains a copy of the 'Med. Alone' as well in the same order as that found in the earlier manuscripts: 'Med. Alone' followed by the 'Med. St Anselm'. The manuscript itself, as C. A. Martin has argued in his thesis, is a well-organised compilation, but in the original table of contents, the titles for these two texts (appearing on the last thirteen folios of the manuscript with four brief Biblical and devotional extracts) have been added to the foot of the page by a later hand.[78] As the leaves from folios one to four of the manuscript are misbound, and there appears to be a folio missing immediately after the table of contents, the titles of these two texts may have appeared in a continuation of the table on the missing leaf.

Thus by the middle of the fifteenth century, the 'Med. Alone' and the 'Med. St Anselm' appear to have been separated from the 'Three Arrows', as well as

[78] Martin (1978), i.3, 45-63.

from the 'Mirror'. However, the textual affinities between EUL 93 and Hunterian 496, would suggest that if the exemplar of EUL 93 had contained a copy of the 'Three Arrows', that text might have been similar to the version of the D-group text.[79]

Another mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, Harley 4012, maintains the earlier tradition of the 'Mirror' circulating on its own. There is no evidence that the manuscript contained any of the other texts, but it should be mentioned here that the copy of the 'Mirror' in Harley 4012 is a significantly altered version of the text, and whether these changes were made by Harley 4012's scribe or found in its exemplar is unknown.

Gradually through the fifteenth century, the earlier patterns of dissemination began to change. The 'Med. Alone' and the 'Med. St Anselm' separated from the 'Three Arrows' and from each other, while the 'Mirror' continued to circulate independently. Textually, the manuscripts became distanced from U and the earlier manuscripts in their copies of the texts.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the

[79] It emerges that the scribe of their exemplar had a tendency to delete Latin quotations as at lines 18-20 in the 'Med. St. Anselm' in Edinburgh 93 and Hunterian 496. The scribe also shows a tendency to make his text more explicit by replacing pronouns with nouns (like *bilke* at line 94 to *pies synnes*) or by deleting text which might cause confusion (the deletion at line 44 of *wrecchidly wondirful and*). Additions which this scribe made to the text reinforce his attempt to be more explicit as at lines 106-8, 180-1, 184-5, 187-9. These changes are similar in character as those made in the D-group version of the 'Three Arrows', see the discussion on ii.445-52.

only texts which seem to continue to circulate were the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows'. In London, British Library, Harley 1706 and Lambeth Palace Library 3597, these two texts are found together again. However, on the basis of the textual evidence, each text probably came to the scribes in separate exemplars. Whereas the copies of the 'Three Arrows' in Harley 1706 and Lambeth 3597 are textually closely related, their copies of the 'Mirror' are not. The copy of the 'Mirror' in Harley 1706 is textually close to that of U, Simeon and Laud Misc. 23, but that in Lambeth 3597 is corrupt, sharing an omission of six lines with seven other manuscripts.[80]

The latest manuscript is Cambridge, University Library, Ff.2.38. The only text of this group in this manuscript is the 'Three Arrows' in a booklet dating from the end of the fifteenth to the early sixteenth century. It appears that while the scribe of Ff.2.38 did not usually alter the order of the texts he found in his exemplars, he chose and organised them to fit into the particular design he had for his collection.[81] It is impossible to determine whether the exemplar which was in the hands of the scribe of Ff. 2.38 contained both the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows' or not, but the evidence of

[80] These manuscripts are: Harley 2339, Lyell 29, Pepys 2125, Bodley 3, Hunterian 520, CUL Ff.6.55, and Harley 4012, see the discussion, ii.314-22.

[81] McSparran and Robinson (1979), vii.

Lambeth 3597 and Harley 1706 suggests that by the end of the fifteenth century these two texts were still being circulated independently of each other.

Thus it appears, that these four texts, the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm', the 'Three Arrows', and the 'Mirror' formed a coherent group, linked by their common theme of meditation, and were for a time circulated together, possibly in the form of a single booklet. The absence of any similar type of dissemination pattern for the texts of Booklet I may be because they are not as closely connected to each other by subject matter as those of Booklet III. The following chapter on the literary themes of the texts from all three booklets aims to explore this aspect further.

VI. THE TEXTS OF OXFORD, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE 97: THEIR LITERARY CONTENT AND PLACEMENT WITHIN THE MANUSCRIPT

In the previous sections I have examined the dissemination of the various texts which have been edited for this thesis. My conclusions suggested that a compiler/scribe may have been influenced in his choice of texts to be contained in his compilation by the availability of exemplars for those certain texts. In this chapter, I will explore the other factors of personal taste and necessity which also influenced the compiler/scribe. This discussion will consider whether the compiler/scribe of U may have had a much

larger selection of texts at his disposal.

In determining the impact of these factors on the shape of a manuscript, especially a manuscript which is composed of booklets, several points need to be considered: the choice of texts within each booklet, the order in which the texts appear within the booklet, and the choice and order of booklets within the manuscript as a whole. The use of booklets would allow the compiler more flexibility in the shaping of his manuscript, and perhaps we can find such manipulation of content and structure within the booklets of U.[82]

R. Hanna suggests that one must 'distinguish with booklet texts of medieval provenance whether these have been conceived and produced as single volumes or merely reflect the eclectic tastes of an owner.'[83] In other words, did the compiler obtain the booklets in the order as they now appear, or copy them from an exemplar following a particular programme, or did he create the booklets himself, coordinating their contents and order in accordance with his own individual taste? This question partially addresses issues of text dissemination which have been discussed above and will be examined further in the conclusion. For the purposes of the present discussion, I will assume that the booklets as they now appear in U were

[82] Robinson (1980), 61; Hanna (1986), 103.

[83] Hanna (1986), 102.

wholly the creation of the compiler/scribe himself and their present shape was completely dependent upon his personal preferences and needs.

Before beginning this discussion, it is necessary to establish the identity of this possible compiler and scribe whom I would argue was also the owner of this compilation. It has been previously suggested by H.G. Pfander, A.I. Doyle and E.P. Wilson that the initials W.C., which appear with some regularity in the Latin documents at the end of the third booklet, belong to William Countour.[84] Countour was a priest and clerk in the employment of Sir William Beauchamp, a younger son of Thomas, the third Earl of Warwick. Doyle has suggested that this little collection may have been created by Countour and intended for use by Beauchamp or his family.[85] It is certainly possible that the devotional texts here would have been attractive and useful for an educated lay person, but this does not rule out the use of these texts by a secular priest. The personalised nature of some of the contents, especially the existence of the Latin documents, which seem to have served as a personal record, point to the compiler and owner being one and the same person.[86] As a series of booklets, this

[84] Pfander (1937), 54; Doyle (1953), ii.148-52, (1981), 272-4; Wilson (1968), ii.35-6.

[85] Doyle (1981), 274.

[86] See the description of U, i.1-13.

collection may not have been commissioned, but pieced together over a long period of time, enabling the compiler to find texts that more readily suited his own needs. Countour, during his varied career as clerk, chaplain and parish priest, could have had daily use for most of the contents. Likewise, his career took him to various locations where he might have had access to the exemplars used for his texts.[87]

The texts of the three booklets as a whole could serve two purposes: the first, the private instruction and devotion of the owner of the manuscript itself, and secondly the education of others, especially if the manuscript was owned and used by a priest. Throughout the manuscript, the texts seemed to be linked through pastoral and eschatological themes. Within each booklet, the texts appear to have been grouped together, perhaps conforming to a specific programme first envisioned by the compiler, though the order in which they appear within the booklets is not always logical or coherent. All of the texts in these three booklets are at some level, instructional, but there seems to be a natural progression from basic instructional/pastoral texts in the first booklet to more personal and devotional treatises and meditations in the third booklet. However, the sporadic appearance of pastoral texts in the later booklets may

[87] For more on Countour, see Doyle (1981), 273-4.

reveal that the compiler was still interested in and had a need for them.

VII. THE TEXTS OF BOOKLET I

The texts of the first booklet are marked by their shared pastoral content, covering some of the fundamental beliefs of the Christian faith and pastoral duties of the priest: 'An Exposition on the Ten Commandments', 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament', 'The Visitation of the Sick' and 'An Exposition on the Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum'. But this booklet is not complete; that a fragment of a text on the sacraments remains hints that the design of the booklet as pastoral was perhaps carried throughout its larger original form.

The text of 'An Exposition on the Ten Commandments' is discursive in nature.[88] Each commandment is marked with a heading, Latin text of the commandment, English translation, an explanation of the commandment and then the application of the commandment on aspects of daily life.[89] The development of each commandment in some respects resembles the structure of a sermon. The commandment

[88] Martin (1981), 205-11.

[89] Martin describes it as: 'Specifically, the internal structure of the commandments of the discursive versions can be formally characterized as dialectical in the sense that the commandment itself is a "proposition" to be analysed for its truth; the "proofs" cited in support of the truth of the proposition are biblical and patristic authorities, and the "conclusion" is the restatement of the initial proposition, usually with an expanded tropological sense' ((1981), 206).

serves as the theme, and the explanation of that theme usually consists of a subdivision of material:

> But for to wete how ȝe schulden spende ȝoure holy dayes, ȝe schullen vnderstonde yat in ȝre manere of ocupacions ȝe schullen spende ȝoure holy days... (311-15).

As in sermons, these subdivisions are typically into threes: three types of people who break the first commandment (67-72), three causes inspiring to keep the second commandment (222-25), three kinds of mother and father to worship (464-6), three kinds of manslaughter (532-5), etc.[90] In each commandment, the tone is initially impersonal, written in the third person, but towards the end of each precept, the speaker changes to the second person, ending with an address to the audience:

> Therfore, euery man, kyndeliche and skilfulliche, schulde flee and eschewe suche manslaughtre (504-6).

> And therfore, God biddeth yat you schalt nouther with hande, ne with tounge, ne with herte doo manslaughtre (555-7).

> Throughout there are personal asides directed towards the audience:

> ...to þe vndirstondyng yat I haue nowe toolde the (155-6).

> ...as I haue now tolde ȝow (468-9).

> For as I tolde ȝowe byfore in þe thrydde comaundement... (822-3).

> And þerfore, I conseile ȝow yat ȝe coueite noone mennes goodes with wronge... (901-3).

[90] For more of the use of subdivision into three in sermons, see H.L. Spencer, English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Oxford, 1993), 244.

Some may even express the personal opinions of the author:

> And ȝif þis lessoun hadde be tauȝt and kept in Englond, I trowe the loond hadde stoonden in moore prosperite and comfort þanne it now dooth (456-60).

The text is predominantly Scripturally based and constantly stresses the full comprehension of the Scriptural quotations used with phrases like: 'This is vndirstonden thus...' (52), 'That is to vndirstonde...' (201-2), 'But ȝe schullen vndirstonde þat...' (434-5). It also continually emphasises the importance of each layperson's duty to his/her fellow Christian and to the worship of God.

This particular text contains gender inclusive language: 'eny man or womman' (57), 'euery man or woman' (216), 'ȝif þow be a sengle man or womman' (588-89). It commonly refers to everyday situations and circumstances indicating that the text was intended for a lay audience. Under the first commandment, it is necessary to love God before one's wife and children (57-60); the second stresses the necessity to swear honestly before one's king or a judge in court (205-8); the need for people to sell their goods at a profit to make a living is mentioned under the seventh commandment (717-22).

One interesting aspect of the text is its discussion of priests. In the third commandment on the hallowing of Sunday, the author directly addresses priests as if they were included in his audience:

> 3if you be a prest and hast kunnynge and auctorite, preche and teche Goddes worde to hem yat ben vnkunnynge. And 3e þat heereth it, heereth it deuoutly (368-72).

However, in the sixth commandment on lechery, priests are referred to in the third person:

> And 3e þat haan take 3ow to þat heighe sacrement of matrimonye, keepeth 3ow cleene for dreede of deep dampnacioun. And þei that haan take hem to þe heighe ordre of preesthoode, kepe þei hemself cleene from alle manere suche dedes of flesch as angeles (683-89).

Immediately following this text is another on 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament'. This very brief, didactic text is a listing of the seven New Testament commandments which have no single Scriptural source, but are a partial amalgam of the ghostly works of mercy, the seven virtues, the ten Old Testament commandments, the two New Testament commandments and the Beatitudes.[91]

The text itself may have been addressed to or intended for a male religious audience, using terms such as 'brother'(5) and 'bretheren'(9, 17), and guiding the reader to hold 'pouerness in spirit, but nou3t for to bee a beggere'(20-1). Such terminology is, however, often used in a more general sense as in the other texts. But it is interesting to note that in the only other known copy of this text, Trinity College Dublin 69, the scribe has chosen to change 'brother' to 'ne3pur' (5).

'The Visitation of the Sick' would have served as

[91] See the notes to the text for possible sources, ii.99.

a more practical tool for a parish priest in the fulfilling of his pastoral duties. As a liturgical rite, this text more commonly appears in context with other liturgical material, but its presence here seems to reaffirm the utilitarian nature of the first booklet.[92] Various aspects of the text point to its usage as a guide for a priest in his examination of the ill or dying, especially the directive rubrics at the beginning of each section:

> 3ef deeth goo faste on a man, speke to hym thus (195-6).
>
> Whan thowe hast tolde hym alle this, or ellys 3ef you myght not for hast of deeth, bygynne heere eer his mynde goo from hym (269-71).

And the addressing of the audience as 'deere sone or doughter in God' (3) and later as 'Brother or suster' (99), may also hint that the text was to be used by a priest in the administering of this rite. The purpose of this particular text is made even more explicit where it combines questions to be asked by the officiant and the expected responses of the dying person at the beginning of the second section:

> Brother or suster, louest you God thi Lorde?
> He or sche, 3ef thei mowe speke, wol seye, '3e.'
> Or perauenture 3if they mowe not speke, thei wole thenke, '3e' (99-102).

And for a significant portion of the fourth section:

> Brother or suster art you glad þat you schalt dyen in cristene feith? Respondit, '3e.'

[92] See the discussion of the 'Visitation' rite and its development in Kinpoitner (1974), lxxiv-lxxxii. He comments that the text was 'meant more for practical pastoral use than for imaginative consideration' ((1974), lxxxi).

> Knowlechist you to God þat you hast not lyued aftir his comaundementȝ? Respondit, 'Ȝe' (272-76).

The majority of the text is in the second and third persons, but towards the end, this changes to the first person. It appears that this final section may have been intended to be spoken by the priest and repeated by the dying person: 'Therfore, Lord Fadir yat art in heuene, mercy I aske the of alle yat I haue trespassid' (337-9). The text continues with pleas to God, Christ and the Virgin Mary for mercy, and concludes with 'In thyne hondis, Lord alle myghty and mercyful, I bitake my soule' (407-8).

The last text of the first booklet is an exposition on the two New Testament commandments: to love God with all your heart, soul, mind, and might and to love your neighbour as yourself. Some of the themes here are a repetition of those in 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament', though they are dealt with in much more detail. The didactic theme of these two commandments fits easily within the programme of the first booklet. Like the other texts, it directly addresses its lay audience in the second person, and emphasises the laity's responsibility to one's fellow man, Christian or heathen:

> And vp al thi kunnynge and myȝt, bryng hym out therof by deuout preyer, by holy conseillyng and techyng, and by ensample ȝeuynge of thi good lyf... (77-81).

The intention of this booklet as a collection of pastoral material, or even as a partial pastoral

manual, for use by a priest would seem reasonable, but the contents, as Doyle has argued, could be equally appropriate for an educated layman such as Sir William Beauchamp, who was originally destined for the priesthood and became the first known Oxford-educated peer.[93] The Latin bits and pieces at the end of the first booklet are didactic, but include the piece from the 'De Cura Rei Familiaris' which offers domestic advice, perhaps more useful to a man of Beauchamp's station than for a parish priest.[94] The text of 'The Visitation of the Sick', however, would only be useful for a cleric and not for a layman.

VIII. THE TEXTS OF BOOKLET II

In the second booklet, we encounter a different and more personal side of the compiler, the contents perhaps revealing his personal opinions and sympathies. Booklet II contains a copy of Thomas Wimbledon's sermon, the only known complete copy of Sir John Clanvowe's treatise on 'The Two Ways' and a very brief text on 'The Pater Noster'. The two main texts, the sermon and Clanvowe's treatise, appear to be linked by their mutual criticism of contemporary abuses. Wimbledon's sermon is obviously intended for a large and general audience, probably including the

[93] K.B. McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973), 190.

[94] See the description of U, i.1-10.

three estates he discusses: priests, lords and labourers. Clanvowe's audience seems to have been more limited, perhaps evidenced by the small number of copies which remain, consisting of his own peer group, the landed gentry.[95]

It should be mentioned here that these two texts also have a colourful past. Wimbledon's sermon is often found in manuscripts in the company of more explicitly Lollard material, such as Cambridge, Sidney Sussex 74, London, British Library Additional 37677 and Harley 2398, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Eng. th. f.39 to name a few.[96] Not only the author but also the content of Clanvowe's text has been deemed suspicious, as will be discussed further in the introduction which precedes the edition given here.[97]

The presence of the 'Pater Noster' tract at the end of this booklet is, however, problematic and suggests two possibilities: first, that the scribe had the text and decided to use it as filler at the end of

[95] See the introduction to the text, ii.174-220.

[96] See Hudson (1973) for more Lollard contents in these manuscripts. On Sidney Sussex 74, see A.J. Fletcher, 'A Hive of Industry or a Hornet's Nest? MS Sidney Sussex 74 and its scribes', Late Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A.I. Doyle, ed. A.J. Minnis (York Manuscripts Conferences Proceedings series III, York, 1994), 67-84; on Add. 37677, see V. O'Mara (ed.), A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons: Richard Alkerton's Easter Week Sermon preached at St Mary Spital in 1406, a Sermon on Sunday Observance, and a Nunnery Sermon for the Feast of the Assumption (Leeds Texts and Monographs ns 13, Leeds, 1994), 21-8; and on Eng.th.f.39 see Wilson (1968).

[97] See ii.174-220.

an almost complete booklet;[98] or second, that the compiler only had possession of an exemplar of the text at this point in the creation of his booklet, and still being interested in instructional material, he copied it here. The brief text itself conforms more to the pastoral mode of the texts in the first booklet, but it seems more personal, its speaker consistently addressing the audience in the first person:

> But I trowe yat for men ne witen not wel what here Pater Noster meeneth (10-12).
>
> But I am certayn yat þer is noon so goode preyere (15-16).

The text seems equally suitable for the private perusal of a lay person or the catechetical instruction of a priest's flock.

The practical usage of this booklet is not as clear as that of the first, and apart from the 'Pater Noster' tract, it seems that the texts might be connected more because of the opinions they express and which may have been similar to those of the compiler. Both Wimbledon and Clanvowe call into question the lifestyles of their audience: Wimbledon reprimands his congregation while Clanvowe criticises his peers. But in the end, the message in both texts is plain:

> Loke þerfore now what þyng is writen in þe bok of þy conscience whyle þou art here. And ȝif þou

[98] A similar case is made of the presence of the 'Five Wounds' text at the end of Part I in Simeon by Doyle (1990), 11.

fyndest out contrarie to Cristis lif oþer to his techynge, wiþ þe knyf of penaunce and repentaunce scrape it awey, and write it beterer, euermore hertily þynkynge þat þou schalt ȝelde rekenynge of þy baylie.[99]

And þerfore, taake we sauour in þe richesses abouen, and dispise we al yat is heere byneþe vpon eerthe yat wolde letten vs to goo in þe streite wey þat leedeþ to þe blisse of heuene (579-83).

IX. THE TEXTS OF BOOKLET III

The texts of the third booklet are larger in number and offer a variety of genres from the instructional 'Twelve Articles of the Faith', the series of devotional texts and meditations, to the sermon by John Gregory. The booklet also contains, in its last folios, a copy of the English will of Sir Robert Folkingham, and a collection in Latin of business and personal documents as well as some miscellaneous and relatively insignificant chronicles and other brief texts.[100]

The presence of the instructional 'Twelve Articles of the Faith' in the third booklet is also puzzling, especially considering that the other texts which follow it form a coherent, thematically-linked group. Likewise, it seems strange that the scribe did not choose to copy the rest of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues' which he might have had in his possession. As the text comes at the very beginning of this

[99] Knight (1967), 123/1021-26.

[100] See the description of U, i.1-13.

booklet, it may have been the compiler's original intention to include the whole compilation, but for reasons unknown to us now he determined not to do so. The compiler may simply have wanted only this text in order to fulfil his own personal need for catechetical material.

Immediately following this text is a series of six others all related through their common themes of Christ's passion and his judgement at Domesday: 'The Mirror of Sinners', 'A Meditation of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ', Richard Rolle's 'The Form of Living', 'A Good Meditation for One to say Alone', 'The Meditation of St Anselm', and 'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday.' From some of their titles it is quite obvious that this is a group of meditative and devotional texts, and, from the comparatively large collection of these texts here, it appears that they were important to the compiler of U.

In 'The Meditation of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ', the audience is introduced to one of the most widespread devotions in the later Middle English ages, the cult of the five wounds of Jesus Christ.[101] This particular text is in prose not verse, the more traditional form, though the division of the text and the formulaic beginning of each paragraph shows its

[101] See the note to the text for lines 3-6.

debt to the verse tradition:[102]

> Out of þe welle of wysdom in Cristis ri3t hoond, cleech vp... ('Five Wounds', 33-4).
>
> Out of þe welle of mercy in Cristis lyft hoond, cleech vp... ('Five Wounds', 44-5).
>
> Out of þe welle of grace in Cristys ri3t foot, clecch vp... ('Five Wounds', 82-3).

Likewise references in the text to 'Byhold' (3) and to 'vnderstond, see and bihoolde, and leerne' (23-4) reflect the frequent visual representation of the wounds.[103]

The speaker in this meditation addresses the audience in the second person, but also often includes himself with that audience:

> And þus suffrede oure blessede Ihesu for helpyng of vs. Heer we mowen cleche vp of þis blesside welle, watir of goostly comfort and ioyeful gladnesse of oure soules withouten eende (103-7).

Though offering a devotional subject upon which to meditate, the tone of the text is still instructional. The wounds are described as 'fyue welle sprynges' (23), and the reader is instructed to 'cleech vp' their waters. Each wound is allocated to a specific well: of wisdom, mercy, grace, ghostly comfort and everlasting life. The author then proceeds to describe the water from each well: 'watir of trewe ler[n]ynge and techyng' (34-5), 'watir of remission

[102] R. Woolf discusses a possible reason for the transformation of meditative lyrics into prose meditation in that with increasing literacy and more affordable books, memorizing of verse was unnecessary ((1968), 361-2).

[103] D. Gray, 'The Five Wounds of Our Lord', N&Q ns 208 10:5 (May 1963), 164-7.

and for3euenesse of oure synnes' (46-7), 'watir of goostly refresschynge' (83-4) through meditation, 'watir of spiritual comfort and gladnesse' (97), and lastly 'watir of ioye and blisse withouten eende' (111-12). And the speaker relies more upon the emotional and physical sensibilities of his audience:

> And in the wounde of Cristes blessed syde... put in alle þin hoond....And þeere feel Cristes herte so hoote louynge þee. Ande also þeere feel Cristis blessed herte blood sched for thee and to raunsome thi soule ('Five Wounds', 10-17).

This brief meditation is then followed by the 'Form of Living' by Richard Rolle. The popularity of this text is well attested by the number of manuscript copies.[104] The 'Form' is a devotional form of living, but explicitly supports the act of meditation as a daily exercise:

> If þou be in praier and meditaciouns al þe day, I wot wel þat þou mow wax gretly in þe loue of Ihesu Criste, and myche fele of delite, and within short tyme.[105]

What the 'Form' is able to show us here, is the place of the later meditations of the third booklet within the lives of the audience and the aim of meditation itself. While the other texts in this booklet provide the reader with a meditational model to follow, an example of a saint's experience of meditation, meditations on the five wounds and the three arrows of Domesday, and a mirror upon which to

[104] Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), xxxvi-xliv, xlix-l.

[105] Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 16/523-5.

reflect, the 'Form' reminds the reader that meditation is a means to an end: the daily practice of this exercise at the lower level of contemplation must come before the ultimate acquisition of the 'gostly eigh' of higher contemplation:

> And if þou be in trauaille, and punysshe þi body skylwisly and wisely in wakynges, fastynges, in prayers and in meditaciouns, and suffre heete and cold, hungre and þurste, mysaise and anguysshe for þe loue of Ihesu Criste, for þis trauaille þou shalt cum to reste þat lesteth euer, and sit in a seet of ioy with angels.[106]

The next text, 'A Good Meditation for One to say Alone', combines both instruction on meditation with meditation itself. Expressly designed for those who were new to this spiritual exercise, the 'Med. Alone' provides a detailed programme to be followed: a meditative subject, several sentences to be repeated, and a physical expression of sorrow to adopt:

> After þis biholdynge thus of þi wrecchide lyuynge in general, þow schalt haue mynde and biholdynge of þe kyndenesse of þi Lord God, and seie þus bothe with herte and with mouth as it is seid bifore, 'Lord God almyȝty, sumtyme whan I hadde no beynge....' Heere schalt þow sighe and sorwe as þow dedist bifore... (40-59).

The reader is provided with the subjects for meditation given in a particular order, and the author advises his reader that each step in this order must be completed before moving on to the next: 'and þanne passe forth and not erst, þough þow schuldest seie it neuer so ofte til þat it so bee'(22-4).

[106] Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 21/749-22/753.

The author seems to be hesitant or reluctant to appear too authoritative in matters of spiritual guidance, since he states at the beginning that the reader should only do as much, or for as long, as he or she feels is necessary:

> ...contynuynge as longe as þe þinketh it doth þe good... (11-12).
>
> ...and ȝef þe þenketh þat it doth þe good to do so... (17-18).

Thus, while offering precise directions, the author leaves it to the discretion of his reader as to how much he or she follows them. Though much of the 'Med. Alone' is a useful guide for meditation, the author never provides an actual meditation for the reader.

A comparison of this text with the one which immediately follows it, 'The Meditation of St Anselm', reveals that they form a complementary pair: while the 'Med. Alone' provides explicit instructions to prepare and guide the initiate through the act of meditation, the 'Med. St Anselm' shares the author's affective spiritual experience of meditation with the reader, and inspires the reader's own. Thus, the 'Med. Alone' serves as an introduction to the type of meditation found in the 'Med. St Anselm.'

The 'Med. St Anselm' is basically an English translation of a meditation upon the wretched condition of man's sinful life on earth written by Anselm sometime before 1071, and was part of a collection of prayers sent to Adelaide, a daughter of

William the Conqueror.[107] The 'Med. St Anselm' is a rumination on the scriptural quotation 'Omnis arbor que non facit fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur' (Matt. 3:10), concluding with a prayer to Jesus Christ.

The images Anselm uses, while affective, are pre-Franciscan in their use of fear to inspire penance:

> Thow tree þat art worthy an ax and a fuyr, worthy to be kut and brent, wheere been þi fruytes? Sothly þow hast nouȝt but prikkynge þornes and bitter synnes, þe whiche wolde God þat þei prikkaden þee so soore by forthenkynge, þat þei weren broke; and so schulden þei waxe to þe so bittre, þat þei schulden vanyssche awey (64-71).

And one feature of the 'Med. St Anselm' which may have been attractive to a late fourteenth-century audience is the final prayer which alters the tone of the meditation from one of fear and desperation: 'A synnere þus biseged, where schal he holde hym? Thus constreyned, where schal I huyde me? How schal I appere?' (164-7), to one of hope and comfort turning to the love and mercy of Christ: 'Looke vp þerfore aȝen now, þow synnere. Bee of good hope and dispeire not' (180-1).

At first it appears that the text should be read orally by the reader and directed toward God, like those sentences provided in the 'Med. Alone':[108]

[107] Referred to as the 'Meditatio II' in PL 158:722-5; A. Wilmart confirms Anselm's authorship in Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Devotes du Moyen Age Latin (Paris, 1932), 193.

[108] The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm, trans. Sr. B. Ward (London, 1973), 74.

> My lif fereth me soore, for whan I bisyli enserche it, it semeth to me outher synne or withouten fruyt wel nygh al my lif (3-5).

But the text changes when the author directly addresses the reader: 'Therfore now, þow synful wrecche...' (11-2), and Anselm bombards his reader with soul-searching questions: 'What dost þow, þou bareyne soule? Whi art þou so slough, þow synful soule?' (49-50). On reading further one realises that Anselm has recorded his own thoughts and meditations to be used by the reader as a source of inspiration and an example to follow. A pattern develops within the text: Anselm's own meditation is followed by Anselm's supplication to the reader to think of his or her own condition:

> My soule is soore anoyed of my lif; I am soore aschamed for to lyue, and dye dar I not. Therfore, what schalt þou now doo? [A] þow synnere, certes nouȝt but al þi lyf þow wepe al þi lif, so þat it al weepe it al (38-43).

The 'Med. Alone' and the 'Med. St Anselm' are useful guides of preparation and instruction for the meditator. Whereas the 'Med. Alone' is designed to instruct the reader at each stage in the process of meditation, the 'Med. St Anselm' follows a subtle course of implicit directions, providing an example of a saint's own meditation which the reader can use to shape his or her own. The language of the two texts is similar in its penitential tone, and this feature forms a link between the two:

> And I, Lord, this wrecchide erthely worm, not mekyng me, but highyng me in so muche

> þat I haue displesyd þin highe maieste, chaungynge þee þat art þe welle of euer-lastyng goodnesse for a fewe foule stynkynge fleschly delytes of þis wrecchide lif ('Med. Alone', 68-74).
>
> And ȝet, neuerthelees, mercyful God, þow norisschest, fedist and abidist þin vnpro-fitable worm, and stynkynge in synne. And wel I may seie 'stynkynge in synne' ('Med. St Anselm', 27-30).

The other texts which appear to be complementary are 'The Mirror of Sinners' and 'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday'. While the 'Mirror' encourages its readers to meditate upon the theme 'Utinam saperent, et intelligerent, ac novissima providerent' (Deut. 32:29), the 'Three Arrows' is a meditation upon Christ's judgement at Domesday. These two texts are not instructional like the 'Med. Alone' and the 'Med. St Anselm', nor intended for beginners to meditation, but both promote meditation upon specifically eschatological themes:

> O þat noble and þat profitable sentence, not oones, but ofte tymes needful to be rehersed, that is, wolde God yat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden and purueieden for the laste thynges ('Mirror', 17-22).
>
> Who so wol haue in mynde þe dreedful day of doom so þat he mowe be moeued with dreede to flee fro synne....Heere ȝe mowen fynde sumwhat writen þeerof... ('Three Arrows', 3-10).

As a pair, these texts work together to heighten the reader's awareness of the power of meditation in the:

> distruccion of pruyde, quenchyng of enuye, medicyne of malice, dryuyng awey of licherie, voidyng of boost and of vanytee, informacion of leernyng, perfeccion of hoolynesse, and reparaylyng of euerlastynge heelthe ('Mirror', 26-31).

The 'Mirror' is not a meditation, but a treatise on the merits of meditation. The author, in a way different from the supportive and gentle spiritual guidance of the 'Med. Alone', pleads with his reader to follow his advice and think often of the last day:

> Oo brother, ful wel schal þee bee ȝef þowe sauoure and vnderstonde thise thynges yat I telle þee, and ȝef þow wolt write hem in thyn herte as in a book... (124-7).

The reader is first presented with the 'theme' (Deuteronomy 32:29), and the author divides the first part of the text according to the division of the quotation:

> Biholde, brother, thre thynges been set bifore þe in this myrour: sauoury knowyng, vnderstondyng, and purueaunce. For God wole that þow sauoure þat þou knowest, that þow vnderstonde, and þat be of good purueaunce (93-7).

But these three sections occupy only one hundred lines of the text, and are followed by a discussion of the answer to a question from the reader which the author anticipates:

> But now, perauenture, þow seist to me thus, 'Sire, I am al reedy to doo after the counseil of God....But whiche been my laste thynges that þow spekest of? (175-80).

After line 229, the author devotes his attention to the use of meditation as a means of bringing a sinful soul to repent:

> In this maner of thenkynge the soule conceyueth forthenkynge, forthenkyng bryngeth forth confessioun, and confession norisscheth amendynge and ful asseth makyng, and alle thise togidere engendryn in a man verrey hope strecchyng into God and perfit meeknesse in a man self ('Mirror', 233-9).

The 'Three Arrows' opens with an invitation to the reader:

> Who so wol haue in mynde þe dreedful day of doom....Heere ȝe mowen fynde sumwhat writen þeerof... (3-10).

This invitation is then followed by an introduction and concludes with a verse from Deuteronomy 32:23, providing the theme of the 'three arrows' for the rest of the text, which is divided into three sections, one for each arrow. The language of the 'Three Arrows' maintains the strongly penitential tone of the other texts already discussed:

> Now þi ioye schal be turned into woo, þi delit into bitternesse, and þi lauȝtre into wepynge. Now þi wrecchide, schort lust schalle passe into euerlastynge sorwe (76-80).

Apart from the opening invitation, there is very little direct interaction between the author and his reader in the way that we have seen in the 'Med. Alone', the 'Med. St Anselm', and the 'Mirror'. The author addresses the audience only once more, and that in a chastising fashion:

> And ȝef þou seie þat lewede men kunne not reede, I seye þat þeer is noon so lewede þat he ne kan reede þe lettre of hys owene writynge (102-5).

For the most part, the text is written in the third person: 'þei schullen not fynde oon þat schal haue compassion of hem' (176-7), though the author often includes himself as part of his audience: 'wheere he schal weye alle oure þouȝtes, oure woordes, and oure werkes' (50-2).

The author relies heavily upon scriptural and patristic sources which make up over one hundred lines of this 275-line text, to shape his ideas:

> Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me. That is, 'Lord in þi woodnesse, ouercome me not with skiles and chastise me not in þi wratthe.'
>
> No man þenke þat wratthe or woodnesse or eny suche troubled mannes passion may be in God, but herfore þei been set in scripture (110-18).

In the 'Med. Alone' and the 'Med. St Anselm' the audience is given guidance and inspiration for meditation on various themes, among them Christ's passion and his judgement at Domesday. In the 'Mirror' and the 'Three Arrows', the reader is advised to meditate specifically upon his or her own death and judgement, and is provided the 'Three Arrows' to start off with.

The final text in the third booket is the unique sermon attributed to an Austin friar from Newport named John Gregory. The sermon is a long one, of the 'modern' type like Thomas Wimbledon's in Booklet II which has been discussed above. H. Spencer has called this particular sermon one appropriate for Passion Sunday.[109] When juxtaposed with the other texts of the third booklet, the placement of this sermon seems suitable considering the overriding theme throughout the third booklet of Christ's passion, and the repeated descriptions of Christ's passion and death. While the genre of a sermon does not seem to fit in

[109] Spencer (1993), 105.

with the number of meditations and texts designed for personal devotion in the third booklet, its literary content does. However, it may be considered that while the meditations are geared toward the personal devotion of their readers the sermon brings the themes of Christ's passion into a more public forum, the Sunday Sermon.

X. CONCLUSIONS AND THE UNIQUE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OXFORD, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE 97 AND BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL 22283, THE SIMEON MANUSCRIPT

In the preceding sections of this introduction I have shown that while U does not appear to be an eclectic 'casual collection',[110] neither does it follow a well-planned and organised programme. This medium between an eclectic collection and organised compilation may be due to the previously considered aspects of group-text dissemination, as seen in the group of meditative texts from the third booklet, and the personal tastes of the compiler, as seen in the first booklet where it appears the the scribe had access to a larger circulating pool of texts. The lapse in production time between the booklets may have also been affected by various circumstances such as the compiler/scribe's own lifestyle and movements, but more probably by the scribe's exposure to different dissemination pools and opportunities for access to

[110] Doyle (1981), 274.

certain texts.

It should be mentioned that the dissemination patterns of the three booklets never overlap, nor are they at all similar to each other in character, though some overlap occurs with the texts of Wimbledon's Sermon and Richard Rolle's 'Form of Living'. Some manuscripts related to Booklets I and III do overlap with a number of other texts not mentioned here, and there is certainly further research necessary in this area before the full extent of the circulation of all these texts can be properly assessed.[111]

It is necessary also to mention that the other contents of a majority of the manuscripts related to the first booklet in U are of dubious orthodoxy and some are generally even considered to be 'Lollard' or 'Wycliffite'.[112] In particular, the text on the 'Diliges Dominum' is found, outside of U, only within 'Lollard' manuscripts, and is even attributed in the hand of the original scribe to Wyclif in Harley 2385.[113] It is very possible that due to this, a number of other manuscripts which may have filled in the gaps of a dissemination history, were confiscated and destroyed throughout the fifteenth century.[114]

[111] In particular 'The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost' and 'The Pore Caitiff' to name a few (Jolliffe H.16(c) and B).

[112] For example, BL Harley 2398, Westminster School 3, CUL Nn.4.12, etc. See Hudson (1973), for more on these manuscripts and their Lollard contents.

[113] This attribution occurs in the upper margin on f. 6^{v}.

[114] Hudson (1988), 84-5, 168, 205.

Meanwhile, the majority of the texts of the third booklet tend to be found in manuscripts created and designed for the more personal devotion of lower religious or lay men and women.[115] There is certainly enough evidence from those surviving manuscripts discussed in this thesis to suggest confidently a number of dissemination patterns. And because of their more orthodox nature, it could be suggested that these patterns are obvious because we have ample evidence still in existence to support them.

The exception to all of this is Simeon. As it has been argued in the past, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these two very physically dissimilar manuscripts, U and Simeon, probably shared the same exemplars for what in U are Booklets II and III, and especially for Booklet II where the texts, 'The Two Ways' and the 'Pater Noster', occur only in Simeon and U.[116] For Booklet III, U and Simeon provide the earliest evidence for the pattern of dissemination discussed above. I would, however, argue that the exemplar or exemplars used by U for its

[115] Especially the manuscripts of the D-group version of the 'Three Arrows', see ii.445-52.

[116] Earlier discussions on the relationship between U and Simeon are found in Doyle (1981), 265-82 and Scattergood (1975). Another similar relationship between two equally dissimilar manuscripts is that between the Vernon manuscript and John Northwood's Worcestershire miscellany, London, British Library Additional 37787. See N.S. Baugh (ed.), A Worcestershire Miscellany: Compiled by John Northwood, c.1400: edited from British Museum MS Add.37787 (Philadelphia, 1956), 37-9.

first booklet were not shared by Simeon, primarily because of the four texts in this booklet in U only one is shared with Simeon, and this one is distantly related. In fact, there are several other manuscripts which, for the first booklet, have proved to be much closer textually to U than Simeon and which also share copies of the other texts of Booklet I.[117]

It has been difficult to discuss one factor of influence on the collection of texts found in the three booklets of U to the exclusion of the other. While dissemination patterns explain occurrences of texts in particular orders, the fact that they are together to begin with is usually for thematic reasons. Likewise, it is impossible to discuss the literary unity of a booklet without recourse to the importance of exemplar availability. In concluding this study of Oxford, University College 97, I believe that the availability of exemplars had a much greater effect on the compiling and creation of a manuscript, especially one consisting of booklets, than the personal tastes and needs of the compiler.

Similar conclusions have been made by A.I. Doyle, in his study of the Vernon and Simeon manuscripts, and by J.J. Thompson in his study of Robert Thornton's compilations, Lincoln Cathedral 91 and BL Additional

[117] See the introductions to the texts of the first booklet, ii.1-22, ii.121-32.

31042. As Doyle states:

> When the contents of the whole volume are thus reviewed one may conclude that there was an intention of broad categorization of the material, better achieved in some parts than others, probably hampered by difficulties in obtaining exemplars for the most suitable things at the right time to fit them in the best place, and by the impossibility of complete consistency if the selection was partly made when the copying was already well advanced.[118]

And Thompson concludes:

> Therefore, here, as elsewhere in the London manuscript, the nature and extent of Thornton's own compiling activities remain ill-defined but they may well have been dictated to him in the main by the states of his sources and the practical conditions in which he was working.[119]

Though the order in which the texts occur in U may appear at first haphazard, we have seen that the compiler was influenced in his choice of texts as well as their order within the manuscript by the patterns of dissemination which these particular texts followed, especially those in the third booklet. But the compiler had some opportunity to express his own preference, and it is obvious in U that the compiler/scribe chose to keep some of these texts together as compatible groups within his manuscript. The production of U may have been very similar to the hypothetical model laid out by Hanna:

> In this model, the compiler acquires an exemplar containing some desired texts. These he copies

[118] Doyle (1990), 5.

[119] J.J. Thompson, Robert Thornton and the London Thornton Manuscript: British Library MS Additional 31042 (Manuscript Studies 2, Cambridge, 1987), 55.

off, perhaps supplementing them with additional texts, heretofore unknown to him but present in the exemplar. This material he copies, very likely retaining the contents order of his exemplar, into a series of quires which may be tailored to form a booklet. Acquisition of a second exemplar leads to the production of a second block of material, which again may be self-contained. At some later point, these various booklets may be bound into a single volume, with or without utilizing those procedures I have earlier called codicizing.[120]

In this examination of the majority of Middle English religious texts in Oxford, University College 97, we have had an opportunity to witness the tension which might have influenced the decisions of the compiler/scribe, a tension between his own preferences or needs and the availability of the texts to suit them. While C. A. Martin has argued the importance of studying manuscripts as 'codices' and 'compilations' to better understand the 'tastes and objectives of its producers and consumers',[121] he does not take into account that the choices made by some compilers would be greatly affected by what texts were available to them, and that the lack or inclusion of a particular text may equally be due to the tastes of the scribe/compiler as to the fact that that text was or was not available to him.

[120] Hanna (1986), 108.

[121] C.A. Martin, 'Middle English Manuals of Religious Instruction', So Meny Poeple Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Middle English presented to Angus McIntosh, eds. M. Benskin and M.L. Samuels (Edinburgh, 1981), 287-8.

SELECT GLOSSARY[1]

The following glossary is select, recording only a minority of the words which occur, and is intended for readers accustomed to Chaucerian Middle English. Those words chosen to be glossed here are now obsolete and no longer present in modern English usage, have altered in sense since the Middle English period, or are, because of their spelling, unrecognizable.

Only the actual forms from the text will be glossed, and hypothetical nominatives or infinitives will not be used. Verbs will be given under the infinitive if it occurs in the texts, followed by present indicative in order of person, subjunctive, imperative, present participle, past indicative, subjunctive, past participle.

The commonest spelling or the first spelling which occurs in the edition is used for each head word, variant spellings are not given, unless a form differs significantly. No distinction is made between the varying forms of: -ly/-liche, -es/-is/-us, i/e/u in unstressed syllables, i/y, u/v, þ/th, þ/y, þ/ȝ, sh/sch, c/k, er/ar, ei/ai, an/aun, au/aw, ou/ow, o/u, ion/ioun/iun, ey/ay, the doubling of vowels or consonants, or the absence or addition of final -e. Variant spellings which differ considerably are listed separately in their alphabetical place with a cross reference to the glossed spelling. For words used in collocations, the phrase will be given, though listed under the main verb or noun. Etymological information is not provided.

Each word to be glossed is printed in bold type, followed by an abbreviation in italics for the appropriate part of speech. Standard abbreviations will be used here (see below). The part of speech is followed by a gloss and then reference to the texts. The forms *i/y* will be listed under *i*, *ȝ* will follow *g*, and *þ* will follow *t*.

Reference to the text will be as follows: each text has been given a capital Roman numeral, from I to XIII, in the order as they appear in the thesis.[2] 'Harley' will be used for reference to the Harley version of 'The Meditation of St Anselm'. The Roman numeral or name is followed by a period and the line within the text given in Arabic numerals. When a single word appears in several places in the same text or in several texts, reference will be made to the first three occurrences within that text, or the first

[1] In an attempt to minimize the size of Volume II and to make referral to the glossary more convenient for the reader, the glossary has been placed here, at the end of Volume I.

[2] The corresponding Roman numerals for each text also appear in the upper righthand corner of each page in the edition, preceding the page number in Arabic.

occurrences of the word in three different texts. When there are several meanings for the same word, at least one reference is given for each.

Abbreviations used:

a.	adjective	*pp.*	past participle
adv.	adverb	*prep.*	preposition
comp.	comparative	*pres.p.*	present participle
conj.	conjunction	*pret.*	preterite
contr.	contraction	*pron.*	pronoun
imp.	imperative	*reflex.*	reflexive
ind.	indicative	*sg.*	singular
interj.	interjection	*sub.*	subjunctive
n.	noun	*sup.*	superlative
num.	numeral	*v.*	verb
pl.	plural		

abak, *adv.* backward XII.210

abyde, *v.* to remain in existence I.519, VII.70; **abidist**, *2sg. pres. ind.* tolerate XI.28, 'Harley'.22; **abydeth**, *3sg. pres. ind.* abides I.310; **abyde**, *3sg. pres. subj.* wait upon III.61; **abydyng**, *pres.p.* living VIII.154

able, *a.* ~ *to* deserving of X.129

abowte, *adv. to be* ~ to be busy I.374, I.796, I.803; *been alwey* ~ are always scheming V.212

abrood, *adv. sprad* ~ stretched out IX.59

accesse, *n.* emotional excess III.168

acombrid, *v. pp.* ~ *in/with* burdened by/with III.249, XIII.135

acordaunce, *n.* agreement X.27

acorde, *v.* ~ *with* agree with X.22; **acordeth**, *3sg. pres. ind.* ~ *with* III.114, XIII.57, XIII.95

acursed, *a.* doomed V.145

adoun, *adv.* downward V.699, 'Harley'.15, XIII.359

adrad, *v. pp.* afraid V.541, VIII.303, VIII.305

afferynge, *v. pres.p.* frightening XI.160

after, *prep.* according to I.389, III.304, V.285

agast, *v. pp.* terrified 'Harley'.1, 'Harley'.31

agoo, *v. pp. it is* ~ it is gone XII.82

agreued, *v. pp.* angered VIII.285, XI.184

agrise, *v. pp.* be afraid XI.171; *makeþ...*~ make frightened 'Harley'.1

agulten, *v. pl. pres. ind.* are guilty of sin II.18; **agilt**, *pp.* offended VI.81

aȝeyns, **aȝen**, *prep.* against I.98, III.111, X.92; in anticipation of XIII.329

aȝeynbuggen, *v.* to redeem V.705; **aȝenbugge**, *1sg. pres. ind. with refl.* save oneself III.387

aȝeynstondynge, *n.* resistance II.16

algate(s, *adv.* in every way IV.55, IV.95, VI.82

alighte, *v.* descend VII.75

alle, *a.* ~ *oone* alone I.55

als, *adv.* also V.688; *conj.* as III.79, XIII.70

alteracion, *n.* transformation XIII.354

altherderkest, *a. sup.* the darkest of all XI.98

althergretteste, *a. sup.* the greatest of all V.1012

amendynge, *n.* correction I.875, IV.86

amonges, *prep.* amongst V.726, XII.175

an, *conj.* and I.636

anemptys, *prep.* against V.293

anhungred, *a.* hungry XII.193

anyȝtes, *adv.* at night V.713

anoyed, *v. pp.* ~ *of* weary of XI.38

anoyes, *n. pl.* sources of annoyance III.172, XI.157; *bodily* ~ bodily afflictions III.176

anoon, *adv.* immediately V.974, VIII.326, XII.29; *conj.* as soon as V.973

apaid, **paid**, *v. pp. hoold ȝou/hem* ~ be pleased I.146, I.149, V.623; *been yuel* ~ displeased III.122, V.328; *wel* ~ satisfied X.93

apert, *a.* overt X.124, X.144

apertly, *adv.* openly VII.95

apeyre, *v. sg. imp.* harm IV.90,

apeyrynge, *n.* impairment I.875

apropred, *v. pp.* attributed V.789, XIII.368, XIII.374

aray, *n. pl.* furnishings V.899

areysed, *v. pp.* resurrected VII.159

argue, *v. sg. imp.* ~ *me not* argue not against me XII.143

arguyng, *n.* accusation XII.160

aryse, *v.* rise up XI.129; *sg. imp.* arise XII.73; **aroos**, *2sg. pret. ind.* V.963, VII.86

art, *v. 2sg. pres. ind.* are I.207, VI.25, X.62

artou, *v. 2sg. pres. ind. contr.* are you 'Harley'.42

as, *adv.* such as IV.63, X.66, XIII.486; ~ *who saiþ* as some say III.79, 'Harley'.148, XII.225

asoylid, *v. pp.* absolved III.30

assaye, *v.* endeavor V.349, V.351; **assayeth**, *3sg. pres. ind.* V.358; **assayed**, *pp.* determined V.953

asseth, *n. make..ful(liche)* ~ make full satisfaction III.284, III.390; *n.* ~ *makyng* satisfaction-making VIII.236

astaat, *n.* estate I.149, I.728, V.286

at, *prep.* ~ *here power* to the full extent of their power V.804, V.811, V.842

ateened, *v. pp.* annoyed V.541

ateynt, *v. pp.* proven guilty XII.141

aþurst, *a.* thirsty XII.194

auenture, *n.* chance I.395, I.441

avised, *v. pp. wel* ~ well-informed V.585

au3t, *pron.* anything 'Harley'.17, 'Harley'.149

auysement, *n. with..good* ~/ *withoute eny* ~

with/without any due consideration VIII.85, XI.129

await, *n.* *liggynge in ~* to lie in wait or ambush XI.92

awaiten, *v.* *pl. pres. ind.* pay attention VIII.168

babel, *n.* a court jester's scepter V.79, V.87; *pl.* V.78, V.91

bacbityng, *n.* calumny III.72; *pl.* V.912

bakbiten, *v.* *pl. pres. ind.* slander V.715, V.828

baudes, *n.* *pl.* go-betweens V.716

be, *prep.* by V.823, VII.148, XII.125

bedes, *n.* *pl.* rosary beads I.365

begyle, **bigylen**, *v.* deceive I.713, III.45, V.304

benymen, *v.* deprive V.167

berest, *v.* *2sg. pres. ind* *~ vpon* accuse I.668

betokneth, *v.* *3sg. pres. ind.* symbolises I.657, I.659, I.662

biddynge, *n.* command III.349; *pl.* commandments I.3, I.20, I.25

bifore-waarnesse, *n.* preparedness VIII.77

bygoon, *v.* *pp.* gone by I.910

byhalf, *n.* side 'Harley'.161

biholdyng, *n.* consideration VIII.45, VIII.264, X.15

byhote, *v.* *3sg. pres. subj* promises V.311; *pp.* VII.73, 'Harley'.93

bihoueth, *v.* *3sg. pres. ind.* it befits X.10

biknowe, *v.* *sg. imp.* acknowledge 'Harley'.194

bilapped, *v.* *pp.* surrounded VIII.99

bileeue, *n.* belief I.17, III.18, V.301

bireue, *v.* deprive I.748, I.753, I.804; **bireuynge**, *pres.p.* I.702

bytake, *v. 1sg. pres. ind.* entrust III.408; *sg. imp.* I.590

bythenke, *v. (often with reflex.)* consider III.188, III.264; **biþenke**, *1sg. pres. ind.* 'Harley'.2; **biþenken**, *pl. pres. ind.* V.976; **byþenk**, *sg. imp.* I.347, I.356, I.589; **bythenketh**, *pl. imp.* I.600; **bithenkyng**, *pres.p.* IX.84; **bithoughtest**, *2sg. pret. ind.* III.198

bithenkyng, *n.* consideration VIII.199

bytyme, *adv.* soon I.139, I.922

biturne, *v.* turn 'Harley'.161

bytwyxe, *prep.* between III.314, III.342, III.350

biwepe, *v.* deplore 'Harley'.33, 'Harley'.34

blaamen, *v.* reproach V.281; **blameth**, *3sg. pres. ind.* III.131; **blamen**, *pl. pres. ind.* V.732; **blamedest**, *2sg. pret. ind.* III.365

blame, *n.* of reproach III.63

boches, *n. pl.* running sores XIII.228

i-boyled, *v. pp.* made fervent VIII.89

boistouse, *a.* rough V.941

boondman, *n.* serf X.176

bordel, *n.* brothel V.663, V.712

bore, *v. pp.* born III.255, X.57

bowe(n, *v.* ~ *awey fro* turn away from V.146, V.248

braake, *v. 3sg. pret. ind.* broke XII.29

brennynge, *a.* ardent VIII.90; burning X.169, XI.163, 'Harley'.157

brent, *v. 3sg. pret. ind.* burnt XI.65, 'Harley'.55; **brend**, **y-brend**, *pp.* XII.87, XIII.326, XIII.362

breste, *v.* ~ *vp* burst forth XI.91; **braste**, *pl. pret. ind.* XIII.191

briges, *n. pl.* quarrels I.898

brounde, *n.* firebrand XII.88

buffeteden, *v. pl. pret. ind.* struck V.919

bugge(n, *v.* redeem IX.122, IX.129

buschement, *n.* ambush 'Harley'.80

buþ, *v. pl. pres. ind.* are 'Harley'.41, 'Harley'.53, 'Harley'.86

caas, *n.* situation I.717, I.932, V.673; *in no* ~ under no circumstances I.203; *as in* ~ in the event that I.439

caluerne, *n. pl.* calves XIII.258, XIII.270

care, *n.* grief III.206, III.391, XI.54

careful, *a.* ~ *body* anxious body VIII.205, VIII.343

careyne, *n.* corpse VIII.304, XI.37, 'Harley'.29

castelle, *n.* camp XIII.131, XIII.133

catelle, *n.* possessions I.60, I.97, I.444

cautele, *n.* deceit I.725

certein, *adv.* truly V.326

certes, *adv.* certainly V.493, VIII.10, XI.41

chaffare, *n.* trade I.720

chaityf, *a.* miserable VIII.303, XII.74

charge, *n.* command V.849; *pl.* burdens X.65

charge, *v. sg. imp.* load 'Harley'.130

chaungynge, *v. pres.p.* exchanging X.71

chidynges, *n. pl.* rebukes V.912

clarionynge, *n.* blowing the clarion, trumpetting XI.57

cleeche, *v. sg. imp.* ~ *vp* lift up in the hollow of the hand IX.20, IX.34, IX.45

clepe, *v.* call V.533, 'Harley'.66, XIII.602; **cleepeþ**, *3sg. pres. ind.* V.17, 'Harley'.183, XIII.405; **clepen**, *pl. pres. ind.* V.575; **clepe**, *sg. imp.* 'Harley'.178; **clepyng**, *pres.p.* XI.189; **clepedist**, *2sg. pret. ind.* III.369; **cleped**, **i-clepid**, *pp.* I.298, V.137, 'Harley'.171

clepynge, *n.* summoning III.372, XII.63

clyppe, *v.* clasp XIII.516

y-coled, *v. pp.* cooled XIII.301

comparsony, *v.* compare 'Harley'.126

comuneth, *v. pl. pres. ind.* share I.788, I.790

comunynge, *n.* communion VII.121

connynge, *see* **kunnynge**

conteneth, *v. 3sg. pres. ind.* contains I.36, I.38

contenuyth, *v. 3sg. pres. ind.* continues XIII.379; **contynud**, *pp.* XIII.458

contrarie, *a.* ~ *wyse* opposite way V.142

contrarious, *a.* contrary I.502, V.497; mutually opposed XIII.372, XIII.375, XIII.378

convict, *v. pp.* convicted XII.140

coroune, *n.* crown V.929; top X.85

corsed, *a.* cursed I.567

corsen, *v. pl. pres. ind.* curse I.551

coueþtous, *a.* covetous I.104

crokede, *n.* crippled I.411

croketh, *v. 3sg. pres. ind.* groans VIII.253

cussynge, *n.* kissing I.580

debaate, *n. at* ~ in conflict I.377; *pl.* conflicts I.895, I.898

dedliche, *a.* deadly 'Harley'.109, 'Harley'.111, 'Harley'.112; mortal VII.42, XII. 211

dee, *v.* die XIII.234, XIII.235; **deed**, *1sg. pret. ind.* XIII.587

deede, *n. in* ~ in action I.439, I.453, I.468; *pl.* ~ *doynge* actions I.583

deede, *a.* dead I.449, III.230, V.419

deelful, *a.* doleful IX.118

deeme, *v.* judge III.303, VII.102, XI.140; **demest**, *2sg. pres. ind.* 'Harley'.61, 'Harley'.84; **deemeþ**, *3sg. pres. ind.* V.610, V.612; **deemeden**, *pl. pret. ind.* V.932; **(y-)deemed**, *pp.* V.314, 'Harley'.135, XII.211

dees, *n.* dice V.713

deeth, *n. doon to* ~ put to death XII.31

defaute, *n.* fault III.228, III.401; *pl.* III.148

defouled, *v. pp.* polluted VIII.101, XIII.203, XIII.204

degree, *n.* social rank I.477, I.588; *in þe same* ~ in the same manner XIII.124, XIII.131, XIII.177

delices, *n. pl.* delights XII.86

delitable, *a.* delightful V.493, V.873, XI.190

departesun, **departyng**, *n. make...*~ *bitwene/of* make a distinction between XI.15, 'Harley'.11

derrere, *adv. comp.* at a higher price I.720

despyte, *n.* outrage I.672; *pl.* V.913; *for* ~ out of scorn V.948; *in* ~ *of* in defiance of I.301

deuer, *n.* duty I.432

deuyse, *v.* imagine V.462

deuors, *n.* divorce I.666

deynteuous, *a.* dainty, excellent VIII.314

disese, *n.* discomfort III.209, IV.95, V.485; *pl.* grievances II.15, III.166, IV.35

dislaueliche, *adv.* immoderately I.191, I.243

dispende, *v.* spend XII.59; **dispenden**, *pl. pres. ind.* I.909, V.597, V. 805; **dispended**, *pp.* I.300, I.678, XI.85

dispitously, *adv.* mercilessly V.602, IX.42, IX.54

disqueme, *v.* displease 'Harley'.7

doynge, *n.* ~ *doun of hoodes* removing of cloak hoods I.438

domesman, *n.* judge I.208, XI.73, 'Harley'.63

doo, **y-do**, *v. pp.* done VI.79, XI.105, 'Harley'.89

doom, **dome**, *n.* judgement III.314, V.170, XII.64; *pl.* III.151; *swere in* ~ take an oath in court I.200, I.206; *ri3twys* ~ righteous judgement X.54, X.90; *day of* ~ judgement day I.238, XII.8, XII.50

drad, *v pp.* dreaded VIII.287, XII.18

drawynge, *n.* to be torn to pieces III.184

drede, *v.* frighten XIII.396

drenched, *v. pp.* drown X.134

dressed, *v. pp.* directed XI.89

durre, *v.* dare I.237; **durste**, *pp.* I.262, I.886

ee, *n.* eye XI.83

eer, *conj.* before I.614, III.13, V.633

efte, *adv.* again XIII.539, XIII.575

eftsoones, *adv.* afterwards X.19

eysel, *n.* vinegar V.952

eke, *adv.* also III.48, V.262, VI.23

elles, *adv.* otherwise I.347, VI.115; *and* ~ or else VII.5

encoumbred, *v. pp.* ~ *of* burdened by V.730

engleymeth, *v. 3sg. pres. ind.* becomes sticky or slimy VIII.251

enhaunce, *v.* raise I.123

ensaumple, *n.* example XIII.519; an example V.641, V.690, XII.151; *to þe* ~ *of* to be an example of VIII.67; *taken* ~ *of* take example from V.223; *by* ~ *3euynge* by giving an example IV.80

enserche, *v. 1sg. pres. ind.* examine XI.4

erst, *adv. and not* ~ but not before that X.23

eschewe, *v.* avoid I.505, V.20, VIII.173

esy, *a.* comfortable III.186

euene, *a.* equal VII.31; ~ *peys* true weight XII.52; ~ *cristen* fellow christian I.212, III.279, V.791

euer, *adv.* always V.56, V.216; ~ *withowten ende* forever I.292, I.343, V.1002; ~ *either* either one XII.131, XII.159

euerychone, *pron.* everyone I.474, I.786

eueriche, *adj.* every III.218, 'Harley'.64, XIII.540; *pron.* each one VII.17

euery-dayes, *a.* ~ *breed* daily bread VI.61

eueremoore, *adv.* always V.45, VI.56, VIII.69

fa3t, *v. 3sg. pret. ind.* fought XIII.423

fayleth, *v. 3sg. pres. ind. me* ~ I lack VIII.145

faillynge, *a.* fleeting V.489, VIII.5

fayn, *adv.* gladly I.886, V.616

faynere, *a. comp.* more eager V.185

faste, *adv.* eagerly V.714

feble, *n.* crippled (people) I.410

feblesse, *n.* feebleness V.235

(y)-feyned, *v. pp.* pretended XI.8, 'Harley'.5

feynynge, *n. withouten...*~ sincerely X.194

feynyngly, *adv.* deceptively XI.125

fel, *a.* fierce XII.26, XII.28

felaschipe, *n.* fellowship III.9, V.666, V.720

feere, *v.* frighten I.330; **fereth**, *3sg. pres. ind.* XI.3

fer, *a.* far I.324, X.128, XI.93

ferdnesse, *n.* fear VIII.344, XI.139

fet, *a.* full-bodied X.39

fette, *v. 3sg. pret. ind.* fetched V.962

filthes, *n. pl.* smuts VIII.101

figure, *n.* symbol XIII.196, XIII.397, XIII.476

flux, *n.* dysentery XIII.452, XIII.456

fomede, *v*. *3sg*. *pret*. *ind*. foamed X.86

fontstoun, *n*. baptismal font XIII.567

foonde, *v*. try V.355; **foondeth**, *3sg*. *pres*. *ind*. V.357

forbled, *v*. *pp*. covered in blood V.934

forfeture, *n*. offence III.220

forhewe, *v*. cut to pieces 'Harley'.55

forme, *n*. footstool I.179, IX.89

forme, *a*. ~ *fadre* first father V.701, *pl*. III.6

formest, *a*. foremost 'Harley'.130

forseide, *a*. aforesaid V.115, V.204, V.225

forseynge, *n*. foresight VIII.66

forsothe, *conj*. indeed I.413, V.206, 'Harley'.56

forthenke, *v*. consider beforehand XII.150

forthenkynge, **forthynkyng**, *n*. repentance VIII.234, VIII.296, XI.102; *ofte* ~ frequent repentance III.23

forwaste, *v*. *1sg*. *pres*. *ind*. use up 'Harley'.19; **forwasteþ**, *3sg*. *pres*. *ind*. 'Harley'.21

forwhy, *adv*. for what reason VII.68

forwratthed, *v*. *pp*. seriously angered XII.107

foulere, *n*. fowler V.675, V.680

foundement, *n*. foundation VII.12

fremde, *a*. unfamiliar X.97

fretynge, *n*. gnawing VIII.336

ful, *adv*. very III.45, IV.92, VI.5

fulle, *v*. fall I.550

galle, *n*. poison V.952

galwes, *n*. *pl*. gallows I.887

gasteful, *a*. dreadful XIII.333

gederen, *v.* gather V.577; **gedere**, *sg. imp.* X.13; **gederede**, *3sg. pret. ind.* XII.31; **gedered**, *pp.* I.28

gest, *n.* stranger VIII.152, XII.197

gladed, *v. pp.* pleased XII.182

gloosen, *v. pl. pres. ind.* flatter V.715

gloterous, *a.* gluttonous I.74

godward, *n. to* ~ towards God III.5

goost, *n.* soul V.955

goostliche, *a.* spiritual I.290, III.84, V.812

goostly, *adv.* spiritually V.909, X.38, XIII.14

graces, *n. pl.* grass XIII.493

greuest, *v. 2sg. pres. ind.* trouble III.160, III.163; **greeuen**, *pl. pres. ind.* V.92; **greuede**, *3sg. pret. ind.* V.328; **greued**, *pp.* I.362, V.93

grisely, *a.* dreadful I.264, III.43, V.1065

grisly, *adv.* horribly IX.67, IX.87

gruchen, *v.* complain V.274, V.871; **grucchith**, *3sg. pres. ind.* III.173; **grucche**, *sg. imp.* III.111, III.150, III.156

grucchynge, *n.* complaining III.156, III.158, III.175

gulchide, *v. 3sg. pret. ind.* spewed IX.119

ȝe, *adv.* yes I.183, VIII.340, X.136

ȝe, *interj.* yes I.28, I.97, IV.99

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