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 II

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EDITORIAL PRACTICE

I. The Base Text

For obvious reasons the base text for this edition will be that of U, which for some of the texts has actually proved to be a good base text, requiring little emendation to make sense. In some, but not all, cases U stands fairly close amongst the surviving manuscripts to the assumed hypothetical original for the texts edited here, and so its readings will be favoured over those of the other manuscripts collated. U has been emended as little as possible except in cases where it is obviously incorrect (misspellings or omissions) or when all of the other manuscripts, including S, show that the base text is in error, even when its reading appears to make sense. Emendations which consist of changes or additions to the base text will be placed within square brackets [ ], with the original reading of U given in the variants. Such changes and additions are made in a spelling consistent with that of the scribe of U. Those emendations which are deletions of letters or words in the base text are also noted in the variants. If necessary, further explanation of these emendations is given in the notes following the text. Corrections made by the original scribe of U are noted in the variants. Marginal and interlinear additions to the text of U are indicated in the text by slash marks (\ /). Any marginalia made by the original scribe of U are also given in the variants at the end of the line in which they appear and are indicated by the word *margin*. Marginalia are recorded as found in the manuscript, abbreviations here are not expanded.

All punctuation, capitalization, word separation, paragraphing and lineation are editorial, though with recourse to U. Text which appears in rubric in U, usually consisting of the titles of the texts and the first letters of proper nouns and words at the beginning of some sentences, has been printed in **bold**. All scriptural quotations are <u>underlined</u>, regardless of whether they appear so in U, as the scribe's use of underlining is inconsistent. Quoted passages in English, usually the translation of these Latin scriptural quotations, have been placed within single quotation marks. A new folio is signified by a bold slash mark / in the text, with the new folio number given in the righthand margin.

Abbreviations in the English and Latin text in U and in the variants have been expanded in italics following the convention for commonly abbreviated forms: the nasal mark has been expanded to *m* or *n* as appropriate; p̲ is expanded to p*er* or p*ar* in accordance with the modern English spelling of that particular word; p is expanded as p*ro*; a superscript hook (^{9}) at the end of a word is expanded as *us* or *es*, according to modern English or Latin spelling; a final flourish

or tail is expanded as *e* according to the conditions described below; coū is expanded as cou*n*, as this is the spelling used by the scribe when no abbreviation is used; a medial superscript hook is expanded as *er* or *re* depending on the modern English spelling for that word. Commonly abbreviated words are expanded as follows: þ^{t} = þ*at*, þ^{u} = þ*ou*, w^{t} = w*ith*, ± (Tironian *et*) = *and*, iħu = Ih*e*su and iħs = Ih*e*s*us*. In expanding words followed by a final flourish or tail ('), the following conditions have been used in determining whether such a mark is a scribal flourish or an actual abbreviation. Where an alternative spelling for the word occurs elsewhere in the text showing the expanded form for the tail, it is taken for an abbreviation and expanded in italics. Where no alternative spelling appears in the text, it is considered a scribal flourish and deleted, except in cases where it is an obvious abbreviation for a longer word at the end of a line or the abbreviated word does not make sense. In cases where the alternative spellings vary between abbreviated and expanded forms, the tail is then treated as a flourish and deleted. When *ff* appears as the first letter in a word, it is always transcribed as *f* or *F*.

II. The Variants

The variants recorded from the collated manuscripts are only those which change the meaning of the sentence and are 'material' or 'substantive' variants, including omissions, additions, corrections, changes in the tense and mood of verbs, the plural or singular number of nouns, changes in word order, misspellings and dittography. Linguistic variants have not been noted, but when uncertainty arises, if a separate entry for a word is given in the MED or OED, it is then treated as material and noted. Any marginalia by the original scribes are recorded at the end of the line in which they appear, after the word *margin*, but abbreviations are not expanded. No note is made in the variants of running titles which appear in the upper margins above the texts in some of the manuscripts.

Before the variants for each text, a list is given of the sigla for the manuscripts in which that text is found. This list is ordered with U first, followed by the other sigla in a sequence based on each manuscript's relative textual proximity to U for that text. When a single variant is found in several manuscripts, the sigla will be ordered according to this sequence. Within the variants, editorial comment is given in italics using the following abbreviations:

add.	word added to text
after	portion of text moved to location after word given

canc.	cancelled by subpuncting or crossing out
corr.	corrected to match base text of U
eras.	erased
illeg.	portion of text illegible
margin corr.	marginal correction of word or phrase
marked for rev.	where text has been marked by the scribe in a particular way to signify reversal of the word order
ms. cut off	section of manuscript has been torn or cut out
om.	omitted
on eras. corr.	correction made over an erasure
rev.	order of two words reversed
twice	word or phrase occurs twice consecutively in text

The lemma given is always that of U, and after the lemma details about U are offered first. If several manuscripts agree in a single variant, the version and spelling of the leading sigel is used. When there are a series of variants for a single lemma, the closest variant to that lemma is given first, gradually progressing to the most distant, with variants of omission always given last. When no distinct progression exists, the variants will be given according to their textually ordered sequence. A longer lemma will always go before a shorter one within the longer. For longer variants of three words or more, only the first and last words are given separated by three dots. Where a lemma continues over to the next line, the line number where it ends is given in parentheses after the lemma. Where the same lemma word occurs more than once in a line, superscript numbers indicate which occurrence is in question.

Words in the text of U or in the variants which are illegible will be marked off with diamond brackets < >, with any visible letters of the word given and those still illegible marked by dots: <th...t>. Often a scribe will start a word at the end of a line or folio, but when he finds he does not have sufficient room, he cancels what he has thusfar written (though not always) and starts the word again on the next line or folio. When this is recorded in the variants, the change in line will be indicated with a single slash (/) and in folio with a double slash (//).

Some variants which are shared by a large number of manuscripts contain individual variations within them. This variation within a variant is signified in parentheses, immediately after the word or words effected, in the following ways: a word which has been omitted is followed by *om.* and the siglum of the relevant manuscript; a word which has been cancelled is followed by *canc.* and the siglum; a change in word choice is indicated with the alternate word and the

siglum given immediately following the word it replaces; where word order has been reversed, *rev.* and the siglum will immediately follow the last of the two words reversed; and when a word has been added, *add.* followed by the added word and the siglum is given at the exact location where that word has been added; if the word has been added interlinearly or marginally, it will be placed within slash marks: (*add.* \goode/ R). Some variants may be too long or, because of considerable variation within a given variant, too cumbersome to appear at the bottom of the text. These variants have been appended, coming before the notes given for each text, but they will be indicated within the main variants for the given text by *see appended variants*.

The handling of corrections in the variants is as follows: when a correction has been made to match the base text by the interlinear or marginal addition of a needed word or letter, the correction is noted in the variants as *corr.*. When the addition is written over the erasure of another word, it is noted as *on eras. corr.*. If a longer correction has been made in the margin it is noted in the variants as *margin corr.* Correction which takes a single manuscript out of agreement with the others is also noted in the variants, whether it is an addition, deletion or alteration.

III. The Presentation of the Text

To avoid repetition, it is necessary here to explain how the texts will be presented in this edition. An introduction will appear before each text in which the textual tradition for that text is discussed. If the text is a translation, it will first be compared to its Latin or French source. Examples taken from the text will always be from U, unless indicated otherwise, with the line numbers given in parentheses. Likewise, all line references will always be taken from the edited text in this thesis. Abbreviations in the quotations taken from U or any other manuscript will be silently expanded. In quotations taken from unprinted sources, all punctuation, capitalization and word separation are editorial. Where quotations are taken from a printed edition, the methods of the editor are followed. Next will come a section on isolative error. The manuscripts will be discussed in a particular order to be given at the beginning of this section. A selection of isolative errors will be given for each manuscript, all other isolative errors found in that manuscript will be footnoted. The recording of isolative errors will be given as follows: line number, in italics the reading of the manuscript under discussion, the reading(s) of the majority of the other manuscripts signifed by **al.** (in the spelling of

U or the next leading manuscript), and finally the reading found in the original Latin or French source. The list of isolative errors is followed by a general statement on the character of that manuscript.

If the text is a translation, errors in the English text will be determined through comparison with the original Latin or French source. When the English text deviates from its Latin or French source, a manuscript will be considered in error if it has omitted text that is present in all the other manuscripts (though this is not always indicative of erroneous omission, but may show that material has been added to the text during transmission), if its reading does not make sense within the context of the sentence, or if obvious scribal error through ignorance or carelessness has resulted in omission, dittography or mispelling. When there is no known source for a text, error will be determined through comparison with the readings present in the majority of the other manuscripts, and where the manuscripts diverge, on the grammatical sense of the reading. A manuscript will be considered in error, as already stated above, if it has omitted text that is present in all the other manuscripts (though not in all cases), if a reading does not make sense within the context of the sentence, or if obvious scribal error through ignorance or carelessness has resulted in omission, dittography or misspelling.

After the section on isolative error, the introduction will turn to group error and discuss evidence to support any textual relationships between the manuscripts collated for that edition. The edited text then follows, consisting of text and variants at the bottom of the page, with the textual sequence of the sigla for that particular text given at the beginning of the variants. The notes following the text present references to sources, both scriptural and otherwise, to selected parallel passages from other texts, cross-references (by line only) to the other texts in this thesis, and to any information about curious or questionable readings. These notes will serve not only to provide possible sources, but also to point towards analogous texts which will help illustrate the popularity or frequent occurrence of similar themes. While these notes are by no means exhaustive, especially in their indication of earlier treatments of conventional topics, they are an attempt to provide a partial investigation of some of the themes represented in the texts edited here. Any variation from the format described above will always be explained in full within the thesis.

I

AN EXPOSITION ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

INTRODUCTION

The first text to be edited in this thesis is an instructional exposition on the popular didactic theme of 'The Ten Commandments'. This is the first complete text which occurs in the first booklet of the earlier portion of Oxford, University College 97. While there are numerous versions of this sort of text in a large proportion of Middle English manuscripts, the particular text examined here is characterized by its length and presumed 'orthodox' content. Classification of the different versions of 'The Ten Commandments' has been attempted by A. L. Kellogg and E. W. Talbert and more recently by C. A. Martin, but neither is very satisfactory.[1] In the first, the text in U has been catalogued as 'orthodox' or including '"pre-existing" commentary', while in Martin the text has been categorized as 'discursive': 'texts which have as their general organizing principle the movement from a premise...to a conclusion....'[2]

This particular 'discursive' version of 'The Ten Commandments' found in U is known to exist in fifteen other manuscript copies, all of which are included in

[1] Kellogg and Talbert (1956), 345-377; Martin (1981), 191-217. A more recent study of the various versions of 'The Ten Commandments' is being undertaken by Judith Jefferson in her forthcoming doctoral thesis at Bristol University.

[2] Kellogg and Talbert (1956), 365; Martin (1981), 201, 205.

this edition.[3] Because of the basic instructional purpose of this text, one could assume that its use and popularity were widespread, evidenced by the large number of differing versions which survive. That the particular version in U was popular can be seen in the large number of existing manuscript copies. But because of its popularity, we could also suppose that many copies have been lost and many possibly Lollard-interpolated copies destroyed.

There are a number of other versions of the text based on this one, but which are either significantly interpolated, as in the case of some of the Wycliffite versions, or greatly abridged.[4] Such variation has made the selection of those copies to be collated here difficult. I have chosen the copies which are closest to U, but I have also included the uniquely adapted and revised ones found in Princeton, Garrett 143 and BL Arundel 286 to provide examples of texts that are essentially the same as U, but which have been changed

[3] Dublin, Trinity College 69(Tr); London, British Library, Additional 22283(S), Arundel 286(Ar), Harley 218(I), Harley 2346(X), Royal 17.A.xxvi(O); Society of Antiquaries 687(Z); Westminster School 3(W); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 210(La), Laud Misc. 524(Ld), Rawlinson A.381(R^1), Rawlinson A.423(R^2); Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390(Q); Princeton, Garrett 143(G); and San Marino, Huntington Library HM 744(M^1). Both Kellogg & Talbert and Martin do not seem to have known of the copies of this text in Tr, Ar, Z, La, R^1, and R^2. The text has been printed once before from Simeon in Francis (1942), Appendix I, 316-333. In a brief introduction, Francis mentions the copies of the text in Ld, Q, and U; he also cites T. Arnold who claimed there are copies at Trinity College, Dublin and the British Museum (Francis (1942), 316 n.1). There is also a much shorter version in Emmanuel College, Cambridge 246.

[4] See IPMEP, 48 and 49, and Manual, VII.xx.43 for more recent lists of the different versions.

to suit the needs of the individual scribes.[5]

U offers a good base text for 'The Ten Commandments', and of the copies edited here, none appears to be the source of any other, though several subgroups and close relationships do exist amongst them. While the close affinity between U and S can be seen in most of the texts edited in the chapters to come, it is interesting that here there seem to be several other manuscripts more closely related to U, particularly Tr, I, O and W. Such evidence may attest to the popularity of this text within a certain close network of scribes, or offer one instance where U and S are not as closely related to each other and perhaps did not share the same exemplar.[6]

The most obvious subgroup is that of Rawlinson A.381(R^1), Society of Antiquaries 687(Z) and Rawlinson A.423(R^2), referred to here as the R^1-group. The other manuscripts fall into two general groupings. Those which seem to have descended from an ancestor similar to that in U, TrIOWS, separate into several pairs: UI and TrOW. As for S, while it is similar to UTrIOW, it also seems to be distantly related to the R^1-group, and may be an earlier ancestor of that subgroup. The other general grouping, $XLdQM^1$, also divides into two

[5] Arundel 286(Ar) has been collated only through to line 226. Though it is essentially the same text as U, the alterations made are too cumbersome to include them in their entirety in this edition which is already quite lengthy. But the first 200 or so lines should provide sufficient illustration of the scribe's editing and manipulation of the text.

[6] See the Introduction, i.56-79.

pairs: XLd and QM[1]. The very brief fragment found in La offers little information about its textual relationships, but enough to suggest its relative affinity to the earlier grouping of UTrIOWS. Both Ar and G have been extensively altered and adapted by their respective scribes, and in many cases it is difficult to determine when an alteration is unique or descended from an earlier ancestor.

ISOLATIVE ERROR

In the following section on isolative error, it will be shown how, based on the very large number of errors found in each manuscript, none is the source of another. The manuscripts will be discussed in the following order: UTrIOWSLaXLdQM[1]R[1]ZR[2]GAr.[7]

U: 44 *habetis*, al. *habebis*, lat. habebis; 138 *aʒeyins*, al. *aʒeyns*; 831 *þe þe*, al. *þe*. These are the only apparent isolative errors in U, and the scribe occasionally succumbs to þ/y confusion as at lines 103-4, but it has proven to be a good base text for this edition.

Tr: 45 *non facies coram me*, al. *coram me non facies*, lat. coram me non facies; 76-7 *and Philip*, al. *ad Philipenses*; 99 om., al. *goodes*; 104 *of maumetrye*, al. *of mawmetes*, lat. ydolorum; 203 om., al. *swere*; 226-8 om., al. *ne...name*; 282 *sabbatam*, al. *sabbati*, lat. sabbati; 295-6 om., al. *halwynge...day*; 356-7 *þi cunnyng*, al. *tyme comynge*; 463 om., al. *day*; 481-2 om., al. *and...chirche*; 556 *whit*, al. *with*.[8] Though Tr does have a large number of errors, some omissions due to eyeskip and some merely careless, it seems to be very closely related to U. This is further supported by the fact that this is the only other known manuscript which contains the text of 'The Seven

[7] The order of TrI should be reversed to ITr, but the copy of the text in Tr was discovered at such a late date that it made such an alteration difficult in the final stages of this thesis.

[8] For more errors in Tr see lines: 107, 237, 257, 324, 605-6, 655, 656, 656-7, 675, 697, 706, 773, 797, 808-10, 849, 855, 856, 864-6, 877-8, 884, 886, 899, 932.

Commandments of the New Testament' which immediately follows 'The Ten Commandments' in U.[9]

I: 30 *clarite*, al. *charyte*; 245-7 om., al. *trust...be*; 250 *deed days*; al. *deth day*; 265 *sweres*, al. *swereres*; 269 om., al. *with*; 273 om., al. *withowten...dowte*; 304 om., al. *and horrible*; 429 *kyng*, al. *kynde*; 473 *childer*, al. *moder*; 504 om., al. *man*; 522-3 om., al. *to hym*; 567 *þe þe*, al. *þe*; 619 *xxx*, al. *xix°*; 669 om., al. *knyt...falslyche*; 828 *wold not*, al. *wilnede*. Apart from the above errors, I is a good copy and has been very carefully corrected to match U, even down to the addition of a second letter to show the long vowel as found in U. For example, at lines 330, where U reads *feere*, I reads *fe\e/re*. This occurs again at lines 366, 463, 573, and 729. It often uses y for þ.

O: 77 om., al. *and...þus*; 102 om., al. *seruitus*, lat. servitus; 171 *potest*, al. *potes*, lat. potes; 193 *boold*, al. *blood*; 198 om., al. *in iudicio et*, lat. in iudicio et; 252 om., al. *Philipenses ij° in*; 291 om., al. *helpynge of*; 298 *skilful*, al. *skilfulliche*; 306 *wordes*, al. *wonder*; 622 *leefful a man to leefful a man to*, al. *leefful a man to*; 761-2 om., al. *ne...excusynge*; 835 om., al. *is*; 881-3 om., al. *so...lecherie*; 886 *stele fayn*, al. *fayn stele*. O is also a good copy of the text, but has several omissions and careless errors, and has omitted some of the Scriptural chapter numbers as at lines 44, 229 and 405.

W: 21 *kouþe*, al. *the moore kowthly and heighly*; 30 *thise thise*, al. *thise*; 179 *seete*, al. *feet*, lat. pedum; 213-16 om., al. *Goddes...taken*; 229 om., al. *iiij°*; 332 *fo*, al. *for*; 406 *cecos et claudos*, al. *claudos et cecos*, lat. claudos et cecos; 412 *to þee*, al. *þe*; 611-12 *of*, al. *and...trewe*; 643 *sicut*, al. *ut*, lat. ut; 706 *manslauȝt*, al. *stelynge*. W is a good and clear copy of the text excepting the few careless errors and the long omission above.

S: 456-60 om., al. *and...dooth*; 470-9 om., al. *is...moder*; 728 *from*, al. *for*; 749-50 om., al. *or for ȝiftes*; 876 om., al. *not*; 950 om., al. *to...þat*. S has only a few errors and two long omissions, and one wonders if the omissions at lines 456-60 and 470-9 were made deliberately. S also consistently (as will be seen in the other texts too) omits *to seye/seyn* after quotations as at lines 46, 82, 102, 121-2, 132, 160, 174, 199-200, 254, 282, 316, 408-9, 508, 534, 560, 621, 627, 639, 648, 655, 695-6, 738, 744, 783, 817-18, 857, 872, 893, 936, 952. S has a tendency to shorten *man and womman* to *wiht* or *folk* as at lines

[9] See the Introduction, i.66.

536, 547, and 719, and it often leaves out *womman* altogether as at lines 57, 216, 226-7 and 541.

La: 917-20 om., al. *so...God;* 923-4 om., al. *comaundement3...table*. La is a very brief fragment starting at line 900. The only evident errors are these two long omissions, the fragment offers little evidence here as to the quality of its copy of the text.

X: 22 om., al. *not;* 51 om., al. *schalt;* 55 *þat þat*, al. *þat;* 59 om., al. *is;* 80 *et finis*, al. *finis*, lat. finis; 87 om., al. *here*, lat. eorum; 94-5 om., al. *louen...and;* 97 *þat vp*, al. *þan vpon;* 101 *auaricia*, al. *auarus quod*, lat. avarus quod; 110 om., al. *this comaundement;* 170 om., al. *iuraueris*, lat. iuraveris; 173 *hijs autem*, al. *autem hijs*, lat. autem his.[10] X is prone to numerous careless errors, particularly in the Latin, and several long omissions. It also uses the unusual genitive form of *man ys* for *mannes* as at line 703 and *ney3bour his* for *neighebores* at line 820.[11]

Ld: 120 *celi*, al. *Dei*, lat. Dei; 123 *fete*, al. *seete*, lat. solium; 218 om., al. *and...techyng;* 228 *s*, al. *as;* 229-30 om., al. *where...Petir;* 231 *illos*, al. *nos*, lat. nos; 249 *and*, al. *in;* 375 *at*, al. *to*^{2}; 384 om., al. *with...body;* 401 *herburgh*, al. *þe pore herborwe*.[12] Ld contains many errors and omissions, but also uses synonymous substitutions for nouns, verbs and adjectives as at lines 6, 28, 74, 243, 336-7, 676 and 875. It is a relatively fair copy of the text.

Q: 21 *konde*, al. *kowthly...heighly;* 216-7 om., al. *þe ...Crist;* 261-2 om., al. *moore...helle;* 266 om., al. *by;* 292 *lyuen wiþ lasten*, al. *laste euere;* 399 om., al. *xxv*^{o} *c*^{o}; 477 *p þei*, al. *þei;* 519 om., al. *is;* 531 *fro me to*, al. *to me fro*, lat. ad me de; 551 om., al. *thei;* 602 *ou3t*, al. *out of*.[13] Q is a fair copy of the text with very few long omissions but a number of careless scribal errors.

M^{1}: 20 om., al. *bee;* 45 *alienos deos*, al. *deos alienos*, lat. deos alienos; 83 om., al. *ofte*, lat.

[10] For more errors in X see lines: 178-9, 181, 187-93, 222, 326-7, 331, 353, 361, 531, 536, 538, 539, 594, 598-600, 646, 653-4, 665, 782, 826-7, 828, 855, 871, 876, 882, 906-7, 959.

[11] See also lines: 791, 831, 852 and 957.

[12] For more errors in Ld see lines: 507, 518, 565, 620, 706, 789, 796-803, 816, 828-9, 868-9, 870, 907, 916-24, 939, 945-62.

[13] For more errors in Q see lines: 618, 624, 757, 776 and 787.

sepe; 105 *þat*, al. *þan*; 109-10 *breken this breken this*, al. *breken this*; 119 *ego in*, al. *in*, lat. in; 128-9 *in libello in libello*, al. *in libello*; 131 om., al. *tu*, lat. tu; 152-3 om., al. *you...yat*; 155-6 om., al. *yat...the*; 160 om., al. *tui*; 161 om., al. *not*.[14] M^1 is not a very reliable copy of the text, but reveals a careless scribe who was prone to errors and omissions.

R^1: 51 om., al. *not*; 212 *of of*, al. *of*; 263 *is þat*, al. *yat*; 303-4 om., al. *two comaundement3*; 313 om., al. *3e...vnderstonde*; 405 *debiles pauperes*, al. *pauperes debiles*, lat. pauperes debiles; 419 *oure oure*, al. *3owre*; 438 om., al. *doun*; 612 *schal schal*, al. *schullen*; 661 *seiþ*, al. *sithen*; 695 *facies vi3*, al. *facies*, lat. facies; 811 om., al. *ne...neither*.[15] As part of the R^1-group, this copy is a good one and well corrected, though it still has many errors.

Z: 6 om., al. *to*^{2}; 7 *þa*, al. *that*; 79 *dico vobis*, al. *dico*, lat. dico; 86 *þeþe*, al. *deth*; 115 om., al. *of...had*; 126 *hym selfe elfe*, al. *hymself*; 172 *tuus unus*, al. *vester*, lat. vester; 174 om., al. *est*, lat. est; 180 *seete of þe*, al. *cite of a*, lat. ciuitas; 181 *for for*, al. *for*; 209 om., al. *not*; 261-2 om., al. *yat...of*; 265 *swothe*, al. *suche*; 306 *suffeþ*, al. *suffreth*; 342 om., al. *to the*; 376 om., al. *þei*; 408 om., al. *in*, lat. in.[16] Another member of the R^1-group, Z is not a reliable copy of the text and contains numerous scribal errors.

R^2: 117 *sentence*, al. *synne*; 153-6 om., al. *whanne...the*; 172 *tuus*, al. *vester*, lat. vester; 188 om., al. *hennes...day*; 189 om., al. *and...weyes*; 190-1 om., al. *in...not*; 226 *nas*, al. *was*; 242-3 om., al. *so...dislaueliche*; 328 om., al. *on a Sunday*; 343 *ne had*, al. *hadde not*; 410 *visite*, al. *calle*, lat. voca; 457-8 om., al. *in Englond*; 538-40 *manslau3ter of mouthe*, al. *this...manslaughtre*; 720 *eyther either*, al. *other*; 743-4 om., al. *in...seyn*; 788-9 om., al. *and...togidere*. R^2 is a fragmentary copy of this text and thus highly unreliable. The first folio is missing and the text starts at line 93. One folio, from lines 597 to 713, has been cut out and there appear to be one or possibly two folios missing from

[14] For more errors in M^1 see lines: 174-5, 198, 240, 252, 277-8, 327-31, 346, 422, 465, 499, 541, 551, 556, 571, 581, 587, 647, 649, 656, 665, 669-71, 711, 715, 722-4, 803, 840, 850, 870, 871, 900.

[15] For more errors in R^1 see lines: 852, 872, 891, 893, 923.

[16] For more errors in Z see lines: 416, 447, 509, 563, 586, 614, 629, 640, 663-5, 672, 675, 676, 680, 683, 770, 838-9, 842, 857, 933-4, 957.

the end, the text being cut off again at line 833.

G: 47 *aliue*, al. *false*; 77-82 om., al. *multi...sapiunt*; 86 *whan*, al. *whom*; 101-2 om., al. *auarus...seruitus*; 119-22 om., al. *in...seyn*; 128-32 *in a litel book þat he made þat*, al. *in...seyn*; 159-60 om., al *non...seyn*; 166-75 *in þe c^o chapit bidde vs þat we schalt not swere*, al. *c^o...not*; 198-200 *þat is*, al. *iurabis...seyn*; 211 *þe claryng*, al. *declaryng*; 229-33 *seynt Petur in þe dedis of þe apostillis where he seiþe þus*, al. *holy...sey*; 234 *vs*, al. *þei*; 238-9 om., al. *and...blody*.[17] G is a significantly altered and very unreliable version of the text. All Latin quotations have been omitted, perhaps adapting it specifically for a non-Latin reading audience. Large portions of the text have also been changed as at lines 2-46, 416-25, 471-78, 901-3.

Ar: 8-25 om., al. *of...biddynges*; 28-32 om., al. *ȝe...braunches*; 52-4 om., al. *for...louyd*; 61-2 om., al. *also...God*; 70-3 om., al. *thei...and*; 88-93 om., al. *so...comaundement*; 100-8 om., al. *for...goddes*; 125 om., al. *yat...hymself*; 173 om., al. *autem*, lat. autem; 213-22 om., al. *and...ydel*. The copy of the text in Ar has been reduced into a much slimmer and concise version and its ending is defective, missing lines 945-62 (a folio missing at the end of the manuscript). Though the content of this much altered version is not lost, it is highly unreliable. Along with extensive omissions, the scribe has also reworked much of the text as at lines 37-40, 41, 65-8, 75-6, 93-5, 96-7, 98-100, 109-11, 190-3 and 209-11. As noted briefly above, the text in Ar has been collated only up to line 226, enough to provide a sample of its revised character, the remainder considered too cumbersome to be included here.[18]

GROUP ERROR

The text of 'The Ten Commandments' is significantly longer than any of the other critically edited texts in this thesis, thus there is a much

[17] For more errors in G see lines: 252-4, 269, 280-2, 315-6, 317, 392-3, 405-10, 488, 492-3, 494-74, 506-8, 515, 528-60, 558-60, 575-6, 581-2, 606, 620-1, 624-7, 638-9, 642-8, 652, 693-6, 735-8, 753-5, 795, 814-8, 854-7, 867-72, 891-3, 934-5, 946-50.

[18] As R. Hanna states about Ar: 'This scribe is perhaps better considered an editor than a mere copyist. Virtually all the texts...have been subjected to considerable rewriting. Most frequently, this takes the form of excisions and abridgement...'((1988), 201).

larger margin for isolative and shared errors in the manuscripts collated here. Because of this, it is difficult to know whether certain errors are indeed shared or merely coincidental, especially when particular manuscripts, such as S, consistently omit portions of the text for seemingly stylistic reasons.[19] However, because of the vast number of shared variant readings and errors, there is much more evidence here to substantiate the various textual relationships examined.

As mentioned above, the most distinct of these relationships is the subgroup of R^1ZR^2, the R^1-group. The evidence to support this subgroup's existence is considerable. The group shares exclusively over one hundred variant readings and almost thirty errors, most of which are omissions. As a whole, the changes made to the text by this subgroup do not really alter the meaning of the text, but seem to merely shorten it through the omission of some repetitious portions of the text as at lines 272-4 with the omission of *And perfore, but ȝif þis synne be amended withowten eny dowte, it schal haue harde veniaunce.*[20] And while the R^1-group does have the correct readings for the Latin quotations at lines 198 and 232, it also

[19] For example, the omission of *to seye/seyn* in S after scriptural quotations, as mentioned above.

[20] For more shared omissions in the R^1-group see lines: 158-9, 205-8, 222, 240, 249-50, 330-1, 335, 354-6, 385-6, 395-6, 413, 506-7, 519-20, 532, 548, 559-60, 563, 567-76, 581, 728-9, 733-4, 736-7, 749-50, 764-5, 776-81, 806-9, 815-16.

contains some erroneous readings as at line 171 where the word order of *vnum capillum facere* has been changed to *facere vnum capillum*.

There is one longer omission which may have been deliberately made by the scribe of the group's original ancestor. At lines 464-9, the text introduces the three manners of father and mother and discusses that of the first, one's bodily parents. Here in the R^1-group, these few lines have been omitted and the following portion on the second and third manner of parents, from lines 469 to 485, has been greatly reduced to a simple discussion of one's ghostly parents: the priest and the church. Because the earlier portion of the commandment has discussed the reverence due to one's bodily parents, the omission of the first manner of father and mother seems logical. But the alteration of the next portion has amalgamated the discussion of one's ghostly parents (priest and parish) and one's godly parents (Christ and Mary, God and the Holy Church) into one, perhaps in an attempt to simplify the text.

However, R^2 is a fragment and thus we can never know if these are the only variants and errors that are shared amongst this group. A look at some of the errors shared between R^1 and Z in the portions of text where R^2 is lacking may give some clues. At these points in the text, from lines 1 to 93, 597 to 713 and 833 to the end, R^1 and Z share almost sixty variant

readings and twenty-seven errors and omissions. As with the examples given above, the omissions are typically of repetitious elements in the text and the variant readings do not change the meaning of the text, but modify and simplify it as at lines 927-9 where *ȝowe fulliche how yat ȝe schullen loue and bere ȝow to alle ȝowre* has been shortened to *vs how we schal haue vs to oure*.[21] There is a possibility that some of these omissions and variants are only shared between R^1 and Z because, as will now be discussed, within the R^1-group these two manuscripts seem to be more closely related.

Within the subgroup of R^1, R^1 and R^2 exclusively share only sixteen variants and two minor omissions at lines 443 and 586.[22] There may perhaps be other omissions and variant readings which they shared in the portions of the text now missing from R^2, but I would argue that these are few in comparison with the ones probably shared between R^2 and Z. R^2 and Z share a much larger number of variants, a few more minor omissions and three errors in the Latin quotations.[23]

[21] For more errors shared by R^1 and Z where R^2 is lacking, see lines: 8-12, 22-5, 33, 66-7, 599, 606, 607-9, 641-8, 651-6, 677-9, 694-5, 705-8, 862-3, 868-9, 869, 898, 908, 913-18, 948-50, 950, 954.

[22] For the variants shared by R^1 and R^2 see lines: 103, 170, 234, 292, 295, 351, 365-8, 374, 488, 498-9, 552, 751 and 755.

[23] For more omissions shared between R^2 and Z see lines: 100, 325, 445 and 825. The two share twenty-seven variant readings at lines: 103, 107, 182, 209, 218, 236, 249, 260, 311, 333, 345, 350, 351, 379, 397, 414, 426, 452-3, 521, 522-3, 537, 565, 716-17, 719, 806, 819-20.

At lines 405-6, where the quotation from Luke 14:13-14 begins, the correct reading is *Voca pauperes debiles, claudos*, but Z and R^2 read *visita debiles*. R^2, however, manages to translate this to read *visite*, though Z does not. The two also share the omission of *in* at line 131 in the quotation from St Gregory.

In comparison with the relationships between R^1 and R^2 and Z and R^2, it appears that R^1 and Z are closest within the subgroup to each other and perhaps closest to the original ancestor of the R^1-group. The two share some thirty-seven variant readings, five minor omissions, a longer omission at lines 314-15 and an error in the Latin at line 423 where both have omitted *tuum*.[24] As it has been stated above, the number of variants and errors shared by R^1 and Z may be higher, but because of the portions of the text where R^2 is damaged, it is impossible to distinguish those which would have been shared by the group and those which are shared exclusively between R^1 and Z.

The R^1-group shares a number of minor errors and omissions with a selection of the other manuscripts outside its subgroup. Most of the errors shared are with members of the $XLdQM^1$ group, and we find long omissions shared exclusively between the group and X at lines 409-10, 424, 723-4 and 767-8. A longer omission at lines 491-3, and two omissions in the

[24] For the omissions shared between R^1 and Z see lines: 183, 329, 790, 793, 809.

Latin at line 316 are shared only between the group and Q. Other omissions and errors are shared between the group and various members of the XLdQM^1 group at lines 119, 120, 547-8 and 592. But in the omissions at lines 138 and 280, S is included, and in the errors in the Latin at lines 160 and 169, W is also included. In addition, there is a long omission at lines 175-7 shared between the R^1-group and Ar. Because these are the only shared omissions between S, W and the R^1-group, it is more than likely that these are coincidental and do not reveal any textual relationships, especially in the case of Ar, where its scribe has omitted so much of the text independently. However, it does seem reasonable to suggest that the R^1-group is distantly related to the members of the XLdQM^1 group. Though because of the extensive alterations to the text in the R^1-group, the XLdQM^1 group is probably closer to the original version of this text as represented by U.

There are also errors and omissions which are shared between individual members of the R^1-group and the other manuscripts outside of it, though again usually with XLdQM^1. R^1 shares a number of very minor omissions with a variety of other manuscripts, but none of which are substantial enough to suggest any possible textual relationships, though the ones shared with members of the XLdQM^1 group help to support the possible distant relationship between these two

subgroups.[25] Much the same can be said for Z, which shares a variety of minor omissions with members of the XLdQM^1 group and other manuscripts, especially TrOW.[26] It does, however, share the longer omission of *Sothly now, not two, but oo flesch* at lines 632-3 with Ld. But because this is the only error they share, an error which is most likely coincidental and due to eyeskip, it is of little value. R^2 shares fewer omissions and no real errors with the other manuscripts outside its group, though this may be due to the large portion of R^2 which is missing. The omissions it shares are insignificant and offer no strong evidence for any other textual relationships outside of its subgroup.[27] However, it does share a unique reading with M^1 at lines 276-7. Where the other manuscripts read *in tyme comynge, worschipe yat name and swere*, M^1 and R^2 read *worschipe yt and take yt*. This shared variant, while it is indeed trivial, can only help to reaffirm the tentative relationship between the R^1-group and the XLdQM^1 group.

The evidence for the existence of the XLdQM^1 group is, in comparison with the R^1-group, extremely weak. The group is not as coherent a subgroup as the

[25] Minor omissions shared only between R^1 and members of the XLdQM^1 group see lines: 95, 509, 586 and 918. Those shared with others see lines: 186, 327, 360, 437, 683, 793, 833, 893 and 937.

[26] For more omissions shared between Z and XLdQM^1 see lines: 363, 498, 584 and 924. Omissions shared with TrOW see lines: 112, 523 and 805. With other manuscripts see lines: 243, 356, 397, 414, 875, 908-9, 921.

[27] See lines 99, 144, 212, 454 and 490.

R^1-group, and shares no exclusive errors or omissions amongst its members, but only one long variant reading at lines 385-6. The group as a whole shares a number of variant readings with a variety of other manuscripts, though as mentioned above, these are predominantly with members of the R^1-group.[28] The omissions it shares with other manuscripts are very few and insignificant.[29] To further the apparent connection between the R^1-group and the $XLdQM^1$ group, there are a series of long additions which occur at lines 362, 363, 365 and 369 shared by members of both groups.

Though these four, $XLdQM^1$, do not share any errors or omissions exclusively, they do share some amongst themselves in pairs, and it is on the basis of these pairs and their overlapping, that the manuscripts have been grouped together. The first pair is that of XLd, and they share only minor omissions at lines 44, 242, 561 and 657 and twelve variant readings.[30] This is hardly sufficient evidence to suggest that this is a textually related pair, but because they appear consistently as a pair in the omissions and errors shared with other manuscripts, it is possible to suggest that they are

[28] See lines: 73, 125, 143, 152, 291, 352, 367, 414, 466, 588, 613.

[29] See lines: 954, 266, 428 and 488.

[30] For variant readings see lines: 101, 153, 182, 362, 418, 433, 450, 487, 596, 602, 619, 931.

distantly related to each other.[31] Ld also shares minor errors and omissions with a variety of other manuscripts, especially W, but none of these are substantial enough to support any textual relationships.

Apart from those omissions and variants shared with Ld, X has several longer omissions it shares with the R^1-group at lines 409-10 and 767-8 discussed above, and with O at lines 515-17. While it is probably likely that the omission shared with O is coincidental, both scribes victims of eyeskip, the ones shared with the R^1-group again help to establish a link between the two subgroups. X shares errors and omissions with a selection of the other manuscripts, but none are particularly significant or worth noting.

The other pair, QM^1, are not really a pair at all, but are relatively closely related to XLd and the R^1-group. Q actually appears to be more closely related to Ld, sharing two very minor omissions with it at lines 20 and 391, though M^1 occurs with more frequency in the omissions shared by Q and the other manuscripts, and it also shares two omissions with Q at lines 359 and 576.[32] Q shares a number of variants and omissions with the R^1-group. M^1, however,

[31] See lines: 62, 95, 138, 155, 160, 264, 266, 314, 345, 427, 428, 435, 436, 488, 498, 547-8, 565, 570, 590, 592, 621, 647, 678, 752, 790, 924, 929, 941.

[32] For omissions shared with QM^1 and others, see lines: 42, 95, 143, 158, 160, 176, 184, 198, 238, 266, 267, 421, 428, 435, 436, 437, 488, 541, 576, 606, 628, 672, 683, 704, 713, 831, 875, 914, 958.

seems to be more closely related to the R^1-group, whose members consistently appear, either as a group or individually, in the omissions and errors that M^1 shares with others. M^1 does share errors and omissions with the other manuscripts of its own group. It shares two with X only at lines 29 and 503, two longer ones with Ld at lines 366-8 and 469, and with Q at lines 359 and 576.

What makes $XLdQM^1$ a group is the number of variants, errors and omissions it shares in varying combinations within itself, the two pairs overlapping. At line 130, the omission of the Latin *scilicet* is shared by $XLdM^1$, and the same three share the omission of *ne wrongfully* at line 498 and the omission of *owne* at line 678. The combination of XLdQ share the omission of *of* at line 314 and of *quod* in the Latin at line 647. XQM^1 share the insignificant omission of *a* at line 672. In contrast with the proof that exists to support the R^1-group, the evidence here is meager. But because these manuscripts offer little to substantiate any other textual relationships, this evidence may be enough to suggest that these four manuscripts, $XLdQM^1$, are to some degree distantly related to each other and to the R^1-group.

TrOW is a much stronger grouping, exclusively sharing ten omissions and one very curious reading at line 410, where U has *Armachan* and TrOW have *seyn Richard Armachan*, a reading which reveals the possible

Lollard influence on these copies in TrOW.[33] Between these three manuscripts, it appears that OW are the more immediate pair, exclusively sharing three omissions at lines 519, 672 and 920, and thirteen variant readings. On the other hand, Tr shares only one omission with O at line 162 and one with W at line 515. TrOW also share a large number of omissions with various other manuscripts as well, but few of these occur with enough frequency to suggest any possible relationships between them and the other manuscripts. Separately, however, Tr shares omissions with X at lines 45, 492 and 628, with M^1 at lines 232 and 837, and with S, R^2, G and Ld respectively at lines 38, 96, 443 and 879. W shares omissions with G at line 62, with Z at lines 112 and 523, with Ld at lines 542 and 929, and single ones with Q, S, R^1 and M^1.[34] O shares omissions with M^1 at lines 455, 552, 804 and 848. The long omission it shares with X at lines 515-17, as explained above, is probably coincidental and the result of eyeskip. O shares minor omissions with R^1, I, Q, Ar and S, but these are more than likely coincidental and of little importance here. That these manuscripts, TrOW, are much more closely related to U is revealed by the fact that they share

[33] See the note to the text for lines 409-15. For the shared omissions in TrOW see lines: 141, 301, 409, 440, 444, 447, 460, 485, 520, 610, 804. For shared variants, see lines: 196, 242, 386, 418, 435, 437, 448, 673.

[34] See lines: 19, 103, 833 and 950.

relatively few variant readings and omissions with the R^1-group, though more with members of the $XLdQM^1$ group.

The last pair to be discussed here consists of U and I. While their relationship may be tentative and based on insufficient evidence, it seems feasible that I is very closely related to U because it shares a relatively small number of variant readings with the other manuscripts, and of those only a handful of omissions and errors.[35] I shares readings with U that include all or part of TrOW at lines 136, 143, 326, 496 and 565. As shown before in the section on isolative error, I contains very few isolative errors and appears to have been thoroughly corrected to match U or a U-type text. Because U also contains only a few errors, it may be possible to suggest that U or a U-type copy of the text is the source for I, or that they shared the same exemplar.

The textual relationships for S are difficult to determine, especially because it shares omissions with various members of the R^1-group and $XLdQM^1$.[36] While it is essentially a U-type copy of the text and similar to I, Tr, O and W, it shares exclusive omissions with Q of *on* at line 112 and *or a womman* at line 746. With G, it shares the omissions of *seith*

[35] See lines: 198, 436, 442, 501, 526, 564, 565, 566, 575, 707, 729, 900.

[36] See lines: 38, 39, 45, 55, 73, 97, 99, 122-3, 138, 156, 170, 238, 266, 267, 280, 327, 340, 345, 360, 367, 426, 496, 500, 614, 787, 827, 875, 923, 951, 958.

seynt Poul at line 83 and *and meedfulliche* at line 601 and *bygoon* at line 910; and with Ld, the omission of *of a* at line 576 and *þe* at line 673. S shares a variety of other readings, errors and omissions with all of the other manuscripts except I, but none of these are significant or indicative of any textual relationships that S may have with them.

As for the brief fragment of the text which has survived in La, there is very little here which is useful in determining any of its textual affinities. From the few omissions La shares, it seems possible to suggest that La is distantly related to TrOW and Ld. La and Ld share one minor omission of *yat* at line 928, La and TrOW share the omission of *and* at line 906. Neither of these are particularly important, but because TrOW and Ld also contain a large proportion of the omissions which La has with a handful of other manuscripts, it is possible that La is distantly related to them.[37] It should be noted that La shares no omissions or errors with any members of the R^1-group.

Because of the considerable alterations which have been made independently by the scribes of Ar and G, their textual relationships are difficult to establish. And as I mentioned before, because both omit large portions of the text, it may often be the case that a shared omission is coincidental. For

[37] See lines: 907, 910, 914, 927, 929 and 932.

example, at lines 175-7 both Ar and the R^1-group have omitted *yat is to vndirstonde: swere ȝe not for euery cause resonable or vnresonable*. The fact that Ar shares no other omissions or errors with the whole or individual members of the R^1-group, helps to confirm that the above omission is probably coincidental.[38]

G shares individual omissions with just about every manuscript collated here, and two with Ar at lines 82 and 134, two with M^1 at lines 222 and 336-7, and three with Z at lines 414, 454 and 908-9. There are numerous other errors and omissions which G shares with a large group of manuscripts, but none appear with any consistency and thus it is hard to determine just what their relationships are to G. It is interesting to note that G is the only copy which has completely omitted all of the Latin text, and it seems reasonable to suggest that the scribe of G had a particular audience in mind when he did so.

The text of 'The Ten Commandments' edited here is quite long and because its teaching is fundamental to the pastoral care of the church, it seems to have been subject to much interpretation and alteration by individual scribes. This fact is certainly revealed in the innumberable isolative variant readings found in each of the manuscripts collated here, as well as in the extensive changes made to the text in the R^1-group, Ar and G. Likewise, because of its popular

[38] Though Ar shares an omission at lines 36-7 with R^1 and Z.

theme and from the evidence of the textual relationships discussed above, it is reasonable to suggest that there were many more copies of this particular version circulating, though they have not all survived to the present day.

AN EXPOSITION ON THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

Hic incipiunt decem precepta Dei. f. 85r

Alle maner of men shulden holde Goddes biddyngges, for *with*owten holdynge of hem may no man be saued. And so the gospelle telleth how oon askede Crist what he shulde doo for to come to heuene, and Crist baad hym ȝif he wolde entre into blisse, that he shulde keepe the comaundeme*n*tes of God. For tho keepen Iewes, as alle sectis shulden; for alle we schulden be cristene men and trewely serue God, but this may we not doo

UTrIOWSLaXLdQM¹R¹ZR²ArG

1 hic...Dei] eere bigneþ þe prologe of þe ten comaundementes S, *om.* IOWQM¹R¹ZAr precepta Dei] mandata dei p*ri*me *et* s*ecun*dem tabule Tr *margin* mandata dei X 2 alle...seye(46)] siþen it is as Crist seiþ in þe gospel þat eu*e*ry man or woman þat wol entre into þe kyndom of heuene moste kepe þe comau*n*dementis of God to þe whiche kepi*n*g no man may p*ro*fitliche come w*it*houten knowynge of hem þerfore it is nedeful to eu*e*ry man or woman willinge to entre into þe blisse for to wite whiche *and* how many þei ben and þei ben ten in nowmbre of whiche þre þe first techen vs how we shullen loue and worschipe *and* serue our God abouen al þynge and þe oþer seuene techen vs how we schullen loue our neiȝore as vs self *and* *in* þese ij co*m*maun*d*emen*t*is sto*n*diþ al our gostli \leuyng *and* lieþi*n*g/ of þe lam of God þese ten co*m*mandemen*t*is be*n* *in* holi writ exodi þe xx chapit *and* \ben/ com-maun*d*eþ of God hi*m*silf of þe which þ*is* is þe first G alle] alle, -e *canc.* \e/ Z maner of] cristen M¹ holde] kepe Q 3 biddyngges] byddyng XZ, hestis QAr 4 may] *after* man X no man] none M¹, þer none Q and...hym(7)] forþi C*ri*st seiþ *in* þe gospel Ar 5 how] how þat Tr Crist] of Crist S what] how þat Tr *margin* p*ro*logu*s* R¹ 6 come] *illeg.* I to²] *om.* Z heuene] blisse Ld 7 hym] *om.* X ȝif...shulde(8)] ȝf þou wolt haue euerlastyng lyue Ar blisse] þe blisse O, þe blisse of heuen R¹ that] þa Z, *and* þat I 8 the] þise Tr comaundeme*n*tes] maundementus Q of...biddynges(25)] *om.* Ar for ...co*m*maundement*s*(12)] *om.* R¹Z 9 tho] *on eras.* U, þey X keepen] kepid Tr Iewes] þe Iiwis OM¹ 11 may we] mowe S

but ȝif we keepen thise co*mm*aundement*ȝ*.

O Lord, ȝif a kyng beede a thyng be kept to alle hise lyge men on peyne of here lyf, howe bysely wolde thei keepe this comaundement. But bileeue techith vs that God is moore lorde than eny ertheliche man may bee in this worlde, and weel we wetyn yat as the Lord is moore in hymself, so schulden hise byddynges bee the moore kowthly and heighly kept ande worschiped. But who wot not þat God schulde bee <mo>ost loued? And Crist seith that what man loueth <hym> wel schal keepe his woord, that is hise biddynges.

<T>hise comaundement*ȝ*, for þei schulden bee freelier in mynde, been departed in ten

12 thise] his ILd co*mm*aundement*ȝ*] maundementus Q 13 Lord] Lord God Q be...to(14)] to (*om.* Z) be don *and* kepid of R^1Z be] to ben SLdM^1 14 kept] don *and* spekeþ X to] of SM^1 hise] *om.* Z on] vpo*n* OLdM^1Z, vp WXQ, vp þe Tr peyne] þe peyne R^1 15 thei] þou Z keepe...comaundement(16)] lerne *and* kepe his hestes R^1Z this] þat X 16 comaundement] ma*n*dement*e*nt Ld but] *om.* Z techith] *corr.* R^1 17 is] *corr.* I 18 bee] be here W we...moore (19)] be (we Z) knowe þat God is moste worþi lorde R^1Z we] *om.* X 19 yat] *om.* OWX is] *illeg.* I moore] more worþi Tr so] ry*ȝ*t so XLdM^1R^1Z, *om.* WQ 20 byddynges] byddyng XLdQ, hestes Z bee] *om.* M^1 the...heighly(21)] kowþeli O, kouþe W the... kowthly (21)] most know R^1Z the] *om.* LdQ 21 kowthly...heighly] konde Q kowthly and] *om.* S kowthly] cunynglich Tr, co*n*tynually M^1 heighly] holycherche, -rche *canc.* Z 22 but...biddynges(25)] *om.* R^1Z who] we M^1 not] þat M^1, *om.* X God] God ne OX, ne God WLdQ 23 loued] worschipt Tr and] for Tr seith] seiþ hi*m*self O that] *om.* M^1 what] *corr.* I loueth hym(24)] þat loueþ hi*m* S 24 schal] *om.* S keepe...woord] *after* biddynges S 25 biddynges] byddyng TrXLdM^1 26 thise] the M^1R^1Z 27 bee freelier] þe more wilfuly be hade Ar bee] be þe I freelier] more frely Tr, freischelyer WLd, þe moor fresshly M^1, more tenderlyche Z been] ben þey X departed] parted X

and into two boothe. 3e, þei bene gedered in oon as seynt Poul seith, 'For keep þe in charyte, and þow kepest thise comaunde-ment3.' Charite stondeth in thise two braunches: in louynge God as you schuldest, and in louynge thi neighebore as thiselfe. And herfore, God 3af Moyses two tables of þe lawe: þe firste table techeth men to loue God and conteneth 3re comaundement3 as Goddes lawe techeth, the secounde table conteneth othere seuene maundement3 þat teechith þe for to loue thi neighebore as you schuldest. And thise 3re and seuene maken ten comaundement3.

Here bigynneth the first comaundement.

28 into...boothe] also þei mey be comprehendyd in twoo Ar into] in TrIOWLdQR¹Z, *om.* X boothe] *om.* M¹ 3e...braunches(32)] *om.* Ar 3e] ye *and* R¹Z, *and* TrM¹, *om.* X gedered] departid Ld 29 in] into OM¹ seith] techiþ W for] forte S, *om.* XM¹ þe] *om.* M¹ 30 charyte] clarite I þow] þen þu X thise comaundement3(31)] al ten R¹Z thise] yis I, þe X, *twice* W comaundement3(31)] maundementus Q 31 charite] for charyte M¹ in] in stondiþe *canc.* /, in R¹ thise] *om.* Z 32 in...schuldest] þat is to loue God aboue alle þinge Ar in louynge] to loue O louynge God] loue of God W 33 in louynge] loue of W, loue O, *om.* R¹ZAr thi] of thy M¹ 34 herfore] þerfore TrXQR¹Ar 3af] 3af to OX, yaf vnto M¹ 35 table] lawe *canc.*, table X to] for to X 36 God] God as þei schuld Ar and] *and* it O as...techeth(37)] *om.* R¹ZAr 37 table... schuldest(40)] techeþ þee to loue þi ney3bore as þou schuldest *and* conteneþ seuene comaundementis Ar 38 othere seuene] *rev.* Q othere] þe oder R¹, *om.* TrS maundement3] commaundement3 TrXM¹R¹Z 39 þe] *corr.* O for] *om.* OSM¹ 40 you schuldest] þiself X and] and so S thise] þus R¹Z 41 comaunde-ment3] commaundementes *et cetera* Z, comaundementes þat alle cristen ben holden to kunne *and* to kepe 3if þei wol be saufed or euer come to heuene Ar 42 here ...comaundement] *om.* TrWXLdQM¹R¹Z, primum mandatum O here bigynneth] þis is S, *om.* Ar bigynneth] *corr.* I

The firste comaundement of ten is seide thus of God, **E**xodi **xx**° **c**ap°: <u>**N**on h*abe*[b]is deos alienos coram me. No*n* facies et c*etera*</u>. That is to seye, 'Þow schalt haue noone false goddes byfore me. Thow schalt make þe no grauen thyng, **n**e eny lykenesse yat is in heuene aboue, ne yat is in erthe bynethe, / ne of hem yat been in watres vnder þe erthe. You schalt not worschipe hem, ne honoure hem.' This is vndirstonden thus: for cause yat nothyng schulde bee louyd most but yat that is best *and* moost worthi to be louyd, **a**nd sitthe þat thyng is God alle oone, þerfore God schulde bee moost loued. f. 85ᵛ

And so, what þing eny man or womman loueth moost, þat thyng þei maken here god

43 of...thus(44)] is boden vs Z of ten] *om.* SAr is] is þat Ld seide...of(44)] þis seyþ X seide thus(44)] bidden vs R^1 44 thus...cap°] in þes wordys in þe twenty chapytre of Exodi Ar thus] *om.* M^1 Exodi...cap°] Deut' j° R^1Z, *om.* XLd xx°] *om.* O habebis] habetis U *margin primum mandatum* R^1 45 deos alienos] *rev.* M^1 coram me] *after* non facies Tr non facies] *om.* WSR^1ZAr et c*etera*] *om.* TrX 46 to seye] *om.* S 47 false] straunge Tr, aliue G byfore] tofor Tr thow...hem(52)] *canc.* Ld *margin primum mandatum* X 48 ne] *in* R^1 eny lykenesse] lykenes after noþinge Ar eny] euery W 49 ne] *and* TrWG yat is] *om.* Ar 50 hem] þo R^1Z 51 schalt] *om.* X not] *om.* R^1 worschipe] *corr.* R^1 hem] *om.* Ar ne...hem (52)] <..> honoure Tr honoure] lowte to G 52 this] and þis Ar, þat Ld is] is to X for...louyd(54)] *om.* Ar for] be M^1R^1Z 53 louyd most] *rev.* LdZG yat] þat þing XR^1Z 55 and...is] siþ þer is but o Ar sitthe] *om.* SM^1R^1 þat] *corr.* S, *twice* X thyng] it O, *om.* $TrWR^1G$ God] good, 2nd -o- *canc.* X oone] loue G 56 þerfore...so(57)] he wol be al onely loued moste and þerfore Ar þerfore] *om.* R^1Z God schulde] *rev.* G God] he S 57 eny] þat any $XLdR^1Z$, so Ar, *om.* M^1 or womman] *om.* S 58 loueth] loued O thyng] *om.* OWG þei] he SAr here] his SAr

in as moche as is in hem, be it wyf or childe, goolde or siluer, or eny catelle. **A**lso, what þing eny man loueth moost, ȝif it be not verrey God hymselfe, yat same thyng falsliche thei maken here god. **A**nd so it is to hem a fals god, for þei louen it soueraynliche as God and hit is not God, and so thei breken þe firste comaundement of God. **O**f this it folwith þat thre manere of folke sewyn þe sterynge of oure thre enemyes, þat ben the flesshe, þe worlde and þe feend. **T**hei alle specialliche breken þis comaundement, for þei sewen and so louen moore thise enemyes þan God.

As for the firste, lecherous men and

59 in] *om.* Ld as...as(58)] þat þat Ar is] *after* hem IWSLd, þei may or is G, *om.* X 60 eny catelle] what oþer þing so it be Ar eny] any oþer TrIOG, oþer Ld, *om.* WR¹Z 61 also...God(62)] *om.* Ar also...eny] and so what þing G eny...moost] þat men worschippen *and* ȝeuen þe reuerence (*add.* þat reuerence Z) þat God schulde hawe R¹Z 62 verrey] uerrili Q, hertli G, *om.* WXLdR¹Z yat...thyng] *om.* O same thyng] *om.* WG 63 maken] *corr.* I, maken þat O so] *after* hem Tr, *om.* OM¹Ar is] *after* hem WQ 64 a] as a W louen...God(65)] ȝif hit þe souereyne reuerence (*om.* Z) þat God schuld hawe R¹Z 65 as...oure(68)] and so þei worschypen fals god\dis/ þat fulfillen þe wille of her Ar hit] ȝit hit R¹, *om.* S and] *om.* Z 66 of God(67)] *om.* R¹Z 67 it] þat X folwith] semes I 68 sterynge] steringus Q oure] her W, þese G 69 enemyes] maner *canc.*, enemys X þat ben] *om.* R¹Z þat] whuche S ben] is Ar flesshe] world OGAr e...feend(70)] þe fend and þe world Ld worlde] *corr.* X, flesch OGAr 70 thei...and(73)] *om.* Ar alle] *om.* TrOWG þis] þes XM¹ 71 comaundement] comaundement*es* XM¹ sewen] sew hem Tr, suen \þes enmys/ X so] *om.* M¹ louen] loue þai Tr 72 thise] yis I 73 as] and as XLdQM¹R¹Z lecherous...gloterous(74)] glotenes *and* lecherous G lecherous men] lecheres Z men] *om.* SR¹

gloterous men, thei louen moore here wombes
þan God and so here wombes þei maken here
god. Of hem speketh seint Poul, Ad
Philip*enses* iij°, and seith þus, Multi
ambulant de quib*us* sepe dicebam vobis. Nunc
aute*m et* flens dico i*n*imicos crucis *Christi*,
quo*rum* finis int*e*ritus, quo*rum* Deus vente*r*
est, *et* gloria in confusione eo*rum* qui
terrena sapiu*n*t. That is to seye, 'Menye,'
seith seint Poul, 'goon of þe whiche ofte I
haue seide to 3owe. And now I seye wepynge,
þe enemyes of þe cros of Crist of whom þe
ende is deth, and of whom here wombe is here
god, and ioye in here co*n*fusion þat saueryn
erthely thynges.' So thise men that louen
here flesshe and lecherie or glotonye, thei

74 gloterous...thei] as glotones Ar gloterous men] glotenes XZ men] *om*. R^1 thei] þat Tr, *om*. Q wombes] wombe Z, wombes wille Ar, belyes Ld 75 God] Goddis Ar and...god(76)] for þei ben more bysy to fulfille it *and* lecherous men her stynkynge luste Ar here wombes] *after* maken G wombes] belyes Ld 76 of] *and* of O speketh] specyally M^1 ad... iij°(77)] to þe Phil*ipenses* iij° ca° R^1Z, to þe Philopens*es* in (*add*. þe LdG) iij° ca° XLdG, *after* þus Ar ad Philipenses(77)] *and* Philip Tr 77 and... þus] *om*. O and] *om*. M^1 multi...sapiu*n*t(82)] *om*. G 79 dico] dico vobis Z 80 finis] *corr*. Ar, *et* finis X Deus] *corr*. R^1 81 confusione] *corr*. X 82 that...seye] *om*. GAr to seye] *om*. S menye] manie, -ie *eras*. O 83 seith...Poul] *om*. SG seint] *om*. M^1 goon] gon, g- *altered to* o- O þe whiche] whom R^1Z ofte I] *rev*. QG ofte] *after* haue TrOXR^1, *after* seide Z, *after* 3owe Ar, *om*. M^1 84 and] bot Ld I seye] *after* wepynge G 85 þe] *om*. G whom þe] þe which G 86 deth] þeþe Z whom] whan G here] þe WLdM^1R^1Z 87 ioye] glorie Ar here co*n*fusion] confusio*un* of hem G here] *om*. X 88 erthely] wordli Q thynges] þyng Ld so...comaundement(93)] *om*. Ar so] so þat Q 89 here...glotonye] lecheri gloteny *and* oþer synnes of þe flesch R^1Z and] in W, or Q, to G or] *and* WG thei] þe O

maken here wombe here god and breken þe firste comaundement.

The secounde manere of men þat breken this comaundement, and also maken hem fals goddes, been coueytouse men whiche yat louen moost *and* setten here hertes moost vpon eny worldly goodes, loondes or rentes, goold or siluer, or other catel, ȝe, moore þan vpon God. Þei trespassen aȝeyns þis comaundement of God, and þei maken suche worldly goodes synfulliche here fals goddes. For, as seith seynt Poul, Ad Ephesios v°, <u>Auarus quod est</u>

90 wombe] belyes LdG, stynkyng flesche R^1Z and] *and* so þai TrG breken...goddes(94)] maken hem fals godis *and* breken þis commandement G 93 and...eny (95)] also men maken þe wicked riches of þe world her god as men þat setten al her bysynes vpon Ar and... hem] making (maken Z) to hem R^1Z maken] þat make Tr hem] *text begins here* R^2 94 men] *corr.* R^1 whiche yat] þe which WR^1ZR^2G louen... *and*(95)] *om.* X 95 moost] *om.* S here...eny] most here hertis on G moost²...eny] in R^2 vpon... goodes(96)] in worldely Z vpon] on WS eny] *om.* $XLdQM^1R^1$ 96 goodes] *corr.* I, thynges M^1, *om.* R^1 loondes...vpon(97)] as þei þat haue her þouȝt *and* her mynde more bysyly on siche godis þan on Ar loondes] as londes LdR^2G, *and* londes X or] *om.* TrR^2 or²] *om.* TrR^2 97 or] ar any R^1ZR^2 other] on eny oþer G ȝe] *om.* $TrSM^1R^1R^2G$ þan vpon] þat vp X vpon] on R^2 98 God] God breking Goddes hestes in getyng þerof sleyng *and* distryng his neiȝtborsse oftyn tyme ȝe *and* here sowlis owne (*marked for rev.* R^1, *rev.* Z) in cursid (*add.* dis- Z) spending of þis catel R^1Z, brekyng Goddys hestis in getynge therof sleynge and destruynge here neghbourys ofte tymes and also here soulis in cursyd despendynge of this catelle þus R^2 þei...goddes(100)] *and* more sory whan þei losen siche goodis þan whan þei losen þe loue of God þurȝ breken of hys comaundmentis Ar trespassen aȝeyns] breken Ld 99 of God] *om.* SR^2 þei] *om.* TrR^1ZR^2G suche] *om.* G goodes] *om.* Tr 100 synfulliche] synfulli *and* falsli G, *om.* ZR^2 fals] *om.* R^2 for...goddes(108)] *om.* Ar for...v° (101)] for seynt Poule seiþ to þe effeies in þe v chapit G seith] *after* Poul SLd 101 ad...v°] to þe Ephecies in v c° XLd, Ephesians quintus cap° Z auarus...seruitus (102)] *om.* G auarus quod] auaricia X

ydolo*rum* seruit*us*. That is to seyn, 'An auerous man or a coueytouse man is yraldam of mawmetes.' / For suche a coueþtous man yat loueth eny worldliche good moore þan God, he doth mawmetrie, and he maketh suche worldliche goodes his mawmettes and so his false goddes. f. 86r

The 3rydde manere of men yat breken this comaundement *and* folwen þe feende ben þo yat settyn here hertes moost on worldliche worschipes *and* on vayne glorie and heighnesse of hemself. This maner of worschip of hymselfe coueytede þe feend to haue had of Crist, whanne he wolde haue had hym to fallen doun and worschiped hym. And in this synne of pryde synnede Lucifer, þe

102 seruit*us*] *om.* O that] this R^2 is...seyn] *om.* G to seyn] *om.* S an...man²(103)] auaryce or couetise X an auerous(103)] a harde R^1 103 auerous] harde ZR^2 or a] *and* Z or] *and* R^1R^2 a] *om.* I man²] *om.* WS is] be R^1, *om.* Z *margin red star* O 104 of] to R^2 mawmetes] mawmet Ld, maumetrye Tr 105 loueth] loued I eny...good] *after* moore G good] goodis O þan] þat M^1 106 he] *om.* S he²] *om.* R^1ZR^2G 107 worldliche goodes] catel raþer R^1, catell caduke ZR^2 mawmettes] mawment M^1, maumetries Tr so] *om.* $XM^1R^1ZR^2$ his²] is his Tr 108 goddes] godde M^1 109 the...þo(111)] also þei worschyppen fals goddis þat done after þe consel of þe fende as þei Ar the] þee ry, ry *canc.* Z breken this(110)] *twice* M^1 110 this comaundement] *om.* X *and*] and so Ld, þat S 111 þo] þey X settyn] sittiþ O here] *om.* M^1Ar moost...on(112)] *and* her likyng *in* Ar on] vppon M^1 112 *and* on] vpon R^1, in R^2 *and*] *om.* WZ on] *om.* SQ and²] and in R^2, *and* on WLdZG 113 heighnesse] in hei3nes *and* in worschipis Ar this...hymselfe(114)] þus O this] þes Ar of²] *om.* S 114 coueytede] wolde Ar to] *om.* Ar 115 had... hym(116)] God to falle downe *and* to wurschip hym R^2 of...had] *om.* Z 116 to fallen] to a fallen IQ, falle R^1Z to] to haue WAr doun] adoun X worschiped] worschepe $OXLdM^1Z$, haue worschipid G 117 synne] sentence R^2

heighe aungel of heuen, whanne he seyde in his herte, Þsa*ias* xiiij°, In celu*m* conscendam super astra Dei, exaltabo soliu*m* meu*m* et ero similis altissimo. Yat is to seyn, 'I schal go vp into heuene,' seyde Lucifer, 'and I schalle enhaunce my seete aboue þe sterres of God, and I schal be lyke hy*m* yat is heighest, yat is God hymself.' But for he wolde make hymself so hegh, þerfore he fel lowest into þe deppest put of helle. And þerfore seith seynt Gregory in libello De Co*n*flictu Vicio*rum* et Virtut*um*, Si ille scilicet Lucifer per superbiam de celo cecidet, quomodo tu superbiendo in celu*m* asce*n*des. That is to seyn, '3if

118 heighe...heuen] feyre angel Ar heighe] heghest IM^1 whanne] whanne þat M^1 in his(119)] thus in R^2 119 Þsaias xiiij°] *after* altissimo Ar, Ysaie þe fourtene chapitre Ld, as Ysaie þe p*r*ofet reherseþ in þe xiiij chapit G, *om.* M^{1}R^{1}ZR^2 in...seyn(122)] *om.* G in] ego in M^1 *margin* no*t*a I 120 conscendam] asce*n*da*m* LdR^{1}ZR^2 Dei] celi Ld exaltabo] exaltabo <....> O 121 yat...seyn(122)] *om.* OAr to seyn(122)] *om.* S 122 into] to M^{1}ZR^2 seyde Lucifer(123)] *om.* TrSGAr seyde] so seyde O 123 I] *om.* Q enhaunce] anhye Tr seete] *corr.* I, fete Ld 124 I] *om.* R^1 125 hy*m*] to him XLdQM^{1}R^{1}ZR^{2}Ar yat...hymself] *om.* Ar heighest] moost hieste R^2, heshst, *1st s altered to g* I yat^2] whuch S is God] *rev.* R^1 126 but] and Ar wolde...þerfore(127)] desyred þus to be hei3ed Ar hymself] hy*m*selfe elfe Z 127 þerfore] *om.* R^1 lowest...deppest] i*n*to lowest Ar lowest into] dou*n* lowest into LdM^1, downe to R^2 lowest] dou*n* R^{1}Z into] i*n* I deppest] *om.* M^1 128 þerfore] herof Ar seith] said I seynt] *om.* R^1 in...seyn (132)] i*n* a litel book þat he made þat G in libello(129)] *twice* M^1 in] in quoda*m* R^{1}ZR^2 *margin* no*t*a I 129 viciorum...virtutum] u*i*rtutum *et* vicio*rum* Q 130 si] *om.* O scilicet] *om.* XLdM^1 de celo(131)] *after* cecidet M^1 131 cecidet] *corr.* R^1 tu] tu*am*/ R^2, *om.* M^1 superbiendo] persuperbiendo OR^1 in] *om.* ZR^2 132 that... seyn] *om.* Ar to seyn] *om.* S 3if] 3if he Tr

Lucifer þorwgh pride felle out of heuene into helle, how schalt þou by pride come vp into heuene?' Trust þerto, it wol not bee; but as sykerly as God is in heuene, þe heighere yat you makest þiself þorgh pride aȝeyns þe wylle of God, but ȝef you amende þe heere bytyme in this lyf, you schalt euene after thi pride be þe neer Lucifer and þe depper in helle.

And therfore, aȝeyns þe temptacions of flesshe, beeth mesurable of meete and of drynke and chast of ȝoure bodyes from lecherye. Aȝeyns þe temptacions of this worlde to couetise, hoolde ȝow apaid of yat that God sendeth ȝowe with trowthe. Aȝeyns þe temptacions of þe feend to pride, hoold

133 þorwgh] for his Ar pride] his pryde M^1, pride he seide G 134 into helle] *om.* GAr schalt] schuldest Ar by] þorou QR^2 pride] proude *and* Z vp into(135)] vp to M^1, to R^2 vp] *om.* GAr 135 it] þat X 136 as...heuene] *om.* Ar as] also LdG sykerly as] *om.* M^1 sykerly] syker WSXLdQR^1ZR^2G 137 yat] *om.* OAr þorgh] bi R^1ZR^2 138 aȝeyns... be(140)] but þou be war bytyme Ar aȝeyns] aȝeyins U 138 ȝef] *om.* SXLdR^1ZR^2 139 heere bytyme] *rev.* Q bytyme...lyf] in þi life tyme G this] thi R^2 140 euene...depper(141)] euer dwelle with Lucifer R^2 thi pride] þei Z þe...depper(141)] þe deppur *and* þe neeþer with Lucifer G þe] *om.* M^1 and...in (141)] schalt þou falle into Ar and] in þe *and* Z 141 þe] in þe X, *om.* TrOW 142 and therfore] *om.* Ar and] *om.* X þe] *om.* QR^1ZR^2 temptacions] temptacyon TrLdQM^1R^2 of] of þe OWLdQM^1GAr, of þi R^1ZR^2 143 beeth] *corr.* O, be ȝe XLdQM^1Z, be þou R^1, is Ar of] takynge of Ar, in Ld of^2] *om.* OSXLdQM^1R^1ZR^2GAr 144 and...bodyes] wiþ a chast wille Ar of] *om.* TrR^2G ȝoure bodyes] þi bodi R^1 145 aȝeyns] and aȝens R^1 þe] *om.* QR^1ZR^2 temptacions] temptacioun QM^1R^2 this] þe OWXLdQR^1ZR^2GAr, *om.* M^1 146 to couetise] *om.* Ar to] as to R^2, of X of] with R^2 147 that] *om.* M^1R^1 sendeth] haþ sent OXM^1Ar, hath sente to R^2 with] on X aȝeyns] and aȝens SZ, \and/ aȝens R^1 148 þe] *om.* XQR^1ZR^2 temptacions] temptacioun QR^2 to] in R^2

3ow apaid of þe astaat yat God hath set 3owe inne. And setteth 3owre herte *and* 3owre loue vpon God ouer alle thyng, sitthen he is most worth. And thanne you kepest þe firste comaundement, whanne God byddeth yat you schalt make þe noone false goddes byforen hym, to þe vndirstondyng yat I haue nowe toolde the.

This is the secunde comaundement. / f. 86ᵛ

The secounde comaundement of God of þe first table is this: Non assumes nomen Dom*ini* Dei tui i*n* uanum. That is to seyn, 'You schalt not take þe name of þi Lord God in vayne or in ydel.' Yat is to vndirstonde, you schalt not swere by any name of

149 apaid of] in mekenes *in* Ar of] *with* M^1 þe] þat TrOLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$G, *twice*, þat þat, *2nd canc.* X astaat] state TrIR^1Z set...inne(150)] 3ow send X set] sent Z 150 inne] *and* me Z 3owre...ouer (151)] loue in God abouen G herte] hertes TrIXLdQR^1Z, loue Ar *and*²...vpon(151)] on R^2 151 loue] loues Tr, hert Ar vpon] vp on\to/ R^1, on M^1 ouer] aboue M^1Ar, bifor Ld thyng] þinges Q sitthen] as R^2 he] þat he R^1Z, it Ld 152 worth] worþi TrXLdQ$M^1R^1R^2$Ar and...the(156)] *and* þus þou may kepe þe first comaundment Ar thanne you] þou þat Tr you...yat(153)] *om.* M^1 153 whanne...the(156)] *om.* R^2 whanne God] of God in þe whiche he G byddeth] bydde þee Z yat] þe þat XLd you] we G 154 þe] iow R^1, to vs G 155 þe] thyn M^1, þat R^1Z yat... the(156)] *om.* M^1 yat] *om.* R^1 nowe] *om.* XLdR^1ZG 156 the] þee *et cetera* Z, 3ou OWR^1, to þe Ld, *om.* TrSQ 157 this...comaundement] þe secounde comaundment XAr, secundum madatum OR^2, capitulum secundum Q, ij mandatum primum tabule Tr, *om.* WLdM^1R^1ZG *margin* 2^m man^{tu} W 158 of...table(159)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 of God] *om.* WQM^1 of²...table(159)] *om.* G 159 non...seyn(160)] *om.* G 160 Domini] *om.* WXLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$ Dei] *om.* O tui] *om.* M^1 that ...seyn] *om.* Ar to seyn] *om.* S 161 not] *om.* M^1 þi Lord] *after* God Z, *om.* R^2 þi] þe W God] þi God W, *om.* X 162 in...or] *om.* LdG or] ne R^2 in²] into M^1, *om.* Ar ydel] ydelnes I to vndirstonde(163)] *om.* Ar to] *om.* TrO 163 any] the R^2

God withowten resonable cause. And þerfore Crist hymself, in þe gospel of seynt Matheu c° v°, biddeth þus, Nolite iurare *omnino*, neque *per* celu*m*, q*uia* thronus Dei est; neque *per* terra*m*, *quia* scabellu*m* pedu*m* eius est; neque *per* Ierosolima*m*, *quia* ciuitas est magni regis; neque *per* caput tuu*m* iuraueris, *quia* no*n* potes vnu*m* capillu*m* facere albu*m* vel nigru*m*. Sit autem sermo vester: est, est; non, non; quod aute*m* hijs habu*n*danci*us* est, a malo est. Yat is to seyn, 'Swere ȝe not on alle manere,' yat is to vndirstonde: swere ȝe not for euery cause resonable or vnresonable, 'neither by heuene, for it is þe trone of God; ne by erthe, for it is þe benche or þe forme of Goddes feet; ne by

164 and þerfore] *and* trewe for O þerfore] *after* hymself XR^1ZR^2 165 hymself] hymselfe seiþ Ar, *om.* Q 166 c°...not (175)] in þe c° chapit bidde vs þat we schalt not swere G c° v°] þe fifþe chapitre Ld, j° R^1Z, p*rimo* R^2 biddeth þus] *om.* Ar biddeth] seyþ X þus] *om.* M^1 168 pedu*m*] *corr.* R^1 eius est] suor*um* M^1 eius] suor*um* X 169 est...regis (170)] *est* regis magni, regis magni *marked for rev.* I, regis magni est QAr est] *after* regis $WXLdM^1R^1ZR^2$ 170 iuraueris] iurabis R^1R^2, \iu/rabis Z, *om.* X 171 potes] potest O vnu*m* capillu*m*] *after* facere R^1ZR^2 facere albu*m*] *rev.* Ld 172 vel] aut M^1 vester] tuus R^2, tu*us* vnu*s* Z 173 aute*m* hijs] *rev.* X aute*m*] *om.* Ar hijs] *om.* R^1ZR^2 174 est] *om.* Z a] *corr.* M^1 yat...on(175)] ne wil ȝe noȝt swere i*n* Ar to seyn] *om.* S to] for to M^1 ȝe...on(175)] in M^1 ȝe] *om.* WX 175 on alle] i*n* no R^1ZR^2 on] in Tr yat...vnresonable(177)] *om.* R^1ZR^2Ar 176 ȝe] *om.* $OXQM^1$ euery] eny maner of G cause] maner cause OW, maner of cause Tr or] *and* Ld 177 neither] ne X, not W 178 ne] neiþ*er* LdR erthe] þe erþe ZR^2, \þe/ ȝerþe R^1 þe...or(179)] *om.* X 179 benche... Goddes] steppe of his R^1ZR^2 benche...forme] foorme or þe benche SQ, foorme of þe benche M^1, sete or ben*c*he Ld or...forme] *om.* TrWAr forme] stool G feet] seete W ne] neyther R^2

Ierusalem, for it is þe cite of a greet kyng; ne swere not by þin heed, for you maist not make on heer white or blac. But 3oure woorde be: 3e, 3e; nay, nay; and þat that is moore ouer þis, it is of yuel.' Thise been Cristes wordes in the gospelle. And therfore, for loue of yat Crist þat for 3owe schedde his herte bloode, beeth war hennes forwarde, nyght and day, of 3oure othes sweryng, and on alle weyes yat 3e swere not in vayne ne in ydel; and muche moore þat 3e swere not falslyche ne dislaue-liche in dismembryng of Crist yat for 3owe schedde his blood.

But 3if 3e schullen swere, rewle 3owe

180 cite...a] seete of þe Z a] þe TrR¹ZR²Ar 181 swere not] swere þou not *after* heed Ld, *om.* Ar not] *corr.* Q for] *twice* Z you] *om.* X 182 on] non R¹ white...blac] noþer whyte ne blacke R¹, þeroffe neiþer blacke ne whyte ZR² or] ne XLd but] bot latt Tr 183 3oure woorde] *after* be OLdR¹XZR² woorde] wordes Z, oþe Tr be] be it W nay] *and* nay W, or nay G þat] *om.* R¹Z 184 ouer] þan OQM¹ þis] þan þys Z, than thus R² it] *om.* LdQM¹GAr 185 been...wordes] be þe wordus of Crist Q Cristes...gospelle] þe wordis of Crist Ar 186 for] *corr.* R¹ loue] þe loue XM¹R¹R²Ar yat ...bloode(187)] God R² yat Crist] God Z yat] *om.* M¹R¹Ar for 3owe(187)] *after* bloode M¹ 187 3owe] vs G schedde] blede Ar herte] hertes Z, *om.* LdM¹G beeth...blood(193)] *om.* X beeth] be 3e Ld 188 hennes...weyes(189)] of oþes Ar hennes...day] *om.* R² hennes forwarde] fro now forþe G hennes] herby W 189 othes] *om.* R² and...weyes] *om.* R² on] inne M¹G, *om.* Q 190 in ...blood(193)] deceyueablely ne swerrynge by none of Cristis membris ne his seyntes Ar in...not(191)] *om.* R² ne] *om.* G 191 falslyche] fals Ld dislaueliche(192)] disseiuabiliche R¹ZR², dissayuyngly I, delau\er/eli O, outeragerych M¹ 192 in] ne in R¹, ne Z, neyther R² Crist] God W 3owe] vs G 193 blood] herte blood WLdG, boold O 194 but] and S schullen] ben constreyned to Ar

aftur þe lawe of God in ȝoure sweryng. For God hymself techeth þe that whanne you swerest, you schalt keepe thre condicions: Iurabis inquid *in* veritate, in iudic*i*o et in iusticia. Ie*remias* iiij° c°. That is to seyn, 'You schalt swere in trowthe, in doom ande in riȝthwisnesse.' That is to vndirstonde, you schalt swere þe trewth, and in no caas you schalt swere fals ne make no lesyng, for euery lesyng is aȝeyns Crist yat is soueraygne trowth. Thanne you schalt swere in doome, yat is to seyn, whanne you art constraignede by thi soueraygne and thi domesman to wittenesse þe trowth. And also, you schalt not swere for envye, ne for

195 aftur] by Ar þe...God] Goddes lawe XQ in... that(196)] þat is Ar 196 God] *om.* Ld techeth] he techeþ TrOW, in þe iiij° chapit of Ieremy techiþ G þe...schalt(197)] þou schalt swere bot Z, þat þou shalte nat swere but thou R^2 þe] þe in Ieremie þe iiij° c° X that] *after* swerest Ld
197 condicions] þingges or condicions *in* þi oþe Ar
198 iurabis...seyn(200)] þat is G iurabis] iurabo M^1, as seiþe þe pr*o*phete Ieremy iij° ca° iurabis R^1ZR^2 inquid] viuit d*omin*us R^1ZR^2, *om.* Ar in^2...et] *om.* O in^2] *et* in R^2 in^3] *om.* ISQM^1Ar 199 Ieremias...c°] Ie*re* þe ferþe chapitre Ld, *om.* OXR^1ZR^2 to seyn (200)] *om.* S 200 seyn] sey that R^2 in trowthe] as God is on live R^1, as is (is *canc.*) God is on lyue Z, as God is alyue R^2 201 riȝthwisnesse] ryȝtfulnesse X that] *and* G 202 you...swere] *om.* G swere] *om.* Tr þe] *eras.* G, *in* OLd, *om.* QAr
203 caas] cause Q you...swere] *om.* Ar you schalt] *rev.* M^1 swere] nouȝt swere OR^1ZR^2 ne] and G no^2] *om.* Ar 204 aȝeyns] aȝens trouþe Ld Crist...soueraygne(205)] *om.* Ar 205 trowth] soþfastnesse G thanne...trowth(208)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 thanne] also Ar you schalt] *rev.* X 206 swere] swere also IOW, also swere Tr in] also in G to seyn] *om.* SAr 208 þe] a Ar and] *om.* R^2 also ...schalt(209)] *om.* Ar also] so TrOWG, *om.* M^1
209 not swere] *rev.* OWM^1 not] *corr.* O, *om.* Z swere...therof(211)] for fauo*ur* ne drede ne loue ne wraþe ne for noþinge ellis but onely for þe declarynge of trewþe Ar for...drede(210)] for hatee ne for loue ne for mede G for] for noon ZR^2

fauour, ne for drede, but for rightwisnesse and for declaryng therof to þe worschip of God ande to helpynge of thyn euencristen. And þerfore, euery man yat taketh Goddes name in ydel and in vayne, or elles falsliche sweryng with his mowth, and / also euery man or woman yat taken vpon hem þe naame of Crist to be called cristene and lyuen aȝeyns Cristes lyuyng and his techyng, alle þei taken Goddes name in ydelle and trespacen aȝeyns this comaundement where God byddeth þow schalt not take his name in vayne ne in ydel. And me thenketh yat ȝre causes schulden stirre ȝowe to kepe þis

f. 87r

210 ne] ne for luf ne R^1ZR^2 rightwisnesse] ryȝtfulnesse X 211 for...therof] to declare þe treuthe M^1 for] *om.* Q declaryng...worschip] declaring (declaracoun R^2) of truþe to þe plesans R^1ZR^2 declaryng] þe claryng G þe] *om.* X 212 to] to þe R^1Z, *om.* WLdM^1R^2Ar of] *twice* R^1, *om.* O euencristen] *corr.* R^1, cristen M^1 213 and ...ydel(222)] *om.* Ar euery] eny G man] man or womman W Goddes...taken(216)] *om.* W Goddes name(214)] þe name of God Q name] mame, *1st* m- *altered to* n- Tr 214 ydel...vayne] veyne ar in idil R^1 and] or LdZR^2G elles] *om.* R^1ZR^2 215 swerynq] sweriþ $M^1R^1ZR^2$ his] hor Q mowth] *corr.* I 216 or woman] *om.* S or] and M^1 taken...hem] takeþ on him XR^2 vpon] vp W þe ...Crist(217)] *om.* Q 217 of Crist] *om.* M^1 to] for to W called cristene] clepid a cristen man G and] *om.* R^2 218 lyuen] lyueþ X, leuynge ZR^2 Cristes lyuyng] cristen lawe R^2 lyuyng] bidding R^1 and...techyng] *om.* Ld 219 Goddes...in] þe name of Crist on G Goddis name] þe name of God O Goddes] his R^1ZR^2 in ydelle] on veyn Ld ydelle] veyne R^1ZR^2 220 this] his I where] wherfore R^2 221 þow] þat þow S his] Goddis Ld 222 vayne ...ydel] ydul ne in veyn Q, ydel *and* in vayne Tr vayne...in] *om.* M^1G ne...ydel] *om.* R^1ZR^2 ne] *corr.* I, *om.* X ydel] ydelnes I me...yat] *om.* Ar me thenketh] it semeþ G yat] *om.* M^1 223 stirre] stry *canc.*, styr Z ȝowe] vs G, men QAr þis comaundement(224)] thees ij commaundementes M^1

comaundeme*n*t and take þe name of God with
225 greet worschip *and* dreede.

Oo cause is: for ther was neuer man ne womman saf þat dede synne but in vertu of this name, ne neuer schalle be, as witnesseth holy writ, **Act***um* iiij°, where
230 seith seynt Petir, **N**on est aliud nome*n* sub celo datu*m* ho*mini*bus in quo opo*r*teat nos saluos fieri, suple pre*t*er qua*m* nomen Ihesu *Christi*. **Þ**at is to sey, 'Ther is noon other name vnder heuene ȝeuen to men i*n* whiche þei
235 mosten be saf, but in this name Ihesu Crist.' **B**ut howe schal eny synful wrecche durre stonde before Crist at þe dreedful day

224 take...dreede(225)] noȝt to take Cristes name *in* veyne Ar take] take *cristes*, *cristes eras*. R^1, \to/ take X, to take TrOWQG with greet(225)] in QR^1ZR^2 225 greet] grete reuerente M^1 *and*] *and in* R^1ZR^2 226 oo] *collation of Ar ends here* is] is þis þat G, *om*. M^1 was] nas R^2 man] non man G ne womman(227)] *om*. S ne...name(228)] *om*. Tr ne] nor Q *margin* 1 W 227 saf...this(228)] þat synned þat myȝt be saaf but in his G saf] saued WSM^1 dede] was in deedly R^2 synne] syne, -e *canc*. / ne I but...name(228)] *after* be R^1ZR^2 228 this] his R^2 be] *om*. W as] s Ld 229 witnesseth] wyttenesse hit I holy...sey(233)] seynt Petur in þe dedis of þe apostillis where he seiþe þus G Actum iiij°] in Acti*bus* Ap*ostu*lo*rum* 4° ca° R^1ZR^2, in Acte*s* of Apostle*s* iiij° c° X, in þe dedis of Apostlis þe fourþe chapitre Ld, *om*. O iiij°] *om*. W where...Petir(230)] vbi Petr*us* dicit R^1ZR^2, *om*. Ld 230 seith] *after* Petir OS 231 nos] vos R^1Z, illos Ld 232 suple...nomen] pre*t*er qua*m* (*add*. in R^2) no*mi*ne do*mi*ni ue*st*ri R^1ZR^2 pre*t*er] proter O suple] *om*. TrM^1 nomen] nome*n* do*mi*ni no*st*ri Ld 234 men] ma*n* R^1R^2 whiche...saf(235)] by the which ye most be sauyd R^2 whiche] þe whiche QR^1Z þei] þe Z, vs G 235 saf] saued SR^1 this] his M^1 name] name of R^1 236 schal] schuld TrG synful wrecche] *rev*. Q, ma*n* si*n*ful, *marked for rev*. R^1 wrecche] ma*n* ZR^2 237 durre] þere X, *om*. M^1 þe] þat WXR^2, *om*. Tr dreedful] *corr*. R^1, *om*. M^1

of dome, with his handes and feet and sydes blody and hise woundes opene, and wayte to be saf at yat dreedful stounde in vertu of Cristes name and of his harde woundes, whiche name *and* woundes you hast so horribliche and dislaueliche dispyced alle thi lyf with þi veyne *and* horrible othes swery*n*g and woldest not amende þe? Trust þerto, but ȝif you amende þe, it wille not be.

The secou*n*de cause yat schulde stire ȝowe to dreede sweryng of greete oothes in veyne to ȝoure deth day is þat the name of Ihesu is so worschipful þat, as seyth seynt

238 with his] where his woundes of R^2 with] *and* seen G handes and] wondes XR^1 handes] woundes Z and...blody(239)] *om.* G and] *om.* $SLdQM^1$ feet] his feete W sydes blody(239)] sidis (syde Z) al blodi R^1Z, syde R^2 sydes] hys sydes W
239 and...at(240)] and alle his body schalle be openly be shewyd and ther ye hopen to be sauyd in R^2 and] in X hise] *om.* G wayte] loke TrG
240 saf] saued WSLd at...stounde] *om.* M^1 at] of X yat] þe S vertu of] *om.* R^1ZR^2 241 and ...*and*(242)] þe \wyche/ X harde] bitter G
242 whiche] þe whiche Q you] þat þou TrOW so ...dislaueliche(243)] *om.* R^2 so] *om.* XLd
243 horribliche] *corr.* I and dislaueliche] *om.* WM^1Z and] *and* so O dislaueliche] dissauably I, falsli R^1 dispyced] dispendit Ld 244 lyf] lyftyme W with þi] in þi WG, *in* þe O *and*] *and* þi X horrible] *corr.* O 245 trust...be(247)] *om.* I 246 ȝif] *om.* R^1ZG þe] þe here O it...be (247)] *and* cese it nyl not bee Z, and sece of it thou wulte be dampnyd R^2 it] *and* sese hit R^1, *and* leue of hit G 248 schulde] shulde, s- *eras.* \sc/- W stire] cause M^1 *margin* 2 W 249 sweryng] of swerynge ZR^2 in...day(250)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 in] and Ld
250 deth day] deed days I the] þis Q of] *om.* Q
251 Ihesu] Ihesu Criste R^1, oure Lord Ihesu Crist G þat] *om.* OR^1ZR^2 seyth] *after* Poul M^1, seiþ, -þ *eras.* O

Poul, ad Philipenses ij°, In nomine Ihesu omne genu flectatur celestium, terrestrium et infernorum. That is to seyn, 'In name of Ihesu, euery knee of heuenely creatures, of erthely and of helle schalle bowe.' For it is so heigh and so worschipful yat þe cursed feend of helle schulde tremble to here it nempned. And þerfore, it semeth yat tho men yat sweren so horribliche by þat blessed name, þei despice yat name moore bodiliche þan durste þe deuel of helle.

The ȝridde cause yat schulde stire ȝowe and alle men to leeue here grisely othes is this: it semeth yat suche swereres yat so dismembren Crist, sweryng by his herte and

252 ad...seyn(254)] to þe Philipensis *in* þe secunde chapit G ad...ij°] to þe Philepenses ij° c° X, to þe Philippenses þe secunde chapitre Ld Philipenses ...in] *om.* O ij°] 3 Q, *om.* M^1 nomine] *corr.* Z 254 name] þe name TrIOWXLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$G to seyn] *om.* S 255 euery] euerych X of²] or G 256 erthely] erþelyche creatures ZR^2, er\þ/li creatures R^1 and] or G of] *om.* M^1 schalle] schulde OW bowe] *corr.* Tr 258 schulde tremble] schal tremble *and* quake R^1ZR^2 schulde] shulleþ X tremble] trembly Ld, quake G 259 nempned] named OWLdM^1, spokon R^1 yat] *om.* M^1 tho] þe X 260 so] *om.* Ld horribliche] customabili G by] *om.* ZR^2 blessed] *om.* G yat...helle(262)] *and* displese God fulle highly R^2 yat...of(262)] *om.* Z yat name] hit R^1 moore...helle(262)] *om.* Q bodiliche] boldli Ld, *om.* R^1 262 þe deuel] *twice*, 2nd *canc.* R^1 263 cause] *corr.* Z yat] is þat R^1 stire ...this(265)] lothe yow to swere grete othes ys that ye schulde thenke how ye dysmembre Crist that blessid body but R^2 ȝowe and(264)] *om.* G *margin* 3 W 264 here grisely] gret XLdR^1Z here] ȝowre IO othes] oþis sweryng O, swering G is this(265)] it is Z is] in G 265 semeth yat] *twice* M^1 yat] *corr.* Z suche] swothe Z swereres] grete swerers Ld, sweres I yat²...sweryng(266)] *om.* Tr 266 by] *om.* Q his] *om.* X herte...soule(267)] soule hert G and] *om.* SXLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$

soule, and bloode and bones, hem thenketh yat þe cursed Iewes dede neuere Crist / tourment inowgh, but ȝif þei, with here grisly and cursede othes, al todrawe Crist lememeele to her power, and so dede neuere þe cursed Iewes. And þerfore, but ȝif þis synne be amended withowten eny dowte, it schal haue harde veniaunce. And þerfore, for dreede and for loue of yat blessed name in tyme comynge, worschipe yat name and swere not in ydel; and þis is þe secounde comaundement. f. 87ᵛ

This is the thridde comaundement.

The thridde comaundement of God of þe firste table is this: Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices. That is to seyn, 'Haue mynde to halwe þin holy day.' For it is a

267 and] *om.* SXLdQM¹R¹ZR² 268 Crist tourment(269)] *rev.* X Crist] to Crist R², *om.* I 269 ȝif] *om.* Q with here] *om.* G with] *om.* I 270 grisly and cursede] cursid *and* grisely TrLdM¹ and cursede] *om.* X and] *om.* Q todrawe...to(271)] todrewe hym by R² Crist lememeele(271)] Cristes lymes mele X 271 lememeele] every leme fro othir M¹, lym by lym Tr to] bi R¹ZG 272 and... veniaunce(274)] *om.* R¹ZR² ȝif...synne(273)] þi synnes Ld ȝif] *om.* M¹ þis] *om.* I 273 withowten ...dowte] *om.* I it] þou Ld 274 harde] scharp Q 275 dreede] loue OQ for²] *om.* R¹ loue] drede OQ 276 in...name] euery man schulde worschipe hit G in...comynge] *om.* M¹R² in] now *and* in W yat ...swere(277)] yt and take yt M¹R² yat] ȝe þat X 277 swere] take it R¹Z not] not þerbi G in ydel] bi hit *in* ydelnese I and...comaundement(278)] *om.* M¹ and] for X, *om.* LdR¹Z 278 comaundement] commaundement *et cetera* Z 279 this...comaundement] þe iij comaund X, capitulum 3 Q, tercium mandatum R², tercium mandatum prime tabule Tr, *om.* OWLdM¹R¹ZG *margin* 3ᵐ manᵗᵘ W 280 of God] *om.* SXLdR¹ZR² of²...seyn(282)] is þis G 281 this] *om.* M¹ 282 sabbati] sabbatum Tr to seyn] sayen Z, *om.* S 283 mynde] in mynde QR² halwe] halwe welle R², hold X for it] that R¹ZR² a] *om.* X

greete curtesye of God yat graunteth vs to worche six dayes in þe woke to gete oure bodyliche sustenaunce, þat in schort tyme schal be wormes mete and roten. Thanne skilful it is yat oo day in the woke, and yat is on the holy day, men bysie hem principalliche for goostliche goodes getyng, to helpynge of here soules yat schullen laste euere withowten ende. And therfore God biddeth, 'Haue mynde to halowe thyn holy day.'

Halwynge of þe holy day is lyuynge holiliche vpon þe holy day. But þanne it semeth nowe on dayes þat þe holy day may skilfulliche be cleped þe sory day, for of alle dayes þe holy dayes been moost cursidliche dispended in the deueles seruise in despit of God and of þe seyntes of

284 graunteth] graunted I to worche (285)] *om.* M^1 to] forto Ld 285 gete] gete vs WG 288 it] þing hit X yat] *om.* Q and...on(289)] þat in Z, that is to sey R^2 and] *om.* R^1 289 is] *om.* M^1 on] *in* LdR^1 holy day] sonneday G men] þat men SX 290 principalliche] *om.* R^2 goodes] *corr.* R^1 291 to] in S, *and* $XLdQM^1R^1ZR^2$ helpynge of] *om.* O here] *om.* R^2 schullen] shuld X 292 laste euere] lyuen wiþ lasten Q euere] *om.* R^2G therfore] þerfore hit comeþ so seldon R^1R^2, þerfore for it bycomeþ soo seelden Z 293 biddeth] byddyse yee I halowe] kepun QR^1ZR^2 295 halwynge...day(296)] *om.* Tr þe] þi R^1R^2 lyuynge holiliche(296)] holi leuyng Ld 296 vpon] on $SXM^1R^1R^2G$ but] *om.* Ld it] *om.* R^2 297 on dayes] a dayes SM^1, a day R^2 on] in þese G þat] is þat Z 298 skilfulliche] skilful O cleped] clepid or callid O, callid WR^1R^2, cald I þe] now þe X 299 dayes] þe dayes TrX, þe daies þat ben G, þe days in the yere R^2, þe daies in þe woke LdR^1 þe] for *canc.*, þe Z moost] now most X 300 dispended] spended IWM^1R^1Z, kepte þat is R^2 deueles] feendis WR^2 301 in] and in R^2, *om.* W of²] *om.* TrOW þe] his R^2, *om.* QR^1Z of³] in R^1

heuene. And ȝif þer weere no moo synnes doon on erthe but brekynge of thise two comaundementȝ of vayn, fals and horrible othes swerynge and of cursed lyuynge on holy dayes, it is wonder yat God suffreth þe poeple to lyuen vpon erthe, saue for to looke ȝif þei wolden amende hem or deep dampnacioun schal falle vpon hem. But þe lengere yat he abydeth, þe hardere he smyteth, but ȝif men amenden hem. 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 dayes, as holy doctours seyn, <u>In mente, in ore et in opere</u>. Yat is to seyn,

'In mynde of soule, in mowth and in werke.'

302 and ȝif] for and R^2 moo...on(303)] cursednesse do in X 303 on] vpon W, in TrR^1 but] bot þe Tr, þan G, þen þe R^1 two comaundementȝ(304)] *om.* R^1 two] *om.* M^1 304 comaundementȝ] ma*u*ndeme*n*te*s* Ld of vayn] þat is to seyne M^1 of] þat is of SXLdQ, þat is R^1Z, þat is to sey R^2 fals] *and* fals OWG and horrible] *om.* I and] *om.* X 305 of] *om.* Ld on] vpon Ld, in X holy dayes(306)] þe haly day M^1 306 wonder] wordes O suffreth] suffeþ Z 307 to] *om.* Z vpon erthe] *om.* S vpon] vp W, on R^2 erthe] þe erþe Tr saue] savyng M^1 308 ȝif... wolden] wheþer þei wil G ȝif] wheþ*er* OW wolden] will TrOWXR^2 or] ar ellis R^1ZR^2, and elles S 309 vpon] on R^2 but] for SR^1ZR^2 310 yat] *om.* QR^1Z abydeth] bideþ XZ þe...hem(311)] yf men mende hem not þe sorer he smytiþ G hardere] scharper R^2 311 smyteth] sy *canc.*, smyteþ Z men...hem] a man amende hym ZR^2 *hand in margin* U 312 how] how þat G ȝe] men LdQM^1 schulden] schal IOWXLdM^1R^2 ȝoure] here LdQM^1 313 dayes] day M^1R^2 ȝe... vnderstonde] *om.* R^1 vnderstonde] wite G ȝre] the M^1Z 314 manere] maneres TrI of] *om.* XLdQ ȝe...holy²(315)] of holidays R^2 ȝe...dayes(315)] *om.* R^1Z ȝe...ȝoure(315)] ben profitable in þe G schullen] schulde Q 315 dayes] day Ld in...seyn (316)] that is G 316 in] *om.* QR^1ZR^2 in²] *om.* QR^1ZR^2 to seyn] *om.* S 317 of...werke] in speking *and* (*om.* Z) in dede doing R^1ZR^2 of] or in G and] *twice* W in³] *om.* M^1

First, in mynde vpon þe holy day, whanne you hast had þi bodiliche reste, risynge vp and goynge to þe chirche, not to iangle neither to iape there, ne to marchaundisen in chirche ne *in* chirche ȝerde, sithen it is a place i-ordeyned to preyinge fer fro wordliche bysynesse. And þere on þe holy day, and specialliche on þe Sounday, you schalt þenke howe God maade this worlde of nouȝt on a / Sounday, and how yat he sente wyt *and* wysdom into erthe on a Sunday, and þat he roos from deeth to lyue on a Sunday, and yat schulde feere ȝowe alle and perce ȝoure hertes. And vpon a Sunday, as clerkes seyn, schalle be domesday; for

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318 first] þe furst X, and first G vpon] on O, in M^1 319 whanne] es when *n* I bodiliche] holi G 320 and] *om*. R^1 þe] *om*. WQR^2 321 neither... there] *eras*. O neither to] or G neither] ne ISXLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$, or TrW to] *om*. Ld there] *om*. R^2 to^2] to make ZR^2, \to/ make R^1 322 in] in þe R^1 323 sithen] *om*. R^1ZR^2 a] *om*. XQ i-ordeyned... preyinge] for prayers X to...fer(324)] of prayer R^2 to] of S, for R^1 324 fer] *canc*. Z, *om*. R^1 and þere] *om*. Tr and] ay I 325 holy...þe] *om*. ZR^2 326 you...Sounday(327)] *om*. X God] God almyȝti R^1ZR^2 this] þe SLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$G 327 on] in Ld a] the R^2 and...hertes(331)] *om*. M^1 and ...Sunday(328)] *after* Sunday(330) TrOWLdG and... he] our Lorde R^2 yat] *om*. SLdQR^1 328 sente] sette S into erthe] *after* Sunday TrSR^1Z into] to Tr, fro heven to R^2 erthe] þe erþe Z on... Sunday] *om*. R^2 on] vpon LdG, in X 329 and þat] *om*. G and] also R^2, *om*. R^1Z þat] how yat I roos] aros S from...lyue] *after* Sunday X on] vpon Ld a] the R^2 330 Sunday] Sounday, -o- *canc*. I and...hertes(331)] *after* seyn W and] *and* þerfore Tr yat...Sunday(331)] *om*. R^1ZR^2 feere] *corr*. I, agaste Tr 331 perce] perysh X and] *om*. G vpon...domesday(332)] how þe day of doom schal be on a Sonenday as clerkis seyn W 332 schalle...domesday] that on the Sonday schalle be the dredefulle day of dome R^2 schalle] on a Sondai schal R^1, on þe Sunday schall Z for] fo W

Sunday was þe firste day yat God maade and schal be þe laste, euerelastynge in ioye and blisse and light to hem yat schullen be saf in heuene, and euerelasty*n*ge sorwe and derkenesse to hem yat schullen be dampned in helle.

Thenk hertely on this, and forthermoore thenk how whanne God hath maade þe of nought, and you haddest forsaken hym þorugh synne and taken þe to the deuel of helle euere withouten ende, hadde not Crist, God and man, suffred harde deeth? And so for vs, hise enemyes, Ihesu Crist suffrede the schendful deth on þe croos to saue vs yat elles hadden be loren. Bythenk þe, forthermoore, howe ofte *and* how vnkyndeliche you hast, þorugh deedly synne, forsaken Ihesu

333 yat] þat evyr $M^1R^1ZR^2$ 334 þe laste] *om.* Z þe] *om.* R^1 laste] last day X euerelastynge] lastynge euere ZR^2 in] day in G ioye...light (335)] blys M^1 335 and light] *om.* R^1ZR^2 light] lyf G saf...heuene(336)] sauid R^1ZR^2 saf] saued $TrSM^1$ 336 sorwe...derkenesse(337)] t*orment* and sorwe Ld and derkenesse(337)] *om.* M^1G 337 in] into X 339 thenk...this] this schulde cause yow to haue grete thought to holde the holidays R^2 hertely] *after* this Q forthermoore...God(340)] þenke also how God whan he G forthermoore(340)] forþ*er* OW 340 thenk...hath] þ*in*ke how God R^1Z, how God R^2 how] on X whanne] *om.* $TrSM^1$ hath] had IOWXLd 341 you...forsaken] hou þou forsok S you] how þou R^1ZR^2 342 taken] bitoke SLd to the] *om.* Z of helle] *om.* R^2 of] *in* Z 343 euere] foreu*e*re S, yeu*e*rlast*in*g R^1Z, euerlastyngly R^2, world OW hadde not] ne had R^2 Crist] *on eras. corr.* Ld, Ihesu Cr*i*ste R^1 344 and so] thenne OW, *om.* G 345 hise] of his ZR^2 Ihesu Crist] *rev.* OWG suffrede] *after* deth S the] *om.* $SXLdM^1ZR^2$ 346 schendful] schameful SZR^2, shames M^1, sore passion of R^1 on] vpon G þe] a O to] forte S 347 loren] forlorne IXLdG bythenk] ȝe þenk O 349 Ihesu Crist(350)] *rev.* W

Crist *and* alle hise kyndenesses ande goodnesses and taken þe to þe deuel *and* hise seruyses. And þanne for thyn vnkyndenesse, be inwardly sory and þank God of his grace *and* of his kyndenesse, and crye hym hertly mercy of thi schrewednesse *and* vnkyndenesse; and bythenk þe how you maist best in tyme comynge serue God and amende þi wykkede lyuynge and encrese in goodnesse.

The secounde tyme, you schalt spende thyn holy day in thi mowth, spekynge and knowlechynge and schryuynge the of thi synnes ȝif you feele the greued in eny notable synne. And þanne in preyinge to God of grace, mercy and socour now *and* in tyme

350 *and*] forȝeten G, *om.* ZR^2 alle] *om.* S kyndenesses] kyndenes TrOWXLdM^{1}R^{1}ZR^2 351 goodnesses] godenesse TrOWXLdM^{1}R^1, alle his goodenesse ZR^2 *and*^{2}] of hell *and* Z, of helle *and* to R^{1}R^2 hise] al his X, to his W 352 seruyses] seruise TrIOWXLdQM^{1}R^{1}R^2 and] *om.* Tr þanne] thus R^2, *om.* G 353 be] \þou haste not/ be X inwardly] *corr.* R^1 þank...his] thenke on Goddis R^2 his] *corr.* R^1 354 of his] *om.* S of] *om.* R^1 his] *om.* X and^2 ...and(356)] *om.* R^{1}ZR^2 hym] *om.* Q hertly mercy (355)] *rev.* X, ofte mercy hertli *and* Ld 355 vnkyndenesse] wyckednesse XLdM^1 356 þe] *om.* OQZ you] *om.* Z best] *after* comynge Q tyme comynge(357)] þi cunnyng Tr 357 seruе] to seruе R^1 þi wykkede] þin yuel Q 358 lyuynge...in] lyfe in encres of thi R^2 in] þin QR^{1}Z goodnesse] Godd Tr 359 secounde] scounde O tyme] *om.* QM^1 360 thyn] *and canc.*, þine Z in] *with* Tr and...synnes(362)] knowlechyng þi lijf to God G and] *in* OW, *om.* SR^1 361 knowlechynge] knowing X 362 synnes] synne M^1 ȝif] enterly to God if XLdQM^1, entierlich to God *and* R^2, enterli to God and if R^{1}Z feele] fynd XLd greued] eny þinge agreued ZR^2 363 synne] synne aske conseyle of a wise man XLdQ, synne aske counseyll of a wyse preeste M^{1}R^{1}Z and...to] aske counselle of a descrete prest and thenne praynge R^2 and þanne] also Tr in] *om.* XQZ to...goodnesses(368)] þy pater noster *and* oþere deuociouns deuoutely *and* Z 364 mercy] *and* merci OWR^{1}G, *and* of mercye Tr in tyme] to G

comynge, and in seiynge thin deuoute bedes, and thankynge God of alle hise goode ȝiftes and hise goodnesses. And also with þi mowth, speke goodnesses. ȝif you be a prest and hast kunnynge and auctorite, preche and teche Goddes worde to hem yat ben vn-kunnynge. And ȝe þat heereth it, heereth it deuoutly. ȝif you be no prest ne clerke, but oon of þe poeple, thanne on þe holy dayes be abowte with thi good spekynge and sterynge to brynge thyne neighebores to better lyuynge. And ȝif þei been at debaate, brynge hem by thi power to loue *and*

365 in...goodnesses(368)] seiyng þi pater noster *and* oder deuocions deuouteli and R^1R^2 in...bedes] seyng deuoutly þy pater noster *and* þinke on Cristis passioun *and*/ *with* his myȝty and merveylous rysyng aȝen fro deþ X, seyng deuoutli þi pater noster *and* þenkyng on þe passion of Crist *with* his myȝti *and* maruelous risyng aȝen fro deþ Ld in] *om.* I seiynge] leuyng *canc.*, seying Tr thin...bedes] deuoutly þi pater noster *and* þenkynde (thenke M^1) on þe passioun of Crist wiþ his myȝti *and* merueylous resyng (*add.* ayen M^1) from deþ QM^1 thin deuoute] deuouteli of good G 366 goode] *corr.* I, *om.* G 367 hise] of hise G, *om.* TrOS goodnesses] godenes $TrIOWXLdQM^1$ and...goodnesses(368)] *om.* LdM^1 also] *om.* X with...mowth(368)] *after* goodnesses Q 368 speke goodnesses] speking goodnesse X goodnesses] godenes TrIOW, good Q ȝif] and if $XLdM^1R^1$ 369 and...worde(370)] with goode lyvynge preche and also teche with goode wordes R^2 and auctorite] *with* good lyuyng $XLdQM^1R^1Z$ preche and] *om.* G 370 worde] wordes R^1Z ben vnkunnynge(371)] han not knowyng þerof G 371 ȝe...deuoutly(372)] thow that berist hit awey with good deuocoun R^2 heereth... deuoutly(372)] wiþ Gode deuocioun Z heereth it] heryn M^1, \<..>/ hertly *and* I 372 deuoutly] *with* good deuocoun R^1, wiþ a good wille *and* deuoutly Q ȝif] and ȝif SM^1 no] nat R^2 ne...poeple(373)] but of oder degre as clerke ar lewde man R^1ZR^2 ne] nor Q 373 poeple] lewede peple S þe²] þi Tr, *om.* Q 374 dayes] dai R^1R^2 thi] *om.* R^2 good] *om.* Ld spekynge...sterynge(375)] speche to stire *and* R^1ZR^2 spekynge] speche X 375 neighebores] neȝpur Tr to²] at Ld, in S 376 þei] *om.* Z 377 brynge hem] *after* power R^1ZR^2 by] with G, to W

charite and acorde. And thus spend thi
mouth and thy speche on þe holy day to þe
worschip of God *and* help and confort of thy*n*
euencristen.

The 3rydde tyme, / you schalt spende thyn holy day and þi dedes in worchynge as I seyde byfore: goynge with thi body to churche to heere Goddes seruices and bidde thi deuoute preieres, and afterwarde to visiten hem yat ben seeke and in meschief, to comforte and to releeue hem resu*n*nably after thi power and after here neede. And so vpon þe holy day, 3e schulle*n* speciallíche bisye 3owe in þe werkes of mercy and of charite in helpynge of 3oure sowles and

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378 and] *and* to R^1, *om*. Tr acorde] accorde he*m* R^2 379 and...speche] *in* þi spekinge R^1 on] vppon ZR^2 380 worschip] plesaunce R^1ZR^2 *and*] in R^1ZR^2 and²] *and* in X of²] *om*. Tr 382 spende] dispende Ld 383 and...worchynge] in thyne dedes and wurchyng M^1, *in* þi dede*s* doynge*s* R^1ZR^2 and] *in* OWXLd in] *om*. Ld 384 seyde byfore] *rev*. G with...body] *om*. Ld to] to þe Tr 385 churche] þe chirch ILdR^1Z to heere] *and* to hyryng X to] for to Ld seruices] seruice TrIOWSXLdQ$M^1R^1R^2$ and...preieres (386)] *and* þy þinking be in Goddes lawe *and* is a wonderful meruelous X, thyne thenkyng be one Goddes lawe and his wondirfulli merveylous M^1, *and* þenkynge on Godes lawe *and* his wonderful merweylus Q, and þi þenkyng be on Goddis lawe *and* his wonderful marueiles Ld, *om*. R^1ZR^2 bidde] to bidde S 386 deuoute preieres] *rev*. G preieres] praers *canc*., prayers Tr and afterwarde] after TrOW afterwarde to] after þat go G afterwarde] after þat M^1 to] þou schalt R^1ZR^2 388 to comforte] *om*. M^1 to] and G, *om*. Z comforte] conforte hem Q and to] he*m and* LdG to²] *om*. R^1 resu*n*nably] resonabli boþe bodeli *and* gosteli R^1ZR^2, *om*. O 389 and] *and* þi co*n*nyng *and* R^1ZR^2 after²] *om*. G 390 so] *om*. R^2 vpon] on Q 3e] thou R^2 schulle*n*] schulde R^1 specialliche(391)] *after* 3owe M^1 391 3owe] the R^2 in] aboute G þe] *om*. LdQ mercy] charite G 392 of] *om*. X charite] merci G in] to TrOWG 3oure sowles] thi soule R^2 sowles] soule Z and...neighebores(393)] *om*. G

in releeuynge of ȝowre pouere neighebores, and specialliche of hem yat God hath maad nedy, other by age or by auenture, as by seeknesse or other myscheues. For to hem, biddeth Crist, to doo thyn almes; þat is to seyn, as Crist seith in þe gospel of seynt Matheu xxv° c°, 'To clothe þe nakede, to feede þe hungry, to ȝyue drynke to þe þrusty, to ȝiue herburgh to þe pouere weyferyng, to visite hem yat lyggen in prysoun, to comforte *and* releeue þe seeke.' And þanne, as seith Crist in the gospel of seynt Luke xiiij° c°, Voca pauperes debiles, claudos, et cecos, et beatus eris, quia non habent tibi retribuere, retribuetur enim tibi in retribucione iustorum. Þat is to

393 in] to TrW, *om*. O ȝowre] thi R^2 394 God ...maad] be moste R^1ZR^2 hath] ay I 395 other ...myscheues(396)] *om*. R^1ZR^2 other] *om*. S or] eythir M^1G as] or Tr 396 or] *and* WXM^1 other] bi Ld myscheues] mesheues as in prisoun G to] to doo Z, to do to R^2 397 biddeth...to] Criste biddis þe R^1 biddeth Crist] *rev*. Tr, as Criste byddeþ þee ZR^2 Crist] God Q to] *om*. WM^1Z þat...c°(399)] as he seiþ in þe gospel of seynt Mathu in þe xxv chapit G 398 seynt...c°(399)] matheu O 399 xxv° c°] ca° j° R^1, j° ca° Z, *primo* ca° R^2, in þe xxv c° X, vicesimo quinto capitulo S, þe fyue *and* twenti chaptere Ld, *om*. Q to...weyferyng(402)] to fede pore men þat be hungri to gif drinke to hem þat be þrusti to cloþe hem þat be nakid to harboro hem þat be (arne Z) houseles R^1ZR^2 to²] *and* M^1 400 to] *om*. X 401 herburgh] þe pore herborwe Ld 402 weyferyng] *and* weyfaryng Tr, weifaryng man LdM^1G lyggen] arne lyggynge Z, ben OWLdQG 403 to] *and* to G *and*] *and* to $OWSXQM^1R^2$, hem *and* G, hem *and* to Tr þe] theme þat bene M^1, þat beþ Tr 404 seith Crist] *rev*. $OLdQR^1ZR^2G$ the] his R^1Z 405 seynt...c°] Luk LdQ xiiij°...calle(410)] in þe xiiij° chapit þou clepest G xiiij° c°] xlj° ca° R^1ZR^2, in þe xiiij° c° X, *om*. O voca...claudos(406)] visita debiles ZR^2 pauperes debiles] *rev*. R^1 406 claudos...cecos] cecos *et* claudos W cecos] secos X 408 in] *om*. Z þat] this R^2 to seyn(409)] *om*. S

seyn, as expouneth it þe wise clerke Armachan, 'Calle pouere feble, pouere crokede and pouere blynd, and you schalt be blessed, for þei han nouȝt to rewarde þe. And þanne, forsothe, it schal be rewarded þe in the rewarde of riȝtwis men and in þe blisse of heuene.'

Thise thre comaundementȝ of þe firste table techen ȝow to loue God, and othere seuene sewynge of þe secounde table techen ȝow how ȝe schullen loue ȝowre euene-cristene.

This is þe ferthe comaundement.

Of þe whiche seuene, þe firste is this:

409 as...Armachan(410)] *om.* XR^1ZR^2 it...clerke] *om.* O it...wise] þe grete $LdQM^1$ þe...clerke] *om.* TrW wise clerke] holy mon I wise] grete S 410 Armachan] Richard Armachan $ISQM^1$, seyn Richard Armachan TrOW calle] visite R^2 pouere feble] feble poor nakyd M^1 pouere^2] and pore G 411 and pouere] *om.* R^1 and] *om.* WZR^2 412 nouȝt] *corr.* R^1 þe] to þee W 413 and þanne] *om.* R^1ZR^2 þanne forsothe] *rev.* G þanne] *om.* M^1 þe] to þe $TrOWXLdQR^1ZR^2$ 414 the] *om.* ZG riȝtwis] rihtful $SXLdQM^1$ and] þat dwellen ZR^2, þat is R^1, *om.* OWXG 416 thise...seyn(425)] þan as I haue now tolde ȝou kepe ȝe þese þre comaundementis to God *and* God is plesed *and* worschipid *and* laste þerinne to ȝour lyues ende and he schal make ȝou to dwelle in þe blisse þat euer schal laste *with* hym merciful God amen the first comendement of þe secunde tabil is þis G of þe] *twice* Z 417 ȝow] vs R^1ZR^2 to] for to $TrWXR^1$ 418 seuene sewynge] sewen Z sewynge] *after* secounde XLd, *after* table TrOW, þat suen Q, commandementys R^2, *om.* R^1 table] *om.* Ld 419 ȝow] vs R^1ZR^2 ȝe] we R^1ZR^2 schullen] schuld R^1 ȝowre] oure ZR^2, oure oure R^1 420 -cristene] cristen *et cetera* Z 421 this...comaundement] þe iiij comaundement X, quartum mandatum R^2, primum mandatum secundem tabelle Tr, *om.* $OWLdQM^1R^1$ *margin* 4^{tu} mand' W 422 of...firste] he ferft comaundement of þe secound table X, the iiij commandemente (*add.* *and* ZR^2) þe firste of þe secunde table R^1ZR^2 þe] *twice* M^1, *om.* Ld whiche] *om.* M^1 þe^2...this] þis is þe firste O

Honora patrem tuum at matrem tuam ut sis longeuus super terram, Exodi xx° c°. This is to seyn, 'Worschipe þi fader and þi moder so yat you be longe lyued vpon erthe.' For it is skilful yat þe childe, after yat he loueth God ouer al thyng, yat he loue as by wey of kynde þe fader *and* þe moder next after. For þe childe by hem coom into þis worlde and hadde his lyf; and ȝif he do his deuer aȝeyne, in worschipynge þe fader ande þe moder as he schulde skilfulliche, he schulde be longe lyued vpon erthe. But ȝe schullen vndirstonde þat þe worschip of þe fader and of moder stondeth not al oonliche in bodyliche reuerence, as in knelynge or in

423 tuum] *om.* R^1Z tuam] *om.* R^1ZR^2 424 longeuus] *on eras. corr.* O Exodi...c°] *om.* XR^1ZR^2 xx° c°] þe xx^ti^ chapitre Ld c°] *om.* O this...seyn(425)] þat is S this] þat Ld 426 so] *om.* SR^1ZR^2 longe lyued] of longe liffe ZR^2 lyued] lyfyng TrOWLd erthe] þe erþe $TrIM^1R^1$, þe erþe, þe *eras.* O 427 yat] þing þat $XLdR^1ZR^2$ after] *eras.* O yat² ...loueth(428)] the loue of R^2 he] he he haþ G 428 loueth] louyd R^1 ouer] aboue M^1G yat he] *hole in ms.* R^2 loue] loue nexte after G as by] by the R^2 as] *om.* $XLdQM^1R^1Z$ 429 kynde] kynde and resoun R^2, resoun *and* kynde Z, kyng I þe] his Tr þe moder] *hole in ms.* R^2 þe²] *om.* $TrOM^1$ next after(430)] *om.* G 430 þe...lyf(431)] for þei be þe (*om.* Z) secunde cause of his lif *and* (*add.* of R^2) his beying *in* þis worlde R^1ZR^2 þe childe] *after* hem G by hem] *after* coom $SXLdQM^1$ þis] þe XQM^1 431 and] and þanne SXLdQ hadde...and] þanne M^1 and²] *om.* I 432 aȝeyne] *om.* M^1 þe] his LdR^2, *om.* M^1R^1ZG 433 þe] his LdR^2, *om.* OWM^1R^1ZG he] þey M^1 skilfulliche] wylfully XLd, do R^1ZR^2 434 schulde] schal $TrOWR^1ZR^2$ lyued] lyuyng $TrOWR^2$ 435 worschip] worschypyng TrOW þe²] *om.* $TrIOWSXLdQM^1R^1ZR^2$ 436 of] þe G, *om.* $TrOWSLdQM^1R^1ZR^2$ al] *om.* $IOXLdR^1ZR^2G$ 437 as] and M^1 knelynge] knelyng on knees TrOW, knelyng vpon knees G or in] *and* WZG or] and R^2 in³] *om.* $TrIOXQM^1R^1$

doynge doun of hoodes, þough þis be good,
but it stondeth in deede, as in caas þi
fader and thi moder been / comen to neede f. 89r
and meschief, by age or by auenture, you art
bounde to helpe hem by thi seruise, bothe
with thi body and to socoure hem with þi
catel. And ȝif þei been *in* synne or han
needе of goostliche techynge or comfort, you
art holden, ȝif you kanst, to techen hem and
to comforte hem. And ȝif you canst not, þou
art holden by thi power to geten othere in
helpynge of hem. And ȝif þei been deede,
you art holden to lyue wel, to praye ny3t
and day to God to delyuere hem out of peyne.
This is þe reuerence and worschip in

438 doun...hoodes] of þe hode Tr, adoun his hood X doun of] offe Z doun] of R^2, *om*. R^1 þis] þei Ld be good] oweþ do be don G 439 it] \it/ in R^1, *om*. M^1 deede] dede doyng Ld þi] þe X 440 and] ar R^1ZG thi] þe X, *om*. TrOW to] to þe for Z need and(441)] the for R^2 441 and] ar R^1Z, or to SXQM^1G by^2] by any other R^2, by oþere Z, oþer R^1 442 bounde] biden R^1 helpe...seruise] do to hem R^2, doo hem Z helpe...thi] do hem R^1 thi] *om*. G bothe] *om*. IG 443 thi] *om*. Z and] and eke SLdQM^1 to...hem] socour OW, eke XZ, *om*. R^1R^2 to] *om*. TrG 444 and] ese wurschip and seruyse or R^2, *om*. TrOW or] *and* LdR^1G 445 of ...techynge] to techyng gostli G goostliche] goostly helpe and W techynge or] *om*. ZR^2 comfort] to comfort G 446 holden...comforte(447)] bounde to helpe R^2 447 to] *om*. LdQR^1ZG hem] *om*. Z and] *om*. TrOW 448 by] to TrOW geten] ordeyne G othere...of (449)] hem eiþer to helpe O in...of(449)] to helpe R^2 in] to TrG, to þe W 450 to...peyne(451)] *and* preye deuoutely to God for her saluacioun Z, and to pray for them to God deuoutly for here saluacoun R^2 wel...peyne(451)] deuouteli *and* wel *and* prai hili to God fore þeire saluacion R^1 wel] wel *and* G to^2] *and* XLd, and to SQM^1 451 to God] for theme M^1 to^2] forte SLdQ peyne] peyne yf þei ben *in* eny G 452 this] þat Ld þe] thy M^1 reuerence and] *om*. R^1 worschip] þe worschipe OLd in deede(453)] *after* childe ZR^2, *om*. R^1

deede that þe childe schulde doo to the fader and to þe moder. And þis lessoun schulde euery fader and moder, bodyliche and goostliche, teche here children. 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. And it may wel be yat for vengeaunce of this synne of vnworschipynge of fadres and moodres, God sleth so children by pestelence as ȝe seen al day.

But heere, ȝe schullen vndirstonde yat ther been ȝre maneres of fader and moder whiche ȝe been y-holden to worschipe. The firste is bodyliche fader *and* moder, þe whiche worschip stondeth in deede as I haue

453 þe] þi Tr schulde...to] owith to yeve R^2 schulde doo] owiþ O, ȝeueþ Z doo] ȝif R^1 the] his Ld 454 to þe] þe R^1, *om.* TrOWLdQR^2 to] *om.* ZG and²] in Z, *om.* R^2 455 euery] þe X fader ...moder] *after* bodyliche TrOWM^1G and] *om.* Z bodyliche...goostliche(456)] gostli *and* bodili Ld and²] *om.* OM^1 456 teche] teche to LdG and... dooth(460)] *om.* S 457 in Englond(458)] *om.* R^2 458 the...yat(460)] ther hadde not so moche vengeaunce be don amonge the peple R^2 stoonden] *corr.* R^1 in moore(459)] *rev.* G 459 and comfort] *om.* W now dooth(460)] *rev.* TrOR^1G 460 wel] *om.* TrOW yat] *om.* O for] for the R^2 461 of this] and M^1 of] *and* dispisyng of OG this] that R^2, þe X of²...moodres(462)] *and* displesyng of fader *and* moder Tr of²] ne of Z fadres] the fader R^2, fadir WXLdM^1 462 moodres] modir WXLdM^1R^2 sleth] takeþ S so] þe LdR^2 children] *after* pestelence G by] as bi Q 463 seen...day] may se alle þe longe day M^1 seen] *corr.* I day] *om.* Tr 464 but...ȝow(469)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 heere] *om.* Ld schullen] *canc.* Ld 465 maneres] maner TrWXLdM^1 fader...moder] faders M^1 fader] faders TrI moder] moders TrI 466 whiche] þe whuche SXLdQM^1G been] are I 467 is] is þe G þe whiche(468)] whos G þe] *om.* TrOWLd 468 whiche] *om.* X deede] word and dede G

now tolde ȝow. The secounde manere of fader
and moder is goostliche and been ȝowre
parsoun and ȝowre vyker as ȝoure goostliche
fader, and alle þe paraschiens been as
moder. This fader and moder, parsoun and
vyker and alle þe paraschiens, euerychone of
ȝowe is holden to helpe other and so to
worschipen in deede after ȝowre power, to
fulfille þe degree and þe office yat þei
stonden inne. The ȝridde manere of fader
and moder þat ȝe schullen worschipe is Crist

469 now...ȝow] told bifore SQ, told here byfore X, told ȝow bifore LdM[1] now] *after* ȝow G manere of] *om.* LdM[1] of...day(487)] ȝe schal worschip your gosteli fader þat haþe cure *and* charge of ioure soulis and ȝoure gosteli moder þat is holi chirche to be buxum þerto *and* to saue þe riȝt of it R[1]Z, ye schull wurschip your goostly fader that hath cure of your soulis *and* charche and also your gostly moder that is holy chirch to be buxum therto and to save the ryȝt of it R[2] 470 is...moder(479)] *om.* S is...and] as M[1] is] beþ W and been] the whiche ben ȝour prelates G and[2]] as O been] þei ben Ld, yoo ben I 471 parsoun] parsonȝ Tr and ȝowre] *om.* M[1] and] *om.* G ȝowre] *om.* XLdQ vyker] vicaries TrX as...inne(478)] ȝour parische prest þe whiche as ȝoure bodiliche fader worschip youre bodili *and* temperal goodis þat ȝoure bodi fayle not so þese faderis ben bonden to ordeyne for ȝou *and* to norsche ȝou in gostli vertues *with* Goddus worde þat ȝour soulis ben not dampned and ȝour modir may be vnderstonde ȝour parische churches in þe whiche ȝe reseyuen þe sacrament of bapteme matrymony *and* penaunce *and* þe preciouse *and* worschipful sacrament of Godis flesche *and* his blode and so bi þe takyng of þese sacramentis ȝe ben newe borne oute of þe state of synne into þe state of grace as þe childe is borne oute of corrupcoun of his modiris wombe *and* þerfore þis moder holi churche ȝe oweþ to honoure *and* make *and* amende for to her þerinne þe seruise of God *and* þat þer be no þyng wantyng þerinne neþer boke chalice ne noon oþer þynge þat schuld be an instrumente þerinne aboute þe mynystracoun of þe for seide sacramentis to sauacoun of ȝour soulis G as] and M[1], *om.* W 472 fader] fadres Ld 473 moder] moderes X, of moder *eras.*, \childer/ I 474 euery-chone] euerycheone WLd 475 is] beþ W other] *om.* M[1] so] *om.* M[1] 476 in deede] *om.* Q 477 þei] p þei Q 478 manere of] *om.* Ld 479 and moder] *corr.* O schullen] shulde M[1] is] ben WG, beþ Tr

and his blessede Moder, owre lady, seynte Marie; and also God is owre chief Fader, and alle holy chirche, þat is þe nombre of alle goode angeles and alle goode spirites and seyntes yat been or schullen be saued, of the whiche Criste is heed. That fader, God, and þat moder, alle holy chirche, yow schalt worschipe nyght *and* day, and prey to God to fulfille and to encrese þat nombre of alle þat schullen be saued. In this manere, you schalt worschipe þi fader *and* thi moder, bodiliche and goostliche; and this is þe firste comaundement of þise seuene of þe secounde table.

This is the fifthe comaundement.

The secounde comaundement of þe secounde table is: <u>Non occides</u>. That is to

480 blessede] *om.* Ld 481 and...chirche(482)] *om.* Tr and] *om.* Q also] as OG is] he is W Fader] Fader by creacioun M^1 483 and] or G alle] of alle O and seyntes(484)] *corr.* W and²] or G, *om.* M^1 484 yat] and alle þat M^1 saued] saue W, safe Tr 485 the] *om.* TrOW 486 þat] *corr.* Tr alle] *om.* W 487 nyght...day] day *and* ny3t XLd nyght] booth nyght M^1 488 fulfille ...þat] encrece *and* fulfille þe R^1R^2 fulfille] encrese Z and...encrese] *om.* G to encrese] fulfille Z to] *om.* TrIXLdQM^1 þat] þe Q of alle] *om.* ZR^1 alle] hem R^2 489 schullen] schuld TrR^1 saued] safe TrO manere] forseide maner G 490 thi] *om.* TrOWLdR^2 491 and] and also R^2 and² ...table(493)] *om.* QR^1ZR^2 492 of...seuene] *om.* TrX þise] þe G, *om.* W of²...table(493)] *om.* G 494 this...seyn(497)] the secunde commaundement is þat G this...comaundement] þe v comaundement X, capitulum 5^m Q, quintum mandatum R^2, secundum mandatum secundem tabule Tr, *om.* OWLdM^1R^1Z *margin* 5^{tu} man^{tu} W 495 the...comaundement] <t>he fifthe commaundement and the secunde R^2 comaundement] comaundement of God S þe] *om.* M^1 496 is] is þis $SWXLdQM^1R^1R^2$, \is/ þys Z occides] occides *et cetera* M^1 to seyn(497)] þat Tr, *om.* OWSLd

seyn, 'Þou schalt slee no man, vnlawefully ne wrongfully.' For alle thise seuene / comaundement3 tellen *and* bidden a man how þat he schalle lyue and haue hym to his euencristene, bothe to his freend and to his enemy, but þer is nothynge moore contrarious to this than is wrongwys manslaughtre. Therfore, euery man, kyndeliche and skilfulliche, schulde flee and eschewe suche manslaughtre. For, as seith þe wise man in his book, Ecc*lesiastici* xiij°, Omne *animal* diligit suu*m* si*mile*. That is to seyn, 'Euery beest, 3e vnresonable, loueth þat beest yat is lyke to hym.' Moche moore by

497 slee...wrongfully(498)] not (\not/ R^1) slei no (nother R^2) man ne woman ne childe vnlaufulli R^1ZR^2 slee...man] not sle no man þat is to seye W, not slee eny man þat is to seie G man] man þat is to sey TrO 498 ne wrongfully] or wronglich Tr, *om.* XLdM^1 ne] or OWQG thise...bidden(499)] þe commaundementes techin R^1R^2 seuene] *om.* M^1Z 499 tellen...bidden] techen Z *and* bidden] *twice* M^1 500 þat] *om.* OWSLd schalle] schulde R^2 lyue...hym] haue him *and* lyue G haue] *corr.* R^2 501 his] *om.* R^1ZR^2 to his²] *om.* R^2 his²] *om.* IR^1Z 502 enemy] fo M^1G is] nys XLdZ moore] mo so X 503 to this] *om.* XM^1 wrongwys] wrongful XR^1R^2, wronfgefulle, *1st -f- canc.* Z, wrongis O, *om.* M^1 man-] *om.* G 504 therfore...loueth(509)] *on eras. corr.* W therfore] and þerfore R^1ZR^2 man] *om.* I kyndeliche...flee (505)] schuld kyndeli *and* skylfulli flee G kyndeliche...skilfulliche(505)] wilfulli *and* kyndli Ld kyndeliche] kyndely \<..>/ I 505 suche] *om.* R^1ZR^2 506 in...seyn(508)] Ecclesiasticus seyþ in his boke in þe þrettenþe chapit G in...book(507)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 507 xiij°] þe 13° c° X, xxxj° ca° R^1ZR^2, *om.* Ld animal] ali *canc.*, animal Z 508 to seyn] *om.* S 509 euery...vnresonable] vnresonable bestis R^2 euery...3e] *om.* Z 3e vnresonable] *om.* S 3e] *om.* XM^1R^1 510 to] vnto M^1 moche...kynde (511)] I mene of vnresonable beestes þenne S moche] þen moche G by...thyng(512)] þen schulde a man of kynde love that is like to hym and alle cristen to R^2 by...in(512)] þan schulde man by way of kynde *and* Z by...resonable(511)] þen schuld man bi wei of kynde R^1

wey of kynde schulde man, yat is resonable in alle thyng, flee manslaughtre. ȝe, by resoun, for resoun wolde, sitthe al oonly God ȝiueth and putteth lyf into þe body whanne hym lyketh, riȝth so to hym aloone it longeth to take þe sowle out of þe body whanne hym lyketh. For you woost neuer whanne it is good to þe sowle to be taken owt *and* whanne to abyde, whanne it is ordeigned to ioye and whanne to peyne; for yat is longynge to God to knowe, þat knoweth alle thynge, and not to þe. Wherfore, to hym aloone it longeth to ȝeue lyf and to slee whom hym lyketh. And in tokne þat this

511 man] a manne M^1 512 in...resoun(513)] bi wei of kynde loue þat þat is lyk to hi*m* in kynde and so bi resun fleo monslauhtre in alle þinges S flee] he schulde fle W ȝe] ȝe *and* XLdQ, and M^1, *om.* TrR^1ZR^2 513 resoun] kinde resoun X for] also for G sitthe...lyketh(517)] that almyghti God þat yeveth *and* puttith lyf in mannys body when it likith to hym hit longith oonly to God to take oute þe soule from þe body whenne it likith hym R^2, seþ (þat Z) almyȝti God ȝif\fiþe/ (ȝeueþ Z) *and* puttiþe liyfe i*n* ma*n*nys bodi when hi*m* likiþe to hi*m* hit longiþ onli (*add.* þat Z) to take oute þe sowle of þe bodi when hi*m* likiþe R^1Z al] *om.* M^1 515 hym] hymsilf O riȝth...lyketh (517)] *om.* OX riȝth so] so þat G, þat $SLdQM^1$ riȝth] *om.* TrW aloone] also ne G 517 neuer] not Q 518 is] *om.* Ld to] for R^2 519 owt] oute of þe bodi R^1, owt \fro ye body/ I *and*] or Tr, ne G, *om.* OW whanne...peyne(520)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 to] *twice, 1st canc.* Q whanne^2] ne whan G, *and* when X is] *om.* Q 520 ioye] pyne LdQ and] ne G, *om.* TrOW peyne] ioye LdQ for] wherefore to hym alone it longeþ to ȝiue lyf *and* to sle whom hym likeþ for Q 521 yat...knowe] þis longeþ to God to knowe (*add.* oonly R^2) ZR^2 yat...longynge] fore þis longiþ R^1 God] hym M^1 to^2] for to Ld 522 and] and made alle thynge of nouȝt and R^2 to hym(523)] *after* longeth ZR^2, *om.* I to^2] w *canc.*, to X 523 aloone] aboue M^1, *om.* R^1ZR^2 to^2] *om.* WZ 524 slee] *corr.* R^1 whom] whan $TrXR^1ZR^2$ hym] hymself TrO lyketh] siluen likeþ G tokne] *corr.* Ld, tokenynge R^2

sy*n*ne is so horrible and vnkyndeliche, þis is oon of þe 3re synnes þat in holy writ crieth to God vengeaunce, as witnesseth God hymself, Gen*esis* iiij°, En inquid sanguis *fra*tris tui clamat ad me de terra. 'Loo,' seith God to Chaym, 'the bloode of thi brother crieth to me fro þe erthe.'

For this comaundeme*n*t, 3e schullen vndirstonde yat þer is 3re maner of manslaughtre, þat is to seyn, both of hand, of tounge and of herte. Manslaughtre of hand is whan eny man or womman smyteth another, whereof deeth folweth by violence. This maner of manslaughtre is knowen to 3owe and alle to ryf in erthe, 3if Goddes wille

525 so] *om.* M^1 and] and so LdM^{1}R^{1}ZR^{2}G þis] it R^{1}ZR^2 526 þe] *om.* Q 3re] foure R^2, *om.* ILdM^1 þat] *after* writ R^{1}ZR^2 527 crieth] cried R^1 to... vengeaunce] ve*n*iau*n*ce afore God R^1, vengeaunce before God R^2 to God] *after* vengeaunce OZG to] to fore Z God] God of W witnesseth] wittenesse it G 528 Genesis...Chaym(560)] in þe fourþe chapit of Genesis seyng to Can lo G en] ecce O 529 loo] þat is to seye loo LdR^{1}ZR^2 530 God] Cr*i*st R^{1}ZR^2 531 brother] fader X crieth] cried R^1 to] fro Q fro þe] to Q þe] *om.* O 532 for...yat(533)] 3e schullen vndurstonde þat in þis comaundeme*n*t S for...comaundeme*n*t] *om.* R^{1}ZR^2 3e] \and/ 3ee I 533 yat] þus þat Tr is] ben SXR^{1}Z maner of] *om.* Z 534 manslaughtre] monslauhtres SZ, co*m*maundeme*n*t3 of man*s*lau3te*r* Tr to seyn] *om.* S both] *om.* R^{1}ZR^2 535 of] *and* of TrOG, *and* I tounge] mouþe R^{1}ZR^2 *margin* 1 Ld 536 hand is] hondes X eny] euery I, a LdR^{1}Z, *om.* R^2 man...womman] wiht S womman] a wo*m*man Ld 537 whereof...folweth] *after* violence G whereof] wherfore R^1 deeth...violence] foloweþ deþe ZR^2 folweth] sueþ O by violence] *om.* R^1 538 this...manslaughtre(540)] manslau3ter of mouthe R^2 this] and þis R^{1}Z maner of] *om.* Z knowen] knowyng X 539 and...erthe] *and* it is to moche usid G and] *om.* O alle...erthe] to welle M^1 alle...ryf] to all me*n* I, he is to much Tr alle] *om.* R^1 ryf] 3yf X erthe...were(540)] þis worlde (*add.* ne, *canc.* Z) nere*r* þe wille of God R^{1}Z

were. **T**he secounde maner of manslaughtre is whan a man or a womman for envye bryngeth a good man or a womman out of here good name or fame **w**ith fals sclaundrynge of here tonges. And þei þat so dou*n*, in as moche as in hem is byfore God, þei sleen hem. **T**he 3ridde maner of manslaughtre is in herte, whan a man or a wo*m*man bereth envye or hatrede in herte to here euencristene, wilnynge wrongwisliche or envyousliche yat meschief or vengeau*n*ce fulle vpon he*m*. **A**nd 3it þerto, thei waryen and corsen in herte and with mouth. **T**hise in yat that in hem is, þei doon peril-/-lousliche manslaughtre, f. 90r for þei sleen here owne sowle *and* also here

540 were] ne were XQ of] *om*. M^1 is] is þis G *margin* 2 Ld 541 whan] *om*. M^1 a] *om*. Q or... womman] *om*. S a^2] *om*. XLdQ$M^1R^1R^2$ for envye] *after* fame S a^3...womman(542)] anoþer S
542 good] *om*. M^1 or a] oþere Gode Z a] *om*. WLd womman] good woma*n* R^1R^2G here] his SM^1
544 tonges] tong Ld and...dou*n*] who so doiþ OW and...þat] who Tr and þei] who G so dou*n*] *rev*. R^1ZR^2 as] also Z, als so Q 545 in hem] *after* is O þei] þe Q the...in(546)] manslau3ter of R^2
546 *margin* 3 Ld 547 whan] ys whanne R^2 a... wo*m*man] eny wi3t S a] *om*. Ld or...wo*m*man] *om*. G a^2] *om*. LdR^1ZR^2 or hatrede(548)] *om*. XLd$M^1R^1ZR^2$
548 herte] here herte R^1Z to...euencristene] *om*. R^1ZR^2 549 wrongwisliche or] *om*. G wrongwisliche] wrongfuli OWXLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$, wrongly Tr or] *and* XQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$ 550 meschief...vengeau*n*ce] veniau*n*ce ar myschif R^1ZR^2G fulle] schul fall I, schulde falle R^1ZR^2 vpon] on R^1 551 3it] *om*. OR^1ZR^2 thei] *om*. Q waryen...corsen] cursen *and* warien Ld in] a in M^1 herte] her herte R^1ZR^2 552 with] in TrWQ, *om*. OM^1, *and canc*., wyþ Z mouth] her mouþe R^1ZR^2 thise...ya*t*] siþe in all þat Tr thise] and þese R^1ZR^2, siche OWG in] *om*. Ld ya*t* that] as myche as R^1R^2, also myche as Z 553 þei] *om*. LdR^1Z doon...manslaughtre] ben perylous mansleres R^2 perillousliche] perlous R^1Z 554 þei] þe Q sleen] don sle X sowle] sowlis R^1ZR^2 also] i*n* wille R^1ZR^2

euencristene. And therfore, God biddeth yat you schalt nouther with hande, ne with tou*n*ge, ne with herte doo manslaughtre.

This is the sixte comaundement.

The ȝridde comaundement of þe secounde table is: Non mechaberis. That is to seyn, 'You schalt doo no lecherye.' Neither wedded ne sengle, lerede ne lewed, man ne womman, doo no lecherye. For no dowte it is a fowle, deedly sy*n*ne betwene a sengle man or a womman. Hit is a moche more greuous sy*n*ne bytwene a wedded man or a womman bycause of þe corsed brekyng of þe heghe sacrement of wedlok. But ȝif prestes, yat schulden lyue as au*n*geles, goo to lecherye,

555 euencristene] euencristnes S, owne cristen R^1 biddeth...nouther(556)] forbediþ boþe R^1ZR^2 556 with] whit Tr hande ne] mouth M^1 ne...doo (557)] *and with* mouþe *and with* herte (-e *eras.* R^1) to do (*add.* no Z) R^1Z, with mouthe and also with herte þat we do no R^2 557 doo] do no WXLdM^1G manslaughtre] manslauȝtre *et cetera* Z 558 this...seyn(560)] the þridde comandement is þis G this ...comaundement] þe vj comaundement X, sextum mandatum R^2, tercium mandatum secundem tabule Tr, c^m 6^m Q, *om.* OWLdM^1R^1Z comaundement] comaundement of God S *margin* 6^{tu} man^{tu} W 559 ȝridde] sexte R^1ZR^2 of...table(560)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 560 is] is þis SOW to seyn] *om.* S 561 schalt] *corr.* R^1 neither] ne *with* G, ne M^1, *om.* XLd 562 wedded...sengle] single ne weddid R^1Z, sengle neyther weddyd R^2 ne] ne *with* G lerede] ne lered Z, ne *with* lerned G ne²] ne *with* G, noþer R^2 man...lecherye(563)] *om.* G 563 doo...lecherye] *om.* R^1ZR^2 no²] it is no R^1ZR^2, *with*outen S it is] is n it is Z 564 fowle] *om.* G deedly sy*n*ne] *rev.* Q, sy*n*ne dedly, *marked for rev.* I deedly] *om.* LdR^1ZR^2 a] *om.* IQZ a²] *om.* XR^2 565 or a] *and* X, *and* sengle ZR^2 or] *and* WR^1 a] *om.* IOLdQ womman] si*n*gle woman QR^1G hit] and hit SXLdQ$M^1R^1ZR^2$G a moche] *om.* R^1ZR^2 a²] *om.* XG greuous] *om.* Ld 566 sy*n*ne] *om.* R^1ZR^2G a] *om.* R^1ZR^2 wedded] *corr.* R^1 or a] or a wedded Q, *and* weddid R^1ZR^2 or] *and* W a²] *om.* IOXLd 567 bycause of] for TrOWG bycause...wo*m*mans(576)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 þe] *twice* I 568 but] and S ȝif] ȝif þat Ld

570 þer is sorwe vpon sorwe, for þei schulden be a myrour to þe poeple of alle clennesse.

Heere ȝe schullen vndirstonde þat in this general woorde you schalt doo no lecherye. God forbedeth alle maner of vnleefful lykyng or tretynge of a mannes pryue membres or of a wo*m*mans. He forbedeth also lecherie goostliche and bodiliche: in wyl, in woord or in dede. And þerfore, keep cleene thyne herte from assentynge to lecherye, thi mowth from lecherous cussy*n*ge or spekynge, and þi body and alle thyne membres fro*m* lecherous handlynge or towchynge and vnleefful dedes doynge. And therfore, sith lecherie is so stynkynge a synne byfore God and man, for his loue of whom is alle clennesse, keepeth ȝowe clene

570 vpon] up O 571 a] *om.* Q to...poeple] *om.* M^1 alle] *om.* WXLdG 572 ȝe] þu X þat] *om.* M^1 573 woorde] *corr.* I 574 of] of leccherie O, of lecherye *and* Ld, *om.* WXQ 575 or...wo*m*mans(576)] *om.* G or] of ILd a] *om.* IQ 576 of a] *om.* SLd a] *om.* QM^1 he...dede(578)] and þerfore God forbediþe lecheri boþe bodeli *and* gosteli R^1ZR^2 577 lecherie] lechery boþe X goostliche... bodiliche] bodily *and* goostly WLdG 578 in...dede] or in word O in] or in TrW, and in G, *om.* XQ or] *and* XM^1G 579 thyne] iou*r* R^1ZR^2 herte] herte*s* R^1ZR^2 580 thi] ȝou*r* R^1ZR^2, in O 581 or... lecherous(582)] *om.* G or] *and* LdR^1ZR^2 spekynge] spekynges Z and...body] *om.* R^1ZR^2 and] and spekyng of M^1 thyne membres(582)] þe me*m*bres of ȝoure body ZR^2, \þe/ me*m*bre*s* of iou*r* bodi R^1 582 handlynge...towchynge(583)] touchi*n*g *and* handeli*n*g R^1ZR^2 or] *and* Ld, *om.* X 583 and] and frome R^1ZR^2, or Tr dedes] dede Tr 584 sith] synne M^1 lecherie] lecherousenesse Z so... byfore(585)] a fowl stynkynde synne a fore Q stynkynge] stingyng X a] *om.* XZ 586 is] comyth R^2 alle] *om.* XR^1 clene] clene eue*r*yman in her degre G, wele *and* clene Tr, ȝou kepe Z, *om.* R^1R^2

from alle maner lecherie. Euery man or womman in here degree, ȝif þow be a sengle man or womman, bythenke þe nyght and day yat you wolt neuere forsake God and bytake þe, body and sowle, to þe deuel to haue yat lykynge of þi flesshe in lecherie, the whiche lykynge you maist haue, lawefulliche and meedfulliche, in cleene and trewe matrimonye. And þanne for Goddes loue, kepeth ȝowe cleene tille ȝe comen to yat heighe sacrament.

Also, ȝe yat han taken ȝow to þat worschipful sacrement of matrimonye, bythenketh ȝowe, nyȝt and day, yat sitthe ȝe mowen leeffulliche and meedfulliche haue yat

587 from] for M^1 maner] maner of TrIOWSLdQR^2 euery...degree(588)] *om.* G euery] euerich S or] *and* OWXM^{1}R^{1}ZR^2 588 here] his R^{1}ZR^2 ȝif] and ȝif SXLdQM^{1}R^{1}ZR^2 be] *corr.* M^1 a] *om.* X 589 or] or a W, or a sengle R^2 nyght] day G day] nyght G 590 wolt] wold I þe] þi IOXLdQR^1 591 and] *and* þi XQ sowle...haue] þi (*om.* Z) sowle to þe deuyl of helle *in* hauyng R^{1}ZR^2 yat] þe Q 592 lykynge] hy *canc.*, lykynge Z in lecherie] *om.* XLdM^{1}R^{1}ZR^2 the] *om.* TrOWLdG 593 lykynge] *om.* Q haue] *corr.* R^1 lawefulliche] lefully *canc.*, lawfully Tr 594 and...trewe] *and* lefulli *in* truþe *and in* (*om.* Z) cleyne R^{1}Z, in trouthe and clene R^2 in cleene] *om.* X 595 matrimonye] wedloke G and] now Tr þanne...loue] þerfore for þe luf of God R^{1}ZR^2 þanne] þerfor G 596 tille] til þat XLd, to þat W, vnto Tr, to R^1 yat] þe M^1 597 heighe] *om.* R^2 sacrament] sacra*men*t and þen vseþ (*add.* it Z) *in* luf *and* drede of God as holi writ techith R^{1}Z, sacra*men*t *and* þa*n*ne vseþ gendrure *with* drede of God as holi writ techiþ LdQ, sacra*men*t and vseth thayme togethir wyth dreed of Godde as holy writte techith M^1, and than vsith it in love and *(folio cut out here, text starts again at 1.713)* R^2 598 also] als so X, and R^{1}Z han] *om.* X to...ȝowe(600)] *om.* X 599 worschipful] hiȝ LdR^{1}Z of matrimonye] *om.* R^{1}Z matrimonye] wedlok W 600 yat] *om.* R^{1}Z 601 leef-fulliche...meedfulliche] medefully and laufully M^1 and meedfulliche] *om.* SG meedfulliche] laufulli R^{1}Z haue...flesshe(602)] do þat fleschli dede R^{1}Z

lykynge of ȝoure flesshe, þat to men out of wedlok were to dampnacioun. Thankethe God of his greete curtesye and keepeth ȝowe cleene to ȝoure deeth day, and resonabliche vseth yat lykyng with loue and preysynge and drede of God. And neuere, for noon erthely goode, breketh þat heighe sacrement / and þat worschipful boond of trewe wedlok. f. 90v

And for to stere ȝow þe moore hertliche to keepe yat heighe sacrement and þat worschipful boonde of trewe wedlok, ȝe schullen vndirstonde yat that sacrement was ordeyned of God hymselue in paradys, eer euere Adam or Eue deden synne. But othere sacrementȝ weren ordeyned in remedye aȝeyns synne. So yat þis sacrement was ordeyned of God and confermed of Crist in þe gospel, Matheu

602 to men] *om.* G men] oþer men XLd out] *corr.* R^1 of] *om.* Q 603 to dampnacioun] dedli synne R^1Z to] to here M^1, to ȝour G thankethe] þan þankeþ X 604 greet curtesye] grace Z curtesye] grace R^1 605 to] tyl X resonabliche vseth(606)] resonable vse Tr resonabliche] mesurabilli G 606 with] in R^1Z and preysynge] *om.* R^1Z and] *om.* $SXQM^1$ preysynge] louyg G 607 of] *om.* X and...wedlok(609)] *om.* R^1Z noon] *om.* TrOQ 608 goode] þing S þat] not þat G 609 þat] *om.* O 610 and] *om.* TrOW þe] *om.* $TrOWR^1Z$ hertliche] hertelyer X 611 to] for to W keepe] *om.* Z yat...wedlok(612)] hit wel S yat] þis X, þe M^1 and...wedlok(612)] of matrymonye G and...trewe(612)] of W and] of M^1 þat] þat þis X 612 boonde] band I trewe] *corr.* R^1 schullen] *twice* R^1 613 that] þis $SXLdQM^1R^1Z$ 614 in] offe Z eer euere] afoor þat M^1 eer] *and* er W euere] *om.* SR^1Z 615 or] and M^1R^1 synne] eny synne M^1 but] *and* R^1Z othere...weren(616)] þere þe sacrament was M^1 616 aȝeyns] offe Z so] and so R^1Z 617 yat] *om.* R^1Z þis] *om.* X of God] *om.* R^1 618 Matheu xix°] of Mathew 19° c° WM^1, of seint Matheu 19 R^1Z, þe Mathew þe nyntene chapitre LdG, *om.* Q *hand in margin* U

xix°, where Crist answerede to hem þat yus asked of hym, Si licet hom*ini* dimitt*ere* vxorem quacum*que* ex causa? Þat is to seyn, '3if it be leefful, a man to leeue his wyf for any maner cause?' And Crist answerede and seyde, Nonne legistis, quia qui fecit eos ab inicio, masculu*m* et femina*m* fecit eos? Et dixit eis: P*ropter* hoc *et cetera*. Þat is to seyn, 'Rede 3e not,' seyde Crist, 'þat he that maade hem, at þe bigynnynge, maale and femele? He maade hem and seide to hem: for this schalle a man leeue fader *and* moder and holde hym to his wyf, and þei shullen be two in oo flesch. Sothly now, not two, but oo flesch. Therfore, yat God hath ioyned, man departe not.'

Loo, how yat heighe sacrement of

619 xix°] xxx IS, ix° X Crist] God R^1Z to...þat] *after* yus XLd þat...hym(620)] þus Z yus] *after* hym R^1, *om.* M^1 620 si...seyn(621)] *om.* G hom*ini*] hom*ine*3 Ld 621 vxorem] vx*o*rem suam $XLdM^1R^1Z$ to seyn] *om.* S 622 be] is Ld leefful...to] *twice* O 623 for] fro *canc.*, for Z any maner] eueri OW maner] *om.* G, maner of IR^1Z answerede and(624)] *om.* Ld 624 and seyde] *om.* S nonne...seyn(627)] *om.* G qui] *om.* Q 624 fecit] creauit XR^1 626 eis] ad eos Z *et cetera*] dimittet hom*o et cetera* R^1Z, reli*n*quet *et cetera* Ld, *om.* X 627 þat] þis Q to seyn] *om.* S rede...not] haue 3e not rad Ld seyde Crist] *om.* G seyde] seiþ WQR^1Z 628 that] *om.* QM^1R^1Z maade hem] *twice*, *2nd canc.* W þe] *om.* TrX 629 to] *om.* Z 630 leeue] lete Tr 631 holde hym] drawe O, cleue G, enhere W 632 shullen] shulden X two] tweyne OQ sothly...flesch(633)] *om.* LdZ sothly] soþly sayþ Criste TrOWG, sothly say now I now] *om.* M^1 633 therfore] for M^1, *om.* W yat] *twice* G, wham Ld 634 hath] had I, *om.* R^1Z ioyned] ionyþ R^1, ioyned togeder G man...not] no man departiþ OLd man] no manne M^1 departe not] may no3t departe Tr 635 loo...heighe] and þus þe R^1, and þus þis Z yat] þe $XLdM^1$

matrimonye is grounded an appreued of Crist in the gospel. And herfore, seith seynt Poul, ad Eph*esios* v°, Mulieres subdite sint viris sicut D*omino*. That is to seyn, 'Wommen be þei subgette3 to here hosbondes as to here Lorde.' That is to seyn, for God and Goddes name. Et post viri inquid debent dilig*e*re vxores suas ut corp*o*ra sua. Qui suam diligit vxorem, seip*su*m diligit; nemo inquid carne*m* suam odio h*a*buit, set nutrit et fouit ea*m*. Et post sacramentu*m* inquid hoc q*uo*d magnu*m* est ego aute*m* dico in *Christo* et in eccl*e*sia. That is to seyn, 'Husbondes schulden loue here wyues as here owene bodyes. For whoso loueth his wyf, he loueth hymself; for no man hath his flesch in haate, but norischith it and fedeth it.' And þan seith seynt Poul, 'This sacrement is

636 matrimonye] wedlok W an appreued] *and* proued Ld, of God *in* þe olde lawe and in diuerse tymes it is confermyd *and* prouidid R^1, of God *and* olde lawe *and* *in* diuerse tymes it is confermed *and* proued Z Crist] God M^1 637 herfore] þerfor OQ 638 ad... seyn(639)] to þe Effesyes in þe fyueþe chapit G ad ...v°] Eph' v^{to} Z, to þe Ephesiens Ld, to þe Ephecies in v c° X 639 to seyn] *om.* S to] *om.* X 640 be þei] *rev.* I subgette3] obiectes Z, sogette *and* vndirloute G 641 as] and, -nd *eras.*, \s/ S here] þe WLdG Lorde] lord*es* R^1 that...seyn(648)] *om.* R^1Z 642 and] *and* for Ld, *and* in W name] loue O et...seyn(648)] and to men after he seiþ þus G 643 ut] sicut W 646 et fouit] *after* eam X sacramentum inquid] *rev.* M^1 647 hoc quod] *om.* M^1 quod] *om.* XLdQ dico] *after* Christo M^1 648 in] *om.* OWQ that] þis OWX to seyn] *om.* S to] for to M^1 649 husbondes] and husbonde\s/ R^1, an hus, hus *canc.*, housbondes Z schulden] shull XLdM^1, oweþ to R^1Z loue] *twice* M^1 650 owene bodyes] bodies owne, *marked for rev.* R^1 bodyes] lyffe *and* bodies Z for whoso] so for ho X he] *corr.* R^1 651 no... heighe(656)] þis R^1Z 652 and fedeth] in fostereþ G fedeth] fostriþ OW 653 is greete (654)] *om.* X

greete. But, I seye,' seith seynt Poul, 'in Crist and in holy chirche.' Þat is to seyn, Þis greete *and* heighe sacrement of mat*ri*monye, hit betokneth Þe knyttynge togedre of Crist and of holy chirche by grace, and Þat bitokneth Þe trouthe plightynge at Þe chirche dore.

And Þerfore, sithen Þis sacrement is so heigh Þat betokneth the ioynynge of Crist and of alle seyntes and cristene sowles togedere by stedefast loue and grace, thou Þenne Þat wolt make wetyngliche any false deuors or elles Þorghe synne breke this heighe sacrement, in as moche as in Þe is, you berest vpon Crist yat he is / falslyche knyt with mannes sowle and Þat he falslyche, withowten any cause, wol forsake mannes sowle. And Þis is the synne of blasphemye, and of a despyte doon right into Þe godhede

f. 91r

654 seye] sey as X seith...Poul] he seith G seith] *on eras.* U 655 Þat...seyn] *om.* Tr to seyn] *om.* S 656 *and* heighe] *om.* Tr of mat*ri*monye(657)] *om.* Tr of] y of M^1 657 hit] *om.* XLd 659 trouthe] trewe Z 660 Þe] $Þ^t$, -t *altered to* -e Z, *om.* Tr 661 sithen] seiþ R^1 sacrament] hi3 sac*ra*ment Ld 662 Þat] Þat it TrIOWSXLdQM^1R^1Z 663 alle] *corr.* R^1 cristene ...make(665)] *twice* Z 664 thou Þenne(665)] and Þer*f*or Þou Ld 665 Þenne] *om.* TrOWG wolt] wold IR^1 make] *om.* X any false] *om.* M^1 666 or] oÞ*er*e Z, or yr M^1 breke] brekynge Z, cursidly breke WLdG 667 heighe] *om.* Ld in] *corr.* Tr as] also Q 668 vpon] vp M^1 falslyche] falsli *and* falsly, -li *eras.* I 669 knyt...falslyche] *om.* I and...and(671)] *om.* M^1 he] *om.* R^1Z 670 any] *om.* R^1Z wol] wold I 671 is] is ri3t Ld 672 and...despyte] *om.* G and] *om.* OW of a] *om.* TrR^1Z of] *om.* Ld a] *om.* XQM^1 despyte] spyt I right] *om.* Ld into Þe] so Z into] to LdR^1G

of God. And þerfore, for þe vertu of yat blood yat Crist schedde for ȝow vpon þe cros, spilleth nouȝt ȝoure flesch and ȝoure bloode in þe seruise of þe deuel to ȝoure dampnacion þat weren ȝyue to ȝow to be dispended in þe seruise of God to ȝoure owne saluacioun.

And þerfore, ȝe yat ben not wedded and wolen not lyue chaast, for þe vertu of Cristes passioun, keepeth ȝow cleene tylle yat ȝe comen to þe trewe wedlok. And ȝe þat haan take ȝow to þat heighe sacrement of matrimonye, keepeth ȝow 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. And alle maner of men and wo*m*men, wedded and sengle, lered and lewed, dooth no lechery, for þis is þe

673 for] *om*. M¹ þe] þat TrOW, *om*. SLd yat] þe X 674 schedde] *after* ȝow TrOWLd ȝow] vs W, alle mankynde G vpon] on QM¹R¹ 675 nouȝt] *twice* Z ȝoure] ȝoure owne X, ȝow Tr 676 þe²] de Z deuel] fende Ld 677 þat...saluacion(679)] *om*. R¹Z weren...to] was ȝeuen G 678 dispended] spended IOWLd, spend Tr owne] *om*. XLdM¹ 680 wedded] *om*. Z 681 lyue chaast] *rev*. M¹ vertu] love M¹ 682 tylle yat(683)] vnto Tr 683 yat] *om*. OWLdM¹R¹ ȝe] *twice* Z þe] þat TrX, þe state of R¹Z, *om*. OWLdQM¹G trewe] *corr*. R¹ and] *om*. OW ȝe²] *om*. X 684 þat] þe XQ 685 matrimonye] weddeloke G 686 deep] *corr*. R¹ take hem(687)] hem take, *marked for rev*. X 687 hem...þe] to þat Tr hem] *om*. Z to] vnto M¹ þe heighe] any holi R¹Z þe] yat ILd 688 þei] *om*. M¹ hemself] hem QG alle manere] any R¹ manere suche] *rev*. Ld suche] of suche IQG 689 of] of þe R¹Z flesch] fleschli synne G 690 of] *om*. R¹ 691 for] *om*. R¹Z is] is aȝens Ld

ȝridde comaundement of þe secou*n*de table.

This is the seuenthe comaundement.

The ferthe comaundement of þe secounde table is: **Non furtu*m* facies**. **That is to seyn, 'Yow schalt doo no þefte.' This thefte may be doon in manye maneres. Oon is in takynge þi neighebores good from hym wrongfulliche aȝeyns his wille oþer by pryue stelynge or by opene robbynge, by nyght or by day, by loonde or by watir. The secounde, in bireuynge thi neighbores goode wrongwisly by fals sleighte of ma*n*nes lawe as by fals pleyntes, by fals enditementȝ or in any other wrongwys maner. The ȝridde maner of stelynge is in booth thise maneres,**

692 ȝridde] sexte R^1Z of...table] *om.* M^1R^1Z of] of God in G 693 this...seyn(696)] the ferþe comaundement of God of þe secu*n*de tabil is þis G this...comaundement] yes ferth es þe seue*n*t co*m*maun*d*eme*n*t I, þe vij comaundement X, quartu*m* mandatu*m* se*cun*de*m* tabelle Tr, cap*itulum* 7^{m} Q, *om.* $OWLdM^1R^1Z$ comaundement] comaundement of God S *margin* 7^{m} man^{tu} W 694 ferthe] vij R^1Z of...table (695)] *om.* R^1Z 695 is] is þis $SLdR^1Z$ facies] facies viȝ R^1 that...seyn(696)] *om.* R^1 to seyn (696)] *om.* S 696 doo] not *canc.*, do R^1 697 in] on LdQ maneres] mane*r* Tr is] *om.* M^1 *margin* 1 W 698 þi] of þi X good] goodes M^1 699 wrongfulliche] wrongwysly IW, wronglich Tr, *om.* R^1Z his] her X 700 stelynge] robbynge Z by] *om.* M^1 701 loonde...watir] wate*r* ar bi londe R^1Z 702 in] is R^1Z, mane*r* is in WLd, mane*r* of þese is in G, *om.* M^1 bireuynge] brennyng *canc.*, berewyng Tr, revynge I thi] of þi G neighbores] neyȝebore his W *margin* 2 W 703 wrongwisly] wrongfuli $OXLdM^1QZ$, fra*m* hym wrongly Tr, *om.* R^1 sleighte] sleightes M^1R^1Z ma*n*nes] man ys X, þe R^1Z 704 as] *and* Tr pleyntes] co*m*pleinte*s* R^1Z by^2] *om.* WQM^1 or... maner(705)] \i*n*/ oþe*r*e mane*r*e vntrewely Z 705 in] by G wrongwys maner] mane*r* wrongwisly W, mane*r* wrongfully X, mane*r* vntruli R^1 wrongwys] wrongful Q the...lawe(708)] *om.* R^1Z *margin* 3 W 706 stelynge] sleyng Ld, manslauȝt W is...thise] in þise boþe Tr booth thise] þese two G, *rev.* ILd

as boothe bye maistrie and also by sleighthe of mannes lawe.

And generally in this comaundement, God forbedeth to his poeple alle maner of wrongwys getynge of worldly goodes (other by stelynge other by fals sleightes in byinge and in sellynge wetyngliche to begyle þin eue*n*cristene, other in met or in mesure other in weighte), ootherwyse þan you schuldest skilfulliche wylne þat þi neighebore dede to þe in the same caas. For ȝe schullen vndirstonde heere þat it is leefful to a man or a wo*m*man yat lyueth by chaffare other marchaundise to selle derrere þanne thei bye and for to wy*n*ne by here marchaundise. But vndirstonde, þerwithalle,

707 maistrie] maistirschip O also...lawe(708)] bi soteille wilis to gete of hem here goodis G also by] *om.* Ld also] *om.* TrIOM^1 sleighthe] maystrye Q 709 God...getynge(711)] al mane*r* of wrongful geti*n*g God forbedis to al cri*s*ten pepil R^1 710 his poeple] alle cri*s*ten peple Z 711 wrongwys] wrongful XLdZ, vnskilful G of...goodes] goot M^1 worldly] me*n*nes Ld other] *om.* S by] in G 712 sleightes] weyȝtes sleiȝtes Q 713 and in] or LdR^{1}Z and] or X in] *om.* WQM^1 wetyngliche ...begyle] bigilyng wittyngli R^{1}ZR^2 wetyngliche] *text starts again here* R^2 714 other] *om.* S in^2] *om.* Ld 715 other...ootherwyse] ar i*n* any o*þ*e*r* wise R^1, o*þ*e*r* eny o*þ*e*r*e wyse Z, either in any o*þ*er wyse R^2 other...weighte] *twice* M^1, or in eny G ootherwyse] or o*þ*e*r* wise X yo*u*] *om.* M^1 716 schuldest... neighebore(717)] woldest þey ZR^2, woldiste \þat/ þei R^1 schuldest skilfulliche] *rev.* M^1 wylne] desire O 718 heere] *om.* M^{1}R^{1}ZR^2 it] *corr.* R^1 719 to] *om.* Ld a...wo*m*man] folk S a] *om.* R^{1}ZR^2 or a] *and* ZR^2, *and* to R^1 a^2] to a OG, to X, *om.* WLd yat...by] vsyng leveful R^{1}Z, to vse laufull R^2 720 other] eyther / either R^2, or by I to... marchaundise(722)] to wy*n*ne resonabili here sustenau*n*ce R^{1}ZR^2 721 thei] he LdM^1 bye] boght *canc.*, bye I for to] to M^1 722 marchaundise] marchandise her lyuelode G but...wynne(724)] *om.* M^1 þerwithalle] *with* all TrOWLd, wel G, here R^{1}ZR^2

þat thei schulde not wynne, ne coueite to wynne, as mo-/-che as þei mowe geete be any f. 91v
sleighte or cautele, but al oonly to wynne, skilfulliche and mesurabliche, to sustene hem resonabliche in here trauailles and in here astat, and in alle manere keepe hem for drede of deepe dampnacioun. And beeth war, in alle 3owre biynge *and* sellynge, of oothes swerynge; for comunliche in suche swerynge, þat oon is forsworen other boothe. And þerfore, in woord ne in deede, doo no wronge ne thefte.

This is the eyghthe comaundement.

The fifthe comaundement of þe secounde table is: **Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium**. That is to seyn, 'You

723 þat] *om.* X schulde] shulleþ XQR^2 ne... wynne(724)] *om.* XR^{1}ZR^2 to] for to W 724 as] not as M^1 725 or] or by Z, or eny R^2 oonly] one M^1 to] for to Ld 726 skilfulliche...resonabliche (727)] resonabeli here sustenaunce R^{1}ZR^2 and mesurabliche] *om.* Ld mesurabliche...resonabliche (727)] to be mesurable Q 727 trauailles] trauayl XLdM^{1}R^{1}R^2 in^2] *om.* LdR^{1}ZG 728 astat] state TrR^{1}Z and...dampnacioun(729)] *om.* R^{1}ZR^2 keepe hem] *rev.* Tr, *om.* OWLdG hem] þey him X for] from S 729 deepe] *corr.* I, depe of, of *canc.* X and] and for Goddis loue R^2, *om.* TrIOWLdG 730 *and*] ar R^1 oothes] gret oþes G, *om.* Q 731 in...forsworen (732)] oon is for sworne in suche swereyng G in ...swerynge] *after* forsworen TrIOWLd 732 þat oon] þe tone TrR^1 þat] þe X 733 in...wronge] neiþer in worde ne in dede do G in^2] *om.* R^1 wronge ne(734)] *om.* R^{1}ZR^2 734 ne thefte] *om.* M^1 ne] *om.* I 735 this...seyn(738)] the fyfþe comandement is þis G this...comaundement] þe viij comaundement X, quintum mandatum secundem tabelle Tr, 8^m mandatum R^1, C^m 8^m Q, octauum mandatum R^2, *om.* OWLdM^{1}Z this] þese I comaundement] comaundement of God S *margin* 8^m man^{tu} W 736 fifthe] viij R^{1}ZR^2 of... table(737)] *om.* R^{1}ZR^2 737 is] is þis WSLdR^{1}ZR^2 738 that] þis W to seyn] *om.* S

schalt not speke ne bere fals witnesse
a3eyns thi neighebore.' For to knowe þis
comaundement þe bettre, 3e schullen
vndirstonde þat a man may bere fals witnesse
a3eyns his neighebore in thre maneres, that
is to seyn: in woorde, in deede and in thise
bothe togedere.

In woord, a man or a wo*m*man bereth fals
witnesse a3eyns another **w**hanne he maketh
lesynges of hym to bireue hym his goode name
or fame, as su*m*me hyrede for meede or for
3iftes, or elles for haate or envye, **a**nd
beren fals witnesse a3eyns here neighebores
to maken hem to leese here herytage or
oother wordly goodes, or elles bireve hem
here goode naame or fame for enuye or for

739 not speke] *rev.* M^1 speke...bere] sei no R^1ZR^2 742 a...neighebore(743)] *after* maneres R^1Z a...bere] in too maners men beryn R^2 a...may] men R^1Z 743 a3eyns...neighebore] *after* maneres G his neighebore] þer nei3tborse R^1ZR^2 in...seyn (744)] *om.* R^2 maneres] maner wyses M^1 744 to seyn] *om.* S in²] and in M^1R^2G, *and* WX in³] *om.* R^2 745 bothe] too M^1R^1G togedere] two togider Tr 746 a...bereth] me*n* beryn R^1ZR^2 or...wo*m*man] *om.* SQ a²] *om.* Ld 747 another] oþer R^1ZR^2 he] þei R^1ZR^2 748 lesynges of] lesyng on WR^2 lesynges] lesyng TrOXLd of] on SQZ bireue] reue I, benym Tr hym²] hem R^2, *om.* Ld his] here R^1ZR^2 name...fame(749)] fame or name X 749 or] of Ld as...3iftes(750)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 su*m*me] summe menne M^1, some þat ben G meede...for] *om.* M^1 or²...3iftes(750)] *om.* S for²] *om.* Ld 750 elles] *om.* R^1ZR^2 or²] or for TrWZR^2, or els for X envye] for enuye G and] *om.* OWLdQR^1ZR^2G 751 neighebores] nei3tbor R^1R^2 752 to...meede (755)] (to *canc.* R^1) lese here liyfe here heritage ar any oþer goode R^1ZR^2 to²] *om.* XLdM^1Z or] *om.* X 753 or...meede(755)] *om.* G bireve] bereue, be*eras.* I, to bereue Ld, benym Tr 754 or] of Ld for²] hate or Ld, *om.* W

meede. And þerfore, we schulden bee wel warre what þat we speken of owre neighebores *and* to owre neighebores, so yat we nowther warye hem wrongfulliche ne enuyousliche with owre tounges ne with owre hertes, ne þat we generalliche bere no fals witnesse aȝeyns hem to blamynge of hem, ne to accusynge, ne to excusynge of hem falsliche, ne of ȝowre-self neither. For God soueraynliche hateth lesynges, for he is souerayng trowthe hym-self and euery lesynge is aȝeyns trowthe. And þerfore, whanne ȝe schullen speke, seithe þe sothe. And ȝif ȝe wollen not seye þe sothe, beeth stille or elles maketh no lesynge, ne bereth no fals witnesse with

755 we schulden] ye moste R^1R^2 schulden...warre (756)] shullene vndirstond beware M^1 schulden] shullen XLd, moste Z bee wel] *rev.* Ld wel] *om.* XG 756 what] whan X þat we] ȝe QR^1R^2 þat] *om.* WLdM^1 of...no(760)] by your euyncristen þat ye ne curse hem with mouthe ne herte ne ye in no wyse bere R^2 owre] ȝowre QR^1Z neighebores] neiȝebore Z 757 *and*...neighebores] *om.* XG *and*] or W owre] ȝowre QR^1Z so...nowther] þat þat ye neuer R^1 so] for Tr, *om.* Z we] *om.* Q nowther warye(758)] wraþþe O nowther] not M^1 758 hem...owre(759)] ne myssai hem *with* youre R^1Z hem] hem neiþer O wrongfulliche ne] ne curse hem G wrongfulliche] wrongwysly IW, wrongly Tr ne enuyousliche] *om.* M^1 759 owre] ȝowre QR^1Z tounges] tong Ld owre^2] ȝowre Q þat] *corr.* I we] ye R^1 760 generalliche] *in* no wise R^1Z no] *om.* S 761 to] in R^2G ne...excusynge(762)] *om.* O to^2] *om.* I accusynge] accuse R^2 ne^2] of hem ne XR^1Z 762 to...of] excuse R^2 ne] noiþer W ȝowre-] oure $M^1R^1ZR^2$ 763 -self] owne siluen G neither] ne of noon oþer W 764 lesynges] lesyng Ld, her lesynges Z for] and S hymself...trowthe(765)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 766 ȝe] ye doo or M^1 767 sothe] truþe G, treuthe or R^2 and...sothe(768)] *om.* XR^1ZR^2 768 beeth] ar ellis be R^1Z, hold ȝow Ld or...ne (769)] and R^2 or elles] ne R^1, *and* Z or] *and* or W 769 with...mouth(770)] in herte ne worde R^2

3owre mouth.

In deede, men beren fals witnesse a3eyns here neighebores whanne thei doon greete sy*n*nes, and so withdrawen falsliche here help yat thei schulden doo / to here euencristene, helpynge hem to here goode leuynge towarde þe blisse of heuene. For 3e schullen vndirstonde yat alle horrible synners, þei harmen alle othere sy*n*neres, and also þei withdrawen falsliche here helpe þat þei schulden doo to goode men by here goode lyuy*n*ge. For by vertu of þis article of owre byleeue of oure Crede: <u>s*anctorum* co*m*munione*m*</u>, that is to seyn, 'comunynge of alle sayntes,' we byleeue, and soth it is, yat alle goode men in erthe and alle seyntes in heuene helpen euerychon oother to be fulliche blessede in heuene, in body and in sowle. And so alle goode comuneth here

f. 92r

770 mouth] *om.* Z 772 neighebores] nei3tbor R^1, euyncristen R^2 773 so] so þei R^1 withdrawen] *with*drwyng Tr 774 here] *corr.* R^1, *om.* M^1 here²] *om.* Tr 775 helpynge] in helpynge R^2, \by hor goode levy*n*g/ helpy*n*ge I hem to] by R^2 to] þrou3 G, wiþ W, bi QR^1Z 776 þe...of] *om.* Q for...lyuynge (781)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 777 alle] *om.* Q 778 synners] synnes LdQ þei] *om.* Ld 779 and] *om.* O þei] þat G here] *corr.* W 780 þat] *om.* M^1 781 vertu] þe vertu IR^1ZR^2 þis] þi Tr 782 byleeue...Crede] Credo Q byleeue...oure] *om.* G of²] *in* R^1ZR^2 Crede] *om.* X 783 to seyn] *om.* S comunynge ...byleeue(784)] we beleve comen*i*ng of al (*om.* R^2) sei*n*tes R^1ZR^2 comunynge] þe co*m*uyng M^1 784 alle] *om.* W soth] þoþe, 1st þ- altered to s- Z 786 euerychon] euerich $SXLdR^1ZR^2$ 787 blessede] *om.* Q in²] *and* Z, *om.* R^1 in³] *om.* $SLdM^1R^1Z$ 788 sowle] soul togeder G and...togidere(790)] *om.* R^2 and] *corr.* I so alle] *rev.* X so] also R^1Z goode] good men M^1R^1ZG, good \men/ I here good-nesse(789)] *after* togidere G

goodnesse togidere, and alle schrewes comuneth here schrewednesse togidere. And þerfore, sith a mannes deede bereth moore redyliche and moore verreiliche witnessynge what he is, ȝif he withdrawe þanne falsliche his helpe and his goode lyuynge from his neighebore to helpe hem bothe to hellewarde, and ȝif he so þorugh synne be abowte in deede to drawe hymselfe and his neighebore to helleward, thanne yat man falsliche in deede bereth fals witnesse aȝeyns his neighebore.

Thanne ȝif a man, bothe in woord and in deede, bere fals witnesse aȝeyns his

789 goodnesse] goodes Ld schrewes] schrewed men Z, schrewep Q 790 comuneth] *om.* XLdR¹Z togidere] *om.* R¹Z 791 þerfore sith] siþ þerfor þat Ld sith] such R², *om.* M¹ mannes] man is X deede] dedes Ld bereth] more *canc.*,/ bereþ Z 792 and...witnessynge] wittenes R¹ moore] *om.* M¹ witnessynge] wytnesse TrOWXLdQZR² 793 what] of him what G he] a man Q ȝif...falsliche] so than by his deede it is schewyd whan he withdrawith R² ȝif] *om.* R¹Z withdrawe þanne] *rev.* Q þanne] *om.* TrOWLdR¹G falsliche] *after* helpe Q 794 his²] *om.* G 795 neighebore...bereth(799)] neiȝ\t/bor ȝeuing hem ensample of sinful *and* cursid liffing he is aboute in as (also Z) miche as he doþe so to drawe hem boþe to yeuer lasting dampnacoun and so þat man þat so doþ beriþ more (*add.* wych, *canc.* Z) wickidli R¹Z, euyncristen yevynge hym ensample of synfull and cursid lyuynge he is aboute as moche as he doith so to drawe hem bothe to euerlastynge dampnacoun and he that so doith berith more wykkydly R² to...hem] hem helpe, -m *eras.*, helpe\s/ \hym/ I helpe] *om.* G hellewarde] heueneward OWXLdQG 796 so] see M¹, *om.* Q be] he be M¹ in...abowte(803)] *om.* Ld 797 hymselfe] hym G and his] *twice* Tr 798 to helleward] towarde helle G 799 bereth] he beriþ W 800 neighebore] euyncristen R² 801 thanne... neighebore(803)] *om.* M¹Z thanne] and so S bothe] *om.* R¹ woord] dede Q in²] *om.* R¹ 802 deede] word Q

neighebore, to be abowte to vndoo his body, to leese his goodes, to byreve hym his goode name and his goode fame falslyche, and to brynge his sowle to helleward, thanne he moste schrewedlyche bere witnesse, in woorde and in dede and also in bothe two, falsliche aȝeyns his neighebore. And þerfore, God biddeth yat neither in woorde ne in deede, ne in thise bothe two, yowe schalt neither bere ne speke fals witnesse aȝeyns thi neighebore.

This is the neynthe comaundement.

The sixte comaundement of þe secounde table is: **N**on co*n*cupisces domu*m* p*ro*ximi tui, nec desiderabis vxorem eius. That is to

803 neighebore] neghbures I, eu*en*crist G vndoo] do *canc.*, vndoo Z, vnto M^1 804 his] hore QG to²] *and* to X hym] *om.* OM^1 goode] *om.* TrOW 805 and...goode] of Ld his goode] *om.* R^2 his] *om.* M^1 goode] *om.* $TrOWR^1Z$ and²] and also G, *om.* R^1 to..sowle(806)] hym M^1 806 to] to be wickid ensample to R^1, by wycked ensaunple to ZR^2 thanne...neighebore(809)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 thanne he] *rev.* XQ thanne] *after* moste SM^1 807 mooste] *om.* Ld bere] beriþ fals W witnesse] his soule to helward *canc.*, wytnes Tr in...falsliche(808)] *after* neighebore O woorde] *corr.* I 808 in] *om.* Q and²...deede(810)] *om.* Tr and²...falsliche] *om.* G two] two togedere SQM^1, togedre X 809 neighebore] nei*ȝ*bore falsly G and] *om.* R^1Z 810 yat] *om.* XR^1ZR^2 ne] neþer G in²] *om.* R^2 811 ne...neither] *om.* R^1 ne...two] *om.* ZR^2G thise bothe] *rev.* Ld bothe two] togithir M^1 two] two togider WLd schalt] *om.* M^1 neither] not G 812 fals...neighebore(813)] aȝens þi nei*ȝ*bore no fals wittenesse G 813 neighebore] euyncristen R^2 814 this...seyn(818)] the sixte comandement of God is þis G this...comaundement] þe ix comau*ndment* X, c^m 9^m Q, nouum mandatum R^2, sextu*m* manda*tum* ij tabu*le* Tr, *om.* $OWLdM^1R^1Z$ comaundement] comaundemet of God S *margin* 9^m man^{tu} W 815 sixte] ix R^1ZR^2 of...table(816)] *om.* R^1ZR^2 816 is] is þis $WSLdR^1ZR^2$ domu*m*] rem Ld p*ro*ximi] p*ro* p*roximi* Z 817 to seyn(818)] *om.* S

seyn, 'You schalt not coueyte þi neighebores hows, ne you schalt not wilne ne desire thi neighebores wyf.' In thise woordes, seith seynt Austyn, is forboden alle manere of couetise or wil to do lecherye. For as I tolde ȝowe byfore in þe thrydde comaundement of þe secounde table, þere God forbedeth alle maner dedes of lechery. Thanne myghte somme fooles weene yat ȝif þei doo not þe deede, thanne it were no peril, þough thei wilnede it or assentede þerto. But God wole yat men weten yat it is not so, but / for as f. 92v moche as God knoweth fulliche, bothe body and sowle to þe leeste þouȝt of a mannes herte, and moore verrayliche seeth euery þought and wille of owre hertes þan eny of

818 neighebores hows(819)] neyȝbour his wif hous, wif *canc.* X neighebores] neiȝtbur R^1 819 hows...wyf (820)] wiffe ne his house ZR^2 ne...wyf(820)] no desire his wyfe Tr you...neighebores(820)] his R^1 wilne ne] *om.* W 820 neighebores] neyȝbour his X thise woordes] that worde R^2, þis worde R^1Z 821 is] hit is R^1ZR^2 of] *om.* Q 822 to] for to W as...þere(824)] it is seid bifore (*om.* R^2) in þe vj commaundement þat R^1ZR^2 as] *om.* X 823 ȝowe] *om.* X 824 of...table] *om.* LdG 825 maner] maner of W, maner \of/ I, *om.* ZR^2 dedes] dede R^1 826 fooles] fowles *canc.*, foles I yat ȝif] þough M^1 þei doo] þou dede Ld doo] dedyn M^1, dude G not þe] it not in O þe...thanne(827)] *om.* X 827 thanne] *om.* $SM^1QR^1ZR^2$ þough thei] *om.* $M^1R^1ZR^2$ 828 wilnede it] wyllid Tr wilnede] to wylne $M^1R^1ZR^2$, wold not I, desirid O it...assentede] *om.* X it] *om.* WLdG assentede] to assent R^1ZR^2 but...so(829)] *om.* Ld wole] wold R^1ZR^2 829 weten] wiste R^1ZR^2 830 as] also Z fulliche] *om.* Q bothe] *om.* W 831 to] at M^1, *and* Ld þe] *twice* U leeste þouȝt] beste thuogh M^1 leeste] laste R^1Z of a] *and* will of Tr of] *om.* M^1 a] *om.* QR^1ZR^2 mannes] man ys X 832 and] sas as *canc.*, and Z 833 þought] mannes þouȝt X and wille] *om.* WR^1 of...*to end of text*] *text cut off here* R^2 owre hertes] a manus G

vs seeth oþeres werkes. And also, right suche as a man is in his herte and in his sowle and in his wille, suche he is byfore God yat knoweth bothe body and sowle; for he wol haue alle cleene, withowten and withinne bothe, sith God byfore hath forboden alle maner of flesshliche dedes out of trewe wedlok.

In this comaundement, God forbedeth alle manere of vncleene and vnleefful coueitynge and desyrynge of dedes of flesche, and biddeth yat you schalt not coueite þi neighebores hows, þat is to seyn, nothynge of his meyne, neither his doughter ne his mayden. And for of al a mannes howsholde, after hy*m*self, his wif is moost *pre*cious to hym, ȝif þei been bothe wel rewled; therfore God biddeth specialliche

834 seeth] knoweþ Z, \knowiþ/ R^1 oþeres] oþer TrIOR^1Z, anoþires G and...right] for O also] *om.* S right] for WLdG, *om.* X 835 is] *om.* O his] *om.* Q and] *om.* Q his] *om.* Q 836 sowle... wille] wille *and* his soule Ld byfore] afore Z 837 bothe] al boþe O, *om.* TrM^1 he] God LdG 838 cleene...alle(839)] *om.* Z withowten...bothe (839)] *with*in *and* *with*oute R^1 withowten ...withinne] *after* bothe Tr 839 sith] whanne OWLdG byfore hath] *rev.* Ld 840 maner of] *om.* M^1 of] *om.* R^1Z out...wedlok(841)] of lecheri R^1Z 842 God forbedeth] *om.* Z God] he R^1 843 of] *om.* R^1 vncleene] vnleueful W and] *and* of Tr vnleefful] vnclenefull M^1, vnclene W 844 dedes of flesche(845)] fleschly deedes SR^1Z 845 flesche] þe flessh M^1 biddeth] *om.* Ld 847 meyne] maynes I, *om.* Z neither] ne neper G, not S 848 ne] neþer G, nor M^1 mayden] *s*eru*a*nte R^1Z of al] *rev.* R^1 of] *om.* OM^1 al] *om.* Ld a] *corr.* O 849 after hy*m*self] *om.* Tr his...is] ne his wijf O his wif] *after* is TrW his] a man*us* G moost] þe moste S 850 to] vnto Z been] *om.* M^1 bothe] *corr.* R^1 851 rewled] rulid boþe R^1

yat you schalt not coueite thi neighebores wyf. For, as seith Crist hymself in þe gospelle of seynt Matheu c° v°, Ego autem dico vobis, quia omnis qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam mechatus est eam in corde suo. That is to seyn, 'I seie to 3owe,' seith Crist, 'þat alle þat seen a womman to coueityse of his lust, anoon he hath doon lecherye with here in his herte.' And þerfore, bothe in deede and in wille, in body and in sowle, God forbedeth 3owe alle manere of lecherie and biddeth þe that you schalt doo no lecherie ne coueite þi neighebores wyf, ne noon other womman, in lecherie.

This is tenthe comaundement.

The seuenthe comaundement of þe

852 not] *om.* R^1 coueite] desire LdG neighebores] ney3bour his X 853 seith Crist] *rev.* SXR^1, seiþ Crist seiþ, *1st* seiþ *eras.* O seith] *after* hymself G 854 of...v°] m^t v° R^1Z seynt] *om.* Ld c° v°...seyn(857)] in þe fyueþe chapit G 855 quia] *om.* Tr qui] *om.* X 856 eam²] *om.* Tr 857 to seyn] *om.* S I seie] *om.* Z 858 seith Crist] forsoþe he seiþ G þat...seen] he þat seeth M^1 alle] eche LdG, eche man W þat²] þei þat R^1 seen] seiþ LdQ 859 coueityse of] coueite here to Ld lust] lust \to haf/ I, fleisch W he] *om.* R^1 860 his] *om.* Tr 861 in] *om.* Z 862 3owe...of(863)] *om.* R^1Z 3owe] vs G, *om.* Q 863 þe that] *om.* Q þe] vs G, *om.* M^1 that] *om.* O you] we G 864 schalt] shuldeste M^1 doo...ne] not R^1Z doo no] not do OW ne...lecherie(866)] *om.* Tr þi] þere Z, oure G 865 wyf...in] hous þat is to sei of any woman of his hous ne in desiring of his wif ar (*add.* \or/ Z) of any (*add.* of Z) oder maner of lecheri R^1Z 867 this...seyn(872)] the seuenþe and þe laste comandment is þis G this...comaundement] þe x comaundement X, c^m 10^m Q, septimum mandatum ij tabule Tr, x mandatum R^1, *om.* OWLdM^1Z tenthe] þe tenþe S *margin* 10^m man^{tu} W 868 seuenthe] x R^1Z comaundement...table(869)] *om.* Ld of...table(869)] *om.* R^1Z

secounde table, and þe laste of ten, is: Non concupisces seruum proximi tui, non ancillam, non bouem, non asinum, nec omnia que illius sunt. That is to seyn, 'Thow schalt not coueite thi neighebores seruaunt ne his mayden awey from hym wrongfulliche, as to amendynge of þe and to apeyrynge of hym. Ne, you schalt not coueite his oxe, ne his asse, ne no good of his, yat is to seyn, wrongfulliche.'

Nowe, ȝe schullen vnderstonde þat, right as byfore, God forbeed first alle maner of lecherie, so after þat he forbeed euery man *and* womman to coueite to doo lecherie out of trewe wedlok. Right in þe same wyse, God forbeed here byfore euery man

869 and...ten] *after* is Q of ten] commaundement Ld, *om.* R^1Z is] is þis WSXZ 870 seruum] rem Ld non] nec M^1 871 non] nec OM^1 non²] nec M^1 nec] neque X 872 that...seyn] .s. R^1 to seyn] *om.* S 874 wrongfulliche] wrongwysly TrIW 875 as] *om.* M^1 of] to X to apeyrynge] pering R^1, þe payrement Tr, harmyng Ld to²] *om.* $WSXQM^1Z$ of] to R^1 876 ne] *om.* M^1 you] *om.* X not] *om.* S ne²] *om.* R^1 877 his] *corr.* I, *om.* G ne...wrongfulliche(878)] *om.* Tr yat...seyn] *om.* G 878 wrongfulliche] wrongwysly IWS 879 nowe...vnderstonde] and here muste ȝe know R^1Z nowe ȝe] we G nowe] *om.* TrLd þat] *om.* Ld 880 byfore] bifore seid S forbeed first] *rev.* TrOWLd 881 of] dede of R^1, dedes of Z so...lecherie(883)] *om.* O so...þat] and aftir W, and afterwarde G so] and Ld þat] *om.* LdR^1Z 882 euery] any WLd, al R^1Z man] men R^1Z *and* womman] *om.* X *and*] or TrWLdG womman] wymmen R^1Z, euery womman Q to...lecherie (883)] oþer to lecherie *and* G coueite] concent ar to couet R^1Z, do lecherie or coueyte M^1 to doo] ouþer to Ld to²] tor, -r *canc.?* M^1, oiþer to W 883 out] *and* out Ld, *in* þouȝt out R^1Z trewe] *om.* Q in...wyse(884)] so now Tr, so OSLd in...byfore (884)] so here bifore God forbad G, so bifore God forbede W 884 wyse] maner X God forbeed] *after* byfore OLd here byfore] *om.* Tr byfore] *corr.* R^1, *om.* I euery] *in* þe vij commaundement ȝeuere R^1Z

and wo*m*man alle maner theft. But, for manye wolden fayn stele, and þei durste for þe galwes, and þei weenen it be no synne but ȝif þei dede it in deede, but God scheweth þe reuers ande / biddeth þat ȝe schulden neither stele ne coueite wrongfulliche other mennes goodes. For as seith seint Poul, I' ad Thi*motheum* vj°, Radix om*nium* malo*rum* est cupiditas. That is to seyn, 'The roote of alle schrewednesses is couetise.' For, as ȝe seen wel, couetise maketh debates bytwene rewme *and* rewme, cyte and citee, towne and town, man *and* man; and comunly alle stryues and briges and debates in erthe been caused of couetise and of vnleefful loue of

885 and] or TrOLd theft] of theft TrIOWSXLdM¹R¹ZG
886 wolden] *after* stele Z fayn stele] *rev.* O, stele faw Tr and] ȝif TrLdR¹Z durste] þursten X þe] *om.* X 887 and] þat Ld, *om.* Tr þei weenen] þouȝ R¹Z it] þat hit X be] is Q
888 dede] don X but...reuers(889)] as hem þinkes God seiþ (scheweþ Z) þe *contrarie* R¹Z but] *om.* TrOWLdG 889 reuers] contrarie G ȝe...neither (890)] we schal not R¹ ȝe] we Z schulden] schall TrWSLdQ 890 neither] not W wrongfulliche] *after* goodes LdQ, wrongwysly IW
891 seith...the(893)] seynt Poule seiþ in þe firste pistil to Tymothe in þe sixte chapit G seith] *after* Poul Ld, *om.* R¹ I'...vj] I' ad Cor*um* vj° ca° R¹, pri*m*a ad Cor*um* 6° X, I ad ca° ij° ca° Z
893 that...seyn] .s. R¹ is...seyn] *om.* M¹ to seyn] *om.* S seyn] *eras.* Q the] *om.* TrWLdR¹
894 schrewednesses] schrewednes IOWXQM¹, wickidnes R¹Z, eueles TrLdG 895 ȝe] we R¹Z debates] debate OXLdM¹R¹Z 896 towne...towne(897)] *om.* R¹Z
897 stryues...debates(898)] debat*es and* striues þat bee*n* Ld 898 and briges] *om.* XM¹R¹ZG and²] *om.* Tr in erthe] *om.* R¹Z caused] cause R¹Z, \by/ cause I
899 of...wronge(903)] þerfor*e* (*add.* for Z) þe luf of almiȝti (*add.* God Z) Ihes*u* þat for saluacou*n* of ma*n*nis soule i*n* schewi*n*g (signe Z) of largenes sched his herte blod vpon þe cros (rode tree Z) da*m*pne ȝe neue*r* ȝou*r* owne (*om.* Z) soulis bi vnleful couetise R¹Z of²] *om.* M¹G of³] *and* Tr

worldliche goodes and of forȝetynge of God and of heuenly goodes. And þerfore, I conseile ȝow yat ȝe coueite noone mennes goodes with wronge, but hoold ȝowe apaied of yat that God hath sent ȝow, trewely getyn. For ȝif ȝe litel haue, of litel ȝe schullen ȝiue rekenynge. And ȝif ȝe moche haue, of mochil ȝe schullen ȝyue rekenynge, ȝe, to þe leeste peny or halpeny þat ȝe resceyuen of God here in erthe, howe þat ȝe dispenden it. And þerfore, wel is hym bygoon yat hath litel and hoolt hym apaied of litel. And þankethe God, for a dreedful rekenynge schullen riche men ȝeelde. And þerfore, so

900 goodes] good M^1 of] *om.* IM^1 of²] *text begins here* La God] good M^1 901 and...goodes] *om.* M^1 of] *om.* Ld heuenly] *corr.* La þerfore...ȝowe (903)] þerfore for dredde of God *and* of peyne þat schal folowe þerafter vs oweþ to leue to coueite wrongfulli oþer men*us* Godis *and* to holde vs G þerfore] þerfore wiþ all my*n* herte La I...ȝe(902)] *om.* Ld 902 ȝow] ȝow *and* prai*e* ȝow my children i*n* God La mennes] mannes QLd 903 goodes] good Q with wronge] wrongefully M^1 of yat(904)] wit*h* þat good Ld 904 yat] *om.* X that...getyn] ȝe mai gete i*n* þe plesaunce of God bi true labo*ur and* oder true titil R^1Z hath sent] sendiþ La ȝow] to ȝow IX, vs G 905 ȝe] we G litel haue] *rev.* O ȝe schullen] *rev.* S ȝe] we G 906 ȝiue rekenynge] reken LaLd, ȝelde acontes G rekenynge] þe*r canc.*, rekenynge Z and...rekenynge(907)] *om.* X and] *om.* TrOWLa ȝe] we G moche haue] *rev.* R^1 907 ȝe] we G ȝyue rekenynge] rekeny Ld, ȝelde acontes G ȝe to] ȝe *canc.*, \un/ to I ȝe²] *om.* TrOWLaLd 908 leeste] laste Z or halpeny] *om.* R^1Z ȝe] we G of God(909)] *om.* ZG 909 þat] *om.* Ld ȝe] we G 910 and] *om.* TrOLaLd is hym] *rev.* La bygoon] *om.* SG hath litel(911)] *rev.* G 911 litel] a litel X apaied] *corr.* R^1, wel paied La of litel] þerof G 912 God] Godd þe*r*of Tr 913 riche] fals coueytous riche G ȝeelde] ȝelde *and* ȝeue Ld, ȝiue Q, make at þe dai of dome R^1Z and...table(918)] *om.* R^1Z and...so] *om.* M^1 so...no(914)] drede we to coueyte oþir G so] *om.* Ld

as I haue now toold ȝow, coueiteth no mennes
915 good with wronge. And this is þe tenthe
comaundement of God.

So þat in thise seuene comaundementȝ of
þe secounde table and in the ȝre comaunde-
mentȝ of þe firste table, stonden alle thise
920 ten comaundementȝ of God, whiche þat ȝe
mosten kepe vnder the peyne of euerelastynge
dampnacioun, but ȝif ȝe bytyme amende ȝowe.
And þe firste thre comaundementȝ of þe
firste table tellen ȝowe how yat ȝe schullen
925 loue ande worschipe God with alle ȝowre
herte ouer alle thynge. The othere seuene

914 I] *corr.* Q now...ȝow] ȝow tolde now Tr now] *after* ȝowe W, *om.* LaXQM¹ coueiteth] þerfor coueyteth M¹ mennes] mannes LdQ 915 good] goodis OWSLaXM¹ and] for G 916 God...table (924)] þe whiche ten þre þe first Ld 917 so...mosten(921)] and þese tene comaundementis of God most euery man G so...God(920)] *om.* La comaundementȝ] *om.* M¹ 918 and] and so R¹, *and* ff soo, ff *canc.* Z in the] *om.* Q the] þrre *canc.* Z, *om.* OM¹R¹ 919 table] table and *in* þe vij of þe ij table R¹Z thise] yis I, þe OWR¹, *om.* Z 920 ten] *om.* O of God] *om.* M¹ whiche þat] þe whiche Q þat] *om.* OW ȝe mosten (921)] al men *and* wymmen must\e/ R¹Z 921 vnder the] vpoun M¹, vp LaQ the] *om.* OWXZ of] or S 922 ȝif...ȝowe] þei amende hem R¹Z ȝe ...ȝowe] he amende hym G bytyme...ȝowe] amende ȝou here bytyme W 923 and] and þerfore siþ ȝe must vndurstonde (-stonde *canc.*) so grete peyne kepe hem *and* I most vnder grete peyne teche hem ȝow to my deuer bifore God *and* ȝowre damp (*canc.*) sauacion as fer as God of his grace wole worch wiþ me I haue vnder my cunnyng told ȝow alle tene La, and þerfor synne ye most vndyr so grete peyne kepe heme and I moste vndir greet peyne teche theme you to my descharge befoor God and youre saluacioun as fer as God of his grace wolle wurche *with* me I have vndir my connyng told you alle ten M¹, *om.* TrOWSG firste thre] *rev.* R¹ thre] *om.* Z comaundementȝ...ȝowe (924)] tellen vs G comaundementȝ...table(924)] *om.* La comaundementȝ] *om.* M¹ 924 tellen ȝowe] teche vs R¹Z yat] *om.* XLdZ ȝe] we R¹ZG schullen] schulde La 925 loue...God] worschepe God *and* loue him XM¹R¹Z God] oure Lord God G with...thynge (926)] ouer alle oþir þyng *with* alle our herte G ȝowre] oure R¹Z 926 the] þese O, and G

of þe secounde table techen ȝowe fulliche how yat ȝe schullen loue and bere ȝow to alle ȝowre euencristene in louynge of hem as ȝoureself; þat is to seyn, do noon otherwyse to hem þan you schuldest wilne skilfulliche þat were doon to þe in the same caas. For so biddith Criste hymself in þe gospel of seynt Matheu c° vij°, Omnia quecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines eciam vos faciatis illis. That is to seyn, 'Alle thynges þat ȝe wollen yat men doo to ȝowe, do ȝe þe same to hem.'

And þerfore, I dar hardiliche seyn yat ȝif ȝe keepe thise ten comaundementȝ in louynge of God ouer alle thynge and ȝoure neighebore as ȝoureself, ande endure in

927 of...table] *om.* LaLdG techen] tellen Ld ȝowe ...ȝowre(929)] vs how we schal haue vs to oure R^1Z ȝowe] vs G, *om.* M^1 928 yat] *om.* LaLd ȝe] we G loue and] *om.* G loue] lyue X ȝow] vs G 929 alle ȝowre] oure G alle] *om.* WLd of] *om.* WLaXLdG 930 ȝoureself] oureselfe R^1ZG do] to do $WLaLdR^1G$ noon other-] no noþer R^1 931 to hem] *om.* O you...þat(932)] we wolde R^1Z you] we G schuldest wilne] wols to þiself Tr schuldest] woldest XLd wilne skilfulliche] *rev.* OS skil-fulliche þat(932)] resonabli Ld 932 þat] *om.* TrOLaG to þe] *om.* Tr to] *corr.* R^1 þe] vs R^1ZG 933 of ...vij°(934)] M^t j° R^1, M^t c° 7° X, *om.* Z 934 Matheu ...seyn(935)] Mathew in þe seuenþe chapit þat G vultis] wltis O 935 eciam] et TrWSLaXLdQM^1R^1Z, *om.* O vos faciatis] facite vos R^1Z faciatis] facite TrIOWSLaXLdQM^1 936 to seyn] *om.* S to] *om.* Q thynges] þing OLaXLdQ 937 ȝe] we G yat...ȝe] men dude to vs wee schulden don G yat] *om.* OR^1 doo] dide LaQ 938 to] by X 939 and...yat] and þen withoute drede R^1Z þerfore...yat] soþe hit is þat G I...yat] *om.* Ld dar] þar X hardiliche] wel SQ yat] *om.* Q 940 ȝe] we R^1ZG 941 of...ouer] \God/ of M^1 of] *om.* XLdQR^1Z ouer] abouen G thynge] þinges R^1 ȝoure] oure R^1Z, *om.* G 942 neighebore] neiȝboris OSLaXLdR^1 ȝoureself] oureselfe R^1ZG endure] last TrOWLaLdG, ythen I

keepynge of this lessou*n* to 3oure lyues ende, **h**euene blisse schalle be 3oure heritage at 3oure last ende. **F**or as Criste seith hymself, and may not lye, Iohannes xiiij°, **Si quis diligit me, sermone*m* meu*m* seruabit, et pater meus diliget eum, et ad eu*m* venie*mus*, et mansione*m* apud eu*m* facie-/-mus**. **T**hat is to seyn, **C**rist seith þat, f. 93v 'Who so loueth me, he schalle keepe my woord', **t**hat is to seyn, thise ten comaundement3 beden of Goddes owne mouth. **A**nd þanne seith Crist, 'My Fader in heuene schal loue hym, **a**nd we schullen come to hym and make a dwellynge with hym.' **A**nd þat schalle be in heuene blisse, þere as Goddes dwellynge is in ioye *and* blisse yat no

943 3oure] oure R^1ZG 944 ende] ende my soule for 3oures La, ende þan no doute is G heuene] and hevyn M^1 3oure] oure R^1ZG 945 heritage] heritage *and* mede G at...ioye(962)] *om.* Ld at...last] 3euerlasting *with*outen R^1Z 3oure] our G as] *om.* G 946 seith...seith(950)] hi*m*silf þat may not he seiþ in þe gospel of seynt Iohn in þe fourtenþe chapit G seith...lye] hi*m* seiþ *in* þe gospel of sei*n*te R^1, hymselfe i*n* þe gospell of seynt Z seith hymself] *rev.* M^1 948 et...faciemus (950)] *et cetera* R^1Z 949 faciemus(950)] uenu *canc.*, faciem*us* Q 950 to...þat] *om.* S Crist ...þat] *om.* R^1Z þat] *om.* WM^1 951 so] þat OW me] me seiþ C*r*iste R^1Z he] *om.* OSR^1Z 952 to seyn] *om.* S to] *twice* Z 953 beden] comau*n*did G Goddes] C*r*istes X owne] *om.* R^1Z 954 þanne] *after* Crist Z in heuene] *om.* R^1Z 955 and...a (956)] þat is to sei alle þe holi trinite schal come to hi*m* and make oure R^1, and we þat is sayen all þe hole trynytee schulle come to hym *and* make oure Z 956 a] o*ur* TrG and²] *om.* M^1R^1Z 957 as] as is LaG, þat M^1, *om.* Tr Goddes] God is X, God as God Z 958 dwellynge] wonny*n*g W is...*and*] i*n* La is in] and G is] *om.* X *and* blisse] *om.* $SXQM^1R^1$Z *and*] *and* in W

flesshliche tounge kan fulliche telle ne
herte þenke, and þat schal euere be with God
and his aungeles withowten endynge. To þat
ioye, God vs brynge, Amen.

959 flesshliche] flessh X kan fulliche] may XR[1]Z fulliche telle] *rev.* IOW 960 euere be] *rev.* OWLaR[1]ZG 961 his] *with* G endynge] ende OSX þat...brynge(962)] þe whiche blisse he breng vs þat bouȝt vs *with* his preciouse blode merciful God G 962 ioye...amen] ioie he brynge vs þat bouȝt vs wiþ his blood *precious* amen amen amen amen amen La God...brynge] too þat blisse God vs bryng Ld brynge] bryng bi his grace R[1]Z amen] amen amen I, amen *et cetera* Z, amen amen pur charite for to kepe God gyue vs grace þese comaundementis ten þat we mowe see his face in blisse wiþ holy men amen W explicits: explicit *et cetera* I, expliciunt decem mandata dei Q, et sic fin*itur* tractat*us* iste de decem *preceptis dominicis* in lingua materna Z, here endiþ oon pa\y/re comaundementis La, heere enden þe ten comaundementȝ S

NOTES

4-8 MATTHEW 19:16-7, 'Et ecce unus accedens, ait illi: Magister bone, quid boni faciam ut habeam vitam aeternam? Qui dixit ei: Quid me interrogas de bono? Unus est bonus, Deus. Si autem vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata.'

23-5 JOHN 14:23, repeated again in full at lines 946-50.

26-8 The division of the ten commandments into three and seven originates from the Bible and was carried over into Archbishop Peckham's Constitutions from the Council of Lambeth in 1281: 'Item decem Mandata veteris testamenti, quorum tria ordinantur ad Deum, quae dicuntur mandata primae tabulae: Septem vero ad proximum, quae dicuntur secundae tabulae mandata'(LFC 31/57-9). This was then continued in Archbishop Thoresby's instructions for laypeople from 1357: 'Secundo decem sunt mandata a cunctis fidelibus inviolabiliter observanda, quorum tria ordinantur ad Deum, septem vero ad proximum'(LFC 30/68-70: the English version is found on the same page). It became quite common and appears often as in the Speculum Christiani, Tabula secunda: 'Be holy wryte ther be ten commaundmentes, of whych thre longen to god and seuen to oure euen-cristen'(Holmstedt (1933), 16/14-5); in The Book of Vices and Virtues (Francis (1942), 6/12-4), and in the Ayenbite of Inwyt (Morris (1866), 11/20-1).

29-31 See I TIMOTHY 1:5 and I CORINTHIANS 13:1-13; see also Rolle's 'Meditation A' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 64/32-5) from JOHN 13:35.

31-3 Charity stands in two branches, this is similar to the two commandments of the New Testament: to love God and to love thy neighbour as thyself found in various texts on Charity such as 'The Sixteen Conditions of Charity': 'he haþ wryten to alle men what is charite, & comaundid to alle men þat wolen be þat þey holden þat, *in* herte, in sowle, in mynde, wiþ al þer powere & þer strengþis, to loue God ouer al þing, & þer neighbore as hemself' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 210, f.135^{r}, I am grateful to Philip Durkin for this

reference). See Jolliffe G.4 for several versions. The connection made between the division of the Ten Commandments, the two 'preceptis' of charity and the 'Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum' is also found in D&P III.xix.298/1-299/14.

34-5 EXODUS 31:18, 'Deditque Dominus Moysi, completis huiuscemodi sermonibus in monte Sinai, duas tabulas testimonii lapideas, scriptas digito Dei.'

42-156 It is interesting to note here that there is no discussion of imagery and the worshipping of images. Unlike the text of D&P (I.i-xiii.81-109) which devotes the first thirteen chapters on the first commandment to imagery, this text seems to avoid the issue altogether.

44-5 EXODUS 20:3-4, 'Non habebis deos alienos coram me. Non facies tibi sculptile, neque omnem similitudinem quae est in caelo desuper, et quae in terra deorsum, nec eorum quae sunt in aquis sub terra.'

68-70 On the three enemies of man, see note to lines 207-11 in Clanvowe's 'Two Ways'.

73-141 The three types of people who break the first commandment is a diversion found in another version of 'The Ten Commandments', but follows a different order: proud men, worldly men and fleshly men: 'Who brekiþ the firste? Proude men, worldly men, and flesshly men. Whi proude men? For þei maken þe deuel her god. Whi worldli men? For þei maken worldli goodis þer god. Whi flesshly men? For þei maken her belyes her god' (Columbia University, Plimpton Add. 3, ff. 241^{v}). This is also found (verbatim) in the Wycliffite version of the LFC, 35/549-554.

77-82 PHILIPPIANS 3:18-9, 'Multi enim ambulant, quos saepe dicebam vobis (nunc autem et flens dico) inimicos crucis Christi: quorum finis interitus: quorum Deus venter est: et gloria in confusione ipsorum, qui terrena sapiunt.'

101-2 EPHESIANS 5:5, 'Hoc enim scitote intelligentes: quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei.'

103-4 *yraldam, coueþtous*: more examples of þ/y confusion in U, see Introduction, i.53-6.

113-16 MATTHEW 4:8-10, 'Iterum assumpsit eum diabolus in montem excelsum valde: et ostendit ei omnia regna mundi, et gloriam eorum, et dixit ei: Haec omnia tibi dabo, si cadens adoraveris me. Tunc dicit ei Iesus: Vade Satana: Scriptum est enim: Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies.'

119-21 ISAIAH 14:13-4, 'Qui dicebas in corde tuo: In caelum conscendam, super astra Dei exaltabo solium meum; sedebo in monte testamenti, in lateribus aquilonis; ascendam super altitudinem nubium, similis ero altissimo?

119 *Þsaias*: ambiguous graph, either *þ* or *y* which is typical of the scribe in the first booklet. See Introduction, i.53-6.

128-32 St Gregory, De Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutem, I.ii: 'Numquid tu altior es quam primus angelus? Numquid tu splendidior in terra, quam Lucifer in coelo? Quod si ille de tanta sublimitate per superbiam cecidit; quomodo tu ad tantam celsitudinem superbiens de imis conscendes, qui illa, quamdiu hic vivis, conditione teneris, de qua per quemdam sapientem dicitur' (PL 40:1093).

136-41 Proverb, see Whiting (1968), P380 (471) and C296 (88).

157-278 The text here on the 'Second Commandment' is very similar to a portion of Chaucer's 'The Parson's Tale' (lines 588-600) and probably originates, as does Chaucer's text, from William Peraldus' 'Summa Vitiorum', in the section on 'perjurium'. See K.O. Petersen, The Sources of the Parson's Tale (Radcliffe College Monographs 12, Boston, 1901), 53-4.

159-60 EXODUS 20:7, 'Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum: nec enim habebit insontem Dominus eum qui assumpserit nomen Domini Dei sui frustra.'

166-74 MATTHEW 5:34-7, 'Ego autem dico vobis, non iurare omnino, neque per caelum, quia thronus Dei est: neque per terram, quia scabellum est pedum eius: neque per Ierosolymam, quia civitas est magni regis: neque per caput tuum iuraveris, quia non potes unum capillum album facere, aut

nigrum. Sit autem sermo vester, est, est: non, non: quod autem his abundantius est, a malo est.' Also quoted in D&P II.vi.231/44-56; the Wycliffite version of the LFC, 39/591-98; and Walter Brut's testimony in The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe eds. J. Pratt and J. Stoughton (London, 1877), iii.186.

190-93 For more against swearing by Christ's body and blood, see D&P II.xi.240/40-5.

198-9 JEREMIAH 4:2, 'Et iurabis: Vivit Dominus! In veritate, et in iudicio, et in iustitia....'

230-33 ACTS 4:12, 'et non est in alio aliquo salus. Nec enim aliud nomen est sub caelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.'

252-4 PHILIPPIANS 2:10, 'ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum.'

281-2 EXODUS 20:8, 'Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifices.'

293-4 EXODUS 20:8 repeated.

309-11 Proverb, see Whiting G264 (238).

315-16 Also quoted in D&P III.vi.275/19-24, but the original source is not yet found.

320-22 To deter speaking in church see Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc, ed. E. Peacock (EETS OS 31, 1868; revised 1902), 9/264-9. Against buying and selling in church see D&P I.lxiv.217-20.

368-76 Quoted by Owst from Harley 2398, a Wycliffite version of the present text, in a discussion about the duties of priest and layman ((1926), 4).

399-403 MATTHEW 25:35-6, 'esurivi enim, et dedistis mihi manducare: sitivi, et dedistis mihi bibere: hospes eram, et collegistis me: nudus, et cooperuistis me: infirmus, et visitastis me: in carcere eram, et venistis ad me.'

405-8 LUKE 14:13-4, 'sed cum facis convivium, voca pauperes, debiles, claudos, et caecos: et beatus eris, quia non habent retribuere

tibi: retribuetur enim tibi in resurrectione iustorum.'

409-15 Richard FitzRalph of Armagh, Defensio Curatorum: 'Quarta conclusio fuit quod *Dominus noster Iesus Christus docuit non debere hominem spontanee mendicare,* sicut scribitur Lucae 14.cap. *Cum facis convivium, voca pauperes & debiles, claudos & caecos, & beatus eris: quia non habent unde retribuere tibi'*(Appendix ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, ed. E.Brown (London, 1690), ii.484). In English translation by Trevisa: 'Þe ferþe conclusioun was þis: oure Lord Ihesus tauȝte þat no man schuld wylfullich begge. For Crist tauȝt as hit is y-write, Luce 14° c°: "Whanne þou makest a feest clepe þou þerto pore men, halt & blynde, & þou schalt be blessed, for þei haueþ noȝt wherof þei mowe quyte hit to þee"' (Dialogus inter Militem et Clericum, Richard FitzRalph's Sermon: 'Defensio Curatorum' and Methodius: 'Þe Bygynnyng of þe World and þe Ende of Worldes' by John Trevisa, ed. A.J. Perry (EETS OS 167, 1925), 88/3-7). It is interesting to note the translation: while the Vulgate places a conjunction between 'pauperes' and 'debiles', thus creating a fourth category, FitzRalph, in his translation, and the translation given here delete the conjunction and treat 'pauperes' as an adjective for the three categories of 'debiles, claudos, et caecos.' For more on this see: M. Aston's '"Caim's Castles": Poverty, Politics and Disendowment' in The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century, ed. R.B. Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 49, 70 n.22; and as reprinted in M. Aston Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion, 1350-1600 (London, 1993), 103 n.22, n.89, n.91, and n.105; W. Scase, Piers Plowman and the New Anticlericalism (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 4, Cambridge, 1989), 63; and A. Hudson (ed.) Two Wycliffite Texts (EETS OS 301, 1993), 100-1 (note for lines 451-9). This quotation is also found in Sir Thomas Latimer's will, a point not mentioned by K.B. McFarlane in his Lancastrain Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), 207-20, though it may provide further evidence that Latimer was a Lollard sympathiser: 'Also my wille is thys that yyff ther be ani tenaunt man or woman longynge to lorschipe the qwhech i schuld have be servant to that been

poor and feble por and blynde por and crokyd thanne after her nede...'(G.H. (ed.), 'Four Ancient English Wills', The Ancestor X (July 1904), 20). In his discussion of FitzRalph's 'unofficial canonization', Owst has footnoted the occurrence of the title 'seynt Richard Armachan' in BL Royal 17.A.xxvi (O), though he did not know of its occurrence in Westminster School 3 (W) and TCD 69 (Tr) ((1926), 11 n.1). This practice has been attributed to the Lollards, see Katherine Walsh, A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh (Oxford, 1981), 442-68, esp. 457 n.20, and A. Hudson The Premature Reformation (Oxford, 1988) 26 n.104, 71, 171, 303 n.148.

423-4 EXODUS 20:12, 'Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, ut sis longaevus super terram, quam Dominus Deus tuus dabit tibi.'

456-60 Commentary on contemporary disobedience, though similar commentary is found in FM I.xi.86/1-90/97.

464-6 The three types of father and mother: bodily, ghostly and godly, is also found in the Wycliffite version of the LFC 43/670-45/703 but discussed in the reverse order.

496 EXODUS 20:13, 'Non occides.'

507-8 ECCLESIASTICUS 13:19, 'Omne animal diligit simile sibi, sic et omnis homo proximum sibi.'

525-7 Though here it says that there are three sins which cry to God, in 'The Pore Caitif' there are four: 'And no man with wrong withholde þe werkmannes hire, for þat is oon of þe foure synnes þat euere crieþ veniaunce bifore God, as Seynt Iame seiþ' (Harley 2336, f.46^{r} referring to JAMES 5:4 as quoted by Sr M.T. Brady in 'Lollard Interpolations and Omissions in Manuscripts of *The Pore Caitif*', De Cella in Seculum, ed. M. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), 200). The version of the present text in Rawlinson A.423 (R^2) also reads 'foure'.

528-9 GENESIS 4:10, 'Dixitque ad eum: Qui fecisti? vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra.'

560 EXODUS 20:14, 'Non moechaberis.'

568-71 The metaphor of priests as mirrors for the people is also found in the Wycliffite version of the LFC 37/581-39/590. See also 'Wimbledon's Sermon' in Knight (1967), 77/269-78/270.

612-15 GENESIS 2:24, 'Quamobrem relinquet homo patrem suum, et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae: et erunt duo in carne una.'

620-1, 624-6 MATTHEW 19:3-6, 'Et accesserunt ad eum pharisaei tentantes eum, et dicentes: Si licet homini dimittere uxorem suam, quacumque ex causa? Qui respondens, ait eis: Non legistis, quia qui fecit hominem ab initio, masculum et feminam fecit eos? Et dixit: Propter hoc dimittet homo patrem, et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una. Itaque iam non sunt duo, sed una caro. Quod ergo Deus coniunxit, homo non separet.'

638-9 EPHESIANS 5:22, 'Mulieres viris suis subditae sint, sicut Domino....'

642-8 EPHESIANS 5:28-32, 'Ita et viri debent diligere uxores suas et corpora sua. Qui suam uxorem diligit, seipsum diligit. Nemo enim unquam carnem suam odio habuit: sed nutrit et fovet eam, sicut et Christus Ecclesiam: quia membra sumus corporis eius, de carne eius et de ossibus eius. Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem suam, et adhaerebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una. Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia.'

695 EXODUS 20:15, 'Non furtum facies.'

717-22 On lawful buying and selling see also D&P VII.x.153-6.

737-8 EXODUS 20:16, 'Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.'

782-3 From the Apostles's Creed, 'sanctorum communionem', see the 'Twelve Articles' text edited for this thesis, ii.281-301.

816-17 EXODUS 20:17, 'Non concupisces domum proximi tui: nec desiderabis uxorem eius....'

820-2 From St Augustine's 'De Sermone Domini in Monte', I.xii.36: 'Quapropter, nomine moechantium qui hoc capitulo commemorantur, omnem carnalem et libidinosam

concupiscentiam oportet intelligi' (PL 34:1247), also in the 'PT', 845.

854-7 MATTHEW 5:28, 'Ego autem dico vobis: quia omnis qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, iam moechatus est eam in corde suo.'

869-72 EXODUS 20:17, '...non servum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, nec omnia quae illius sunt.'

892-3 I TIMOTHY 6:10, 'Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas....'

905-9 The reckoning of our life on earth is the theme for 'Wimbledon's Sermon' taken from LUKE 16:2 '...Redde rationem villicationis tuae....' which is found in U, ff. 101^{r}-114^{r}. See the edition by Knight (1967), 61-128.

934-6 MATTHEW 7:12, 'Omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis. Haec est enim lex, et prophetae.'

946-50 JOHN 14:23, 'Respondit Iesus, et dixit ei: Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus.' Also quoted in Clanvowe's 'Two Ways', 1029-34.

II

THE SEVEN COMMANDMENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

After the extensive treatise on 'The Ten Commandments', a much briefer text follows, that of 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament'. It has been thought that the copy of this text is unique and found only in U, however, I have had the good fortune to discover another copy of it in Trinity College, Dublin 69 (Tr).[1] As in U, the text in the Trinity manuscript immediately follows the treatise on 'The Ten Commandments'. This correspondence in order may indicate a closer relationship between these two manuscripts, but because this text is so brief, the textual evidence given here can only really be used to support the conclusions made about the relationship between U and Tr in the preceeding chapter.[2]

There are no apparent isolative errors in the copy of the text found in U, but there are a few omissions and errors found in Tr. Based on these differences, it can be argued with some confidence that U probably did not derive from Tr, but there is some evidence that Tr may have derived from U or that both texts shared a common exemplar.

[1] Ogilvie-Thomson (1991), 110. I owe this discovery to Philip Durkin who inspected the manuscript at Trinity College in Dublin for me.

[2] See the Introduction, i.66 and the introduction for the 'Ten Commandments', ii.1-22.

These two copies of 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament' are very similar, and where they diverge, adequate reasons can be given to explain. The Latin title which is used in Tr may have been that found in the original exemplar, and it is interesting to wonder why U did not also use it, especially considering that its title for 'The Ten Commandments' is in Latin. It is, however, just as reasonable to suppose that the original title of the text was in English and that the scribe of Tr translated it into Latin.

There is one correction, one possible error and a few omissions which suggest that Tr was either directly copied from U or shared the same exemplar with U. At line 4 in Tr, the scribe originally wrote *lawe*, but then cancelled it and wrote *testament* immediately after the cancelled word. This correction may hint at the fact that the scribe of Tr was copying either from U or an exemplar it shared with U.

At lines 17-18 there appears to be an error in Tr. Whereas U reads *forȝeuen oure bretheren here trespasses as ofte as þei agulten*, Tr reads *forȝeuen oure bretheren here trespas as ofte as þat agulten*. While the form of *trespas* for the plural is possible, the plural form of the verb, *agulten*, indicates that the plural pronoun *þei* is needed and not the singular (demonstrative or relative pronoun) *þat*. This error may have been committed by the scribe of Tr, copying

from either U or an exemplar it shared with U. The error may also have originated in the exemplar, though it was corrected only by the scribe of U.

The omission at line 22 of *and* in Tr is of little consequence, but the omissions of *seuene* at line 24 and *of þe Newe Testament* at line 25 are of more importance and, again, suggest several possibilities. The exemplar shared between the two scribes may have contained the shorter reading which was then copied into Tr while the scribe of U added to it. But it is also possible that the scribe of U copied the longer reading found in its exemplar while the scribe of Tr chose to shorten it.

These two copies of 'The Seven Commandments of the New Testament' seem to be closely related, and the evidence discussed above suggests that Tr was either copied from U or shared a common exemplar with it. The fact that these two copies represent the only ones still existent further supports a strong connection between them. Additionally, the fact that both copies of this text follow copies of the same 'Ten Commandments' text, also closely related, strongly suggests that Tr derived from U or that both manuscripts derived from the same exemplar. Based on evidence discussed in the previous chapter on the 'Ten Commandments', however, it seems more likely that U and Tr shared a similar exemplar.[3]

[3] See ii.1-22.

THE SEVEN COMMANDMENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Here bygy*nn*en the vij co*mm*au*n*deme*n*t3 of þe Newe Testame*n*t. f. 93ᵛ

Thise been þe seuene comaundement3 of þe Newe Testament. **Þ**e firste is to loue God ouer alle othere þinges and thi brother as þiself, bothe enemy and frende. **T**he secounde comaundement is of meeknesse in þe whiche Crist chargeth vs to forsake lordschip vpon owre bretheren and oothere worldliche worschipes, and so he dede hymself. **T**he thridde comau*n*dement is in stondynge stedfastliche in trowthe and in forsakynge alle manere of falsnesse. **T**he ferthe comaundement is to suffre in this worlde diseses and wronges withowten a3eynstondynge. **Þ**e fyfthe comau*n*dement is mercy to for3euen oure bretheren here trespasses as ofte as þei agulten, withowten desyrynge of vengeaunce. **T**he sixte comaundeme*n*t is pouernesse in spirit, but nou3t for to bee a beggere. **T**he seuenthe comau*n*dement is chastite, and þat is a forsakynge of fleschliche lykynges dys-

UTr

1 here...testame*n*t(2)] septe*m* mandata noui testame*n*ti Tr 4 testame*n*t] lawe *canc.*, testament Tr 5 þinges] þing Tr brother] ne3pur Tr 18 trespasses] trespas Tr þei] þat Tr 22 and] *om.* Tr

plesynge to God. Thise seuene comaundement3
of þe Newe Testament enclosen the ten
comaundement3 of þe oolde lawe and summwhat
moore.

24 seuene] *om.* Tr 25 of...testament] *om.* Tr
27 moore] <...> <.....> Tr

NOTES

4-6 The two New Testament commandments given in LUKE 10:27, 'Ille respondens dixit: Diliges Domimun Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis, ex et omni mente tua; et proximum tuum sicut teipsum.' See the edition of the 'Diliges', ii.161-71.

5 Tr uses *neȝpur* rather than *brother* which is perhaps a better rendering of the Latin *proximum tuum*. This translation is also found in the treatise on the 'Diliges', 1-7 and in the 'Two Ways', 860-7.

6-11 Possibly from the Beatitudes? MATTHEW 5:4, 'Beati mites: quoniaṃ ipsi possidebunt terram.'

11-13 MATTHEW 5:6, 'Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam: quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.'

13-16 Corresponds to the sixth act of ghostly mercy: 'to suffre paciently, whan men be out of pacience, resoun and mesoure,' (Wycliffite adaptation of LFC 75/1151-2). Also MATTHEW 5:10, 'Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam: quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.'

16-19 Corresponds with the sixth petition of the Pater Noster: forgive our debts as we forgive our debtors; or the fifth act of ghostly mercy: 'to for-ȝeue rancour of herte, hate, and envye,' (Wycliffite adaptation of LFC 75/1150). Also MATTHEW 5:7, 'Beati misericordes: quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur.'

19-21 MATTHEW 5:3, 'Beati pauperes spiritu: quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.'

21-4 Corresponds with the sixth commandment: 'The sext commandement forbedes us to syn or forto foly fleshli with any woman outhir sib or fremned, wedded, or unwedded, or any fleshly knawyng or deid haf with any, othir than the sacrement of matermoyne escuse, and the lawe and the lare of halikirke teches,' (LFC 48/214-9).

III

THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

INTRODUCTION

The next text in the first booklet to be edited here is a version of the useful and frequently adapted 'De Visitatione Infirmorum' or 'The Visitation of the Sick'. This particular version of the text is found in U and twelve other manuscripts.[1] A thorough examination of the 'Visitation' has been previously made in a doctoral thesis by Robert J. Kinpoitner, and thus I will only briefly reiterate some of his findings while adding those of my own.[2]

There are five known versions of the 'Visitation' which have evolved from two Latin sources: St Anselm's 'Admonitio Morienti et de Peccatis Suis Nimium Formidanti' and the 'De Visitatione Infirmorum' spuriously attributed to St Augustine.[3] The history of this series of texts is quite complicated, and Kinpoitner has done his best to decipher their sources and inter-relationships.

This first section will serve to discuss briefly

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[1] Cambridge, University Library Dd:1.17 (Dd) and Nn.4.12 (N); Dublin, Trinity College 432 (Td); London, British Library Add. 32320 (K), Harley 211 (Y), Harley 2398 (J), Royal 17.A.xxvi (O), Lambeth Palace 432 (L^1), Westminster School 3 (W); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 938 (Bl), Laud Misc. 210 (La) and University College 4 (V). See also Jolliffe L.5(b) and N.9(b).

[2] R.J. Kinpoitner, 'An Edition of De Visitacione Infirmorum' (unpubd. PhD. diss., Fordham, 1974).

[3] 'De Visitatione Infirmorum' (PL 40:1147-1158), hereafter referred to as the 'Visitatio', and the 'Admonitio Morienti et de Peccatis Suis Nimium Formidanti' (PL 158:685-688), hereafter referred to as the 'Admonitio'.

the other Middle English versions of 'The Visitation of the Sick' and their relationships to the Latin 'Visitatio' and 'Admonitio'. Kinpoitner divided these versions into several groups: I, II, IIIa, IIIb, IV and V.[4] Group I consists of four manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.285; Trinity College, Oxford, E.86; Cambridge University Library Ff.5.40 and Ff.6.21. The text within this group is an English translation and adaptation of St Anselm's 'Admonitio Morienti'.[5] Only one manuscript makes up Group II, British Library, Harley 2383: an English translation and adaptation of the second and sixth chapters from the first book of the 'Visitatio'.[6]

Group IIIa, found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 789, offers a very close translation of the sixth and seventh chapters from the first book of the 'Visitatio' with a translation of the 'Admonitio' appended to it.[7] The text of Group IIIb, found in Cambridge University Library Ii.6.55, is the same as that in IIIa, but without the 'Admonitio' portion.

[4] Kinpoitner (1974), l-li. He provides transcriptions from one manuscript in each of these groups (except IIIb) in the appendices to his thesis: Group I from CUL Ff.5.40 in Appendix 4, 35-6; Group II from Harley 2383 in Appendix 3, 32-4; Group IIIa from Bodley 789 in Appendix 5, 37-40; Group IV from CUL Nn.4.12 in Appendix 2, 20-31; Group V is the version which is critically edited on pages 1-16 of Kinpoitner's thesis.

[5] Kinpoitner (1974), lvii-lix.

[6] Kinpoitner (1974), lix-lx.

[7] This version is very similar to the 'Admonitio' portion found in Group IV and V, though because of its location at the end of the text, it was probably used independently of Groups IV and V. See Kinpoitner (1974), lx-lxii.

Group IV represents the body of manuscripts which contain the version of the text edited here in this thesis.[8] Group V (called BGHJ by Kinpoitner) is the version of the text edited by Kinpoitner and consists of the following manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 750; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 209; British Library, Harley 237 and St John's College, Oxford, 47.[9] Groups IV and V are translations which combine the first book of the 'Visitatio' and portions of the 'Admonitio' together. Both texts are divided into four sections: the first is taken from the second chapter of the 'Visitatio', the second from the fourth chapter, the third from the sixth chapter, and the fourth section includes questions and exhortations from the first part of the 'Admonitio', concluding in a prayer from the seventh chapter of the 'Visitatio'.

To clarify the relationships between all five versions, Kinpoitner asserted that there must have existed at some point three earlier hypothetical texts

[8] Kinpoitner (1974), lxvii-lxxi. This version has been printed before in Horstman ((1896), ii.449-53) from U with variant readings from Bodley 938, Harley 2398 and Laud Misc. 210. Portions of BL Add. 32320 have been printed in English Fragments from Latin Medieval Service-Books, ed. H. Littlehales, (EETS ES 90, 1903; repr. 1973), 6-9.

[9] Kinpoitner (1974), lxii-lxvi. He does not seem to have known of the copy of this text in Cambridge University Library Ee.5.13, ff.13^{v}b-15^{v}a, perhaps because the catalogue states only that it is a translation of St Anselm's 'Admonitio Morienti' (noted in Ogilvie-Thomson (1991), 102). In his discussion of the manuscripts of Group IV, Kinpoitner also does not seem to have known of the copy of the text in London, Lambeth Palace Library 432 (L^{1}).

which served as their respective sources: x-1, x-2, and x-3.[10] The first hypothetical text, x-1, represents an English translation of Anselm's 'Admonitio' which was used for the 'Admonitio' portions found in Groups IIIa, IV and V. It is not, however, the source for Group I, which seems to be a direct translation of the Latin.[11] In x-1, the 'Admonitio' has been greatly reduced and takes most of its material from the first section of the text, a series of questions addressed to a religious brother. The second section, a series of questions to be asked 'si fuerit saecularis', has been omitted.[12] Kinpoitner does suggest that x-1 may be derived from an earlier text such as that in Group I which offers a much closer translation of the Latin source.[13]

The next hypothetical text is labelled x-2 and represents a translation of the 'Visitatio' attributed to St Augustine. But because portions of the 'Visitatio' in Groups II, IV and V cover material from chapters 2, 4, 6 and 7 of the first book, and Groups IIIa and IIIb are much closer translations of most of chapters 6 and 7, Kinpoitner gives two possible conclusions as to their respective relationships to x-2. He suggests that x-2 represents either a full

10 Kinpoitner (1974), lii-lvi.

11 Kinpoitner (1974), lii.

12 'Admonitio' (PL 158:688).

13 Kinpoitner (1974), liii.

translation to which Groups IIIa and IIIb are closest and the others much more distantly related, or that there were probably two independent translations of the Latin text.[14] The fact that the two versions share no readings that do not originate in the Latin text seems to point to the latter.

X-3 is the 'hypo-integration' of x-1 and x-2 and the hypothetical source for Groups IV and V which similarly combine the two Latin sources.[15] However, it appears that both versions descended from x-3 independently and Kinpoitner argues that this is the case. The character of the text Kinpoitner edited proves to be much closer to the hypothetical x-3 and thus closer to the Latin, whereas the text of the present edition is essentially the same but greatly expanded and embellished.[16]

Kinpoitner persuasively argues that his version, Group V, could not have derived from Group IV. Though it is often the case that a briefer version of a text is created from a longer and sometimes more difficult rendering, Kinpoitner believes that it would have been impossible to abbreviate such an expanded text as that of Group IV and bring it closer to the Latin, especially because the two versions are considerably

[14] Kinpoitner (1974), lv-lvi.

[15] Kinpoitner (1974), lvi.

[16] Kinpoitner (1974), lvi, lxii. He chose to edit Group V for the very reason that it is much closer to the Latin.

different from each other in a number of places. He does venture to suggest that the Group IV version may have derived from Group V, but returns to his earlier conclusion that the two versions probably shared their source, the hypothetical x-3.[17]

Of all five versions, the one edited for this thesis, Group IV, appears to have been the most popular and survives in thirteen manuscript copies. Why this longer text should seem more popular is difficult to discern, though perhaps a detailed comparison of the two versions, Groups IV and V, with their Latin sources may offer some ideas. Such a comparison will more importantly serve to reveal the unique characteristics of each version in contrast with the other as well as with the Latin.[18]

Before a comparison of the two versions can be made, it is possible to offer a general statement on their particularly unique characteristics. It will become obvious in the ensuing discussion, however, that the two versions descended from the same Middle English translation, x-3. But, whether these two texts, the 'Visitatio' and the 'Admonitio', were

[17] Kinpoitner (1974), lvi. Kinpoitner argues that the two versions descended from x-3 independently for the following two reasons. First, that Group IV could not have derived from Group V because of Group V's omission of some of the questions from the 'Admonitio' which are found in Group IV. Second, that Group V could not have derived from Group IV because of portions of the Latin source which are not present in Group IV but are in Group V. See below for examples of these.

[18] For convenience, the labelling of the groups, Group IV for the text edited in the present thesis, Group V for the text edited by Kinpoitner, will be used throughout this discussion.

already combined in the original Latin source translated or, as separate texts, were combined by the English translator, himself, is open to speculation.

It appears that the Group V version is more closely related to that initial Middle English translation, if not directly descended from it. Its affinity to this ancestor and to the Latin is revealed in its tendency to read awkwardly, often translating the Latin verbatim. In contrast, the Group IV version reads more smoothly, and it appears that its author either used the initial translation, x-3, or the Group V version as the basis for its text. Though it is difficult to say which is the case, it is certainly not possible that the Group IV version was condensed to become Group V.[19]

In many places the two English versions are remarkably similar. This occurs when there is a Latin source:

IV	V	Latin
What man may by-thenke þe profit and þe blisse yat thow bryngest with þe? Therfore you art desirful to me, for a trewe cristene man may not euele dien, for aftir	what man mai bethenke the profitis & the blisses that thou bringist with the. Thou art desireful to me, for a Cristin man may nouȝt euil die,	Quis excogitare queat tuarum utilitates beatitudinum? Nam male mori, Christianorum non est: bene autem mori, cum Christo vivere est (17-19).[20]

[19] Kinpoitner (1974), lxiii-lxiv, lxvii-lxviii.

[20] 'Visitatio', I.vi (PL 40:1152). For the purposes of the following discussion and comparison, it will be assumed that the Latin texts used by the translator(s) were complete and similar to those printed by Migne.

this lyf, he schalle lyue with Criste (263-8).

but wel die, and lif wit Criste (11.9-12.2).[21]

and also when there is not:

IV

For ȝef a man see another mannys childe do euele in his faders presence, and his fader chastiseth him nought, thanne wol yat other man say that it is not his childe, or ellis that he loueth hym nouȝt. For ȝef he were his child, or ellis þat he louede hym, he wolde chastise hym. And therfore, be nought euele paied of thi Fadres chastisynge of heuene, for he seith hymself, 'Whom I loue, I chastise' (115-24).

V

For if a man see anotheris child do schreudeli in his fader presence, & the fader chastised him nouȝt, than wold that othir man seie, it is nouȝt his sone, or ellis he loueth him nouȝt. For if he were his child or ellis loued him, he wold chastise him, & þerfor be nouȝt euil apaide of thi fadirs chastising of heuene. For he seith himself: whom I loue, him [I] chastise (5.6-6.2).

Such instances should make doubtful any suggestion that these two are separate, let alone independent, translations of the same Latin source.

The differences between the two versions help to illuminate the intentions of the texts' creators. One reason for the popularity of the Group IV version of the text may be its inclusion of both gender terms when the sick or dying are addressed. For example, in the Group V text, the dying person is always addressed as 'sone' (1.2) and 'gode man' (3.2), whereas in Group IV, we find 'sone or doughter' (3) and 'brother or

[21] Quotations of the Group V text are taken from Kinpoitner's edition.

suster' (68).[22] The Group IV version adds to the length of the text more than to its content with the addition of articles, adjectives, adverbs and explanatory clauses which help to elucidate the text for a lay audience:

IV	V
And for gladnesse of suche felaschipe, be you of good confort in God; and þenk howe you most, after this lyf, legge a stoon in þe walle of þe citee of heuen slighliche, withowte eny noyse or stryf (8-13).	And þerfor be of gode confort in God. And thou must leyn a ston in the wal of cite of heuene withouten ani noise or strif (1.5-1.7).

One particular example of this occurs where the text recommends the reader to confess his/her sins to a priest. Here we can see how close the Group V version is to its Latin source and how the Group IV version significantly expands it:

IV	V	Latin
The noyse yat þou most make heere in worchynge of this stoon is ofte for-thynkynge of þi synne, whiche you most knowleche to God, knowyng the gilty. And ther-after, it is pro-fitable to þe to haue conseil of trewe preestes,	The noise that þu must make here is the thinking of thi sinne wyche thou must telle the prest (1.10-2.1).	Strepitus sit peccatorum tuorum recor-datio, super quibus perstre-pat in aure sacerdotis humillima tua confessio (9-11).[23]

[22] Consider also:

IV	V
Brother or suster (99)	Sone (4.10)
he or sche (100)	He (4.10)
Brother or suster (197)	Man (9.6)
Brother or suster (272)	Brother (12.7)

[23] 'Visitatio', I.ii (PL 40:1148).

the whiche owen
to blesse the
poeple, tellynge
hem that been
sorwful for here
synnes, that þei
schullen thorugh
Goddis mercy been
asoylid of hem (21-30).

The text of Group IV contains admonitory asides to the reader not found in the Group V version or the Latin, warning the ill or dying person to beware:

> For grisely deuelys, the whiche han tempted men to synne in this lyf, wollen in the laste hour been ful besy to begile hem, and nameliche with wanhope of Goddys mercy (43-7).[24]

Such asides help to personalize the text, making it more appropriate for an audience which was probably under the spiritual guidance of the officiant.[25] At lines 47 to 96 in the Group IV version and the corresponding portion in Group V, there is no equivalent text in the Latin, but the two versions are quite similar to each other. That which has been added in Group IV is again intended to provide the reader with further examples, explanations of concepts, and even additional authorities to support the text:

> For as seyntes seyn, þe firste day in the whiche a man is born, is þe firste day of his deth; for

[24] See also lines 159-63 where the Group V version has: '& so thou profitist nouȝt to thiself with thi grucching aȝen thi fader, wiche is thi leche' (7.9-7.10), and lines 332-6 where Group V reads: '& haue the crosse tofore the & sai thus' (14.7-14.8).

[25] Consider also lines 313-21 in Group IV where Group V reads: '& thenke onli theron & on non other thing' (14.4-14.5), and the 'Admonitio' reads: 'in nulla alia re fiduciam habeas; huic morti te totum committe; hac sola te totum contege' (PL 158:686/11-13).

> euery day he is diynge while he is in this lyf (51-5).

Group IV is consequently sometimes repetitive. If the text were to be read aloud, as could be assumed when considering its purpose, such repetition and explanation would prove quite useful. An example of this comes at lines 56-7, where both English texts provide the scriptural quotation from Matthew 25:13: 'Awake, for you wost neuere whiche hour God is to come'. Group V leaves it as such, but Group IV adds: 'in thi ȝouthe, or in thi myddel age, or in thi laste days, or preuyliche or openliche' (57-9). Thus the author of the Group IV version emphasizes the uncertainty of death. After this, the Group V text merely states '& þerfor loke ȝu alwai be redi' (3.1-3.2), while the author of the Group IV text must have felt that further explanation was needed:

> And therfore [loke] yat you be alwey redy, for it is semliche yat þe seruaunt abyde þe lord and not the lord his seruaunt. And nameliche whan greet haste is, he is worthi blame yat is vnredy; but grettere haste no man redith of, than schalle be in þe comynge of Crist. And therfore waketh in vertues, for whan the ȝate is schet, it is neuere aftir openyd (59-67).[26]

The elaboration of the Group IV version makes for a much more diverse and interesting text, whereas the text of Group V is somewhat simplistic and awkward:

[26] Consider also lines 182-94 in Group IV and the following from Group V: 'Thenke that if the king to whom thou hast be tretour forȝeuith the thi deth & ponische the but awile in esi prison, thou art michil hold to him. So thou art to God, to whom thou hast ben tretour, & he hath forȝiue the euerlasting deth & ponischinge the with a litul sekenes here' (8.9-9.3).

IV	V	Latin
Loke, þe bigyn-nynge of this lif is care and sorwe lyuynge therinne. What is it but muchel trauail withowte fruyt, tene and disese, whereþorugh many men been ouercomen with diuers temp-tacions and for-3etyn here God, and so þei comen to an euyl ende. Loke nowe, whethir it is better to dye wel or to lyue euele. 3ef you stonde in verray repentance and laste therinne, stedefastlyche be-leuyng in the mercy of God, thow maist dye wel. But harde it is to lyue wel fulliche in this wrecchede worlde. For þe holy pro-phete seith yat eueriche man is a lyere (206-19).	Loke thi be-ginning of thi lif: care & sorwe, thi fo[r]thliuing, trauail & tene & disese & so thu ledist thi lif. Now whether is it better die wel or lif euele: parde, die wel. Thou maist nou3t lif fulli wel be no wai in this wrecchid world. For holi writ seith: eueri man is a lier (9.9-10.3).	Nam ut collat-ionem quamdam breviter faciamus, con-feramus, si placet, de vita praesenti, quae initium dolorum est, et quasi per amicum litigium quid potius appeten-dum sit, male vivere, an bene mori, discutiamus nam bene vivere praesentialiter nemo potest: Omnis enim homo mendax (33-8).[27]

The Group IV text strives for a more refined and polished style, while the Group V text is quite flat:

IV	V
summe been visitid with scharp prisonynge, summe with sclaundre and bac-bytyng, summe with ontrowthe of fals men, and summe with diuerse seeknesse (70-3).[28]	some with prisoni[n]g, some with diuerse seke-nes (3.3-3.4).

[27] 'Visitatio', I.vi (PL 40:1151).

[28] See also lines 233-42 in Group IV where Group V reads: 'Here is hungur & thirst, cold & hete, trauail & werinesse' (10.9), and the Latin: 'Denique quis numerare potest praesentis vitae molestias, esurire, sitire, algere, calere, lassari?' ('Visitatio', I.vi (PL 40:1151/44-6)).

When the translation switches from the 'Visitatio' to the 'Admonitio' in the fourth section of the text, the questions used also provide examples of the style and handling of the material which typify these two versions. The Group V version is concise, brief and artless, while the Group IV version amplifies the text to make it clear and obvious to the reader that meaning which is intended:

IV	V
Art you in good wille to amende alle trespassis doon aȝens God and thyn euen cristene, ȝef you haddest space to lyue? (278-80).	Hast thou wil to amend the ȝif thou haddist space of lif? (12.10-13.1).

Questions have been added to the Group IV version which have no Latin source, such as the one found at lines 281 to 284. Many other questions found in both versions do not come from the 'Admonitio', but possibly originated with the English translation. These added questions cover the Articles of the Faith: questions on the existence of God, the Trinity, the humanity of Christ, and the Passion and Resurrection.[29] The final question, however, does come from Anselm's 'Admonitio', and both English versions are similar.

The often unwieldy translation found in the Group V version does not reflect the true beauty of its Latin original and Kinpoitner examines the loss in

[29] See 'The Twelve Articles of the Faith' edited in this thesis, ii.281-301.

translation of much of the metaphorical and rhetorical language and style of the Latin.[30] It seems, however, that the author of the Group IV version tried to revitalize the English text by extending the metaphors which are only briefly mentioned in Group V, such as the metaphor of the soul as a stone at lines 11 to 40.[31]

From a comparison of the two English versions with the Latin sources, it becomes evident that the original translator of x-3 selectively chose the portions he translated. The Latin text of 'De Visitatione Infirmorum' is very long and consists of two parts or books which were written in epistolary form addressed to the author's dying nephew.[32] Only the first book was used, and about 44% of that, in the present translation. It could be suggested that the Latin text of the second book was not available to the translator, though it seems more likely that the extended exploration of the subject of death in the Latin text was extraneous and irrelevant for the purposes of the English text here.

While it has already been established that these two English versions probably derive from the same

[30] Kinpoitner (1974), xciii-xcvi.

[31] See also the metaphor at lines 322-4 which is not found in the Group V text or in the Latin. For more about the metaphor of the soul as a stone, see the note to the text for lines 11-40.

[32] For a more detailed discussion of the text, see Kinpoitner (1974), lxxxiii-lxxxiv, lxxxvii-xcii, comparison of translation with Latin xciii-xcvi.

translation, x-3, it is difficult to tell whether they derived independently from x-3 or if Group IV descended from Group V, primarily because the Group V version seems quite close to that original hypothetical text, and secondly, because the two versions are very similar in several places as shown above. However, there are some instances where the two texts are so different from one another it may be remotely possible that these two represent separate English translations of the same Latin text:

IV	V	Latin
And þogh a man sumtyme may not kepe pacience in sekenesse, for greet accesse of diuerse passions, neuertheles he schulde, byfore thei koomen and after þe passynge of hem, purpose in his sowle to suffre alle anoyes pacientliche. And whan his hors gruc-chith, yat is his flesch, his spirit schulde be redy to suffre and aske mercy for þe gruc-chynge of his flesch, knowynge þat alle bodiliche anoyes suffrid meekliche in this lyf maketh þe sowle fayre and stronge and rightliche to passe from pur-gatorie to heuene. Wherfore we schul-	And thou shalt knowe that God, fadir of heuene, ponische nou3t o thing tuyes. & þerfor, with o glad hert, thou shalt suffre sekenes that God hathe sent the here. For it shal aleggé the of the peyne of purgatorie, so that thou the more soner shal come to the kingdome of heuene (8.3-8.8).	non enim fla-gellat Deus bis in idipsum. O quam jucundo pectore, quam laeto corde visitationem divinam debes praeoptare (14-16).[33]

[33] 'Visitatio', I.vi (PL 40:1151).

den, with good
wille, herie God
and with glad
herte, take diseses
(167-81).

As more of the examples to be given here will show, the Group IV and V versions of the text probably represent different versions of the same English translation. But the following should provide further evidence for the derivation of the Group IV version from Group V. Both texts are very similar, but Group IV adds a few words, not present in the Latin or Group V, which simply embellish, but do not change, the text:

IV	V	Latin
Also, seeknesse of body meekliche suffrid maketh helthe of sowle, and soule helthe is not but oon-liche of God. Therfore, despise not Goddis scor-gynge, but whanne God chastiseth the, þanke hym and loue hym þat he amendeth the, vndirnemeth þe, and blameth the. For alle this is token of loue, ande scheweth that he wol not punyssche the in his wrathe ne in his wood-nesse, but of his greet good-nesse, he wole haue mercy on	Also, sekenes of bodi makith soule hele, & soule hele is nouȝt but of God. Þerfor despice nouȝt Godis scorge, but whan God ponissche the, thanke him & loue him that he emendith the and vndernemith the & blameth the & ponische the nouȝt in his wrath ne in his wodnes, but in his. grete mercy (6.2-6.7).	infirmitas cor-poris, quando quidem per vir-tutem animae parit salutem, donum Dei est, non enim est aliunde nisi ex Deo salus animae. Flagel-lum ergo Dei ne contemnas sed flagellatus dic Deo gratias. Dilige corri-pientem, dilige corrigentem, dilige arguen-tem, non in furore, non in ira, sed in misericordia (34-9).[34]

[34] 'Visitatio', I.iv (PL 40:1150).

þe 3ef you wolt
leeue thi synne
(125-36).

At many points, both texts deviate significantly from the Latin, and it is difficult to follow along in the Latin source, though again it appears that the Group V version remains truer to the Latin:

IV	V	Latin
And þerfore þank thi God, and specialliche that he hath largid to synful men his mercy aboue his wrathe. Drede this Lord as sone and not as seruaunt, for he is thi iuge yat wol not dampne the, but 3ef þow wolt not, for lust and coueitise, leeue thi synne, but he wol haue mercy on the, and therfore mercifulliche he chastiseth the. And, ther þow hast deseruyd euerelastyngliche his wrathe and to be dampned foreuere (136-46).	Thank thi God, & think that his merci passeth alle his grete wrethe. He is iugge. He wil nou3t damne the,. but he wil haue merci on the. Mercyfulli he chastise the, & ther thou hast deseruid for to haue his wrath & be damned foreuer (6.7-7.1).	Aperi pulsanti, devotus esto vocanti, gratias age miseranti. Redi ad te, cogita parumper, cogita de Deo, pensa si potes quoniam super omnia opera sua ipsius miserationes.Ipse Deus est, ipse judex est; nec te vult damnari, nollet te male judicari, vult tui misereri flagellat in te misericorditer, quod in eum deliquisti pertinaciter (39-46).[35]

Such an example makes one wonder if the present Latin source in Migne used for this comparison is different from that version translated by the author of the hypothetical x-3 text, especially if we suppose that the Latin translated may have already combined the two sources into one text. Only an investigation into the

[35] 'Visitatio', I.iv (PL 40:1150).

numerous contemporary Latin manuscript copies of both the 'Visitatio' and the 'Admonitio', a task beyond the scope of this chapter, could offer any further information.

Another instance where both versions depart from the Latin occurs at the beginning of the third section which contains a quotation from Psalm 115:11. Typically, where the Group V version says 'that is to seie, sinful' (10.4), the Group IV version continues for several lines to clarify the point:

> þat is to seye, for his firste forfeture, euerich man synneth whiles he lyueth in this wrecchide lyf: outher for l[euy]nge of seruynge God after his comaundement, or ellis for yat he serueth hym not aftir his worthynesse (219-24).

Both versions follow this with a quotation from Proverbs 24:16 instead of the quotation from Romans 7:23 which is found in the Latin. Did the original Latin source used for this translation contain this alteration or did it occur in translation?

Various other questions about the relationship between the Latin and English texts arise especially when considering some of the errors in the two English versions. An error in the attribution of a quotation which is only found in the English translation, occurs in the third section of both texts. A quotation from Cato's Distichs at lines 226 to 228 is incorrectly ascribed to St Paul and obviously reveals an error in their mutual source, x-3.[36] Immédiately after this,

[36] See note to the text for lines 226-8.

in the Group V version, a quotation from Philippians 1:23 is erroneously attributed to Cato: 'As Catun seith, and seith thus to God, I desire to be dede, & be with God for the wickidnes of this world mai no man telle' (10.6-10.8). This attribution is not found in the Group IV version or in the Latin. It may be possible to imagine that the original Latin which was translated contained the correct attributions to Cato and St Paul, but that in the translation these were reversed. In the Group V version, which appears to be closest to that initial translation, this mistake was preserved. In the Group IV version, while the error in the attribution to Paul of Cato's quotation was also preserved, that to Cato of Paul's quotation was not.

Further evidence that the two versions come from the same ancestor, an English translation of the Latin sources, is given where both credit a portion of the text to St Augustine, though neither ever mention that their chief source for the entire text is possibly St Augustine:

IV	V
And as men fynden write, Seynt Austyn, whan he schulde be deed, spak to deeth in this manere (257-9).	And Seint Austin, whan he shuld be ded, he spak to deth on this maner (11.6-11.7).[37]

[37] Where the English text goes from the 'Admonitio' back to the 'Visitatio', the Group V version again states that 'Sente Austin spake to God on this maner' (15.9), but this is not found in Group IV.

Likewise, both versions confuse the story of Christ healing the lepers in Luke 17:11-4 with the healing of the sick man on Sunday in John 5:14, an error not found in the present Latin source:

IV	V
Hereof bereth þe gospel witnesse where Criste seide to ten myselis whanne thei weren heelyd of here lepre, 'Goth,' he seith, 'and nyle ȝe synne moore lest ȝe fallen wersse' (75-9).	Hereof berith witnes the gospel, that God seith thus to ten mesels whan he had helid hem of here lepre. Go, he said, & sinne no more on aunter ȝow falle wors (3.5-3.8).

But whether this mistake occurred in translation or was already present in the original Latin source or sources is impossible to know.

Another minor error which may indicate that the Group V version is closer to that ancestor is found at line 342 where the Latin second person singular pronoun 'te' is correctly translated in Group V as 'the', but incorrectly in Group IV as 'me'.[38] Such an error might have occurred when the Group V version was altered to create the Group IV version.

The endings of the two versions reveal that even if they share the same source, x-3, both are very different from each another, characterized by their respective tendencies for elaboration and brevity. While the Group IV version may contain echoes of Group V, it is still the product of a very different author. From lines 352 to 379, and particularly at lines 360

[38] In the variants for Group IV, only Y has the correct reading.

to 379 where it relies wholly on scriptural sources, the Group IV version completely diverges from Group V and from the Latin. As expected, the Group V version adheres closely to the Latin, often translating the text verbatim:

V	Latin
For I may nou3t helpe & a3enbie myself with my dedis. But thou, Lorde hast bou3t me. Thou bring me out of care & haue mercy on me. I trust nou3t on my dedis, but despeir of hem, saue 3if I trust more on thi merciis than in the dispeir of my wicked dedes. Thou art my hope. Thou art my God (16.3-16.8).	non possum me redimere meis operationibus, sed tu redime me et miserere mei. Diffido de meis meritis, sed confido de miserationibus tuis: et plus confido de tuis miserationibus, quam diffidam de malis actibus meis. Tu es spes mea, Deus meus (39-44).[39]

The fact that the two English versions are divided similarly, using the same headings and the same combination of the two Latin sources, suggests that they probably shared a common ancestor: either an English translation which compiled the two Latin sources together or an English translation of a Latin text which already combined the two Latin sources. Because there are numerous examples where the texts are similar, but slightly altered in one way or another, it can be suggested that the Group IV version may have derived from a Group V-type text. Examples have also been given to show portions where the texts are dissimilar, though the meaning is never altered, only the manner in which it is conveyed. Thus it is

[39] 'Visitatio', I.vii (PL 40:1152).

probably safest to suppose that these two versions come from two separate textual traditions stemming from the same Middle English translation, x-3; the Group V version perhaps earlier and closer to x-3, and the Group IV version perhaps later and more distantly related.

ISOLATIVE ERROR

From the discussion of isolative error which follows, it can be shown that none of these manuscripts is the source for another, though either Bl or W, both of which have few, easily correctable errors, could possibly be the source for the Bl subgroup (BlOL^{1}WK) discussed below. The manuscripts are given in the following order: UBlOL^{1}WKNJYTdVDdLa.

U: 30 *strokere*, al. *stroke*; 59 *yat*, al. *loke þat* (*loke* ONJ); 201 *and ȝef*, al. *and*; 222 *lyinge*, al. *leuynge*; 360 *and Lord almyghty*, al. *me Lord*; 376 *disespeire*, al. *dispeire*. U is generally a good text, though it offers some readings which are longer, more difficult and possibly older than the majority of the other manuscripts.[40] U is not a good base text in this instance, but Bl would probably have been better.

Bl: 93 *to hym*, al. *hym*; 400 om., al. *I*. Bl has few errors and has been well corrected, however a later owner has erased at l. 177-9: *and stronge and rightliche to passe from purgatorie to heuene*.

O: 9 *a*, al. *of*; 64 *nedip*, al. *redith*; 160 *malicious*, al. *malencolious*; 227 om., al. *lyueth*; 263 om., al. *eese*, lat. quietis(16)[41]; 276 *not sori*, al. *soory*; 283 om., al. *ne*; 378 *disceyn*, al. *desdayn*; 388-410 om., al. *but...ende*. O, while well corrected, has a few careless errors and omissions, particularly the longer omission at the end, but it is generally a good copy of the text.

[40] See variants for lines: 46, 132, 360 and the discussion below.

[41] 'Visitatio' I.vi (PL 40:1152).

L^1: 11 om., al. *walle of þe*, lat. muro(4)[42]; 29 om., al. *thorugh*; 30 *with where*, al. *wherwith*; 61 om., al. *not*; 68 *goed*, al. *God*; 77 om., al. *whanne*; 80 om., al. *synne*; 84 *make*, al. *take*; 99-103 om., al. *brother... thus*, lat. Quod correptio, ut Dei donum, diligenda. Sed dicis, Diligo Deum(11-12).[43] L^1 has many careless errors and has consistently used *the* for *ȝe* in the responses to questions at lines 276, 278, 281, 285, 288, 290, 295, 299, 304, 307, and 310. L^1 also tends to expand questionable or confusing areas of the text, sometimes giving better readings as at lines 78, 154-5, 222, 232-3, and it also changes *man/men* to read *man or womman/men and wommen* as at lines 195 and 241.

W: 49 *a day*, al. *day*; 412 *my my*, al. *my*. W has very few errors and offers a good copy of the text, though it shares many readings with a proportion of other manuscripts.

K: 44 *nem*, al. *men*; 72-3 om., al. *summe...and*; 120-1 *and*, al. *ȝef...þat*; 157 om., al. *you*; 170 *þen cam*, al. *thei koomen*; 189 *and and*, al. *and*; 207 *it is*, al. *is it*; 210-1 om., al. *and...God*; 222 *afere*, al. *after*. K is a fragmentary copy of the text, cut off after line 287, the remaining folios missing. The scribe of this copy wrote *doughter/suster* in rubric at lines 3, 101, 197 and 272. Perhaps this copy was intended for use by a woman or a religious house of women?

N: 2 om., al. *folke*; 3 om., al. *in God*; 54 *doynge*, al. *diynge*; 171 *here*, al. *hem*; 349 *deiȝed*, al. *dede*; 355 *for*, al. *byfore*. N is a good and thoroughly corrected copy of the text with these few errors, though it shares a number of its readings with J.

J: 74 *synnes*, al. *synne*; 87 *goede*, al. *God*; 104 om., al. *he*; 126 om., al. *soule*; 146-7 *euer his forȝeuenesse*, al. *ouer his vengeaunce*; 204 *doþ*, al. *dyen*, lat. moriuntur(31-2)[44]; 250 om., al. *ne...not*; 300-1 om., al. *the...day*; 374 om., al. *and schewedest*. J is another well-corrected copy of the text with these several errors.

Y: 71 *prysone*, al. *prisonynge*; 99 *beleeuyst þou that God is*, al. *louest you God*, lat. Quod correptio, ut

[42] 'Visitatio' I.ii (PL 40:1148).

[43] 'Visitatio' I.iv (PL 40:1150). See also variants for lines: 109, 120, 143-4, 145, 153, 272, 300, 345, 354, 387-8, 389-90, 415.

[44] 'Visitatio' I.vi (PL 40:1151).

Dei donum, diligenda. Sed dicis, Diligo Deum (11-12)[45]; 143 om., al. *mercy*; 195-6 om., al. *ȝef...thus*; 214-5 om., al. *and...stedefastlyche*; 246-7 om., al. *and...thise*, lat. Tamen quis immunis, quis liber est ab his omnibus?(1-2)[46] Y is a less reliable copy of the text, with several errors and omissions. Y also tends to be altered and expanded in an attempt to clarify portions of its text as at lines 19, 110, 275, 305, and there are often synonymous substitutions as at lines 72, 172, 225, 271, 344.

Td: 26 om., al. *to...conseil*, lat. humillima tua confessio(11)[47]; 63 *vneedy*, al. *vnredy*. Td is another fragmentary copy of the text, ending at line 154. In the manuscript, the text appears never to have been finished, ending halfway down the recto side of the folio, the rest of the page and the verso side remaining blank. It is the only copy which has the corrected reading for lines 76-8.

V: 1-2 om., al. *here...folke*; 37-8 om., al. *the...God*; 130-1 om., al. *vndirnemeth...the*; 133-4 om., al. *ne...woodnesse*, lat. non in furore(39)[48]; 154 *so nil*, al. *or nyle*; 159 *is to*, al. *to*; 193 *body*, al. *bodiliche*; 206 *gynnyng*, al. *bigynnyng*.[49] V is a highly idiosyncratic copy of the text. It does not use the chapter headings found in the other copies, but has replaced them with Latin ones. The scribe has often omitted the beginnings and endings of words and inconsistently uses various symbols for *and*. In the fourth section of the text, the scribe has put a *nota* in the margin next to each *ȝe* response.

Dd: 5 *thare shalt*, al. *ther*; 70 *visited wisited*, al. *visitid*; 90 *schryuyng*, al. *i-schryuen*; 98 *hise*, al. *is*; 102 *she*, al. *ȝe*; 119 *or ellis or ellis*, al. *or ellis*; 173-5 om., al. *his...flesch*; 230 *yat yat*, al. *yat*; 234 *thad*, al. *yat*; 288-90 om., al. *leuyst... ȝe*.[50] Dd is plagued by many careless errors and long

[45] 'Visitatio' I.iv (PL 40:1150). See also variants for lines: 109, 120, 143-4, 145, 153, 272, 300, 345, 354, 387-8, 389-90, 415.

[46] 'Visitatio', I.vi (PL 40:1152). See also variants for lines: 263, 276-8, 299.

[47] 'Visitatio', I.ii (PL 40:1148).

[48] 'Visitatio', I.iv (PL 40:1150).

[49] See also variants for lines: 225, 247, 248, 258, 353, 357, 371, 385, 399-401.

[50] See also variants for lines: 292, 304, 314, 316, 328-9, 349, 359, 374, 376.

omissions, and thus it is a very unreliable copy of the text.

La: 344 *iueme*, al. *queeme*; 350 *bitwibe*, al. *bitwixe*; 378 *desdayn*, al. dedaign. La is a brief fragment, less than one hundred lines long, starting at line 326 and in that portion there are very few errors. It is quite difficult to judge the character of the text, though from what exists it seems to be a good and well-corrected copy of the text.

GROUP ERROR

As can be seen from the discussion of the isolative errors above, none of these manuscripts is the source of any other, though either Bl or W could be close to the source for the Bl subgroup (BlOL^{1}WK). In his discussion of the various versions of the visitation text, Kinpoitner briefly summarizes the textual relationships between the manuscript copies of the Group IV version.[51] His conclusions are not very different from my own findings here, and he places the manuscripts within three subgroups: the closely related group of BlOWK, and the two remotely related groups of NJ and YTdV. Kinpoitner asserts that U, Dd, and La are not related to each other or to any of the other manuscripts. The fact that he did not include L^1 in his discussion does not disqualify his analysis, but its inclusion here shows that it is closely related to the BlOWK subgroup and provides further evidence to strengthen its existence.

The subgroup of BlOL^{1}WK shares readings exclusively at lines 21, 35, 85, 139, 162, 178 (Bl is

[51] Kinpoitner (1974), lxvii-lxxi.

erased), 263, 270 and after line 287 where K is cut off, the group of BlOL[1]W shares variant readings at lines 298, 305, 348, 357 and 378. The only errors shared by the group are trivial:

208 rev. BlOL[1]WK, al. *muchel trauail*

237 om. BlOL[1]WK, al. *of menye*

The subgroup shares several variant readings with a variety of other manuscripts (predominantly Y, Dd and N) which tend to offer much better readings of the text as at lines 61, 91, 154, 168, and 244. These variant readings are insignificant and often merely consist of simple changes in word order, synonymous substitutions, or changing *on* for *in* as at lines 95, 162 and 258.[52] Errors shared by the BlOL[1]W(K) subgroup, such as the omission of *Magdeleyne* with YVDdLa at line 366, are for the most part insubstantial, they are too varied and occur with such inconsistency that they fail to provide evidence for any textual relationships between this subgroup and the other manuscripts outside it. For the BOL[1]WK subgroup, however, this fact only helps to solidify its existence.

Within the BlOL[1]WK subgroup itself, there appear to be several pairs: BlO, OL[1], and WK, which seem to be closely related. Bl has few errors shared with any other manuscript within the subgroup, those which exist are shared only with O such as the omission of

[52] See also variants for lines: 25, 32, 48, 91, 154, 222 and 223.

wolt at line 135 and the omission of *perfitliche* at line 262. Bl also shares 9 variant readings exclusively with O at lines 28, 34, 43, 145, 203 and 411. But O and L^1 also appear to be closely related, sharing ten variant readings and one error, the omission of *telle to* at line 47.[53] W and K may be related within the subgroup, sharing eleven variant readings, but no errors.[54]

There are also a number of variant readings which are shared by some, but not all, of the subgroup members in various combinations. Such readings which occur throughout the text usually consist of $BlOL^1$.[55] Minor errors of omission are shared by $BlOL^1$ at line 133 where *the* is omitted, the omission of *or* at line 154 shared by BlOWK, and the omission of *wrecchid* at line 199 with OL^1K. Within the subgroup, $BlOL^1$ are closely related, as shown above, and it seems reasonable to suggest that while Bl has so few errors, errors which could easily be corrected by an attentive scribe, it may be the source of the other manuscripts in this subgroup, particularly O and L^1. Bl shares some variant readings with other individual members of the subgroup, but they are insignificant and none of

[53] L^1 shares variants with O at lines 95, 134, 145, 242, 259, 260, 305, and 385.

[54] See variants for lines 45, 69-70, 78-9, 124, 161, 167, 176, 193, 262, and 276.

[55] See variants for lines 31, 56, 69-70, 110, 160, 170, 179-80, 180, 192-3, 196, 198, 243, 270, 278, 279, 337, 348-9, 378, 379, 390, 397.

them are errors.[56]

Another reason why B1 may be the source or very close to the source of the B1OL^{1}WK subgroup is because it shares very few variant readings and no errors with any manuscripts outside its subgroup.[57] A much weaker case can be put forward for the possibility of W as the source of this subgroup, or particularly as the source for K. While having few substantial isolative errors, it does share a few variant readings outside the subgroup and those are mainly with Y and Dd.[58] It also shares a curious error with Y and V at line 295 where the third person possessive pronoun *his* referring to Christ's birth has been replaced by *hir*. It may be that these three scribes independently mistook the *s* in their exemplars for an *r*. Because it is the only error they share, this is probably the most logical conclusion. But W also shares another omission of *Lord* at line 346 with Y, though this too may be coincidental. K shares only three variant readings at lines 85, 106, 286 with manuscripts outside the B1OL^{1}WK subgroup and no errors.

While some of this evidence may seem meager for the determination of a coherent textual subgroup, it is significant in comparison with the scanty evidence

[56] B1 shares readings with L^{1} at lines 66, 391 and 410, and with W at lines 337, 342 and 415.

[57] See variants for lines 47 (with Td), 73 (with JV), and 273 (with Y).

[58] See variants for lines 7, 34, 346, 392 and 394.

that shapes the other smaller subgroups. One of these minimal subgroups is NJ.[59] N and J share only eleven variant readings exclusively and of those, only two are errors: the omission of *the chastisynge of* at line 111-2 and the omission of *ȝet* at line 190.[60] Together, these two manuscripts share variant readings with a large selection of other manuscripts in a variety of differing combinations.

Alone, N shares several readings with other manuscripts, but only one error, the omission of *to* at line 145, with TdDd.[61] J also shares some variant readings with other manuscripts, especially with Y and V, and several errors as well.[62] J and V share variant readings at lines 88, 186, and 244. With Y, J shares variant readings at lines 24, 36 and 46, and the omission of *vs* at line 149 and the omission of *you* at line 154.

The last possible, but very speculative, subgroup is YTdV. There is actually no real proof that these manuscripts form a coherent subgroup except that they are usually found together in longer variants such as those at lines 46, 89, 121, 132, 147, 153 and 154.

[59] Kinpoitner (1974), lxx.

[60] See variant readings for lines 74, 78, 164, 168, 199, 221, 223, 273, 329, and 339.

[61] See variants for lines 50, 69, 90, 110, 154, 245, 246, 247, 260, 313, 335, 345, 359, 362, 370, 376, 378, 401.

[62] See variants for lines 2, 31, 33, 59, 73, 79, 88, 91, 128, 135, 136, 166, 181, 182, 185, 186, 220, 223, 243, 244, 245, 307, 323, 326, 332, 376, 378, 380.

They share no variants or errors exclusively amongst themselves. Within the YTdV subgroup, the manuscripts share several readings and omissions in pairs: Y and Td at lines 31, 90, and 92-3; Y and V at lines 57, 337 and 413; Td and V share no readings or errors.[63] Because Td is a brief fragment, it is difficult to assess its character accurately or to determine any of its textual relationships, but from the portion we have, it is possible to suggest its membership in the YTdV subgroup.

With manuscripts outside this provisional subgroup, Y shares a few variant readings and errors with J as discussed above and numerous other variant readings with many other manuscripts, but no errors.[64] Td shares a few minor omissions: at line 1, the omission of *here begynneth* with WKNJDd, the omission of *ȝef* at line 83 with Dd, and the omission of *to* with NDd at line 145. It also shares numerous variant readings with a host of other manuscripts in

[63] Kinpoitner (1974), lxix, gives two shared omissions between Y and V: at line 247 the omission of 'þat he ne hath summe of thise' and the subheading for the third section at lines 195-6. The first is actually the overlapping of two independent omissions: the omission of 'And ther nys no man þat he ne hath summe of thise' in Y and the omission of 'þat he ne hath summe of thise for no man' in V. As for the second, while it is certainly omitted in Y, V has replaced it with a Latin title. Because the Latin doesn't translate to match the English, it is possible to suggest that the scribe of V, not having an English subheading in his exemplar, added his own in Latin, or that the exemplar he used contained these Latin headings.

[64] See variants for lines 7, 37, 73, 91, 128, 137, 157, 160, 162, 180, 223, 237, 243, 244, 258, 273, 285, 286, 288, 290, 296, 299, 346, 350, 372, 376, 378, 396.

a variety of combinations.[65] V shares some errors of omission with manuscripts outside this subgroup: the omission of *for* at line 223 with WK, the omission of *wel* at line 414 with Dd, and numerous variant readings with other manuscripts.[66]

One unusual group of shared variants does raise some doubts about these subgroups and may provide evidence of conflation in an earlier ancestor. In the fourth section of the text where questions are to be asked of the dying, after each question the form, *Respondit '3e'* is given. However, the group of OWKNV omit each *Respondit*, leaving only *'3e'* at lines 276, 277, 281, and 285. After line 287, where the fragment of K ends, the group, OWNV, continues to omit it at lines 287, 290, 295, 299, 304, 307 and 310. Because the *Respondit* in most of the other manuscripts is abbreviated and written in red ink, it may be that they were omitted from the others coincidentally. In the first occurrence of the omission at line 273, WK have actually kept the *Respondit*, so one wonders if the exemplars for W and K had them, but that the scribes independently decided to omit the rest of them. This seems more likely, especially in manuscripts such as N where the rubric ornamentation

[65] See variants for lines 28, 32, 34, 47, 52, 59, 83, 107, 114, 154.

[66] See variant readings for lines 25, 73, 91, 94, 135, 140, 164, 166, 167, 198, 201, 223, 246, 261, 306, 314, 335, 353, 361, 373, 376, 413.

was not completed.

As for the remainder of the manuscripts, Dd does not seem to be related to any one particular manuscript, though it does share a number of errors with an assortment of others, some of which have been discussed above.[67] None of these offer any hard evidence upon which to base relationships Dd may have with the other manuscripts.

La is another brief fragment which offers very little substantial information about its character as a text or its relationships with any other copies, and there is little evidence from the readings it does share to provide any material useful for analysis. However, it shares a possible error in the omission of *yat* at line 386 with NJYVDd.[68]

As I mentioned earlier in the section on 'Isolative Error', U is not a particularly good base text in this instance and, without any copy of the text in S or any other manuscript closely related to the U text, it is difficult to know if it is unique or comes from another, possibly earlier textual tradition. There are a fairly considerable number of readings which separate it from the other manuscripts. These are not erroneous readings, but ones which are longer, somewhat more difficult, and perhaps earlier.

[67] See variants for lines 1, 83, 85, 145, 147, 185, 376, 378 and 414.

[68] Kinpoitner (1974), lxx.

These readings mainly take the form of additional words not found in the other manuscript copies as at lines 132, 153, 168, 296, 298, 312, 317, 350, 352, 353, 358, 364, 368, 373, 380 and 385. There are also cases where the U reading may seem archaic: at line 46 where it reads *wanhope* and the other manuscripts have *dispeir*, at line 350 where *mankynde* in U has been abbreviated to *man* in the others, and where the awkward, shorter reading of *to sette* in U at line 313 is expanded in the others to read more clearly as *þat he wol set*. U shares no errors, but does share a number of variant readings with á selection of other manuscripts, but no evidence here warrants any substantial relationship between them and U.[69]

Considering this text's importance and usefulness in the daily life of a parish priest and the number of different English versions witnessed in a number of manuscripts, it is reasonable to suppose that there was a much larger quantity of copies circulating. It also seems reasonable to suppose that because of the text's function it would have been frequently adapted to suit the individual needs of its user, subject to a large number of intentional rather than accidental alterations. Thus it may be that the manuscripts collated here represent a scattered sample of a much larger group of manuscripts which may have existed.

[69] See variants for lines 95(Y), 132(O), 154(JDd), 162(V), 223(N), 244(JV,JV), 258(J), 306(Y), 335(L^1,OLa), 366(NJ), 367(WLa), 372(WV), 383-4(O).

THE VISITATION OF THE SICK

Here begynneth how men þat been in heele schuld visite seeke folke. f. 93v

My deere sone or doughter in God, it semeth yat you hiest the faste in þe way fro this lyf to Godward. Ther you schalt see alle þi forme fadres, apostles, martirs, co*n*fessours, virgines, and alle men and wo*mm*en þat been sauyd. And for gladnesse of suche felaschipe, be you of good confort in God; and þenk howe you most, after this lyf, legge a stoon in þe walle of þe citee of heuen slighliche, withowte eny noyse or stryf. And therfore, eer you wende out of this worlde, you most polissche thi stoon and make it redy, ȝef you wolt not ther be letted.

UBlOL[1]WKNJYTdVDdLa

1 here...folke(2)] here bigynneþ þe vicitacioun of sijk men O, here begynnyth an exitacion of comfort to them that be in parell of dethe *et cetera* L[1], heer mayst þou lerne to visyte the sek man or woman *and* how þou schalt conforte hem *in* her seknesse and ȝiff they drawe to the deth what thow schalt seyn to hem Y, *om*. V here begynneth] þis tretys techiþ Bl, *om*. WKNJTdDd 2 folke] men BlWKJ, *om*. N 3 in God] *om*. N 4 the] *om*. O þe] *om*. N 5 ther] þerfore, -fore *canc*. N, thare shalt Dd 7 co*n*fessours] *and* confessoures WY virgines] and virgyns BlOL[1]K and[2]] or V 9 suche] siche a O you] than Dd of] a O 10 and] *om*. K most] *after* lyf L[1] 11 walle...þe] *om*. L[1] of] *in* Y 12 eny] *om*. K or] of V 14 most] *om*. K polissche] make euene Td thi] this Y, þe O 15 ther be] *rev*. O ther] þeroff Y

This stoon is þi sowle which you most make stronge thorugh riȝt byleue, and / faire you most it clense þorghe hope of Goddis mercy and perfit charyte, the whiche heelyn the multitude of synnes. The noyse yat þou most make heere in worchynge of this stoon is ofte forthynkynge of þi synne, whiche you most knowleche to God, knowyng the gilty. And therafter, it is profitable to þe to haue conseil of trewe preestes, the whiche owen to blesse the poeple, tellynge hem that been sorwful for here synnes that þei schullen thorugh Goddis mercy been asoylid of hem. The stroke wherwith you slykest this stoon is verrey repentaunce yat you schalt haue in thyn herte, sorwþng of þi synne, smytynge thiself on þe brest with greete sighyng of sorwe and stedefast wil to

17 which] þe whiche Y 18 riȝt] þi riȝt Td 19 most...clense] most make it *and* clense it Y it clense] *rev.* L¹ 21 heelyn] couereþ BlOL¹WK synnes] synne J 23 forthynkynge] þenkyng O, vnbethinking L¹, biþenking þee Bl 24 whiche] þe whiche JY 25 the gilty] þi gilt BlOL¹WKV ther-after] þerefore K, aftyr V 26 to...conseil] *om.* Td to þe] *twice, 2nd canc.* Bl conseil...trewe] a trewe counsayle of L¹ 28 that] the whiche L¹WKTd, whiche BlO been] they been Y, \to/ ben Bl sorwful] sory L¹ 29 thorugh] *om.* L¹ 30 the] *and* þe J stroke] strokere U wherwith] with where L¹, where i, i *canc.* / with N 31 slykest] strikest BlL¹WK, smytist OJ, makest euene YTd this] þi OL¹YV repentaunce] penance BlOL¹NJTd 32 herte] mynde and in thy hert L¹ of] for BlOL¹WKYTd 33 synne] synnys L¹JV smytynge] and whanne þou hast maad þee redi þus smytynge OL¹ on] in Dd þe] þi OJYV, thy r, r *canc.* L¹ 34 greete sighyng] shewing L¹ sighyng] syhynges Y, sikyngis BlO, sykyng WDd and] and wiþ BlOL¹Td

turne no moore aȝeyne to sy*n*ne. And whan you hast maad redy þus thi stoon, þat is thi sowle, thanne myght you go the redy wey to God, and legge þi stoon sykerliche, withowten noyful noyse, in þe citee of heuene.

And therfore, I conseile þe in þis lyf, yat you schryue the cleene to God and make þe redy. For grisely deuelys, the whiche han tempted men to synne in this lyf, wollen in the laste hour been ful besy to begile hem, and nameliche with wanhope of Goddys mercy. And this is not oonliche to telle to syke men, but eke to hoole men, for euery day a man neigheth his deeth, neer and neer. For the moore a man in this lyf wexith in dayes and ȝeres, the moore he vnwexith. For as seyntes seyn, þe firste day in the whiche

35 turne] falle O no...aȝeyne] aȝen no more BlOL^{1}WK aȝeyne] *after* synne V, *om.* J whan] þan wan V 36 maad...þus] þus maad redy Td þus thi] þis JY þus] *om.* L^1 37 myght you] *rev.* Td myght] may BlL^{1}WKY the...God(38)] *om.* V the] þy J, *om.* L^{1}O wey] *om.* O 38 legge þi] kepe þis O 41 therfore] there L^1 42 to God] and truste in God K and... redy(43)] *and* to þi prest *and* make V 43 grisely] wickide Td the] *om.* BlO 44 men] nem K to synne] *after* lyf Td wollen] þat willen Y 45 to] for to WK 46 hem] men JY with] in JY wanhope] dispeir BlOL^{1}WKJYTdVDd, i *canc.* / dispeyr N 47 and] *om.* Y this] þus N telle to] *om.* OL^1 telle] say BlTd to^2] *om.* Y 48 men] *om.* Td eke] also BlOL^{1}WKTd hoole] hoolt K men^2] *om.* Bl euery] ech Td 49 day] a day W neigheth] neighed Dd his] to his J 50 a] þat a NYV lyf] world L^1 wexith in] wexyd in hys V 51 the ...vnwexith] the neer he drawyth to hys deth Y 52 þe] þe \day/ V day] *om.* V the] *om.* BlOTd whiche] weke þat J, weke L^1

a man is born, is þe firste day of his deth; for euery day he is diynge while he is in this lyf. And therfore seith þe gospelle, 'Awake, for you wost neuere whiche hour God is to come': in thi ȝouthe, or in thi myddel age, or in thi laste dayes, or preuyliche or openliche. And therfore [loke] yat you be alwey redy, for it is semliche yat þe seruaunt abyde þe lord and not the lord his seruaunt. And nameliche whan greet haste is, he is worthi blame yat is vnredy; but grettere haste no man redith of, than schalle be in þe comynge of Crist. And therfore waketh in vertues, for whan the ȝate is schet, it is neuere aftir openyd.

And þerfore brother or suster in God, wete yow yat God visiteth men for here synnes diuersliche: summe been visitid with scharp prisonynge, summe with sclaundre and

53 his] *om.* L^1 54 euery] ech Td day] dai in þe whi, in þe whi *canc.* K diynge] doynge N while] þe while Td 56 awake] wake BlOL^1 whiche] what L^1, in what O 57 to] for to L^1 come] co / comy*n* V in] wheþer in J thi] the L^1 ȝouthe] ȝonge age J in thi^2] *om.* YV thi^2] the L^1 58 thi] the L^1 or^2] *om.* Y 59 openliche] apertely BlOL^{1}JTd loke] *om.* U yat] *om.* ONJ 61 not] *om.* L^1 his] þe BlOL^{1}WKYVDd 62 greet] a greet Y 63 blame] to be blamyd Y vnredy] vneedy Td but...of(64)] *margin corr.* N 64 redith] nediþ O of] oft J, *om.* L^1 65 in...Crist] at Crystis commyng L^1 þe] *om.* Y 66 therfore] forþi BlL^1 waketh] walkiþ O 67 schet] onys schit N 68 and þerfore] wherfor O or] *and* Y in God] *om.* N God] goed L^1 69 yow] þou wel OL^{1}NYV here synnes(70)] synnes BlOL^1, synne WK 70 visitid] visited wisited Dd, prisoned O 71 prisonynge] prysone Y

bacbytyng, summe with ontrowthe of fals men, and summe with diuerse seeknesse. And 3ef yat synne were clene awey, thanne seeknesse schulde slake. Hereof bereth þe gospel witnesse where Criste / seide to ten myselis whanne thei weren heelyd of here lepre, 'Goth,' he seith, 'and nyle 3e synne moore lest 3e fallen wersse.' Als who seith, for 3oure synne, 3e hadde this seeknesse. f. 94v

And þerfore, þe lawe wolde by ryght iustice yat no leche schulde 3eue bodyliche medicyne to a seek man, but 3ef he were in wille to take goostliche medicyne and to leue þe synne yat woundeth his sowle, schryuyng hym trewliche, with good wille to don no moore euyl; for so he resceyueth God, dwellynge in parfit charite. And who yat is

72 bacbytyng] wiþ bakbitynge N summe...and(73)] *om.* K ontrowthe] treson Y 73 and] *om.* BlOL¹Y seeknesse] seeknessis BlJV 74 synne] synnes J clene awey] *rev.* V seeknesse schulde(75)] *rev.* V seeknesse] þe sekenes K, here sykenes NJ 75 slake] aslake, -lake *on eras. corr.* J bereth] *after* gospel O þe gospel] *after* witnesse L¹NJ 76 Criste] Crist Ihesu L¹ ten...synne(78)] þe lame man whanne he was helid of his seeknesse go he seiþ and synne no Td ten] the ten Y myselis] mesill men L¹ *margin* Luc' 17° Bl 77 whanne] *om.* L¹ 78 seith] seide BlOWYV and...synne] synne 3e na Y nyle...fallen(79)] synneþ no more lest it bifalle 3ow WK nyle...synne] wole synne no O, wylleth to synne no V, be in will to synne no L¹, synne no Bl moore] no more NJ 79 3e] that ye L¹ als who] also *and* Td, also I OL¹J 80 synne] synnes K, *om.* L¹ 81 ryght iustice(82)] ryth iustifiyng V 82 3eue] 3eue no J 83 medicyne] medecynys Y a] the Y 3ef] *om.* TdDd 84 take] make L¹ to²] for to, for *canc.* Dd 85 leue þe] forsake J þe] *om.* KTdDd woundeth] woundede Y his] þe BlOL¹WK, þi V 86 trewliche] *om.* J 87 euyl] hys euyl Y resceyueth] resceyuid V God] goede J 88 dwellynge] *om.* V yat] so JV is] his Dd

treweliche thus i-schryuen and dwellith in verrey repentaunce, I drede not that the seeknesse ne schalle slake whiche he hadde for his synne, or elles his peyne, suffred with meekenesse, schal turne hym to muche merit in blisse after þis lyf. Þerfore, ȝef thi peynes slake not, comforte the in God in this manere.

How a man schulde comforte another, þat he grucche not whanne he is seeke.

Brother or suster, louest you God thi Lorde? He or sche, ȝef thei mowe speke, wol seye, '3e.' Or perauenture ȝif they mowe not speke, thei wole thenke, '3e.' Thanne thus, ȝef thow louest God, yow louest alle yat he doth, ande he scorgeth the for thi profit and not for his. And þerfore you

89 treweliche thus] *rev.* BlOL¹WKNJYTdVDd i-schryuen] sch *canc.*, schryuen Td, scheuyn K, schryuyng Dd, conffessid L¹ 90 I] *and* O that] but that Y the] ne þe BlOL¹N, ne thyne Dd, *twice, 1st eras.* J, *om.* YTd 91 seeknesse ne] *rev.* Td ne] *corr.* J, *om.* BlOL¹WKNYDd whiche] the whicche L¹JYV 92 peyne...meekenesse(93)] peynys suffryd mekely YTd peyne] peynes BlOL¹WKNJVDd suffred] \that he/ suffreþ J 93 schal] schuld K hym] to hym Bl to] to synne, synne *canc.* Dd 94 þis] his L¹ lyf] lyue V þerfore] and þerfor OV 95 peynes] peyne OL¹ in²] on BlOL¹WKNJTdVDd 97 how...seeke(98)] thus seye to the syke what tyme he drawith to hys ende Y, hou þe sijk schulde be coumfortid þat he grucche not aȝens God for his disese but suffre mekeli O, item that we grucche not in syknesse L¹, consiliu*m* cont<...> anti in infirmitate V comforte...seeke(98)] be comfortid aȝens grucchinge in sekenesse þe secunde c° Td 98 is] hise Dd 99 brother...thus(103)] *om.* L¹ louest...God] beleeuyst þou that God is Y you] þou þi V 100 wol] þei welyn V 101 seye] speke or seye N 102 thei wole] *om.* K thenke] ȝenke W ȝe] she Dd 104 he] *om.* J scorgeth] shortith and punyshith L¹ 105 you schuldest(106)] *rev.* V

schuldest gladliche suffre hym and loue hym, for he wol not punyssche twyes hem þat meekeliche suffren hym.

And þat his chastisynge in this lyf is alle for loue, scheweth Salomon wher he seith, 'Sone, grucche not aȝeyns the chastisynge of thi Fader, for it is no sone whom the Fader chastiseth not.' And this acordeth with resoun and eke with comun manere of speche. For ȝef a man see another mannys childe do euele in his faders presence, and his fader chastiseth him nought, thanne wol yat other man say that it is not his childe, or ellis that he loueth hym nouȝt. For ȝef he were his child, or ellis þat he louede hym, he wolde chastise hym. And therfore, be nought euele paied of thi Fadres chastisynge of heuene, for he seith hymself, 'Whom I loue, I chastise.'

Also, seeknesse of body meekliche

106 gladliche] *om.* V 107 punyssche twyes] *rev.* L^1Td twyes hem] *rev.* KDd hem] *om.* Y 109 þat] at L^1, *om.* O his] þis Y, *om.* J in...lyf] *after* loue N this] his L^1 110 scheweth] as schewiþ ON, *and* as scheweþ J, and this schewith wel Y wher...seith (111)] in hys book wher he seyth þus Y wher] þer BlOL^{1}W 111 grucche] grucce þou WKNJ the...of (112)] *om.* NJ 112 no] *twice, 1st eras.* O 113 the] my L^1 114 eke] also TdDd with comun] wiþ maner comyn, maner *eras.* O 115 manere of] *om.* Y for] *om.* O 116 euele] schrewidly Td 119 childe] sone V or ellis] *twice* Dd that] *om.* Td 120 nouȝt] *om.* L^1 ȝef...þat(121)] and K 121 þat he] *om.* BlL^{1}WNYTdVDd hym] it O 122 hym] it O 123 thi] this L^1 124 hymself] hymself þat WK

suffrid maketh helthe of sowle, and soule helthe is not but oonliche of God. Therfore, despise not Goddis scorgynge, but whanne God chastiseth the, þanke hym and loue hym þat he amendeth the, vndirnemeth þe, and blameth the. For alle this is token of loue, ande scheweth that he wol not punyssche the in his wrathe / ne in his woodnesse, but of his greet goodnesse, he wole haue mercy on þe 3ef you wolt leeue thi synne. And þerfore þank thi God, and specialliche that he hath largid to synful men his mercy aboue his wrathe. f. 95r

Drede this Lord as sone *and* not as seruaunt, for he is thi iuge yat wol not dampne the, but 3ef þow wolt not, for lust and coueitise, leeue thi synne, but he wol haue mercy on the, and therfore merciful-

126 helthe...sowle] soule heele Bl, þe soule heele Td, þe soule hool OL^1 soule helthe(127)] helþe of soule N soule] sowlys Y, *om.* J 127 helthe] heele OWDd 128 not] þou not OJY but] for L^1 129 God] he O 130 vndirnemeth...the(131)] *om.* V vndirnemeth þe(131)] *and* vndurnymeþ BlOKNJYTd, and vndirnymth the L^1WDd 131 this] þat N is] is a O token] tooknyng Y 132 ande scheweth] *om.* BlOL^1WKNJYTdVDd he] God BlL^1WKNJYTdVDd 133 the] *om.* BlOL^1 his] *om.* O ne...woodnesse(134)] *om.* V ne] neþer Td 134 of] in OL^1 his] *om.* V 135 on] of L^1JV wolt] w *canc.* / wolt Dd, *om.* BlO leeue] not leue, not *canc.* N 136 þerfore] þerof BlL^1J thi] *om.* Y and] *om.* Y 137 largid] alargid OY, graunted J 138 his^2] þis O 139 this] þis, -s *eras.* J, þi V sone] a sone ONJV, a good sone Y *and*] *om.* BlOL^1WK 140 seruaunt] a seruaunt ONJYV is] his Dd 142 and] *and* for J, ne for L^1 but] ellys Y 143 mercy] *om.* Y and therfore] so O therfore] forþi Td mercifulliche (144)] mercyfull L^1

liche he chastiseth the. And, ther þow hast deseruyd euerelastyngliche his wrathe and to be dampned foreuere, he putteth ouer his vengeaunce, and of grete mercy he suffreth vs to amende owre defautes and punysscheth vs but a while. And þerfore dispise not his ȝerde of mercy, ne grucche not ther aȝeyns, but suffre it gladliche, for alle þe domes of God been rightfulle.

Now þanne, sitthe seeknesse of body is helthe of soule, and wole or nyle you, þow schalt haue it er you dye; and ȝef you grucche aȝeyns God, with þi gruc[c]hynge you makest thi sowle moore feble. And so you harmest thiself with thi grucchynge, for nothyng is wers to a seek man þan to be malencolious; and eke you greuest thi Fadir, þe whiche coueiteth to be thi leche. And

144 and] þat O þow] as þou Y hast] haddist O 145 deseruyd euerelastyngliche] *rev.* Td, y-seruyd endlesly L^1 euerelastyngliche] euerlastyng YVDd, endelesly BlO his] th *canc.*, his L^1 and] *om.* OL^1 to] for to Bl, *om.* NTdDd 146 foreuere] in helle foreuere more O ouer] euer J 147 vengeaunce] forȝeuenesse J and] *om.* ODd grete] his grete $BlOL^1WKNJYTdVDd$ 148 to] for to J 149 vs] *om.* JY and] *om.* Bl 150 ȝerde] rodde L^1 ne] *and* Td 151 þe] *om.* Y 153 þanne] *om.* $BlOL^1WKNJYTdVDd$ seeknesse] sekenes, *1st s- eras.* \se-/ W, þe seeknesse Td of] is L^1 body] þe body BlOWKNTd, þy body J 154 helthe] heele OWDd of] to þe $BlOL^1WKTd$, to þy J, to N wole...schalt(155)] while thou wilt thou maist L^1 wole] wol þou BlOWKNYTdV or nyle] so nil V or] *om.* BlOWK nyle you] nelte Y you] *om.* JY, *text ends here* Td 155 haue it] *rev.* V er] or OKDd 157 sowle] silf YDd you] *om.* K 158 grucchynge] gructhynge U 159 to[2]] is to V 160 malencolious] malicious O eke] also WKYDd, *om.* $BlOL^1$ 161 þe whiche] that L^1 to] for to WK

þus as a fool you harmest thiself in double manere: oon is yat you greuest thi God, another is you lesist thi meede yat you schuldest haue, 3ef you suffredest alle maner diseses pacientliche to þe deth.

And þogh a man sumtyme may not kepe pacience in sekenesse, for greet accesse of diuerse passions, neuertheles he schulde, byfore thei koomen and after þe passynge of hem, purpose in his sowle to suffre alle anoyes pacientliche. And whan his hors grucchith, yat is his flesch, his spirit schulde be redy to suffre and aske mercy for þe grucchynge of his flesch, knowynge þat alle bodiliche anoyes suffrid meekliche in this lyf maketh þe sowle fayre and stronge and rightliche to passe from purgatorie to heuene. Wherfore we schulden, with good

162 as...fool] folily Bl^{1}OL^{1}WK harmest] armest W in] on Bl^{1}OL^{1}WKNJYDd 163 yat] *om.* Y 164 another] and anoþer Bl^{1}OL^{1}NJYVDd is] þat NJ you] þat K, þat þou Bl^{1}L^{1}WVDd 165 suffredest] ff *canc.*, suffrest L^{1} 166 maner] maner of BlWKNJVDd, maner \of/ O diseses] disese BlOWJYVDd þe] thy L^{1} 167 sumtyme] in sumtyme WK, *after* kepe Y, *after* not Bl^{1}OL^{1}V 168 pacience] *after* sekenesse Bl^{1}OL^{1}WKYVDd sekenesse] his syknes NJ accesse] axesses W of diuerse(169)] and grete L^{1} 169 neuertheles] neuerles K 170 byfore] toforn Y thei koomen] þen cam K, þat þei come Bl^{1}OL^{1} 171 hem] here N 172 anoyes] noyse L^{1}NJDd, manere of noyes V, dissese Y his] is Dd 173 grucchith] *after* flesch O his^{2}...flesch(175)] *om.* Dd 174 aske] to aske Y 176 anoyes] noyes J, disseses L^{1} suffrid meekliche] *rev.* WK meekliche] *after* lyf Bl^{1}OL^{1}NJYVDd 177 þe] þi V and...heuene(179)] *eras.* Bl 178 rightliche] li3tli OL^{1}WK, ryth V from] fro þis O to^{2}] into Y 179 schulden] schulen OJYV with...herie(180)] deuoutly þank Bl^{1}L^{1}, deuoutli deuoutli þanke O

wille, herie God and with glad herte, take diseses.

Thenk þat ȝef you haddest be traytour to the kynge, wherfore you haddest deseruyd hangyng and drawynge, and he hadde forȝeue the thi deth and punysscheth the but a lytul while in an esy prisoun, how moche were you holden to hym. Muchel moore you schuldest bythenke the how thow hast be traytour to God, and therfore deseruyd euerlastynge peyne. And ȝet this merciful Lord forȝeueth vs heere eendeles deeth, þe whiche we deseruyd, and pu-/-nysscheth vs here but a lytel with bodiliche seeknesse, ȝef we wollen meekly take his chastysynge. f. 95v

ȝef deeth goo faste on a man, speke to hym thus.

Brother or suster in God, ȝif you sawe

180 herie] þank WKY and] *om*. Y with...herte] *after* diseses V glad] good YDd take diseses (181)] resayve L^1 take] for to take Y, resseyue BlWK, suffre O 181 diseses] desese JYV 182 thenk] and þenke V traytour] a traitour OL^1J 183 the] oure L^1 wherfore] wherby L^1 184 hadde] *om*. N 185 the] it þe Y thi] *om*. V punysscheth] punysche OJDd the²...prisoun(186)] *on eras. corr*. N 186 an] *om*. JV 187 holden] beholden L^1 muchel] forsoþe moche K you] þan þou O 188 bythenke] vmbiþenke O how] hou þat Bl hast be] *on eras. corr*. N 189 and] *twice* K 190 ȝet] *om*. NJ this] þus N Lord] Lord here, here *canc*. O 191 eendeles] euerelastinge V deseruyd(192)] haue disseruid $BlOL^1WKNYVDd$, hadde deserued J 192 but ...with(193)] wiþ a litil $BlOL^1$ 193 lytel with] whyle *with* a Y bodiliche seeknesse] a litil bodily peyne WK bodiliche] body V 194 wollen] wold L^1 meekly take] *rev*. J meekly] *om*. Y 195 ȝef... thus(196)] exitacio desideru esse causa *christo* V, *om*. Y on] vpon Bl man] man or womman L^1 hym thus(196)] them these wordis following L^1 196 thus] þees wordis BlOWK 197 in God] *om*. N

or bithoughtest in thyn herte þe meschiefs of this wrecchid world *and* þe ioyes of heuene, you schuldest desire to be with God, þough you were lord of alle this world and you stode in grace, thow schuldest desire to forsake it to come to heuene. For hooly writ seith, 'Blessede be þei yat dyen in God.'

Loke, þe bigy*n*nynge of this lif is care and sorwe lyuynge therinne. What is it but muchel trauail withowte fruyt, tene and disese, whereþorugh many men been ouercomen with diuers temptacions and forȝetyn here God, and so þei comen to an euyl ende.

Loke nowe, whethir it is better to dye wel or to lyue euele. Ȝef you stonde in verray repentance and laste therinne, stedefastlyche byleuyng in the mercy of God, thow maist dye wel. But harde it is to lyue

198 bithoughtest] þouȝtist BlWK, thought L^1, inwardli þouȝtist O in] þe in NJVDd meschiefs] myschief L^1 199 wrecchid] *om.* OL^1K *and*] and of NJ 201 þough] þou þough, þou *canc.* J, ȝhe þouȝ OV, and Dd lord] a lord V alle] *om.* L^1 this] þe N and] and ȝef U, and thoughe L^1 202 desire... forsake(203)] forsaken YVDd to] for to K, for to *canc.* // for to W 203 forsake] renou*n*ce OL^1 to] for to BlO 204 dyen] doþ J 206 loke] for loke V bigy*n*nynge] gynnyng V this] thy Y lif] world L^1 207 is it] *rev.* K 208 muchel trauail] *rev.* $BlOL^1WK$ tene] trayne L^1, angre Bl, *om.* V 209 whereþorugh] wherby L^1 men] *om.* L^1 210 and ...God(211)] *om.* K 211 þei comen] *corr.* J an] *om.* J 211 euyl] i *canc.* / yuel N 212 nowe] þou V, *om.* Y is] be Y better] *corr.* J 213 to] *om.* WKJ lyue] dye L^1 ȝef] for if O 214 and ...stedefastlyche(215)] *om.* Y laste] lastynge O therinne] þere K 215 the] *om.* V 216 maist] maist be sikir to O

wel fulliche in this wrecchede worlde. For þe holy prophete seith yat eueriche man is a lyere; þat is to seye, for his firste forfeture, euerich man synneth whiles he lyueth in this wrecchide lyf: outher for l[euy]nge of seruynge God after his comaundement, or ellis for yat he serueth hym not aftir his worthynesse. For hooly writte seith yat seuene sithes in the day falleth the riȝtwyse man; and seynt Poul seith that no man lyueth in this lyf withowte defaute. Therfore we schulden prey to God with greet desir, ȝif it were his wille, yat we weren deede and lyueden with hym.

For þe wrecchidnesse of this world may no man telle; for heere is hunger of Goddis lawe and fewe yat desiren theraftir, and þei

217 fulliche] *om.* J this wrecchede] þis <world> wrecchid O 218 eueriche] euery OL^1VDd 219 for] froo K 220 euerich] euery OL^1V man] *corr.* J synneth] synned N whiles] while $BlOL^1WKJ$, wel V 221 lyueth] *corr.* J, lyuede N in] here in NJ lyf] world V, wor *canc.*, lif Dd outher] on is Y for] for the Y 222 leuynge] lyinge U, i *canc.* // leuynge N of...God] or for seruyng of good V, and necligence to lyve L^1 seruynge] seruyce O God] of God $BlWKNJYDd$, of *canc.*, \to/ God O after] afere K his] Goddis L^1 223 comaundement] comaundementȝ $BlOL^1WKJYVDd$ for] *om.* WKV yat] *om.* L^1JY serueth] seruyd NJ 224 hym not] *rev.* L^1 225 sithes] tymes Y in...day] *om.* V the] a J 226 riȝtwyse] rightfulle L^1Dd 227 lyueth] *om.* O this] *om.* L^1 lyf] worlde V 228 schulden] schul YV 230 yat] *twice* Dd we] *corr.* J 232 wrecchidnesse] worship L^1 this] þe J world] life *canc.*, worlde K may...man(233)] is full wrecchid more than man can L^1 may] can K 233 is] his Dd 234 yat] thad Dd

yat thristen þeraftir, been ofte tymes slaked with bittere venym. And therfore, þe charite of menye wexith coold thorugh þe heete of wykked couetise. For long trauaille and greet yat men han aftir worldliche bisynesse and lustes, maken meny men so weery, yat þei suffisen not to come to a good ende. For this lyf is ful of envye, wrathe, glotonye, lecherye, prude, slouth, couetise, falshed, manslaughtre, and thefte, and of manye othere wykkednesse / yat spryngen of thise. And ther nys no man þat he ne hath summe of thise, for no man in this lyf lyueth withowte synne, and manye men been acombrid with alle thise, and 3et thei kunne not, ne wollen not dischargen hem.

f. 96r

235 thirsten] hungren N tymes] tyme L^1W, *om.* O 236 þe] *om.* O 237 of menye] *om.* BlOL^1WK menye] many men NJY, summe V þe] *om.* Y 238 wykked] wretchede V 239 men] man V 240 worldliche bisynesse] richessis O worldliche] worldis Bl, bodely YVDd bisynesse] bisynesses N lustes] lust V maken] and maken O 241 men] men and wommen L^1 suffisen] suffre ne suffice V 242 a] *om.* Y is] is so OL^1 243 wrathe] *and* wraþ BlOWK glotonye] and glotenye ONJDd lecherye prude] *and* lechery *and* pride/ Bl lecherye] and leccherie OL^1WKYDd prude] *and* pride OJ 244 slouth] *and* slouþ BlOL^1WKNYDd couetise] *and* coueityse J falshed] *and* falshed BlOL^1WKNYDd manslaughtre] *and* manslau3ter JV and] *om.* 245 thefte] of þefte V of] *om.* L^1J manye] many moo Y wykkednesse] wickidnessis BlWNYV, wyckede vices J 246 spryngen] spryngen owt Y and...thise(247)] *om.* Y and... nys] þat þer is O nys] is L^1WKNV 247 þat...man] *om.* V he ne] *rev.* Bl, *om.* L^1 he] *om.* OWKN in this lyf(248)] *om.* L^1 248 lyf lyueth] lyue is V lyueth] lyvith here L^1, is þat lyueþ J 250 thei] *om.* Y ne...not] *om.* J

Ande therfore þise philosofres, þe whiche knewen the wrecchydnesse of this lyf, maaden greet sorwe whan here children weren bore, and greet ioye whan thei dyeden and passeden from þe wo of this fals worlde. And as men fynden write, Seynt Austyn, whan he schulde be deed, spak to deeth in this manere, 'Welcome deeth, end of alle wykkednesses! For you art ende of trauaille to hem yat han heere wel trauaillyd. For thanne and no rathere, bygynneth perfitliche goode mennes eese in endeles blisse. What man may bythenke þe profit and þe blisse yat thow bryngest with þe? Therfore you art desirful to me, for a trewe cristene man may not euele dien, for aftir this lyf, he schalle lyue with Criste.'

Whan thowe hast tolde hym alle this, or ellys 3ef you myght not for hast of deeth,

252 þise] þose K þe whiche (253)] þat V 253 knewen] knowen L¹Dd, knoweþ J, that knewyn Y wrecchydnesse] wrecchidnesses N lyf] world V 254 greet] a greet Y 255 ioye] ioye madyn Y 256 þe] *om.* Y 257 write] in writt L¹ *margin* no^ta Dd 258 spak] he spak V deeth] peeþ, p- *altered to* d- Bl, the deth Dd in] on BlOL¹WKNYDd, of V 259 manere] wise OL¹ 260 wykkednesses] wickidnes BlWKNJYVDd, wrecchidnesse OL¹ art] *corr.* K ende] þe eende V trauaille] al trauel O 261 hem] i *canc.* / hem N han] *om.* Dd heere] *after* trauaillyd OL¹V trauaillyd] *corr.* K 262 and... perfitliche] bygynnyth sone L¹ rathere] sunnere OWK, sonneþ Bl perfitliche] *after* eese WK, *om.* BlO 263 eese] *om.* O in] and Dd blisse] ioy BlOL¹WK what] whan Y 264 and] in L¹ blisse] blisse of heuen L¹ 269 whan...hym(271)] excitacio facienda in articulis fidei V whan] now when K tolde hym] seyde K this] *om.* L¹ 270 ellys] *om.* K myght] may BlOL¹K not] not say al BlOL¹WK hast] hastynge K

bygynne heere eer his mynde goo from hym.

Brother or suster art you glad þat you schalt dyen in cristene ƒeith? *Respondit*, '3e.' Knowlechist you to God þat you hast not lyued aftir his comaundement3? *Respondit*, '3e.' Art you soory yat you lyuedest not as you schuldest? *Respondit*, '3e.' Art you in good wille to amende alle trespassis doon a3ens God and thyn euen cristene, 3ef you haddest space to lyue? *Respondit*, '3e.' Trusteth you stedefastliche that God may for3eue the and alle men here synnes, though you, ne noon othere, make heere fulliche asseth for hem? *Respondit*, '3e.' Leuyst you in God, Fadir alle myghty, makere of heuene and of erthe, and of alle yat been in hem? *Respondit*, '3e.' Leuyst you yat the Fadir and the Sone

271 eer] or OKDd goo from] fayle Y hym] hym *et cetera* L^1 272 suster] suster in God J art you] *rev.* L^1 273 cristene] Cristis NJ respondit] responsio Dd, he answeriþ BlY, *om.* ONV 274 you] *om.* J 275 his comaundement3] the comaundementis of God Y comaundement3] comandement Dd 276 respondit] he answeryth Y, *om.* OWKNV 3e] the L^1 art ...3e(278)] *om.* Y soory] now sory WK, not sori O you²] *om.* J 277 lyuedest not] hast not lyued O respondit] *om.* OWKNV 278 3e] the L^1 art...in] hauest þou BlOL^1 alle] þee of alle þe O 279 trespassis] trespas N, thy trespas Y, defautis BlOWK, thy defautes L^1 doon] þat þou hast y-do J 281 respondit] *om.* OWKNV 3e] the L^1 283 though ...ne] *illeg.* K ne] *om.* O 284 heere] *corr.* W fulliche] ful BlL^1WK, *om.* O asseth] amendes V, satisfaccion L^1, *illeg.* K 285 respondit] *om.* OWKNV 3e] the L^1 leuyst] bileuest OL^1Y Fadir] þe Fadir O 286 makere] fadir N of²] *om.* KNJY 287 of] *om.* K yat] thyng that Y hem] *text ends here* K respondit] *om.* OWNV 288 3e] the L^1 leuyst...3e(290)] *om.* Dd leuyst] bileuest OL^1Y

and the Holy Goost been ȝre persones and oo
God? *Respondit*, 'ȝe.' Leuyst thow that
oure Lord Ihesu Crist, Goddis sone of
heuene, was y-conceyued oonliche of the
Hooly Goost, and took flesshe and blood of
oure lady seynte Marie, and sche mayden ande
moder aftir his burthe? *Respondit*, 'ȝe.'
Leuyst thow yat oure Lorde Ihesu Crist
suffrede harde peyne and deeth for oure
trespassis, and not for his gylt?
Respondit, 'ȝe.' Leuyst you yat he was
aftir his deeth buryed, and roos the thridde
day in flesch, and steygh to heuene and
sente þe Holy Goost, ande schal come to
deeme boothe wikkede and goode, ȝeldyng hem
aftir here trauaille? *Respondit*, 'ȝe.'
Thankest thow hym of al thyn herte for thise
greete goodnesses yat he hath doon

289 and²] in L^1, *in* on *and* Y 290 God] godheide L^1 respondit] *om.* OWNV ȝe] the L^1 leuyst] bileuyst BlOL¹Y 291 Lord] Lord God Y 292 heuene] hene Dd oonliche] *om.* L^1 the] *om.* V 295 his] hir WYV respondit] *om.* OWNV ȝe] the L^1 296 leuyst] bileuyst BlOL¹Y oure Lorde] *om.* BlOL¹WNJYVDd 298 trespassis] trespas BlOL¹WNJYVDd and] *om.* BlOL¹W gylt] giltis O 299 respondit] *om.* OWNV ȝe] the L^1 leuyst] bileuest BlOL¹Y he was] *om.* Y 300 buryed...roos] roese and buried on L^1 buryed] was beryed Y roos] aros J, rooo, *final -o altered to -s* O the...day(301)] *om.* J the] vpon þe Y, on þe BlOWN, in the Dd 301 to] into L^1, vp into Y 302 þe] aȝen þe Y Goost] Gost to alle men J, gost to his disciples N ande] *and* þat he V 303 boothe] *om.* J wikkede] þe wikkyd Y goode] þe goode Y ȝeldyng] geving L^1 304 respondit] *om.* OWNV ȝe] the L^1, *om.* Dd 305 thankest] beleuyst þou *in* hym *and* thankest Y hym] *om.* L^1 of] *in* Y, wiþ BlOL¹W for] thy lord God for L^1 thise] his OL^1, þe WV, al his Bl 306 goodnesses] goodnes BlOL¹WNJVDd

wilfullyche to mankynde? *Respondit*, '3e.'
Leuyst you yat you, ne no man, may be sauyd
but thorugh his passioun and his mercy? / f. 96v
Respondit, '3e.'

While thi sowle is in thi body, put hoolliche alle thi trust in his mercy, preiynge hym for his Moder loue to sette his greete passioun bytwixe his doome and thi synnes. Ande trust treweliche yat he wol, of his goodnesse, doo to the bettre þan you kanst desiren. And haue you therfore, stedefastliche to thyn ende, his passioun and his greete mercy in thi mynde, for there thorugh oonliche been alle enemyes ouercomen.

Therfore, medle thi þought with his passioun *and* wrappe þe, as in a cloth, in his mercy. And trust stedefastliche therinne, nou3t thenkynge on thi wyf, ne on

307 mankynde] mannes kynde B1L1WJDd respondit] *om.* OWNV 3e] the L1 308 leuyst you] beleuyst Y leuyst] bileuyst B1OL1 no] none other L1 310 respondit] *om.* OWNV 3e] the L1 311 while] now whil W 312 hoolliche] *om.* B1OL1WNJYVDd 313 to] þat he wol B1L1WYVDd, þat he wolde ON, þe he wille J 314 greete] *om.* V bytwixe] bitwene B1WV, bynethe Dd 316 his] *om.* V goodnesse] x *canc.* / godenes N doo to] *rev.* Dd 317 kanst desiren] desyrest L1 kanst] coudest V haue] *after* therfore V you] *om.* B1OL1WNJYVDd 318 to] mynde into Y 319 in...mynde] *om.* Y 320 oonliche ...enemyes] are oure enmyse all L1 oonliche] *om.* V been...ouercomen (321)] alle þyne enemyes ouercome beþ J enemyes] þin enemyes N, gostlych enemyes Y, þi gostli enemyes O 323 wrappe] wlappe B1 as] *om.* L1J 324 trust] stryue O 325 thi] *om.* Y ne] or O, and N

thyne children, ne on thi richesse, but oonliche and stedefastliche on the passioun of owre Lord Ihesu Crist, hauynge the hard passioun yat oure Lord Ihesu Crist suffrede on the cros, lastyngliche in thi mynde. And 3ef you byholde any cros or ymage y-maad with mannys hondys, wite you wel yat it is not God. And therfore sey or thenk in thyn herte, 'I woot wel you art nought God, but y-maad aftir hym, to make men haue þe moore mynde of hym, after whom you art ymagid.'

Therfore, Lord Fadir yat art in heuene, mercy I aske the of alle yat I haue trespassid. And þe wilful passioun of oure Lord Ihesu Crist, the whiche he suffrede for mankynde, mercyful Fadir of thi goodnesse, be it bitwyxe me and myne euele dedys. And the greete merite of oure Lord Ihesu Crist,

326 thyne children] chyld Y children] hosbonde *and* þou be a wijf ne on þi children O thi] *om.* Y richesse] richessis OJ,*text begins here* La 327 oonliche] specialiche La 328 Lord] *corr.* La hauynge...Crist(329)] þat he O, *om.* Dd 329 oure...Crist] he NJ Lord] *corr.* La 330 on] vpon Y, in Bl lastyngliche] lastynge O, lastelyng V 331 or] or oþer V 332 hondys] hond Bl^{1}OL^{1}WJ wel] *om.* Y yat] *om.* V it] þat La *hand in margin* U 333 God] good V 334 you] þat þou NJDdLa God] my God La 335 y-maad] ymage Bl^{1}OWJ, ymagid NVDdLa, an ymage Y make] n *canc.* / make Dd haue...moore] for to haue O haue] to haue Bl^{1}L^{1}WNV þe] *om.* Bl^{1}L^{1}WNJYVDd 336 of] on NJ, *in* O ymagid] ymagennyd L^{1}V 337 therfore] *and* forþi O, forþi Bl^{1}W, for my L^{1} Lord] *om.* YV yat] þou þat O, þou Bl^{1}L^{1}W 339 and] *and* t, t *canc.* La, for NJ þe] thy L^{1} 340 the...þe(344)] mercy Lord I aske hit of the L^{1} the whiche] þat V 341 mercyful] mercy J 342 bitwyxe me] betwene the Y bitwyxe] bitwene Bl^{1}W myne] *corr.* La 343 merite] mercy V, mercy *and* the meryte Y

queeme it to þe, for al yat I schulde haue disseruyd and doun and dede not. And also mercyful Lord, Fader of heuene, ȝef it be thi wille, I byseche þe that alle þe beenfetis of oure Lord Ihesu Crist, aftir thi biddynge dede heere in erthe for saluacioun of mankynde, stoonde bitwixe me and thi wratthe.

And blisful Lady, moodir of mercy, seynte Marie, qwene of heuene, lady of alle this worlde, and emperise of helle, as you disseruedest byfore alle wommen, þorugh the goodnesse of God, to beren withowten wem of thi maydenhood, Ihesu Crist saueour of mankynde, soo you biseche thi blessed Sone for me, that alle myne synnes be forȝeuen.

And Lord almyghty Ihesu Crist, sitthe thyn hooly gospel witnesseth yat you wolt

344 queeme] iueme La, plese Y it] it \or plesyt/ Bl 345 and²...not] *om.* L¹ and also] al J, also WNYVDdLa 346 Lord] God Dd, *om.* WY 347 þe] *om.* L¹ 348 of] þat BlOL¹W aftir...biddynge(349)] *after* erthe BlOL¹ aftir] whiche after La 349 biddynge] byddingis L¹ dede heere] þat he dide V dede] deiȝed N heere in] *twice* Dd in] on L¹ 350 mankynde] man BlOL¹WNJYVDdLa bitwixe] bitwene BlOL¹WY, bitwiþe La 352 blisful] *om.* BlOL¹WNJYVDdLa 353 seynte Marie] *om.* V lady] and lady NJVDdLa alle] *om.* BlOL¹WNJYVDdLa 354 this] þe NJV of helle] *om.* L¹ 355 byfore] toforn Y, for N the] thy Dd 356 beren] bere him N 357 maydenhood] *corr.* O saueour] *om.* V of] of al BlOL¹W 358 soo] *om.* BlOL¹WNJYVDdLa blessed] *om.* BlOL¹WNJYVDdLa Sone] soule, *-l- eras.* O 359 alle] *after* be BlOL¹WNYVLa, *after* synnes Dd, *om.* J synnes] synne V be] *om.* Dd 360 and... almyghty] me Lord BlOL¹WNJYVDdLa sitthe...you (361)] witnessiþ *in* þe gospel þere he seiþ he O 361 thyn] þe NJV gospel] Gost J

nought the deeth of synful man, but that he bee turnyd from synne and lyue, haue mercy of me synful wrecche, after thi woord. And as you blamedest Symount, for he hadde indignacioun yat Marie Magdeleyne for hire synnes schulde neighe the, haue mercy of me moost synful. And Lord Ihesu, as you clepedist 3achee and Poul and oothere diuerse from here synnes, dispise nought me yat come to the wilfulliche wyth-/-owten f. 97r suche clepynge. And though I haue longe leyn in my synne, thenk Lord on the greete mercy þat you haddest and schewedest to mankynde, that he schulde not schame ne dispeire of thi mercy, alle though he hadde longe leyn in synne, whan you haddest no desdayn to reere La3ar, alle though he hadde leyn in his graue foure dayes stynkynge.

And herfore, I truste to þe Lord, for

362 the] *om*. Dd synful] the synffull L^1N, a synful BlWYVDd that] *om*. V 363 bee turnyd] turne Y 364 of] on $BlOL^1WYV$ wrecche] *om*. $BlOL^1WNJYVDdLa$ and] *om*. O 366 Magdeleyne] *om*. $BlOL^1WYVDdLa$ 367 of] on $BlOL^1NJYVDd$ 368 Lord Ihesu] *om*. $BlOL^1WNJYVDdLa$ 369 clepedist] *corr*. La and^2] *and* Matheu *and* O 370 diuerse] diuerse men V from] for L^1 here] hed BlOWN 371 the wil-fulliche] þi wylle fully V 372 longe leyn(373)] *rev*. $BlOL^1NJYDdLa$ 373 my] x / my N, *om*. O Lord] *om*. $BlOL^1WNJYVDdLa$ the] thy L^1V 374 þat] *om*. Bl and schewedest] *om*. J schewedest] sholdest Dd 376 dispeire] disespeire U, dispise Dd alle though] *rev*. JYDd alle] *om*. $BlOL^1WNV$ 377 longe leyn] *rev*. OW synne] synnes O 378 desdayn] dedaign La, disceyn O, dispite L^1 reere] reise BlOW, arayse L^1 La3ar] þe La3ar $BlOL^1W$ alle though] *rev*. BlL^1JYDd alle] *om*. OWN 379 in... graue] *after* dayes $BlOL^1$, *after* stynkynge V 380 herfore] þerfore WJ Lord] *om*. $BlOL^1WNJYVDdLa$

you art Fadir almyghty in whos mercy I truste, to whos refuyt I fle, with greet desire I come to þe hyenge. Lord dispise me not, thowgh I be wrecched and sy*n*ful, for I truste fulliche to thyn help in alle my greete neede. For I knowleche yat I may not helpe myself, ne aʒeynbugge me with my dedys; but stedefastliche I truste in thi passiou*n*, that it suffiseth to make ful asseth to þe Fadir of heuene for my synnes.

Therfore Lord, brynge me out of care and haue mercy on me. I trust not to my dedys, but I despise to trusten in hem; fullyche trustynge to thi greete mercy, dispisynge my wikkide dedys. For you art my God in whom, I trowe stedefastlyche, is alle myght and mercy and good wyl, wherethourgh I hoope to be sauyd. And therfore to the, yat art ful of mercy, I knowleche my synne

381 Fadir almyghty] *rev.* Y in] *and* J 383 hyenge] heigh iugge Dd, *om.* O me not(384)] *rev.* BlL¹WNJYVDdLa 384 wrecched...synful] synful *and* wrecched La wrecched] a wrecche Y synful] feble synful J 385 fulliche] *om.* BlOL¹WNJYVDdLa to] *in* OL¹ thyn] þe V 386 yat] *om.* NJYVDdLa 387 ne ...dedys(388)] *om.* L¹ ne] neiþer O my] þi O 388 dedys] dede V but...ende(410)] *om.* O I truste] *after* passioun V in] vnto L¹ 389 make ...asseth(390)] fulle .A. L¹ ful asseth(390)] a full seeth Y, a ful asseth La 390 asseth] amendis V synnes] synne BlL¹W 391 therfore] forþi BlL¹ 392 on] of WNJDdLa, ouer L¹ I] for I La to] on L¹ 393 in] on L¹ 394 fullyche] but fully Y to] ouer L¹, in WDd thi] the Dd greete] *om.* Y 396 is] in whom is L¹WY alle...mercy(397)] almyʒty *and* mercyful J 397 and] *om.* L¹ mercy] alle mercy La good wyl] goodnes BlL¹W wherethourgh] what thurgh Dd 399 knowleche] knoweleche to þe J synne...my(401)] *om.* V

þe whiche I haue doon thourgh myn owene defaute. I knowleche my gilt, haue mercy of me; for I trowe treweliche yat you denyest thy mercy to noone yat treweliche trusten therto. And in trust therof, I forsake, wyth alle myn herte, this lyf to lyue with the.

In thyne hondis, Lord alle myghty and mercyful, I bitake my soule. For fro the bygynnynge of this worlde, hath thi mercy be reedy to synful men, and so I truste it schal be to me in myn ende. Therfore God, my Lorde ful of trewth, take my sowle, for it is thyn; doo therto as the lyketh. For I woot wel of thy goodnesse, it schalle fare bettere than it hath disseruyd. Receyue it and help it, for in thyne mercyful hondys I putte it, Amen.

400 I] *om.* Bl thourgh] for L^1; iṅ Bl 401 defaute] synne *canc.*, defawte La my gilt] me gilty N haue] gode Lord haue Y of] on BlL¹WNYV 402 treweliche] *corr.* Dd, trustely Y 403 thy] nat thy Y noone] no man Y 404 in...therof] þerfore in tryst V trust therof] Crist therfore Dd 405 herte] myȝt in myn herte V lyf] lyf *and* J, liff heere *and* Y 407 in] into Y, and in Dd 408 for] *om.* Y the] *om.* V 409 bygynnynge] bygynnnnge, 3rd *-n- altered to -y-* U this] the L^1 thi] *om.* J 410 so] *om.* J it] þat it BlL¹ 411 me in] *om.* J ende] laaste ende Y therfore] and þerfore V, for þi BlO 412 my] *twice* W 413 doo] to do La therto] therwith YV as... lyketh] what þou wilt V the] thou L^1 414 I woot] *after* wel BlOL¹WLa wel] *om.* VDd thy] *om.* J fare bettere(415)] *rev.* V, fare <...> better Y fare] fare þe J 415 bettere] wel better BlW than] that L^1 417 amen] amen amen Dd, amen amen amen W, explicit visitacio infirmo*rum* JYLa, explicit visitacio infirmo*rum et cetera* N

NOTES

For general observations on the nature of this text, see Kinpoitner (1974), lxxxvi-xcii, and his notes to the version which he edited, 17-18.

11-40 The metaphor of the stone as the soul in this context originates from the second chapter of the De Visitatione Infirmorum (PL 40:1148). But the expansion of it in the English translation seems to have been influenced by Hugh of St Victor. The three stages or actions of preparation of the stone: polishing, working and stroking are similar to the three stages in chap. 25 of Book III of Hugh's De Claustro Animae: 'In poliendis enim lapidibus tria sunt assignanda, scilicet oleum, lapis et manus. Infunditur enim desuper oleum, lapis durior in superficie volvitur, manus vero lapidem premit, et premendo trahit. Benignitas itaque misericordiae quasi oleum asperitatem lapidum lenit; assiduitas poenitentiae velut lapis peccatorum scrupulos terit; puritas vero conscientiae quasi manus ad ultimum peccati sordes tergit'(PL 176:1127). The polished stone is also discussed in the third chapter of Book III in the De Claustro Animae (PL 176:1089-1090). I am grateful to Christiania Whitehead for this reference. See also I CORINTHIANS 3:10-17.

26 On the use of the terms *trewe preestes* here, and *trewe cristene man* at line 266, and its Lollard implications, see A. Hudson 'A Lollard Sect Vocabulary?' (1981) as reprinted in A. Hudson Lollards and Their Books (London, 1985), 166-7. Perhaps this is an orthodox text which 'must be available to provide a control against which the asserted Lollard terminology can be checked'(Hudson (1981), 174). These terms are not found in the other version of the text, but the Latin uses 'sacerdotis' and 'Christianorum.' See also the discussion in Scase (1989), 142, 157 and 217 n.141.

30 *asoylid*: on the Lollard implications and use of *assoile* see Hudson (1993), 129 note for lines 1881-3.

32 *sorwþng*: evidence of þ/y confusion in U, see the Introduction, i.53-6.

56-67 MATTHEW 25:13, 'Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem, neque horam.'
MARK 13:33-7, 'Videte, vigilate, et orate: nescitis enim quando tempus sit. Sicut homo qui peregre profectus reliquit domum suam, et dedit servis suis potestatem cuiusque operis, et ianitori praecepit ut vigilet. Vigilate ergo (nescitis enim quando dominus domus veniat: sero, an media nocte, an galli cantu, an mane), ne, cum venerit repente, inveniat vos dormientes. Quod autem vobis dico, omnibus dico: Vigilate.'

75-9 The translator has confused the narrative of the ten lepers healed by Christ in LUKE 17:11-4 with the healing of the sick man on Sunday in JOHN 5:14 from which the quotation comes. Td is the only manuscript which has corrected this error.
LUKE 17:11-4, 'Et factum est, dum iret in Ierusalem, transibat per mediam Samariam et Galilaeam. Et cum ingrederetur quoddam castellum, occurrerunt ei decem viri leprosi, qui steterunt a longe: et levaverunt vocem, dicentes: Iesu praeceptor, miserere nostri. Quos ut vidit, dixit: Ite, ostendite vos sacerdotibus. Et factum est, dum irent, mundati sunt.'
JOHN 5:14, 'Postea invenit eum Iesus in templo, et dixit illi: Ecce sanus factus es; iam noli peccare, ne deterius tibi aliquid contingat.'

79-80 ROMANS 8:10, 'Si autem Christus in vobis est, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus vero vivit propter iustificationem.'

81-8 This mandate originates from the 22nd chapter of Pope Innocent III's Statutes from the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215: '...decreto praesenti statuimus, et districte praecipimus medicis corporum, ut cum eos ad infirmos vocari contigerit, ipsos ante omnia moneant et inducant, quod medicos advocent animarum: ut postquam infirmis fuerit de spiritali salute provisum, ad corporalis medicinae remedium salubrius procedatur, cum causa cessante cesset effectus. Hoc quidem inter alia huic causam dedit edicto, quod quidam in aegritudinis lecto jacentes, cum eis a medicis suadetur ut de animarum salute disponant, in desperationis articulum incidunt, unde facilius mortis periculum incurrunt.' C. Hefele, Histoire des Conciles (Paris, 1913), V.ii.1351-2. See also

Kinpoitner (1974), 17-8, note for lines 3.9-4.2, and Sr M.C. O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature 156, New York, 1942), 38-9.

110-13 PROVERBS 3:11-2, 'Disciplinam Domini, fili mi, ne abiicias, nec deficias cum ab eo corriperis: Quem enim diligit Dominus corripit, et quasi pater in filio complacet sibi.'
HEBREWS 12:5-6, 'et obliti estis consolationis, quae vobis tanquam filiis loquitur, dicens: Fili mi, noli negligere disciplinam Domini: neque fatigeris dum ab eo argueris. Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat: flagellat autem omnem filium, quem recipit.'

124 REVELATIONS 3:19, 'Ego quos amo, arguo, et castigo. Aemulare ergo, et poenitentiam age.'

136-8 PSALMS 144:9, 'Suavis Dominus universis; et miserationis eius super omnia opera eius.'

151-2 PSALMS 18:10, 'Timor Domini sanctus, permanens in saeculum saeculi; iudicia Domini vera, iustificata in semetipsa.'

204-5 REVELATIONS 14:13, 'Et audivi vocem de caelo, dicentem mihi: Scribe: Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur. Amodo iam dicit Spiritus, ut requiescant a laboribus suis: opera enim illorum sequuntur illos.' See also 'The Boke of the Craft of Dying' in Horstman (1896), ii.407/23-4.

218-19 PSALM 115:11, 'Ego dixi in excessu meo: omnis homo mendax.'
ROMANS 3:4, 'Est autem Deus verax: omnis autem homo mendax....'

224-6 PROVERBS 24:16, 'Septies enim cadet iustus, et resurget: impii autem corruent in malum.'

226-8 Quotation is wrongly attributed to St Paul. It is actually from Cato's Distichs, Book I, distich 5: 'Si vitam inspicias hominum, si denique mores, cum culpant alios: nemo sine crimine vivit' (Disticha Catonis, ed. M. Boas (Amsterdam, 1952), 38); See also Kinpoitner (1974), xc n.41, 18 note for line 10.6.

228-31 PHILIPPIANS 1:23, 'Coarctor autem e duobus: desiderium habens dissolvi, et esse cum Christo, multo magis melius.'

252-6 II SAMUEL 12:16-23, the Latin text specifically refers to this episode of the death of David's son.

259-68 De Visitatione Infirmorum: 'O mors desiderabilis! O mors omnium malorum praesentium finis! O mors laboris clausula, quietis principium! Quis excogitare queat tuarum utilitates beatitudinum? Nam male mori, Christianorum non est: bene autem mori, cum Christo vivere est' (PL 40:1152).

272-310 The order of questions given follows, at first that of St Anselm's Admonitio Morienti. The first four questions correspond with those in Anselm, and the concluding ones from the Articles of the Faith appear to have originated with the translator (Kinpoitner (1974), xci). The same questions are also found in 'The Boke of the Craft of Dying' (Horstman (1896), ii. 412/46-413/7); and questions 6, 8, 9 and 10 appear in British Library Add. 30506, ff. 50^{v}-51^{v}, along with other questions based on the Creed as printed in Littlehales (1903), 6-8.

322-4 This image is not found in Anselm's Admonitio Moriendi, though this portion of the text is translated from it; and it is not found in the Group V version either.

330-6 This portion is not in the Latin, and only partly in the other English version and also in BL Add. 30506, f. 52^{r} (see Littlehales (1903), 9). Perhaps the translator was influenced by the Lollard objections to man-made images? See M. Aston, England's Iconoclasts, Vol. I: Laws Against Images, (Oxford, 1988), passim, and Hudson (1988), passim.

360-3 EZECHIEL 33:11, '...nolo mortem impii, sed ut convertatur impius a via sua, et vivat....' See 'The Boke of the Craft of Dying' in Horstman (1896), ii.411/52-412/3. It is also found in the 'Three Arrows', 43-7.

364-8 This story is narrated in MATTHEW 26:6-13, MARK 14:3-9 and JOHN 12:1-11.

368-70 The story of Zacchaeus is given in LUKE 19:1-10, and the story of Paul is in ACTS 9:1-9.

377-9 The raising of Lazarus is narrated in JOHN 12:38-44.

IV

AN EXPOSITION ON THE DILIGES DOMINUM DEUM TUUM

INTRODUCTION

The last text found in the first booklet is a brief exposition on the two New Testament commandments taken from the gospel of Luke, the 'Diliges Dominum Deum Tuum'.[1] There are four other known copies of this scriptural exposition found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 246 (Do) and Laud Misc. 210 (La), London, British Library, Harley 2385 (Hl) and Westminster School 3 (W).

Based on the following isolative variants none of these manuscripts is the source of another, though it will be shown here that Hl and W may have directly descended from La. In the preceeding chapters on 'The Ten Commandments' and 'The Visitation of the Sick', it has not been possible to establish a textual relationship between La and W because of the fragmentary nature of these two texts as they appear in La, however, the evidence given here for the text of the 'Diliges' may provide more concrete proof to indicate a relationship between these two manuscripts.[2] This subgroup of LaHlW is part of a textual tradition which includes Do, but probably not

[1] This text has been printed in Horstman (1896), ii.454-5, though he makes no note of any other copies.

[2] For the 'Ten Commandments', see ii.1-22.; for the 'Visitation', see ii.121-32; and for the discussion of the dissemination of the 'Diliges', see the Introduction, i.56-79.

U. The variations between all the copies of the text are, on the whole, few and insignificant, and one may deduce that they are very closely related to each other.

ISOLATIVE ERROR

The manuscripts will be described in the following order: UDoLaHlW.

U: U has no apparent errors, but its readings are sometimes awkward and differ from the other copies of the text.

Do: 30 om., al. *thi*; 96 *of*, al. *by*; 100 *seldome*, al. *soudon*. Do has very few errors, and the erasure of *and purgatorie* at line 82 was probably made by a later reader of the text.

La: 58 om., al. *thi*. La is a very good copy and has been thoroughly corrected to match a U-type text as at lines 38, 42, 43, 53-4 and 83-4.

Hl: 29 om., al. *alle*, lat. tota; 34 *as*, al. *al*; 45 *dyede*, al. *deth*; 56 om., al. *and*; 80 *of oune*, DoLaW *of þine owen*, U *ȝeuynge of thi*; 84 *by confort of the grete coumfort of þe*, al. *by confort of the*; 99 *of al*, al. *though*. Hl has many errors and alterations, but some of the scribe's changes have been made in an attempt to offer a better reading, either through adding or omitting a conjunction, article or pronoun. See line 24 where Hl has added *þy* to *wit* and line 27 where Hl has omitted *wel*.[3] It should also be noted that on the last page of the text in Hl, the original scribe has written *Wyclif* in the top margin.[4]

W: 4 om., al. *thi*^{2}; 17 om., al. *men*; 38 *whe*, al. *whanne*; 66 *on*, al. *vp*; 72 *a*, al. *as*; 100 *breþer*, al. *bretheryn*. W has a few careless errors, but the scribe, like that of Hl, has also tried to edit his text by adding or omitting conjunctions, prepositions, articles to render a better version of the text. See line 9 where W has added *þe* to *prophetis* and line 63

[3] See also the variants for lines 28, 31, 50, 59 and 63.

[4] See the discussion of this text and its affiliation with Lollard manuscripts in the Introduction, i.124, and in A. Hudson 'Contributions to a History of Wycliffite Writings' (1973) as reprinted in A. Hudson Lollards and Their Books (London, 1985), 10 n.45.

where W has omitted *and*.[5]

It is obvious from the isolative errors above that none of these manuscripts is the source of another, though it may be argued that La is the source for Hl and W, if not directly, perhaps only a generation apart (see below). The only error in La at line 58 could have been corrected easily by a conscientious scribe; and its five other unique readings are of little importance, consisting of the addition of *and* (7,63), the omission of *to* (65), the reversal of *body and soule* (71), and the added *an ende herof* (104).

GROUP ERROR

In a discussion of group error, the version of the text in U remains distinct from that of the group DoLaHlW. U may possibly be an earlier copy of the original text, and this is suggested by the following two readings in U which appear to be more difficult:

68 U *louest you God wel of*, al. *þou louest wel God of al*.
80 U *ȝeuynge of thi*, al. *of þine owen*.

DoLaHlW also share readings against those given in U at lines 25, 26, 64, 90 and 92.

Do, possibly only a generation away from U, is also distinct from the much closer subgroup of LaHlW. Do shares no errors with LaHlW, but shares several readings with U against those given by LaHlW at lines 32, 42, 66, 93, 100-1 and 102. Because two of the

[5] See also variants for lines 23, 32, 55, 60, 61, 72, 77, 89, 91 and 103.

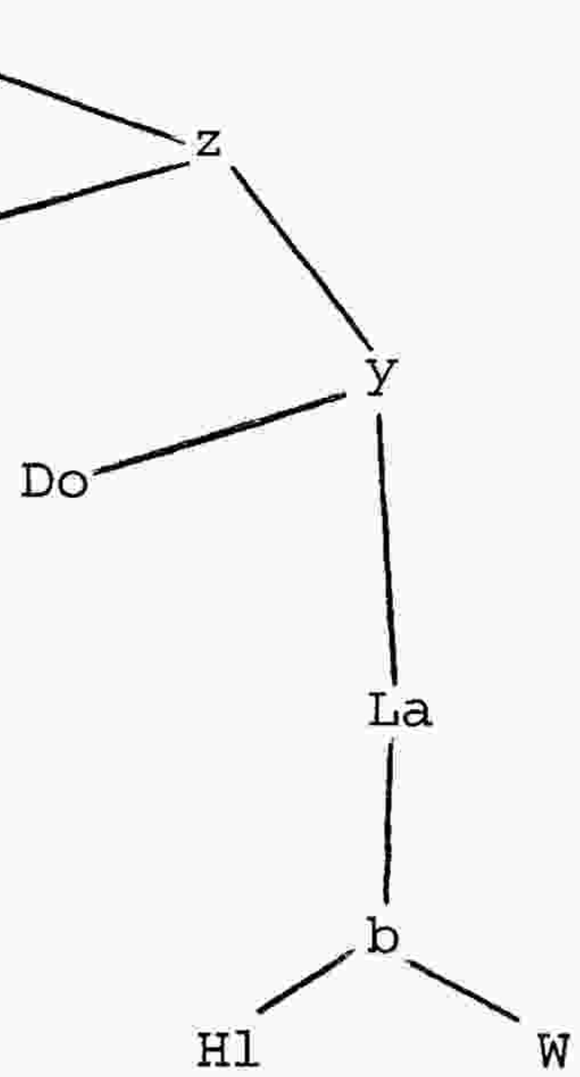
these (lines 66 and 100-1) are portions of the text which LaHlW have omitted, it is possible to suggest that Do and U are earlier copies of the text. Likewise, the variant readings shared between U and Do at lines 42 and 93, but not found in LaHlW, may have been due to scribal error or an alteration made in an intermediary copy of the text.

In the much closer subgrouping of LaHlW, La and Hl seem particularly related because of their shared errors at line 49 of *hellis* for *helle* and line 54 of *þe* for *þi*, and the shared omission of *in* at line 23. The two also share the correct translation of *Dominum Deum tuum* at line 4 which seems to have caused some confusion for the other scribes. While Do and U share *thi Lord thi God*, at some point this was corrected to *the Lord thi God* as found in La and Hl. The scribe of W seems to have been confused and omitted the *þi* altogether to make it *the Lord God*.

La and W share no errors, though Hl and W share the omission at line 65 of *and to do good*. Though this is the only common error between Hl and W, it bears more weight than the lesser errors discussed above between La and Hl. Thus, it appears that Hl and W may have descended from La through an intermediary copy which contained this omission.[6] The following

[6] There is one instance which may provide evidence in Hl of the conflation of a UDo-type text and a LaW-type text. At line 82, UDo have *and* while LaW read *in*. Hl originally had the *and* reading, but then inserted *in* above the line. While it may seem that the exemplar for Hl contained the *and* of a UDo-type text and was then corrected against an LaW-type text, this reading could

stemma should help to illustrate these relationships:



easily have been due to independent scribal error and correction and is quite minor in comparison with the evidence discussed above.

AN EXPOSITION ON THE DILIGES DOMINUM DEUM TUUM

Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, f. 97r
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, and of al thi strengthes or myghtes, and thyn neighebor as thiself. In thise two comaundement3 hangeth alle the lawe and prophetis.

Thanne you louest God of al thyn herte, that is to seye of al thyn vn-/-dirstondyng, f. 97v whanne you schapist alle thyn vndirstondyng pryncipalliche to knowe the endeles myght and rightwysnesse, the endeles wysdom and charite *and* mercy of thi God. Howe God is redy *and* wylly *and* kunnynge to venge synne, and punyssche wykkide men yat wylle not leue here synne; and how God is mercyful and kunnyng *and* myghty to for3eue synnes to hem yat han verray repentaunce of there wykkide synnes. And for this vndirstondyng of thi

UDoLaHlW

1 diliges...decimo(3)] Luc' x° Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo *et cetera* Do tuo...decimo (3)] *et cetera* La 2 ex...decimo(3)] *et cetera* W, *om*. Hl 4 thi] þe LaHl thi²] *om*. W 7 in] *and in* La two] tweyne Do 8 hangeth] hankiþ Do 9 prophetis] þe prophetis W 17 men] *om*. W

God, *yo*u most fle and destruye synne bothe in the *and* in other men, vp thi power and wit, and kepe and teche the comaundement*ȝ* of God, and mayntene rightfulnesse and good lyuynge, verray pees *and* charite. And þan *yo*u louest wel God of alle thyn herte, *yat* is of al thyne vndirstondyng.

Also, *yo*u louest God of alle thi lyf whanne *yo*u schapest alle thi lyf, bothe in *ȝ*outhe and in age, and in *pro*sper*i*te and aduersite, to worschip of God in clennesse and holynesse; herieng and thankyng thi God for al his grace and goodnesse and mercy, and for alle diseses and tribulacions *yat* he sendeth to þe in this lyf.

Also, *yo*u louest God of alle thi mynde whanne thou schapest al thi mynde to thenke on þe goodnesse of God; how he maade alle thynges of nou*ȝ*t, not for his owne neede ne auantage, but for his owne goodnesse and p*ro*fit of his trewe se*r*uant*ȝ* as been goode angelis and goode men. And to haue mynde on C*ri*stes wylful and peynful passio*u*n and

23 in²] *om.* LaHl vp] vpon al W 24 wit] þy wit Hl 25 rightfulnesse] ri*ȝ*tewisnes DoLaHlW 26 verray] and very DoLaHlW 27 wel] *om.* Hl 28 is] is to seye Hl al] *om.* W 29 alle] *om.* Hl 30 thi] *om.* Do 31 in] *om.* Hl 32 to] to þe LaHlW God] þi God W 34 al] as Hl and] *om.* W 38 whanne] whe W al] of al, of *canc.* Do to] whan to, whan *canc.* La 40 thynges] þinge W 42 his] *corr.* La se*r*uant*ȝ*] creatures LaHlW 43 to haue] haue to, *marked for rev.* La on] of Hl

deth, not for his owne synne, but for oure greete synnes. And to haue mynde on þe dredful day of doome, and on the endeles blisse in heuene to goode men, and on the endeles stronge peynes in helle to cursede men that wol neuere amende wel ther foule lyf.

Also, you louest God of al thi strengthes or myghtes whanne you spendist alle þi myghtes, bothe of soule and body, in seruise of God; and algates that thi wille be sugget to resoun, and in alle thynges y-confourmed to the wylle of God. And yat you waaste nouȝt the strengthe of thi body in vanytees and ydelnesse and synne, but kepe it in good mesure to do goode dedis to worschip of God and help of othere cristene men. And yat you spende wel thi fyue wyttes as sight, heryng, smellyng, tastyng and touchyng, and also spekyng. Also, to despise synne and to do good, and mayntene trouthe of Godis lawe, vp al thi power / and kun- f. 98r

45 deth] dyede Hl 46 mynde] *corr.* Do 49 in] of Do helle] hellis LaHl 50 neuere] not W wel...foule] þer Hl 52 also] and also W 53 whanne...myghtes(54)] *margin corr.* La 54 þi] þe LaHl 55 seruise] þe seruyse W 56 and] *om.* Hl 58 waaste] no waste, no *canc.* Hl thi] *om.* La 59 and²] of Hl but] and Hl 60 it] it wel W do] *corr.* Do 61 worschip] þe worschipe W 63 smellyng] *and* smellyng Hl tastyng] *and* tastyng La and] *om.* W 64 also] *om.* DoLaHlW despise] destroye W 65 and...good] *om.* HlW to] *om.* La 66 of...lawe] *om.* LaHlW vp] on W and] *om.* DoLaHl

nynge and greet desire of rightwisnesse; and thanne louest you God wel of thi strengthes.

Thou louest thi neighebor as thiself whan you willist hym good, bothe in body *and* soule, as you schuldest by charite. As ȝef thi neighebor be in goode lyf towarde God, be you glad and ioyful therof, and norissche hym, conforte hym and help hym therinne. And ȝef he be in synful lyf, haue greete compassion *and* sorwe therfore. And vp al thi ku*n*nynge *and* myȝt, bryng hym out therof by deuout preyer, by holy conseillyng and techyng, and by ensample ȝeuynge of thi good lyf, by dreede of greete peynes bothe in this world and purgatorie *and* in helle, and by confort of the greete mercy of God, and by confort of the endeles blisse of heuene: how soone he may gete that by Godes mercy and verray repentaunce *and* amendyng of his wykkide lyf. ȝef he be at welfare of body and p*r*osper*i*te of worldly goodis with trewe lyf kepyng Godis hestis, be glad therof and

68 thanne] *om.* Do louest...of] þou louest wel God of al DoLaHlW 71 willist] wilnest W body... soule(72)] soule *and* body La 72 soule] in soule W as[2]] a W 74 you] *om.* Do 75 conforte...help] *and* helpe hym *and* coum*f*ort W 77 vp] vpon W 79 by[2]] *and* W 80 ȝeuynge...thi] of þine owen DoLaW, of oune Hl 82 and purgatorie] *eras.* Do and] *and* \i*n*/ Hl, in LaW 83 of...confort(84)] *margin corr.* La 84 endeles...heuene] grete coum*f*ort of þe endeles of heuene blis of heue*n*, of heuene *canc.* Hl 89 be] be þou W

help hym therinne, and apeyre hym not for no maner good of this world. 3ef he be at malese of body or ful nedy of worldlys catel, help hym and socour hym as you woldest he hulpe þe 3ef you were in the same disese; and algates, as you schuldist wilne to be releuyd by Godis lawe of other myghty men. And not oonly loue thus thi neighebor at hoom yat is thi frend, but a straunge man and thyn enemy. 3e, though he be hethen or soudon, for alle ben bretheryn in kynde of o fadir *and* o modir, and so neighebors. *And* we ben i-holde by charite to brynge men to good lyf vp oure kunnyng and myght.

Explicit.

90 apeyre] peyre DoLaHlW 91 maner] na maner, na *canc.* Hl good...world] of þis worldis good W good] of gode Do 92 worldlys] worldely DoLaHlW 94 he...þe] be holpen þi silf LaHlW 95 wilne] wille W 96 by] of Do 99 though] of al Hl 100 soudon] seldome Do for] we for, we *canc.* Do ben] we be DoLaHl, we aren W bretheryn] breþer W of...modir(101)] *om.* LaHlW 102 to[2]] into LaHlW 103 vp] vpon HlW kunnyng...myght] power *and* my3t 3if we wil plese God W 104 explicit] an ende herof La, *om.* DoHlW

NOTES

1-3 LUKE 10:27, 'Ille respondens dixit: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis, ex et omni mente tua: et proximum tuum sicut teipsum.' See also MARK 12:29-31. Though the quotation is stated as taken from LUKE, the English translation seems to have borrowed lines 7-9 from the quotation as it appears in MATTHEW 22:37-40: 'Ait illi Iesus: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum, et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum. In his duobus mandatis universa lex pendet, et prophetae.' See also the first of the 'Seven Commandments', 4-6, and the 'Two Ways', 856-67.

37-51 Similar to first of the three ways to spend Sundays in the third commandment of the 'Ten Commandments': 'in mynde vpon þe holy day' (317-57).

39-43 See also the 'Two Ways', 876-80; and the 'Ten Commandments', 339-40.

43-6 See the later texts in U which deal more explicitly with Christ's passion, such as the 'Med. Alone', 76-98 and the 'Two Ways', 916-67.

46-51 See the later text on Domesday in U, the 'Three Arrows', ii.439-503.

V

A TREATISE ON THE TWO WAYS BY SIR JOHN CLANVOWE

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most noteworthy text contained in U is the treatise written by Sir John Clanvowe which is found in the second booklet, after the famous sermon of Thomas Wimbledon.[1] The copy of the text in U, commonly referred to as 'The Two Ways', is the only known complete copy, though a fragment of the last 120 lines is found in Simeon (S), immediately followed by the group of meditative texts which Simeon shares with U. As it has been seen in several of the other texts edited in this thesis, S and U are closely related, and the fact that these two manuscripts contain the only known copies of this particular text adds further to the argument of their sharing a common exemplar.

This text has been edited before by V. J. Scattergood, but numerous shortcomings in his edition merit the production of a new one such as that presented here in this thesis.[2] The printed edition has made this unusual text accessible, but Scattergood has taken several unnecessary editorial liberties with

[1] For a comparison of the two texts see Introduction, i.108-11.

[2] The text was first noted by Horstman ((1896), ii.455 n.1), who also mentioned the copy in Simeon. It was first edited by V. J. Scattergood, who claimed that U was the only known copy, in 'The Two Ways: An Unpublished Religious Treatise by Sir John Clanvowe', English Philological Studies 10 (1967), 33-56. E.P. Wilson drew attention to the fragment in Simeon the next year in 'A Supplementary Note to an Edition of Sir John Clanvowe's Treatise "The Two Ways"', English Philological Studies 11 (1968), 55-6. Both copies were finally edited by V.J. Scattergood in The Works of Sir John Clanvowe: The Boke of Cupide and The Two Ways (Cambridge, 1975).

it such as his substitution of 'þ' for 'y' in words like 'yat'.[3] While the edition of the text itself is plagued by errors, unnecessary emendations and poor punctuation, Scattergood's introduction to the text lacks depth and does not discuss the textual relationship between U and S.[4] His notes are far from sufficient, giving only the references to Scripture and to a few proverbs, but offering no comparisons with contemporary texts nor commentary on other possible sources. The glossary provides no line references or alternative meanings for words used in various contexts or the derivative forms of a single word which are found in the text. Thus, the following edition attempts to provide a more accurate reproduction of the text and more comprehensive notes. As the textual analysis here will necessarily be very brief, this introduction will be used to discuss the author, Sir John Clanvowe, and his enigmatic text.

[3] The scribe's use of 'y' for 'þ' is consistent throughout the text and of a linguistic importance which should not be overlooked by an editor. See the linguistic discussion in the Introduction, i.53-6.

[4] The following orthographic errors occur in Scattergood's edition (lines given are from his edition): l. 94, *the* should be *þe*, and *þe* should be *the* at l. 522; l. 498, *myghte* should be *myȝte*; l. 643, *firsre* should be *firste* and *appered* should be *apropred*; l. 282 *strenge* should be *stronge*; and l. 786, *hum* should be *hym*; in the variants for S, l. 801, *euurichone* should be *euerichone*, and l. 853, *ouur* should be *ouer*. See the erroneous emendation at l. 739 of *herberewe* to *heberewe*, and the unnecessary ones at l.762 of *iuyse* to *iustyse* (see note to the text for line 939) and at l.620 of *ȝouen* to *ȝeuen*. For punctuation see l.738 where *and þirst boo þe weet and drie* should read *and þirst, boo þe weet and drie*. See also N.F. Blake's review of this edition in N&Q 221 ns 23 (March 1976), 116-7.

Because the fragment in S is so brief, it is difficult to determine if one may have been copied from the other. The only apparent errors in U are:

147 wyde] wyte
268 tendrenesse] tendre
472 he] *twice*
603 swyche] swy

The only error which occurs in U after line 950, the omission of *he* at line 1047, could have been easily corrected by a scribe. The only error in S seems to be the omission at line 1017 of *ȝef*. This error, and the other minor omissions found at lines 1002, 1041, 1049, 1067, 1068 and 1070, could have been easily corrected by any competent scribe, though either readings in S or U are possible.

The variants found in S offer some readings which are shorter than those in U, as at line 1058 where U's *deeth of helle peyne* has been shortened to *pyne of helle*, and at line 1053 where *neiȝebour as hemself* in U has been shortened to *neihȝebores* in S. But some of the variant readings in S are longer and perhaps better than those in U, such as line 1050 where S has added *ouer alle þing*. Several of the other variant readings in S are merely synonymous substitutions as at lines 988, 1020 and 1068. Thus, it is difficult to say with any confidence if either text was copied from the other, and it is most reasonable to suggest that they shared a common exemplar.

Much has already been said about Sir John Clanvowe, the man and his career, and much has also been said about the treatise he wrote sometime before 1391, the year of his death.[5] Looking through the past studies of Sir John Clanvowe and the text of 'The Two Ways', there seem to be a series of questions which repeatedly occur and which have caused the greatest amount of speculation amongst historians and literary critics. These issues of debate are primarily: Did Sir John Clanvowe sympathise with the Lollard movement? How does this devout treatise fit within the context of Clanvowe's military and diplomatic career? Is the text he wrote orthodox or heterodox? How should this text be categorised, as a sermon or a treatise? The various suggested answers to these questions show that Clanvowe's life and his text are open to a wide variety of interpretations.

Though it may seem that there is nothing left to say about this man and his elusive text, a further analysis should not be completely dismissed.[6] The

[5] The Westminster Chronicle: 1381-1394, eds. and trans. L.C. Hector and B.F. Harvey (Oxford Medieval texts, Oxford, 1982), 480: 'Item xvij. die Octobris dominus Johannes Clanvowe miles egregius in quodam vico juxta Constantinopolim in Grecia diem clausit extremum....' This report is confirmed by the incipit to the text which states: 'þe laste viage yat he maade ouer the greete see in whiche he dyede'. For further discussion see the note to the text for lines 1-4.

[6] As A. Hudson has said 'the text is of an insipidity that hardly encourages others to think that further exploration in this field would be a fruitful enterprise' (Hudson (1988), 7), and 'Much time and ink has been spent in fruitless speculation on the authorship of Lollard texts, and it is ironic that the one early tract whose author is identifiable and of significant

interpretation I will give here is by no means objective, but will be shaped by a general overview of the conclusions from most of the previous research, by my own investigation of the sources and by a comparison with heterodox and orthodox contemporary Middle English religious prose.

There is no need here to repeat the detailed biography of Clanvowe which has already been provided by W. T. Waugh, K. B. McFarlane, C. Kightly and summarised by V. J. Scattergood in his edition, though a brief chronological summary providing the basic facts of his life is essential.[7] He was probably born in 1341, the son of John Clanvowe and grandson of Philip Clanvowe of Herefordshire.[8] His early career in the 1360s and 1370s was predominantly military service in France under various illustrious leaders such as Sir John Chandos, Sir Robert Knollys and John of Gaunt. He served Sir Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northamptonshire, as a knight

status, *The Two Ways* by Sir John Clanvowe, should be of virtually no interest either in its ideas or its contemporary reference' (Hudson (1978), 54). In light of the question of whether the text is heretical this may be true, but not if it were considered an orthodox text.

[7] W.T. Waugh, 'The Lollard Knights', Scottish Historical Review 11 (1914), 75-7; K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), 139-232; C. Kightly, 'The Early Lollards: A Survey of Popular Lollard Activity in England, 1382-1428' (unpubd. Ph.D. thesis, York, 1975), 186-193; Scattergood (1975), 25-7. Almost all of the other works cited in this chapter have relied upon McFarlane's research.

[8] Documentation for this summary is provided by McFarlane ((1972), 160-3, 165-6, 171-2, 177-85, 197-206, 230-2 (Appendix B)), and more briefly in Scattergood ((1975), 25-7) and Waugh ((1914), 75-7, 80). On the etymology of the family name 'Clanvowe', see N. Jacobs, 'Clanvowe', N&Q 223 ns 25 (August 1978), 292-5.

bachelor for an unknown period until the Earl's death in 1373. Afterwards, he served Edward III, and after Edward's death in 1377, continued in the service of Richard II.

Throughout the 1380s, Clanvowe served his King as a Knight of the Chamber, a peace commissioner in Wales and Scotland, and a diplomat in France. There is no record of Clanvowe ever having been married, and the lands he held in Herefordshire and Radnorshire were those inherited from his family. His loyal service to Richard II was rewarded with various annuities, the custody and stewardship of the lordship of Haverford Castle, Wales, for life, and the keepership of the forests of Snowdon and Merioneth, both in Wales. In 1390, Clanvowe embarked on Louis of Bourbon's Crusade to Tunis, and he was abroad again, perhaps on pilgrimage, in 1391 when he died in a small village near Constantinople on October 17th.[9]

The first question to be considered is whether or not Sir John Clanvowe was a supporter of the Lollard heresy. In the thorough overview of Clanvowe's military career, Waugh decided that the inclusion of his name in Walsingham's Historia Anglicana and the Chronicon Angliae should be taken with a grain of salt.[10] McFarlane revealed many flaws in Waugh's

[9] See the note to the text for lines 1-4.

[10] Waugh (1914), 87-8. Chronicon Angliae, ed. E.M. Thompson (RS 1874), 377; Historia Anglicana, ed. H.T. Riley (RS 1864), ii.159: "Erant autem milites qui hanc sectam coluerunt quam maxime et

interpretation of the documents and sources, and offers a much more accurate picture of the life of Clanvowe.[11] But McFarlane's analysis is equally problematic, particularly his complex intermingling of the several lives he is discussing. Indeed, it becomes quite difficult to disentangle the careers and evidence for the Lollard Knights he investigates. Once disentangled, some of the evidence for the individual knights, in particular that for Sir John Clanvowe, cannot stand alone. When Clanvowe has been dealt with on an individual basis, firm evidence for his supposed Lollard sympathy cannot be found, and historians have become reliant upon his association with the other Lollard Knights and his text of 'The Two Ways' to prove his guilt.[12]

sustentaverunt, Willelmus Nevile, Lodowicus Clifford, Johannes Clanvowe, Ricardus Stiry, Thomas Latymer, et, inter caeteros major fatuus, Johannes Mountagu; qui in tantam lapsus est vesaniam, ut cunctas imagines...."

[11] McFarlane ((1972), 144-7) introduces his subject by showing how Waugh misinterpreted the terms 'retainer' and 'use', explaining that the knights were not dependent upon their lord's generosity nor necessarily within the permanent retinue of those whom they occasionally fought under. One document, dated 18 May 1385, not mentioned by either Waugh or McFarlane is found in the CPR 1381-5 569: a Master Simon Sloley, parson of Quynton, Gloucestershire is sent to Wales on the King's business under the 'protection' of the king's knight, 'John Clanvou'. The only Sloleys I have found mentioned in Emden (Cambridge 533) are either too early (Richard de Slolea OFM, 1318) or too late (John Sloley OESA, 1463). Master Simon seems to have still been in Quinton in 1391 as rector and was present at a trial of adultery on 16 February 1391, recorded in Bishop Wakefield's register, see A Calender of the Register of Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester: 1375-95, ed. W.P. Marett (WHS ns 7, 1972), 92 (doc. 578).

[12] Kightly does exactly this in his thesis ((1975), 187-92). Waugh considered the knights individually, and this perhaps explains his conservative conclusions about each of the knights.

Thus it seems that the historical figure of Sir John Clanvowe has suffered through years of 'guilt by association' with the Lollard Knights. Though there is substantial evidence for the Lollardy of Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir William Nevill, and Sir Lewis Clifford, there is nothing in the records to condemn Sir John Clanvowe.[13] This 'guilt by association' started with the chronicle of Walsingham, where he is mentioned in connection with the other knights. But while there are numerous instances given by Walsingham for the dubious behaviour of the other knights, Clanvowe is never mentioned again.[14] He is never mentioned in Henry Knighton's list of Lollard Knights or anywhere else in Knighton's Chronicon. The Westminster Chronicle speaks only of Clanvowe's participation on various diplomatic missions to France and finally of his and Nevill's death in which the chronicler states: 'Erant isti milites inter Anglicos famosi viri nobiles et strenui ac eciam de genere claro producti.'[15]

[13] This evidence includes the accusation against Latimer for his possession of heretical books (McFarlane (1972), 193-4), Nevill's protection of Nicholas Hereford at Nottingham Castle (McFarlane (1972), 198-9), Clifford's will overseen by Sir John Oldcastle and Richard Colefax in 1404 (McFarlane (1972), 212-3), and the account of Clifford's recantation in Walsingham's Historia Anglicana ii.253.

[14] McFarlane says that the reason why Clanvowe is not mentioned in the list of knights who presented the Lollard petition to Parliament was because he had since died ((1972), 149). For additional incidents involving the other Lollard Knights, see Chronicon Angliae: Stury, 87, 89, 105; and Historia Anglicana: Cheyne, ii.266; Clifford, i.356, ii.216, 253; Montagu, ii.159-60, 216; Stury, ii.216, 217.

[15] H. Knighton, Chronicon Henrici Knighton, ed. J.R. Lumby (RS 1895), ii.181: 'Erant etiam milites dominus Thomas Latymer, dominus Johannes Trussell, dominus Lodowycus Clyfforde, dominus Johannes Pecche, dominus Ricardus Story, dominus Reginaldus de

While Walsingham's account should not be completely rejected, it is sensible to suggest, as Waugh has done, that if these knights had some interest in the disendowment of the church, they would not have been regarded in a favourable light by a monastic chronicler. The knights may have been singled out and accused of supporting a heresy, which called for the surrendering of the church's landed wealth, more for political reasons.[16] It should be remembered, however, that the view that the church in later fourteenth-century England held excessive wealth, some of which should be restored to secular ownership, was not peculiar to Wyclif and his followers.[17]

Though the Lollard Knights were probably from time to time in regular contact with each other, the only evidence for a truly personal relationship between any of these knights is the story from The Westminster Chronicle of Nevill's self-starvation and

Hylton, cum ducibus et comitibus.' See also the The Westminster Chronicle, 480. For other mentions of Clanvowe in the The Westminster Chronicle, see 70, 161 n.4, 374, 398, 432. The Westminster chronicler never mentions any of the knights with regard to their Lollardy, though it might have been politically expedient for him not to do so.

[16] Waugh (1914), 89-92. If we take M. Wilks' point of view that supporters of Wyclif could be termed 'royalists' and that 'Lollard' was 'a term of abuse intended to be deliberately misleading' that could be applied to the royalists, this might make sense, especially considering that these men were close supporters of Richard II. See M. Wilks, 'Royal Priesthood: the origins of Lollardy', The Church in a Changing Society: Conflict--Reconciliation or Adjustment? CIHEC Conference in Uppsala, 1977 (Publications of the Swedish Society of Church History ns 30, Uppsala, 1978), 68.

[17] Hudson (1988), 337-8.

eventual death from grief after the death of Clanvowe, and the wills of Latimer, Clifford and Cheyne.[18] It should not seem surprising when considering their individual careers that the names of the Lollard Knights frequently appear together in various government and other documents.[19] The religious beliefs of other men, such as Sir William Beauchamp and Sir Philip de la Vache, whose names appear in association with the knights have also been called into question.[20] But what of the other men, like Sir Simon Burley or Sir Thomas Berkeley, whose names also appear in these documents or had other close associations with them?[21] If they were in frequent professional contact with the Lollard Knights, did they share the same beliefs? Probably not, but it

[18] The Westminster Chronicle: 'quam ob causam dominus Willelmus Nevyle ejus comes in itinere, quem non minus <quam> se ipsum diligebat, inconsolabiliter dolens numquam postea sumpsit cibum, unde transactis duobus diebus sequentibus in eodem vico lamentabiliter expiravit' (480). The wills are discussed in McFarlane (1972), 207-20.

[19] Though Waugh claims in a footnote: 'I have not met with a case where either Latimer or Montagu is associated with Clanvowe or Neville; but they had so many common friends that their acquaintanceship is certain' ((1914), 88 n.1).

[20] J. Catto 'Sir William Beauchamp: Between Chivalry and Lollardy', The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III, eds. R. Harvey and C. Harper-Bill (Suffolk, 1990), 39-48; McFarlane (1972), 160-1.

[21] R. Hanna III, 'Sir Thomas Berkeley and His Patronage' Speculum 64 (1989), 896-7, 896 n.44: 'Thomas Berkeley was certainly on intimate terms with at least two of K.B. McFarlane's Lollard knights, Sir John Cheyne and William Beauchamp, Lord Abergavenny.' In looking only at documents for Clanvowe, Sir Simon Burley's name appears almost as often as Nevill's in association with Clanvowe: see CPR 1381-5 153 (12 July 1382), 285 (26 April 1383); CPR 1385-89 72 (9 Dec. 1385), 169 (23 Jan. 1386); also worth noting is a document in CPR 1388-92 361 (9 Dec. 1390), which mentions John Devereux 'and his friends': Walter Devereux, Kennard de la Bere, John Clanvowe and Roger Berde.

shows that even though the Lollard Knights share intertwining histories, they may not have shared their religious beliefs, and in the case of Sir John Clanvowe, the burden of proof should not rest upon this evidence alone.

In the case of Clanvowe, however, a brief investigation of his county of Hereford and the lands held by his family may provide additional information.[22] The geographical proximity of the lands owned or held in feoff by the Lollard Knights has been used by Kightly to show further affiliations between them and the heretical movement. With regard to Herefordshire, the area was rife with anti-clericalism and even at Clanvowe's family seat, Cusop, services were not held at the parish church in 1397.[23] The area seems to have had some sympathy with the Lollards and other members of the gentry,

[22] Some family history and the lands they owned are discussed in McFarlane ((1972), 230-2 (Appendix B)). There is no evidence of patronage by the Clanvowe family in the areas where they held land: Ocle Pychard was under the patronage of the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester in 1356 (Registrum Johannis de Trillek: 1344-60, ed. J.H. Parry (CYS 8, 1912), 227-30 (27 Jan. 1356)), though the manor of Ocle Pychard was originally held by Petrus de Clavenhogh (8 Ed. III) and from him it passed to Philip, Thomas, Sir John, the son of Philip, and then Sir Thomas, Sir John's son (J. Duncumb, Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford (London, 1812), ii.143). The manor of Cusop was also first held by Peter de Clavenogh, and the parish benefice under the patronage of the Prior and Convent of Llanthony (Duncumb (1812), ii.286, 288). King's Pyon was under the patronage of the Prior and Convent of Wormesley in 1365 (Registrum Ludowici de Charltone, ed. J.H. Parry (CYS 14, 1914), 67), and that of Yazor under the Prior and Convent of Llanthony prima in 1369 (Reg. Charltone 70).

[23] Kightly (1975), 155. See A. T. Bannister, 'Visitation Returns of the Diocese of Hereford in 1397', EHR XLIV (1929), 279-89, 444-53; XLV (1930), 92-101, 444-63; for those parishes connected with the Clanvowe family: Yazor, XLIV (1929), 285; Ocle Pychard, XLV (1930), 95; Cusop, 448; Michaelchurch, 449.

particularly John Croft and Sir Robert Whitney, have fallen under suspicion.[24]

Clanvowe lived near areas of Lollard infiltration and sympathy: his lands of Yazor and Ocle Pychard lay next to Walter Brut's at Lyde, and around 1388, William Swinderby was busy preaching in the district.[25] Undoubtedly, there were countless others who lived in these areas, but who did not necessarily share the same sympathies. While Kightly concluded that it is more likely than not that Clanvowe supported Lollardy in his home territory of the Welsh Marches, he still asserts that there is insufficient evidence to say with any confidence that he did.[26]

The historical material may not be substantial, but many historians have used the text of 'The Two Ways' to rest their case. Waugh did not seem to have known of this text and so his examination of Clanvowe is incomplete, but McFarlane, Scattergood and others have used the text to prove that Clanvowe was aware of the accusations against him, and that he never seems to deny them.[27] If this text had not come to light, would present historians have reached the same conclusion as Waugh? How that text should be treated

[24] Kightly (1975), 181-5.

[25] Kightly (1975), 157, 198.

[26] Kightly (1975), 192-3.

[27] McFarlane (1972), 199-206; Scattergood (1975), 19; Kightly (1975), 191-2; P. McNiven, Heresy and Politics in the Reign of Henry IV: The Burning of John Badby (Woodbridge, 1987), 48-9.

with regard to its contents and context will be examined later.

Another question about the author of 'The Two Ways' is how we are to reconcile his military and diplomatic career with the text's humble, and sometimes anti-militant, tone.[28] Clanvowe's service as a professional soldier during the Hundred Years War, his participation in the crusade of Louis of Bourbon, and his probable 'laste viage' on pilgrimage to the Holy Land have been stumbling blocks for modern historians, but only because they have assumed that Clanvowe was sympathetic with the pacifist beliefs of the Lollards.

From an orthodox point of view, Clanvowe's career was quite typical. While not as dependent on the gifts and favour of his lord as Waugh mistakenly would lead us to believe, the military and diplomatic life of a man of Clanvowe's station would have been simply a matter of course.[29] And there is no need to assume or conclude that his participation in a crusade conflicts with the pious conscience that created 'The

[28] The military careers of the other 'Lollard Knights' have also been called into question with regard to their support of 'pacifist' Lollardy. See M. McKisack, The Fourteenth Century: 1307-1399 (repr. Oxford, 1992), 521-2; J.A.F. Thomson, 'Orthodox Religion and the Origins of Lollardy', History LXXIV:240 (Feb. 1989), 47-8; Catto (1990), 39. Though Catto initially makes this question the theme for his article, he never seems to offer any suggestions as to an answer or reason. Other critics have pointed out the contradiction between Clanvowe's career, his condemnation of war and his justification of capital punishment; see J.A. Tuck, 'Carthusian Monks and Lollard Knights: Religious Attitudes at the Court of Richard II', Studies in the Age of Chaucer Proceedings I (1984), 151-2.

[29] Waugh (1914), 89; McFarlane (1972), 146-7.

Two Ways'. Even in the late fourteenth century, men were still participating in crusades against the heathen for devout reasons, and such was the claim that attracted Louis of Bourbon to lead his crusade to Tunis.[30]

The crusade lead by Louis II de Clermont, Duke of Bourbon, a contemporary of Clanvowe's, has frequently been called a 'disaster'.[31] But the crusade was not a disaster in the violent sense, with the needless loss of life as at the later crusade at Nicopolis, but a disaster because it ended, after an uneventful nine-week siege of the port of Al-Mahdiya, in a truce between the Moors and the crusaders, mostly to the financial benefit of the Genoese.[32]

The crusade took place during a period of relative calm in the course of the Hundred Years War, a peace during which numerous French and English career soldiers became restless.[33] As King Charles VI of France was in no position to support this adventure financially, those knights who did

[30] N. Housley, The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: from Lyons to Alcazar (Oxford, 1992), 401.

[31] Scattergood ((1975), 27) bases his statement on Higden's account in the Polychronicon (ed. J.R. Lumby (RS 1886), IX.240). Its continuation, The Westminster Chronicle, states: 'Quo in tempore dux Bourbon' de Francia collecto grandi exercitu de diversis partibus Europe apud Januam transfretavit in Barbariam....sicque Christiani qui vivi evaserunt a manibus paganorum ad propria sunt reversi de eorum evasione Deum multipliciter collaudantes' (448-50).

[32] The crusade to Tunis is described in detail by A.S. Atiya, The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1938), 398-434, and 435-62 on the crusade to Nicopolis.

[33] Atiya (1938), 404.

participate had to be able to provide their own equipment at their own expense.[34] To add to the distaste such a crusade would have had to the Lollards, it was blessed by both Popes at this time of Schism, and Pope Clement granted absolution from plenary sins for all those who participated.[35]

The siege of Al-Mahdiya was marked by excessive summer heat and limited provisions which caused some sickness and death.[36] But there was never an all-out battle with the enemy, the city itself was much too heavily fortified to be overcome from the outside, and so the crusaders had to settle for a dissatisfying truce.[37] Except for the Genoese, who benefitted in many ways from the treaty, the whole crusade seemed a 'futile expedition' to those who obtained little glory for their efforts.[38]

[34] Atiya (1938), 404.

[35] Atiya (1932), 410, 406. The French record of those English who participated does not match that of the English in The Westminster Chronicle (432). In the French Chroniclers' lists, the names of William Nevill and John Clanvowe have been confused as in J. Delaville Le Roulx: '...sous la conduite du bâtard de Lancastre, ses guerriers les plus fameux, Clifford, Climbo, Neufville, Cornouaille....' where the editors explain that 'Climbo' must be Sir John de Clinton, nephew and heir to William, Earl of Huntingdon, and 'Neufville' is Ralph, Lord Neville (La France en Orient au XIV^e Siècle: Expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaut (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome XLIV, Paris, 1886), i.176 and notes 2, 3, 4). The names are recorded as '...le sire de Cliffort, le sire de Climbo, Neufville, Cornuailhe....' by J. Cabaret d'Orville in his La Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon (ed. A. M. Chazaud (Paris, 1876), 222); Atiya (1938), 408 n.3.

[36] Atiya (1938), 414-5.

[37] Atiya (1938), 419, 424, 426.

[38] Atiya (1938), 431-4; T. Jones, Chaucer's Knight: The Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary (London, 1980), 37.

While Clanvowe's own motives in joining such an expedition may have been completely legitimate and truly pious, the criticism he expresses in his text against 'greete werreyours and fiȝteres...yat distroyen and wynnen manye loondis, and waasten and ȝeuen muche good to hem yat haan ynouȝ' ('The Two Ways' 593-6) may have been directed toward the increasing number of mercenary knights, men who no longer fought because it was their duty to God and their King.[39] This criticism of the changing character of knighthood may be similar to that arguably voiced by Chaucer through his character of the Knight in The Canterbury Tales.[40] Indeed, it seems that both Clanvowe and Chaucer no longer found knighthood the noble career of devout men, but that it had become the profession of land-grabbing lower gentry, hungry for the spoils of war.[41]

There is ample evidence that Clanvowe and Chaucer knew each other on a personal level, witnessed by Clanvowe's testimony on Chaucer's behalf in the 'raptus' of Cecily Chaumpaigne.[42] That these two men

[39] Jones (1980), 24.

[40] Jones (1980), 24; See Chaucer's 'General Prologue', I.43-78.

[41] Jones (1980), 242 n.28. J. Catto, however, concluded that the Lollard Knights were still conventional and 'hardbitten careerists and courtiers', but he adds that at this time there was little distinction between the conventionally pious and the critical heretics, see J. Catto, 'Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century', History & Imagination: Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper eds. H. Lloyd-Jones *et al.* (London, 1981), 54.

[42] McFarlane (1972), 183. The actual document is printed in M.M. Crow and C.C. Olson, Chaucer Life-Records (Oxford, 1966), 343.

would share similar ideas, such as that concerning knighthood discussed above, may be supported by Chaucer's literary influence on Clanvowe. Clanvowe's other written creation, a poem called 'The Boke of Cupide', appears to be an imitation of some of Chaucer's works, particularly 'The Parlement of Fowles', 'The Knight's Tale', and the F Prologue to 'The Legend of Good Women'.[43] Clanvowe's text actually borrows its opening lines from 'The Knight's Tale':

> The god of love, a benedicite!
> How myghty and how greet a lord is he!
> .....
> For he kan maken, at his owene gyse,
> Of everich herte as that hym list divyse'
> ('KT' I.1785-1790).

> The god of love, a! benedicite,
> How myghty and how grete a lorde is he!
> For he can make of lowe hertys hie,
> And highe lowe, and like for to die
> And herde hertis he can make fre
> ('The Boke of Cupide' 1-5).

It shares thematic similarities with Chaucer's 'The Parlement of Fowles', using the dream vision and incorporating a debate between various birds (in Clanvowe's text between a Cuckoo and a Nightingale) on the nature of love. The date for Clanvowe's text suggested by Scattergood has been based on these borrowings from Chaucer, and it was probably composed sometime between 1380 and 1391, though depending on

[43] The similarities are discussed in more detail by Scattergood (1975), 9-14. For more on Clanvowe and his poem, see L. Patterson, 'Court Politics and the Invention of Literature: The Case of Sir John Clanvowe', Culture and History, 1350-1500: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing, ed. D. Aers (London, 1992), 7-41.

the various dates given for Chaucer's works.[44]

Now, to return to the topic of knighthood. That Clanvowe, himself, was deeply pious is evidenced by what was probably a penitential journey to the Holy Land and by the text that he left behind.[45] In an attempt to rationalise Clanvowe's career as a soldier and diplomat with the 'evangelical puritanism'[46] of 'The Two Ways', several historians have made comparisons between him and Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, who wrote a treatise in Anglo-Norman called the 'Livres des Seintes Medicines' around 1351.[47] Though from different class backgrounds, these two men shared similar military careers and lives as courtiers. E.J.F. Arnould remarked on the contrast between Lancaster's life and text, but reasoned that it revealed a person who was 'deeply conscious...of the spiritual perils' of his lifestyle.[48] But Lancaster's text, written as an

[44] Scattergood ((1975), 14) dates 'The Parlement of Fowles' at 1382-3, 'The Knight's Tale' around 1382-6, and 'The Legend of Good Women' after 1386. In The Riverside Chaucer (xxix), the dates for these texts are given as somewhere between 1380-2, 1380-7, and 1380-7 respectively.

[45] For information about the date of the text's composition see the note to the text for lines 1-4.

[46] Thomson (1989), 51.

[47] E.J.F. Arnould 'Henry of Lancaster and his "Livres des Seintes Medicines"', BJRL XXI.ii (Oct. 1937), 3-37. The text is edited by Arnould in Livres des Seintes Medicines by Henry, Duke of Lancaster (Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1940). For a discussion of this text and its author in comparison with Clanvowe, see McFarlane (1972), 224-5; D. Brewer, Chaucer and His World (New York, 1978), 172-3; J. Hughes, Pastors and Visionaries: Religious and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire (Suffolk, 1988), 246 and 283; Catto (1981), 52.

[48] Arnould (1937), 15.

allegory of the patient (himself) whose doctor (Christ) heals the wounds of the five senses infected by the seven deadly sins, is much more personal than Clanvowe's. As Arnould has shown, the text is written almost like a diary in which the author constantly addresses his audience in a very personal manner, apologising for losing track of his subject, or complaining about what little time he has had in the day for writing.[49] Lancaster constantly draws upon his own experience and daily life for the examples and stories he uses in his text, thus providing ample information about his life and his religion.[50]

Another contradiction to face historians and literary critics is how Clanvowe could be the author of both 'The Two Ways' and the dream-vision poem 'The Boke of Cupide'.[51] But such a contrast in literary style and purpose is hardly worth noting when it seems to have been the fashion of the time. This trend is witnessed in the poetry of Chaucer, which includes the fabliaux of 'The Canterbury Tales', but the personal, penitential 'Retraction', and that of Gower, which includes the secular concerns expressed in the 'Confessio Amantis', but the more strictly moralistic

[49] Arnould (1937), 18.

[50] Arnould (1937), 21.

[51] Also edited by Scattergood (1975), 35-53.

themes in the 'Vox Clamantis' and 'Mirour de l'Omme'.[52] It is even common to find this juxtaposition of religious piety and secular entertainment in near-contemporary manuscripts such as the Thornton manuscripts (British Library Additional 31042 and Lincoln Cathedral 91), the Winchester Anthology (British Library Additional 60577) and Cambridge University Library Ff.2.38.[53]

The other questions of whether Clanvowe's text is orthodox or heterodox, and whether it should be categorised as a sermon or a treatise involve an investigation of the text of 'The Two Ways' itself. While the historical evidence for Clanvowe's Lollardy is quite limited, the literary evidence has opened up a whole new field of speculation. Only a thorough examination of the text, including a comparison with a variety of other near-contemporary texts, can help to reveal whether the text is orthodox or heterodox.

[52] This is also suggested by Kightly (1975), 191. For information about Chaucer's 'Retraction' see: O. Sayce, 'Chaucer's "Retractions": The Conclusion of The Canterbury Tales and its Place in Literary Tradition', Medium Aevum 40 (1971), 230-48; J.D. Gordon, 'Chaucer's Retraction: A Review of Opinion', Studies in Medieval Literature in Honour of Prof. A.C. Baugh, ed. M. Leach (Philadelphia, 1961), 81-97; D. R. Howard, 'Chaucer the Man', PMLA 80 (1965), 337-43. See Chaucer's 'Retraction' X.1081-1092; John Gower's 'Confessio Amantis' in The English Works of John Gower, ed. G.C. Macauley (2 vols., EETS ES 81, 82, repr. 1969); The Major Latin Works of John Gower: The Voice of One Crying and the Tripartite Chronicle, trans. E.W. Stockton (Seattle, 1962); John Gower: Mirour de l'Omme (The Mirror of Mankind), trans. W.B. Wilson (East Lansing, 1992).

[53] Thompson (1987); E. Wilson, The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577 with an Introduction and List of Contents by Edward Wilson and an Account of the Music by Iain Fenlon (Suffolk, 1981); McSparran and Robinson (1979).

Unfortunately, some historians have approached the text already convinced of Clanvowe's heterodoxy and have interpreted it accordingly.[54] As for those who have not been convinced of Clanvowe's Lollardy based on his association with the other Lollard Knights, they have turned to the text and have relied upon it as the additional proof they need.[55] The text has also been compared with the wills of the Lollard Knights, Latimer, Cheyne and Clifford, to illustrate their shared penitential language, their humble, self-abasing tone, and their mutual sympathy with the Lollard heresy.[56]

Perhaps the most incriminating portion of Clanvowe's text is the following line: 'swiche folke þe world scoorneth and hooldeþ hem lolleris and loselis, foolis and schameful wrecches' ('The Two Ways' 625-7). This line has been repeatedly quoted and interpreted as proof of Clanvowe's conscious awareness of his association with the Lollards and his admission of sympathy with their reforms.[57] The usage of the term 'lollere' at this date has produced

[54] Says McNiven ((1987), 48): 'but he had the subtlety to frame an implicitly controversial text in words which made it virtually immune from direct condemnation by a church which Clanvowe's beliefs rendered largely redundant.' Catto ((1990), 46) says that 'The Two Ways' expresses 'the rather explicitly Lollard sympathies of Sir John Clanvowe.'

[55] Kightly (1975), 190-3.

[56] McFarlane (1972), 211-13.

[57] McFarlane (1972), 205-6; McNiven (1987), 48; Scattergood (1975), 20; Thomson (1989), 44-5; Kightly (1975), 191.

much debate, too complicated to be mentioned here, but the use of the word by Clanvowe has too often been misinterpreted.[58]

J.A.F. Thomson claims that Clanvowe's use of the first person in this portion of the text means that he identifies himself with the 'lolleris'.[59] Throughout much of his text, Clanvowe uses the first person plural pronouns 'we' and 'us', including himself with the audience he is addressing. But when he mentions the people who are scornfully called 'lolleris', Clanvowe changes to the third person plural 'hem', thus apparently separating himself and his audience from the subject he is addressing:

> And also, <u>swiche folke</u> yat wolden fayne lyuen meekeliche in þis world and ben out offe swich forseid riot, noise and stryf, and lyuen symplely, and vsen to eten and drynken in mesure, and to clooþen <u>hem</u> meekely, and suffren paciently wroonges yat ooþere folke doon and seyn to <u>hem</u>, and hoolden <u>hem</u> apayed with lytel good of þis world and desiren noo greet naame of þis world, ne no pris therof, <u>swiche folke</u> þe world scoorneth and hooldeþ <u>hem</u> lolleris and loselis, foolis and schameful wrecches. But sikerly, God holdeth <u>hem</u> moost wise and most worsshipful, and he wole worsshipen <u>hem</u> in heuene foreuere ('The Two Ways' 616-30, *my emphasis*).

Clanvowe resumes his use of the first person several

[58] Thomson ((1989), 45) shows that the use of 'lollere' by Clanvowe and others has been useful to help judge when the term became associated with the heresy. The use of 'lollere' here is probably similar to that of Chaucer in 'The Epilogue of the Man of Law's Tale' II.1173-1177 (see also the note to the text for line 1173 and the discussion below). However, it seems that Clanvowe is specifically referring to the sect of the Lollards, praising them and their lifestyle as a role model to follow. See Scase (1989), 150-7. She notes the collocation of 'lollere' and 'losel' (152-3) in Clanvowe which also occurs in <u>Piers Plowman</u> (C.VIII.69-74): 'That lollares and loseles lele men holdeth...'.

[59] Thomson (1989), 45.

lines later and indirectly refers to the 'folke' he has described more as a role model to be followed:

> And þerfore, taake we sauour in þoo þinges yat been so goode and so worsshipful abouen, and recche we neuer, þouȝ þe world scoorne vs or hoolde vs wrecches ('The Two Ways' 634-7, *my emphasis*).

After a reading of these passages, Clanvowe's tone still seems somewhat obscure and we cannot be sure how to interpret his attitude. Clanvowe holds a genuinely sympathetic admiration for these people, yet there may be a sense that he is self-consciously distancing himself from them. He regards these 'lolleris and loselis' as people to be respected, and his discussion of them should not be disregarded especially when he uses as much space (13 lines) to describe them as he does to expound on the ten commandments.

Clanvowe's use of 'lollere' should probably be considered more like that of Chaucer's in the verbal debacle between the Parson and the Host following 'The Man of Law's Tale'.[60] Here, the Parson is accused, in a derogatory manner, of being a 'Lollere'. Within the context, and considering the comments made by the Shipman, 'Heer schal he nat preche; He schal no gospel glosen here ne teche',[61] it is probably safe to assume that Chaucer knew of the Lollards, their doctrine and their language, and perhaps we can say

[60] 'The Epilogue of the Man of Law's Tale', II.1172-7.

[61] 'The Epilogue to the Man of Law's Tale', II.1179-80.

the same about Clanvowe.[62] But as Chaucer's use does not necessarily mean that he was a Lollard sympathiser, neither should the use of the word by Clanvowe.

Taking the past discussions of the text of 'The Two Ways' by literary critics and historians as a whole, none as yet have seemed to appreciate the text for what it truly is: an unsophisticated and earnest treatise written by a member of the landed gentry who served the king as soldier and councillor, who was involved in the government and yet had time to write. Likewise, few have examined this text in comparison with the other vernacular devotional texts of the day.

'The Two Ways' has previously been called 'a non-controversial but serious-minded and practical secular response to the doctrines of the most controversial contemporary religious movement,' and perhaps we should view Clanvowe's text as a reflection of the secular, educated, landed gentry's attitude toward the Lollard movement.[63] But Clanvowe's text is also a product of his exposure to the contemporary tradition of religious prose.

If we are to consider Clanvowe's text in comparison with other near-contemporary heterodox

[62] Hudson (1988), 390-3. On the language of the Lollards see also Hudson (1981), 165-80. For further discussion of Chaucer's use of Lollard language, see A. Blamires 'The Wife of Bath and Lollardy' Medium Aevum 58 (1989), 224-31.

[63] Scattergood (1975), 20.

texts, it can be shown that Clanvowe's is not convincingly Lollard. A perfect opportunity for Clanvowe to reveal the Lollard sympathies or beliefs he may have held would have been in his recitation of the ten commandments at lines 773-88, with a discussion of those who break each commandment at lines 795-837. In contrast to the ten commandments portion found in the supposedly 'Wycliffite version' of The Lay Folks Catechism in London, Lambeth Palace Library 408, we can see that Clanvowe does not express any typically Lollard beliefs within this most basic instructional context.[64]

In the first commandment of 'The Two Ways', there is no discussion of the Lollard belief against the worship of images such as we find here in the 'Wycliffite version' of The Lay Folks Catechism:

> The two cherubynnys þat schadewyd in archa dei. exo/25.c^{o}/ were not set þer to be worschypyd; But for to meve þe chyldryn of israel to haue mende of god in heuyn (WLFC 33/508-11).[65]

In the second commandment of this 'version' of The Lay

[64] LFC 33-57 (the 'Wycliffite' version will be referred to here as WLFC). A. Hudson dispels the belief that the text in Lambeth 408 is a 'version', but shows that it is a combination of an amplified Thoresby text and other catechetical tracts with Wycliffite interpolations that are not consistent nor wholly unorthodox. The portions of the text used for comparison here express commonly held Lollard beliefs. See A. Hudson, 'A New Look at the Lay Folks' Catechism' Viator 16 (1985), 243-58 and 'The Lay Folks' Catechism: A Postscript', Viator 19 (1988), 307-9. For more on the dissemination and ownership of copies of the LFC see S. Powell, 'The Transmission and Circulation of The Lay Folks' Catechism', Late-Medieval Religious Texts and Their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A.I. Doyle, ed. A.J. Minnis (Cambridge, 1994), 67-84.

[65] For more strongly Lollard polemic against images, see SEWW 83-88, 179-81).

Folks Catechism there is a strong prohibition against oaths and swearing, which includes the condemnation of priests who say mass, not for the greater glory of God, but for their own financial benefit, a sentiment which is absent from Clanvowe's (WLFC 37/573-76). The third commandment includes the importance of hearing the gospel and teachings of the Lord 'in þy modyr tonge', but not to hear mass, and to spend the day doing the works of mercy to one's fellow Christians, which is also not present in 'The Two Ways' (WLFC 41/630-2).

The fourth commandment in both the 'Wycliffite version' and the version from Archbishop Thoresby's Register discusses not only one's reverence to one's bodily parents, but also to one's ghostly parents: God and holy church, and one's spiritual leader, the priest (WLFC 43/670-695, LFC 44/200-2). It is interesting to note here that while Clanvowe does mention 'here gostly moodir, holy chirche' ('The Two Ways' 812-13), he does not mention the ghostly father, neither God nor priest.

For the fifth commandment, the 'Wycliffite version' specifically says that 'þou schalt not sle...neþer cristyn ne heþyn' (WLFC 47/715-18), and includes sinful priests who neglect their flock and thus kill them (WLFC 47/727-9). We find that Clanvowe has made an exception to this commandment, stating 'but ȝef it been swiche as haan auctorite by good

resoun for to putte men yerto yat disseruen þe deeth by Goddis lawe and ellis not' ('The Two Ways' 817-20).

In the sixth commandment against lechery, the 'Wycliffite version' includes those confessors who encourage their flock to sin so that they can make money from the sinners when they buy their absolution, but this again is absent from Clanvowe's text (WLFC 49/767-774). The seventh commandment forbids taking alms from the poor 'vndyr colour of holynesse to hem þat haue no nede þer-to' (WLFC 53/811-12), and uses a translation of the quotation from Luke 14:13-4 which Richard FitzRalph used to argue against the poverty of the friars.[66] Clanvowe's version of this commandment is simple and straightforward, stating only 'yat we shuln not steele' and 'alle þoo yat robben or stelen, taaken by maistrie or be extorcoun, or by any gyle or falsheede, here neiȝebores goodis, þei breken þe seuenþe comaundement' ('The Two Ways' 781-2, 822-26).

The eighth commandment forbids rulers to force others to swear falsely for them, but it also includes those, specifically the Pope and the friars, who have falsely represented Christ on earth, saying that Christ was a worldly lord, or that he begged from men. It adds:

> Also alle þo þat seþe þat newe religious foundyd

[66] FitzRalph's interpretation of this quotation is found in U in the earlier commentary on the 'Ten Commandments', see the note to the text for lines 409-15. If Clanvowe shared such anti-fraternal sympathies, it seems strange that he doesn't express them here or even use FitzRalph's argument against their poverty.

> of seyntis ys better þan glene religious of priesthod þat crist made hym-self arn fals witnesse and blasfemys god (WLFC 55/850-3).

The last two commandments do not say anything inherently Lollard, but are actually quite brief (WLFC 55/859-57/876) and Clanvowe's text corresponds more closely to them.

Thus, in comparing Clanvowe's small portion on the ten commandments with those in the 'Wycliffite version' of the The Lay Folks Catechism, it can be shown that whereas this would have provided a perfect opportunity for Clanvowe to voice some of the Lollard beliefs he may have held, he does not--but one wonders if he has deliberately avoided doing so. Indeed, the silences of Clanvowe have aroused as much suspicion as those things which he does mention, particularly his silence on controversial and typically Lollard issues.[67] However, it seems too early for people who sympathised with the Lollard heresy to have consciously avoided mentioning issues which would have identified them as supporters of the heresy. Likewise, at this time there seems to have been no standard list of doctrines which all Lollards adhered to.[68]

[67] McNiven (1987), 48; McFarlane (1972), 205; Kightly (1975), 190; Thomson (1989), 45; Scattergood (1975), 19.

[68] This is explored throughout Thomson's article in which he concludes: 'Different individuals responded in different ways to ideas which were in circulation, and in the absence of any one person or group which could provide a definitive statement of Lollard belief, it is hardly surprising that the doctrines held by Lollard sympathisers showed considerable variety and that the very name itself was applied more loosely by contemporaries than

A later contemporary of Clanvowe's and also from Herefordshire was Walter Brut, whose Lollardy is well known and documented. His written Latin testimony of 1392, presented to the Bishop of Hereford, provides a good example of some of the strongly held beliefs which were to become the mainstay of the heresy, though his approach and style are far more academic and erudite, and his beliefs on the more extreme end of the scale than the simple, earnest devotion expressed by Clanvowe.[69]

Typical of Brut's testimony is the strong anti-papal sentiment which is completely absent from Clanvowe's text (WB 137-9). His defence mentions the withholding of tithes and the temporal abuses of the priesthood (WB 151). He discusses his conviction against warfare, especially that between fellow christians and that supported by the Pope (WB 155-8). In complete contrast to the statement of Clanvowe's allowing lawful punishment by death, Brut exemplifies Lollard pacifism and firmly believes that 'Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death' (WB 162).

by some later historians' (Thomson (1989), 55). Kightly reaches a similar conclusion: 'From this it will be clear that during the period under consideration [1382-1428] there was no real corpus of lollard belief, in the sense of a set of doctrines shared by all known lollards...' (Kightly (1975), 576). See also McNiven (1987), 42.

[69] An English translation of Walter Brut's testimony is printed in The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, eds. J. Pratt and J. Stoughton (London, 1877), iii.136-88. The Latin text is found in the Registrum Johannis Trefnant, ed. W.W. Capes (CYS 20, 1916), 285-358. Referred to here as WB.

Other elements of typical Lollard doctrine expressed by Brut include: only those true in the faith can perform the sacraments (WB 168), the uselessness of auricular confession and penance (WB 169), the bread and wine of the Eucharist are only symbols of the flesh and blood of Christ (WB 173-6), the prayers of bad priests are useless and harmful to the flock that the priest guides (WB 181), the selling of pardons and prayers for the dead is unlawful (WB 182-3), the use of images and oaths swearing are against God's commandments (WB 186), and the temporal disendowment of the church is necessary (WB 186). None of these are mentioned by Clanvowe within the body of his text, and they may not have been mentioned by him because they were not appropriate nor relevant to his more penitential and personal message.

It is interesting, however, that those beliefs and ideas which have come to be identified as typically, though not exclusively, Lollard, are not mentioned by Clanvowe: beliefs against the institution of the church, the Eucharist and other sacraments, images, the temporalities of the church (especially considering how favourable the disendowment of church property would have been to those in Clanvowe's ranks), anti-fraternal and anti-clerical sentiments, and others which, as shown above in the testimony of Walter Brut, were part and parcel of the Lollard's doctrine. Again, however, it may be possible to

suggest that the text reveals a self-conscious avoidance of these topics in Clanvowe.

The anonymity of Lollard texts, excluding the written testimonies of Swinderby and Brut, was commonplace up until 1403, and if Clanvowe's text were Lollard, it would be the earliest known Lollard text with an identifiable author.[70] Because the author is known, not only to us as an historical figure, but was known perhaps personally by those who owned the copies of his text, would he have wanted to make his Lollard sympathies so explicit or would he have tried to protect himself and conceal those sympathies?[71] There are other reasons why Clanvowe might not have mentioned more pronounced Lollard beliefs within the body of his text: first, because he knew such would be incriminating evidence against him; second, that some of them might not have fit within the programme of his text (though there are plenty of opportunities within the text where one would anticipate his doing so); and third, that he did not share or support the tenets of

[70] On the anonymity of Lollard texts, see Hudson (1988), 9-11; McFarlane (1972), 199-200.

[71] Clanvowe may have been known personally by William Countour, the presumed compiler and owner of U, through Sir William Beauchamp, an associate of Clanvowe's and the probable employer of Countour. This connection has been recognised before; see McFarlane (1972), 200-1; Scattergood (1975), 21; Kightly (1975), 189; Catto (1981), 51 and (1990), 43-4 (Catto goes so far as to suggest that Countour obtained his exemplar of the 'Two Ways' from Beauchamp's personal library; Hughes ((1988), 91) makes the same suggestion). The ownership of the Simeon manuscript is much more doubtful, though Doyle and Catto suggest it was owned by Joan de Bohun, wife of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, in whose household Clanvowe first started his career; see Catto (1981), 45 and (1990), 44; Doyle (1987), 15-6.

the Lollard heresy.

A comparison will also be made here between Clanvowe's text and a small number of near-contemporary orthodox texts which would have been directed at a spectrum of lay audiences: Chaucer's 'The Parson's Tale', The Lay Folks Catechism, and Dives and Pauper. Geoffrey Chaucer's 'The Parson's Tale', intended for a popular contemporary audience, may have been known by Clanvowe, though the suggested date of its composition, between 1396 and 1400, places it several years after Clanvowe's death in 1391.[72] An orthodox version of The Lay Folks Catechism found in Archbishop Thoresby's Register is earlier, with the entry dated as 25 November 1357, but was intended for use by the clergy to educate the average layman. Eventually, as the text circulated throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it came to be used by laymen themselves.[73] Finally, Dives and Pauper, though written a bit later (1405-10), is a more learned text intended for an educated lay audience and reveals an author who anticipated particular questions from such an audience.[74] The following comparisons should show that much of the criticism expressed by

[72] 'The Parson's Tale' 287-327, and on its date see xxix in the Introduction to The Riverside Chaucer. Referred to here as 'PT'.

[73] Powell (1994), 73-7.

[74] On the dating of the text see D&P I.ix and H.G. Richardson, 'Dives et Pauper', N&Q 93, 11:4 (Oct. 1911), 321-3.

Clanvowe was also mentioned by other orthodox writers, and while this criticism has been used as evidence for Lollard sympathy in Clanvowe's text, it is actually nothing more than the expression of some common contemporary woes.[75]

While there has been some speculation in the past about Chaucer's relationship with the Wycliffite heresy (only encouraged by McFarlane's research on Chaucer's association with the Lollard Knights), and even further speculation about the character of the Parson, there is little evidence to warrant any such suspicions in his texts, much in a way similar to Clanvowe.[76] The description of the Parson, as depicted in 'The General Prologue', can be brought into comparison with the Lollard ideal of the 'poor priest', though he fits the orthodox ideal as well, for none of what he preaches is heterodox. The Parson is on pilgrimage and teaches, based on numerous authorities other than Scripture, how one must obtain penance through contrition, confession to a priest,

[75] Though many of the views in Clanvowe's text can be found in numerous texts throughout the later medieval period, parallels cited here have been limited to these few representative texts.

[76] On Chaucer and Lollardy see: A. Simon, 'Chaucer a Wycliffite', Essays on Chaucer III.ii.16 (1901), 229-292; J.S.P. Tatlock, 'Chaucer and Wyclif, Modern Philology 14:5 (1916), 65-76; E.K. Maxfield 'Chaucer and Religious Reform', PMLA 39 (1924), 64-74; D.V. Ives, 'A Man of Religion', MLR 27 (1932), 144-48; R.S. Loomis, 'Was Chaucer a Laodicean?', Studies in Medieval Literature (New York, 1970), 255-74; A.N. Wawn, 'Chaucer, Wyclif and the Court of Apollo', English Language Notes 10 (1972), 15-20; D.L. Jeffrey, 'Chaucer and Wyclif: Biblical Hermeneutic and Literary Theory in the XIVth Century', Chaucer and Scriptural Tradition, ed. D.L. Jeffrey (Ottawa, 1984), xvi.109-140; Blamires (1989), 224-42.

and satisfaction, all of which is very non-Lollard.[77] Yet within this orthodox context, Chaucer is safe to comment on and criticise some of the abuses of his day, and expresses some anti-clerical and anti-fraternal feelings partly from traditional sources and perhaps partly his own, which we find completely lacking in Clanvowe's text.

The Parson criticises the practice of simony ('PT' 781-92), and the unclean priest who contaminates his flock ('PT' 899-900). He admonishes 'folk that been entred into ordre' who break their bonds of chastity for the sin of lechery ('PT' 891-4), and priests who desecrate the sanctuary of the church:

> And the preest sholde be enterdited that dide swich a vileynye; to terme of al his lif he sholde namoore synge masse, and if he dide, he sholde doon deedly synne at every time that he so songe masse ('PT' 966).

Some of this discussion in Chaucer's text echoes the fundamental disapproval amongst Lollards against the ability of sinful priests to perform the sacraments or priestly duties, as we find in Brut (WB 181). Likewise, this is found in the 'Wycliffite' version of The Lay Folks Catechism (WLFC 37/573-8).

Both Chaucer and Clanvowe bid their audience to chose between the 'brood wey' and the 'nargh wey' and make a personal choice to save their souls through

[77] Hudson (1988), 390-1.

acts of penitence:[78]

> By thise woordis of Crist we mown vndirstoonde þat þe way þat leedeþ to þe peyne of helle is a brood wey, and þat þe wey yat leedeþ to þe blisse of heuene is a nargh wey ('The Two Ways' 13-17).

> Manye been the weyes espirituels that leden folk to oure Lord Jhesu Crist and to the regne of glorie./ Of whiche weyes ther is a ful noble wey and a ful covenable, which may not fayle to man ne to womman that thurgh synne hath mysgoon fro the righte wey of Jerusalem celestial ('PT' 79-80).

Both criticise the superfluity of dress and waste of

the late fourteenth century:

> ...and þat dispenden oultrageously in mete, in drynke, in clooþing, in buyldyng and in lyuyng in eese, slouþe and many ooþere synnes ('The Two Ways' 597-600).

> And this is in manye thynges: as in speche and contenaunce, and in outrageous array of clothyng ('PT' 412).

The Parson and Clanvowe also condemn war and the death

and destruction caused by war:

> And in þis world it is euene þe reuers, for þe world holt hem worsshipful yat been greete werreyours and fiȝteres, and yat distroyen and wynnen manye loondis ('The Two Ways' 591-5).

> ...and thanne cometh werre and every manere of wrong that man dooth to his neighebor, in body or in catel ('PT' 563).

Some portions of Clanvowe's text have been

paralleled and compared to other Lollard texts,

particularly the 'Lollard Twelve Conclusions', to show his sympathy. For example, Clanvowe's criticism of 'men [who] maken bookes and soonges, and reeden and syngen of hem for to hoolde þe mynde of here deedes þe

[78] For a discussion about the relationship between Chaucer and Clanvowe, see McFarlane (1972), 182-5.

lengere heere vpon eerth' ('The Two Ways' 603-6), and its similarity to the tenth of the Lollard 'Twelve Conclusions': 'And knythtis þat rennen to hethnesse to geten hem a name in sleinge of men geten miche maugre of þe King of Pes' (SEWW 28/149-51). But we find something similar in Chaucer's 'The Parson's Tale': '...what thyng that he yeveth for veyne glorie, as to mynstrals and to folk for to beren his renoun in the world, he hath synne therof and noon almesse' (PT 814).

Another text from an orthodox source, is the version of The Lay Folks Catechism which is found in Archbishop Thoresby's Register as well as in a number of other manuscripts.[79] The text was obviously created to be very simple and straightforward and designed for easy memorisation. Its content is basic and briefly touches on all the fundamental beliefs of Christianity, a sort of grammar book for the laity with the priest as teacher. A comparison here of Clanvowe's recitation of the ten commandments with the relevant section from the orthodox and un-interpolated version of the Catechism shows little difference between the two renderings of the ten commandments; however, at the fourth and fifth commandments we find some subtle differences.

[79] Hudson (1985), 245-7 for list of orthodox copies in manuscripts.

In the fourth commandment, the orthodox version of The Lay Folks Catechism discusses not only one's fleshly parents, but also one's ghostly parents, including the spiritual father, the priest, and the ghostly mother, Holy Church. As I have mentioned above, Clanvowe makes no mention anywhere in his text and especially not here of the ghostly father, the priest, his duties or the reverence owed to him by his flock. This is strange when we consider that even Walter Brut does not completely dismiss the role of the 'good and discreet priests' (WB 172). This omission could be interpreted as an expression of Clanvowe's anti-clericalism. In the fifth commandment, where the orthodox version of The Lay Folks Catechism makes no mention of any lawful allowance to punish through death, Clanvowe makes an exception here specifically, that such a method of punishment is acceptable.

Another text from an undoubtedly orthodox source mentions topics which are far more controversial than either Clanvowe or Chaucer. Dives and Pauper is a text considered to 'belong to that "grey area" between conservative Lollardy and radical orthodoxy'.[80] Using a contemporary literary convention, the dialogue between Dives, a rich layman, and Pauper, a poor mendicant friar, the author clearly presents for his audience the answers to questions he thinks they would

[80] Hudson (1985), 258.

ask about the practical interpretation and application of the ten commandments to their everyday lives. Thus, the text provides a vehicle for the author to express two differing opinions on various topical issues.

One wonders, while reading this discussion between Dives and Pauper on 'Holy Poverty' and the 'Ten Commandments', whether the views that are expressed, ideas often bordering on the heretical, are ones the author himself holds or if he is playing the devil's advocate. Anti-clerical attitudes are expressed by both Pauper:

> It is a schame & ouyr-gret abusyon þat a man of religion schal rydyn with his tentesum or his twentydsum on an hors of ten pound in a sadil al gold begon, & for pouert þat he byndith hym to in his professioun, as þei sayn, he may nout 3euyn an halpeny for Goddis loue... (D&P IV.viii.321 /41-45).

and Dives:

> It semyth be þin wordis þat men of holy chirche whyche spendyn þe goodys of holy chirche in wyckyd vhs, in pompe & pryde, glotonye, lecherye & in oþir vanites ben þeuys, for þey tretyn þe pore mennys good & spendyn it in mysvhs a3enys þe wil of God & of þe pore folc (D&P.VII.xii.161/ 40-4).

It is interesting to note, based on the parable source of the names 'Dives' and 'Pauper', that the more controversial and condemning attitudes are held by Pauper, and even the radical ones which are mentioned by Dives are usually confirmed by Pauper's words 'þat is soth'.

At first it appears that Dives does not understand Latin, and Pauper provides translations for all the Latin references he uses. Yet Dives attempts to use Latin quotations which he interprets literally and Pauper constantly corrects him, usually offering a glossed translation which is also not always correct. This seems to reveal the author's own awareness of the ongoing debate on the problems of literal translation and glossing:

> DIUES. Þerfor som seyn þat Crist defendyde al maner swerynge whan he seyde in þe gospel: Ego [autem] dico uobis non urare omnino [Mt.5:34], Y seye to 3ou þat 3e sweryn in no maner. PAUPER. Þat is nout þe Englich of Cristis word, but þis is þe Englych: Y seye to 3ou þat 3e sweryn nout in euery maner, þat is to seye, for euery cause, nout ly3tly ne customablelyche (D&P II.vi.231/44-49).

The topics which Dives does have ideas of his own about are topics that were controversial at that time such as the use of images in churches which Dives very strongly desires that 'þey weryn brent euerychon' (D&P I.i.82/37). Pauper explains that images are useful as a book for the illiterate members of the church. Dives still disapproves and argues against them with arguments similar to those of the Lollards:

> ...for it is a3ens skyl and resoun and a3ens kende þat man or womman qheche is so nyghy of ken to God þat is verey man and oure brothir shulde wurshepyn on þat maner eythir stok or stoon to knelyn þerto or lowyn hym þerto or askyn þerof ony helpe, for þe ymage may neythir heryn ne seen ne helpyn hymself in noo degree (D&P I.v.90/1-6).

Though later, Pauper states the following:

> ...& so deceyuedyn þe peple with lesyngis & with false miraclis, as men don þese dayys, fenyedyn

> miraclys of ymagis, as men don þese dayys, to meyntenin ydolatrye for lucre of offerynge & false miraclys of wyckyd lyuerys & seyn þat God doth miraclis for hem & so blendyn þe peple in falsnesse... (D&P VII.iii.133/6-134/10).

Some of the beliefs and opinions expressed are similar to those found in Clanvowe's 'The Two Ways': both share a criticism of the rich and their superfluous and unnecessary spending. As I quoted earlier, Clanvowe condemns those: '...þat dispenden oultrageously in mete, in drynke, in clooþing, in buyldyng, and in lyuyng in eese' ('The Two Ways 597-99). Similarly in Dives and Pauper, Pauper says:

> But þe riche man cariþ for his persone, for his staat, for his greet meynee, for his worschip, for hise goodis. He haþ nede of mych gold & siluer, mych meynee, manye vitailis. He haþ nede of manye mennus help, of seruauntis, of laboreris, men of craft, of men of lawe, of greet lordschip wiþoute which he may not mayntene his staat ne hise richessis (D&P 'Holy Pouert' B, iv. 74/19-25).

But much of what we find in Dives and Pauper is missing in Clanvowe, and his text seems much too inwardly reflective to be considering the wider issues which Chaucer and the author of Dives and Pauper explore, and which the Wycliffites considered and hoped to change.

The final question to be examined regards how the text of 'The Two Ways' should be categorised. The text has often been considered a sermon on the merits of its structure, and its contents have been described

as 'a farrago of pulpit commonplaces.'[81] As Helen Spencer has shown, the text opens in a way similar to a sermon in the stating of a theme based on Scripture, in this case the quotations from Matthew 7:13-4 and Luke 13:23-4.[82] The theme of the 'two ways' is then repeated throughout the whole text as at the following:

> But whanne yat oure Lord Ihesu Crist spak of thise forseyde weyes, he bad hem yat þei shulden stryue for to goo in by þe nargh and þe streyte ȝaate ('The Two Ways' 203-6).
>
> And ȝet, for al yat þe nargh wey is þe wey of God and þe broode wey is þe wey of þe feende, and neuerthelees, þe world clepeth hem fooles yat goon Goddis weyes, and men clepen hem goode felawes and worsshipful yat goon in þe feendis weyes... ('The Two Ways' 735-40).[83]

Spencer argues that the text could not have been written expressly as a sermon because Clanvowe, as a layman, would not have had license to preach.[84] If, however, his sympathies were with the Lollards and their belief in lay preachers, this is then irrelevant. Spencer states that while Clanvowe's Lollardy is debateable, the text should be considered a 'treatise' on the basis of its content; the text seems more like a 'self-didactic', 'devotional form of living', though it does reflect the importance to

[81] 143; Hughes (1988), 125; McFarlane (1972), 201-2; Spencer (1993), 33-4. Quotation taken from McFarlane (1972), 204.

[82] Spencer (1993), 33-4.

[83] For further examples, see l. 360-3, 399-400, 463-71, 579-83, 645-7, 720-4, 767-9, 1052-59.

[84] Spencer (1993), 34.

Lollards of relying significantly upon Scriptural sources.[85]

Regardless of how the text is to be viewed, we should examine it in light of what it tells us about its author's own knowledge of the Bible and other contemporary religious texts. Despite Scattergood's comment that Clanvowe's 'biblical learning does not appear to have been very deep or very broad', in comparison with the other sermons and texts in U, his knowledge or familiarity with the Bible, especially with the Epistles, is impressive.[86] However, his Scriptural quotations are all in English, they are often paraphrases, and the exact Scriptural reference is never given, only the name of the apostle or prophet:

> But þanne muste we bee meeke and crie to hym with meeke herte, for þe prophete seith yat God shal teechen hem yat been meeke hise weyes ('The Two Ways' 62-5).
>
> For seint Iohan seith þat it is þe charge of God þat we keepe hise comaundement$_3$, and hise commaundement$_3$ been not heuy ('The Two Ways' 848-51).

Clanvowe relies wholly on Scripture, but he mentions *manye oothere auctoritees*(573) once, though it may be assumed he is referring to Scripture as he does again: *manye oothere auctorites of hooly writte* (1045-6), *And by þoo woordis, and by manye oothere yat been in hooly writ* (122-3). Clanvowe's quotations

[85] Spencer (1993), 34.

[86] Scattergood (1975), 20.

from Scripture vary from some which are quite accurate and perhaps copied from an English translation:

> ...Seynt Petir waarneþ vs and teecheþ vs on þis wyse: he seith, 'Breþeren beþ soobre and waaketh, for ȝoure aduersaire þe deuel, rooryng as a lyon, goth aboute seechyng whom he may swolewen and distroyen, to whom withstoonde ȝe stroonge in feith' ('The Two Ways' 293-9).[87]

to paraphrases which may have been memorised from a sermon or other source he was familiar with:

> And so by resoun, we aughten for to dispisen swiche richesses and bee besy abouten to maken vs tresour in heuene as Crist biddeth, for yat is sauoury tresor and shal neuer faile, and þis tresour heere vpon eerthe is fals and passyng and vnsauoury ('The Two Ways' 551-7).

Indeed, if the text was not written expressly as a sermon, it certainly reveals a familiarity with sermons and their structure. While Clanvowe was probably not privy to the intricacies of the 'modern' sermon structure, his text does show an internal organisation significantly influenced by them. With the theme of the 'two ways', he uses the division already present in the source to divide portions of his text, in a way similar to that of the author of 'The Mirror of Sinners', a text also found in U:

> ...who þat is yat tyme founden in þat broode wey, he shal withouten let to þe peyne of helle, and who yat is þat tyme founden in þe nargh wey, he shal withouten let to þe blisse of heuene ('The

[87] See note on the text for lines 567-72 and 849-51, where the mistakes made in the text show Clanvowe may have been using an English translation and not translating himself from the Latin. There are several instances where he has repeated the same quotations; however, in comparing them it becomes evident that the first time he quotes his source he almost directly quotes from Scripture, whereas the next time he uses the same quote he paraphrases as at lines 130-1 and 162-3, 472-5 and 557-60, and 9-13 and 720-4.

> Two Ways' 25-30).
>
> 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 ('Mirror' 94-9).

He follows the sermon tradition of division in the portion of the text which examines the three ghostly enemies of man:

> ...for we han ȝre stronge enemys yat woln not by her wille leten vs come þerin withouten greet stryf: þat oon is þe feend, þat oother is þe world, þe ȝridde is oure flesshe ('The Two Ways' 207-11).

Writers of contemporary sermons also used exempla to illustrate abstract points to an audience, and in Clanvowe's text we find several exempla like that of the 'wacchebrid' at lines 675-84, or even simple metaphors such as the fool (the sinner) and the wise merchant (the good Christian), used specifically to illustrate the message of his text:

> Trewely, muche moore shulde we bee glad to doo awey oure yuel lustes and oure yuel deedes, for with doyng awey of hem, we mown, withouten any let, wynne þe blisse of heuene and keepen vs fro þe peyne of helle. And ȝef we doon thus, we been wyse marchauntȝ, and ȝef we doo not þus, we been foolys... ('The Two Ways' 193-200).

Thus, here is another example of his using literary or verbal techniques with which, if he was a sermon-goer, he would have been familiar. This use of exemplum and metaphor was highly disliked by the Lollards, almost completely absent from their cycle of sermons, and so we can deduce from Clanvowe's own usage, that the

sermons he heard were probably orthodox.[88]

The sermon would have been a literary or oratory form with which people where commonly acquainted, and thus it should be no surprise that Clanvowe's text resembles the structure of one. The way he handles the quotations from Scripture, without exact references, makes them appear as commonplace expressions, and, indeed, many are actually proverbial sayings based upon Scripture:

> For oure byleeue teecheþ vs yat þe deuel is a lyere and is alwey abouten to bigylen vs with his falseheed ('The Two Ways' 302-4).
>
> ...oure byleeue teecheþ vs yat neythere glotonye ne ouer-muchel abstinence been vertues, but þe meene bytwene þise two is a vertue, and yat is mesurable taakyng of mete and drynke for neede of oure kynde ('The Two Ways' 366-71).[89]

Whether Clanvowe used an English translation or translated from the Latin for his more accurate quotations is difficult to say, but comparison with both the early and later translations of <u>The Wycliffite Bible</u> reveal differences of syntax and lexis which adequately prove these were not used:

> PSALM 24:4
>
> Thi weies, Lord, shew thou to me; and thi sties teche out me (EV).[90]
>
> Lord, schewe thou thi weies to me; and teche thou me thi pathis (LV).

[88] Hudson (1988), 269-70. Though some exempla are used in the sermons printed in <u>Lollard Sermons</u>, ed. G. Cigman (EETS OS 294, 1989).

[89] See the notes to the text for these lines.

[90] <u>The Holy Bible...made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers</u>, eds. J.Forshall and F. Madden (Oxford, 1850).

Lord shewe me þi weyes and teeche me thi styes ('The Two Ways' 67-8).

I JOHN 3:18

Mi litel sones, loue we not in word, nether in tunge, but in werk and treuthe (EV).

Mi litle sones, loue we not in word, nethir in tunge, but in werk and treuthe (LV).

> Loue we not with woord ne with toonge, but with deede and with treuth ('The Two Ways' 1042-3).

The text also reveals Clanvowe's familiarity with a number of other genres found in contemporary religious literature. As can be seen from the notes to the text, Clanvowe was probably acquainted with some of the many treatises on 'The Ten Commandments' like the one present in U, though perhaps more like the brief tract in which the commandments are discussed, then those who break each commandment.[91] His narrative of the life and passion of Christ reveals the influence of various texts on the life and passion of Christ, particularly the passion meditations of Richard Rolle, St Edmund's 'Mirror of the Holy Church', and the other texts in U such as 'A Good Meditation for One to say Alone'.[92] His discussion of saints' lives and legends at lines 222-50, another aspect of Clanvowe's text which would have

[91] This version of the Ten Commandments is called the 'Rhetorical version' by C. A. Martin. He discusses this version in which a brief exposition of each commandment is then followed by those who break that commandment (Martin (1981), 202-5). Clanvowe's structure is more similar to that of the text in Columbia University, Plimpton Add. 3, which is not mentioned in Martin, though it is in Kellogg and Talbert ((1956), 366).

[92] See the notes to the text of the 'Med. Alone', ii.381-3.

been abhorrent to the Lollards, also alludes to his familiarity with this genre.[93]

As we have seen, the inconsistencies in the life of Sir John Clanvowe only appear to be inconsistencies when we assume that he was a Lollard sympathiser. As an orthodox member of the church, Clanvowe follows the convention of his day, and we should not look upon his participation on a crusade and his pilgrimage as contradictory to his pious beliefs. Indeed, the very fact that he did participate suggests strongly that Clanvowe was an orthodox upholder of the church who happened to express his devotion in a treatise which has survived to the present day.

We should consider the text as evidence of the devotion of an orthodox member of the gentry, who was involved in the government during a turbulent period and who, it is reasonable to suggest, was probably aware of the heretical current which was becoming stronger and which may have involved people whom he dealt with on a daily basis. There is not, however, enough evidence within the text to suggest with any certainty or confidence that Clanvowe sympathised or believed in this heretical movement. His life records certainly contradict any upholding of Lollard doctrine, though we may see other similar contradictions in the lives of men like Nevill and Latimer, who are surely more suspect than Clanvowe.

[93] See the note to the text for lines 223-45.

Apart from his association with the Lollard Knights, through his career and the geographical proximity to men such as Walter Brut, there is no further evidence of Clanvowe's supporting the Lollard heresy. Because of this, most historians have based their conclusions on his text 'The Two Ways', but without much proof or comparison with other contemporary texts. When the text is compared with well-known heterodox and orthodox texts, the text's orthodoxy is convincing, its heterodoxy is not.

It is ironic that we know the author (Sir John Clanvowe), the general date of the text's composition (before 1391), and the possible audience (those of similar status to Clanvowe), yet the text leaves so many questions unanswered.[94] Though the importance of the text has been constantly called into question, we must simply take the text for what it is: highly valuable for the glimpse it gives us of the religious convictions and textual knowledge of a 'typical' member of the landed gentry during the reign of Richard II. The text is not only a reflection of Clanvowe's own textual knowledge, but also the knowledge of someone of his status and position, and a reflection of the texts which were perhaps

[94] Evidence for the possible audience is twofold: internal evidence such as Clanvowe's consistent use of the first person plural forms 'we' and 'us', presumably including himself and addressing people of a similar status, discussed above, ii.193. Externally, as noted on ii.202 n. 71., the manuscript evidence which points to people like the clerk, William Countour, and the noble woman, Joan de Bohun.

circulating amongst his own social and intellectual circle, and of the sermons they may have heard.

A TREATISE ON THE TWO WAYS BY SIR JOHN CLANVOWE

This tretis next folewynge maade *Sir* Iohan f. 114r
Clanevowe kny3t, 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,
a man com to hym and askede hym 3ef yat fewe
men shulden be saaued, and Crist answerede
and seyde, 'The 3aate is wyde, and þe way is
brood yat leedeþ to los, and manye goon in
þat wey. And how streit is þe 3aate *and* þe
weye nargh yat leedeth to þe lyf, and few
fynden yat wey.'/ By thise woordis of Crist f. 114v
we mown vndirstoonde þat þe way þat leedeþ
to þe peyne of helle is a brood wey, and þat
þe wey yat leedeþ to þe blisse of heuene is
a nargh wey. For Crist cleepeþ þe peyne of
helle los and þe blisse of heuene lyf. And
þerfore, it weer ful good þat we shoopen vs
for to eschewe yat broode way and for to goo
in that nargh wey, for we been euery day
goyng ful faste towardis anoþer place, and
we wyten neuere how soone we shuln out of
þis world.

us

And whanne we shuln passe hennes, who þat is yat tyme founden in þat broode wey, he shal withouten let to þe peyne of helle, and who yat is þat tyme founden in þe nargh wey, he shal withouten let to þe blisse of heuene. And þat blisse is so greet yat noon eye hath seyn ne eere y-herd, ne it hath not comen into mannes herte, þe ioye yat God haþ ordeyned for hem yat louen hym *and* shuln come þider. And yat ioye is not lich þe ioye of þis world, for al þe ioye of þis world is passynge *and* soone y-doon and foule y-medled with dreede *and* with manye ooþer diseesis and trauailles. But þe ioye of heuene is moore *and* moore *and* noo dreede, ne trauail, ne diseeses þereinne, ne lakkyng of nooþing yat herte may desire, and þerto it lasteþ withouten eende. And þerfore, wel is hym þat is founden in yat nargh wey whan he passeþ out of þis world, for he shal eueremoore dwelle with God in euerelastynge blisse. And woo is hym þat is founden in þe broode wey whanne he shal passe out of þis world, for he shal to þe paynes of helle. And yat payne is vnlyche any payne of þis worlde, for iche payne or turment of þis world mot haaue an eende, oþer by deeþ or by sum oother wey, but þe payne of helle is

grettere þan any herte kan þinke *and* shal neuere haaue eende, but it shal alwey bee moore *and* moore. And he þat is þere shal neuere dyen, but euere lyuen among the feendis in derknesse and in turment withouten eende.

And þerfore, crie we to oure Lord God, *and* preye we hym of his eendeles mercy yat he teeche vs his nargh wey and ȝeue vs grace to leeue þe brood wey. But þanne muste we bee meeke and crie to hym with meeke herte, for þe prophete seith yat God shal teechen hem yat been meeke hise weyes. And þerfore, meekely crie we to hym with þe prophete yat seith, 'Lord shewe me þi weyes and teeche me thi styes.' But þanne, ȝef God of his goodnesse teecheþ vs hise weyes, and we vnkyndely leeuen hise weyes and goon oothere weyes, we been muchel to blaame and worthi greete penaunce. And moore harme is manye / doon soo, for þouȝ þei knowen þe weyes of God, ȝet þei leeuen hem *and* goon þe weyes of þe feend for lust of here flesshe or lykynge of þe world. f. 115r

And sikerly, þei been grettere fooles þan þei yat woln not ȝeuen here babelis for alle þe kynges tresour. For a babel is an instrument yat is maad of þing yat is litel

worth and with yat a fool beeteþ ooþere men, and ofte tymes oothere men beeten hym þerwith aʒen, so yat he smyteþ *and* is smyten aʒen therwith, and it serueth of not elles. And yat a fool wol alwey haaue neiʒ hym, and he wol leeue it for noothyng. And whanne yat a fool loueþ so wel his babel, yat, men seyn, is þe preeue of a naturel fool. But ʒet been þei moore fooles preued yat woln not leeue here soory lustes yat been worse þan babelis, with þe whiche lustes þei greeuen ofte oothere folke and also þei been greued hemself. And ʒet, þei woln not ʒeuen hem for alle þe kynges tresour of heuene. And þerfore, in hem men mowen wel knowe yat þe woord of Crist is verified yat seith þus, 'The wysdoom of þis world is folie byfore God.' Therfore, for þe loue of God and of oure owene soules, vse we not yat folie. But whanne yat we knowen þe weyes of God, preye we hertely to hym yat he ʒeue vs grace to hoolden vs stedefastly in hem. And crie we ʒet aʒen to hym with þe prophete þat seith, 'Lord, maak perfit myne out-goyngges in thi paþes, so yat my steppes been not meeued.' And ʒef yat we been besy oureself *and* preyen God mekly yat he helpe vs, þanne shuln we lerne hise weyes and goon in hem

and haaue þe blissyng yat Dauid spekeþ of in
þe sauter, þere as he seith, 'Blissed been
all þoo yat dreeden oure Lord and yat walken
in hise weyes.' Yat is to seye, blissed been
alle þo yat goon in at þe streite ȝaate *and*
woln walke in þe narugh wey.

For þis forseide nargh wey is þe kepyng
of Goddis co*mm*aundement*ȝ*, *and* yat we mowen
see *and* knowe by þe woordis of Crist yat
seide to oon þat askede hy*m* what he shulde
doo to haue eu*e*relastyng lyf, and Crist
answerde to hym, '*Ȝ*ef you wolt entre
eu*e*relastyng lyf, keepe þe co*mm*au*n*dement*ȝ*.'
And by þoo woordis, *and* by manye oothere yat
been in hooly writ, we mown wel knowen þat
þer nys noon oothere wey to heuene but by
keepyng of Goddis hestes. So yat þe hestes
of God is the nargh wey yat leedeþ to
heuene, and þe strayte ȝaate is þe dreede of
God, þoru*ȝ* þe whiche dreede we shuln leeue
oure euele lustes, and yat we mowne wel
knowe / by hooly writ þat seith,'The dreede f. 115ᵛ
of God is þe bigy*n*nyng of wisdoom.' And þere
is noþing yat we mowne doo of wysdom, but
þat þat leedeþ vs toward þe blisse of
heuene. And þanne is þe dreede of God þe
bigy*n*nynge of þe narugh wey yat leedeþ to
heueneward. And for it is þe bigy*n*nyng and

þe entree of yat wey, it is cleeped þe ȝaate. **A**nd þus we mown see by resou*n*, yat þe keepyng of Goddis hestes is þe nargh wey yat leedeþ to lyf, **a**nd þe dreede of God is þe streit ȝaate of yat wey.

And riȝt so in þe contrarie wyse, þe breekyng of Goddis hestes is þe broode wey þat leedeþ to þe peyne of helle. **F**or as þe pr*o*phete seith to God, þat þei been acursed yat bowen awey fro þe co*m*maundementȝ of God. **A**nd þe wy[d]e ȝaate of yat broode wey is recchelesshipe of þe keepyng of Goddis hestes, þoruȝ þe whiche we folewen oure yuele lustes, and so þoruȝ yat we fallen into þe broode wey of helle, fro þe whiche God of his eendeles mercy keepe vs **a**nd ȝeue vs grace to goo in at þe streite ȝaate *and* hoolde vs in þe nargh wey, til yat it bee his wille to taake vs into þe lyf þat yat wey leedeth to. **A**nd sikerly, ȝef we been wyse, we shuln crie nyȝt *and* day to God yat he grau*n*te vs yat. **A**nd truste we fully in hym yat he wole grau*n*ten vs alle yat good is for vs, so yat we pr*e*yen hy*m* with a trewe her*t*e. **A**nd y*e*rfore, goo we into þe streyte ȝaate; yat is to seye, **d**reede we oure Lord God, for he is þe bigy*n*nyng of wisdom.

147 wyde] wyte U

And sikerly, we aughte weel to dreeden hym soore, for we haue no beyng, ne lyf, ne weele, ne wyt, but oonly of hym *and* by hym. And whanne yat hym lyketh, he may benymen vs yat. And also, he is *and* shal bee oure iuge, and he wot al yat we doon or haan y-doon, and we mown nowher flee from his doom, for he is oueral *and* alle myȝty. And also, we been synful, *and* synne muste needе bee punyssched in this world or in anoother. And oure Lord God, þouȝ he bee ful of mercy, ȝet he is ful of riȝtwisnesse. And þerfore, dreede we hym ouer alle thyng *and* þat shal maaken vs to leeue oure ydel doynges *and* yuele lustes, the whiche we mown doo awey to greet profit of oureself, ȝef yat we woln marchaundise wysily.

For þei yat been holden wyse marchauntȝ in þis world, þouȝ þei louen money neuer so wel, what tyme yat any of hem seeþ yat he may, with puttyng out of twenty pounde, wynne an hundrede pounde, he is faynere to putte forþ þoo twenty pound þanne he wolde bee to drawe to hym fourty or fifty / pound. f. 116r And also, ȝef a marchaunt woot yat he may, with twenty pound or ȝritty, keepe hym fro þe harme of an hundred or twoo hundred

172 *margin* no^ta U

pound, he is gladder to do out twenty or þritty pound for yat cause yat he wolde freely wy*n*ne fifty pound or sixty. Trewely, muche moore shulde we bee glad to doo awey oure yuel lustes *and* oure yuel deedes, for with doyng awey of hem, we mown, withouten any let, wy*n*ne þe blisse of heuene *and* keepen vs fro þe peyne of helle. And ȝef we doon thus, we been wyse marchaunt3, and ȝef we doo not þus, we been foolys, thou3 we geeten vs neuere so muche worsshipe and eese or richesse of this world.

But whanne yat oure Lord Ihesu Crist spak of thise forseyde weyes, he bad hem yat þei shulden stryue for to goo in by þe nargh *and* þe streyte ȝaate. And forsooth, so moote we doo, ȝef yat we wolen go þerin, for we han ȝre stronge enemys yat woln not by her wille leten vs come þerin withouten greet stryf: þat oon is þe feend, þat oother is þe world, þe ȝridde is oure flesshe. Thise ȝree enemys been alwey abouten for to leeden vs by þe wyde ȝaate into þe broode wey of helle, and for to lette vs for to goo by þe streite ȝaate into þe nargh wey of heuene. The feend is euere besy to letten vs with falsheed and with wyles, oure flesshe is besy to letten vs with his foule

lykerousnesse *and* freelte, and þe world is besy to letten vs with folye *and* vanite, *and* þis is a ful hard werre.

But, naþelees, we mown wel taken ensau*m*ple of þe seintes in heuene yat been y-passed by þe narugh wey to þe blisse of heuene, maugree þise forseyde enemyes. And also, þei haan left here woord *and* here teechyng to vs, how yat we schuln come þider after hem and withstoonde oure enemys as þei deden, ȝef yat we woln. And þerfore, it is greete schame to vs, and eendelees harme also, but ȝef we holden þe wey after þoo seyntes. For with þe grace of God as wel, mowe we goo þat wey, ȝef yat we woln as þei deden. For of þoo seyntes, þeere weeren su*m*me oolde men *and* oolde wo*m*men in feblesse of here bodies, and su*m*me ȝonge children and su*m*me tendre maydenes, *and* su*m*me weeren strong folke of here bodies, booþ men *and* wo*m*men, *and* su*m*me riche *and* su*m*me poore. And of alle þise forseide condicio*u*ns of poeple, þei woolden leeue here lustes i*n* þis worlde for to goo þoruȝ þe straite ȝaate, ande þerfore þei been now in blisse and muchel honoured booþe / in heuene *and* in eerthe. And riȝt so mown we doo, ȝef yat we woln loue *and* dreede oure God *and* not bee

f. 116ᵛ

recchelees of hym. For þe wyse man seith that iche man schulde bowe awey from yuel, by dreede of God, *and* also þe p*ro*phet seith that God is neiȝ to hem yat dreeden hym.

But as it is seid heere bifore, the feend wole letten vs al yat he may for to dreede God, for he wole putte to vs yat it is noo neede to vs for to dreede God so soore; for God is ful of mercy, and with þe leeste crieng of mercy yat we konne crie, he wol forȝeuen vs. And ȝef we been shapen to lyue loong tyme, we mown wel vsen oure eeses and oure lustes til yat we been neiȝ oure eende, and þanne mown we crie mercy *and* haue forȝeuenesse. And so, we mown booþe haue oure lustes in þis worlde and eek in heuene. And also he seiþ, ȝef yat þere bee heuene *and* helle as men speketh of, but þerof noo man woot, *and* þerfore, of þis world taake we yat we mown, for yerof we been syker.

And oure flesshe wole putte to vs yat he may not suffre for tendre[nesse], and þat he mot needes faillen or elles he mot haaue hise lustes, and þat lustes *and* eeses been ordeyned for yat he shulde vse he*m*, and yat he may not bee merie withouten hem, and yat he hadde leuere bee deed þan to forberen

268 tendrenesse] tendre U

hem. And þus wol þe flesshe gruchen, ande
þe world wole putte to vs þat it is not
profitable ne worsshipful to vs for to
leeuen oure lustes. And yat alle wyse *and*
worsshipful men of þis world trauaillen for
to geten hem eeses *and* lustes *and* worsshipe
and greet loos *in* this world, and ȝef yat we
deden ooþ*er*wyse, men wolde blaamen vs *and*
scornen vs *and* sette riȝt nouȝt by vs. Ande
þ*er*fore, it is wysdom *and* worsship a man to
confourme hy*m* to þe world. And also, yat he
mowe bee syker of his lyfloode after his
astaat, þe whiles yat he lyueth. Þise ben
þe skiles of þe world. But aȝens alle þise
enemys, we haan good *and* trewe resou*n*s
ynowe, which yat Crist *and* hise lawes haan
y-tauȝt, wiþ þe which we mown wel keepen vs
fro þise ȝree forseide cruele enemys *and*
werreyours.

And as anemptys þe feende, Seynt Petir
waarneþ vs *and* teecheþ vs on þis wyse: he
seith, 'Breþ*er*en beþ soobre *and* waaketh, for
ȝoure aduersaire þe deuel, roorynge as a
lyon, goth aboute seechyng whom he may
swolewen and distroyen, to whom withstoonde
ȝe stroonge in feith.' So yat by þilke
Apostels cou*n*seil, we schuln withstoonden
hy*m* *with* byleeue, / and þat is a trewe coun- f. 117r

seil. For oure byleeue teecheþ vs yat þe deuel is a lyere and is alwey abouten to bigylen vs with his falseheed. For we weeren y-maad for to serue God, *and* ȝef yat we so doo and hoolden hise hestes *and* dyen soo, we shulne bee parteners of his blisse. And ȝef we been recchelees of hym, *and* breken hise hestes and dyen so, we shuln go to þe peyne of helle. and þouȝ yat þe deuel byhote vs neuere so loonge lyf, we schuln lyue neuere þe lenger. And also, þouȝ we myȝte lyue manye þousand ȝeeres, ȝet at þe laste, we moten nedys dyen *and* been y-deemed after oure werkes yat we haan y-doon in oure lyf. And þerfore, ȝef yat we haan wel y-lyued, it is good yat we hoolden vs so til þat we dyen. And ȝef yat we haan yuel y-lyued, it is tyme yat we amende vs toward oure eende.

And also, þouȝ yat God is mercyable *and* good, yat shulde not with skyle maaken vs þe booldere to synnen, but it schulde maaken vs þe moore besy to keepen vs fro synne. For euere þe betere þat þe Lord is, þe betere he ouȝte to been y-serued. And in certein, þere is noo lord þat he ne wolde been yuel apayed ȝef yat his seruaunt greuede hym, þe wers for trust of þe lordis curteisye *and*

his meeknesse, for yat myȝte maaken a lord ful sterne aȝens his seruaunt. And þerfore, we mown wel feele yat þe feendis teechyng is fals *and* wykkede aȝens oure trewe bileeue. And þerfore, with oure trewe byleeue, we shulden stedefastly withstoonden hym *and* hise leesynges. For seynt Iame seith, 'Withstoonde ȝe þe deuel *and* he shal flee from ȝowe.' And þus with þe grace of God, we schuln maake þe stronge enemye to flee. But we moten bee wel waar, for þouȝ he flee at oo tyme, he wole come aȝen with anoother wyle, for he is ful of wyles. And also, ȝef yat oure flessh or þe world assaillen vs, þe feend wol alwey bee with hem for to looke how yat he may helpe to bigylen vs. And ȝef he may not doo to vs on þis wyse, he wole assaylen vs by oothere weyes, by hymself or by meenes as þus.

He wol often assaye to brynge a man into glotonye. And ȝef he may not brynge hym þerto, he wole assaye to brynge hym to ouer-greet abstinence. Or summe men he wole tempten to been coueitous and besy abouten worldely þinges. And ȝef he may not ouercomen hem þerinne, he wole foonde to bryngen hem into þe synne of slouth. And summe he foondeth to brynge into wanhope,

and ȝef he may not doo that, he assayeth to maake men sy*n*ne þe moore for trust of Goddis mercy. And þus þe feend, from sy*n*ne to sy*n*ne with manye temptaciou*n*s, besieth hym eueremoore for to drawen vs toward the broode wey of helle. And þerfore, we moten alwey bee / reedy for to withstoonden hym f. 117v with stroong feith.

For of þise forseyde temptaciou*n*s, oure byleeue teecheþ vs yat neythere glotonye ne ouer-muchel abstinence been vertues, but þe meene bytwene þise two is a vertue, and yat is mesurable taakyng of mete and drynke for neede of oure kynde. And also, coueytyng to haaue to muchel of þe world is a vice, and slouþe is a vice, and the meene bitwene þise two is a greete vertue, and yat is for to trauaille trewely for yat þat men needeth; and ȝef men geten moore ouer yat, for to helpe þerwith here needy breeþeren *and* neiȝebours. And eeke it is a greete sy*n*ne for to mystruste in þe mercy of God, and it is a greet sy*n*ne for to sy*n*ne þe moore for truste of Goddis mercy, and ȝet þe meene of þise two is a greet vertue, and yat is for to leeuen euel for dreede of God *and* for to doo good for þe loue of God. And þerfore þus, oure bileeue shal teechen vs þe meene

wey, yat is vertue, bitwene þe extremites, yat ben vices; to þe whiche þe feend wole drawen vs from vertues *and* leeden vs into vices. And þerfore þus, we moten walke in vertues *and* withstoonde the feend stroongly with oure feith in þise forseide temptaciouns and in alle oothere, and þanne shulne we þoruȝ swyche doynges haaue þank of God *and* victorie of oure oolde enemy þe feend.

And also, we moten stryue stroongly aȝens oure flesshe, for ȝef we folewen þe lykerousnesse of þe flesshe or obeyen to his freelte, he wol leeden vs in by þe wyde ȝaate into þe broode wey of helle. For as seynt Poul seith, 'Þe flessh coueiteth aȝens spirit and þe spirit aȝens þe flessh; þise two coueiten eithere aȝens oothere.' And þe werkes of the flessh been vices, and þe fruyt of þe spirit is vertue. And þerfore, he teecheþ vs yat we shulde not walke after þe flessh but after þe spirit. For he seith yat þe wysdom of þe flessh is deeþ, and yat þe wisdom of þe spirit is lyf *and* pees; and þe wisdom of þe flessh is enemy to God, ne he nys ne he ne may not bee suget to the lawe of God. And þerfore he seith to vs, ȝef we lyuen after þe flessh, we shulne

dyen; yat is to seye, we shuln bee dampned. And ȝef yat þoruȝ þe spirit we maken deede þe deedys of oure flessh we shuln lyue; yat is to seye, / we shuln bee saaued. f. 118r

And þerfore, doo we after þis trewe counseil of þe gospel, and maake we deede þe vices of þe flessh. For þe Apostel teecheþ vs, *and* also God of his goodnesse wole not yat we maake deede oure flessh, but þe deedis of oure flessh, þe whiche been vices fiȝtyng aȝens the spirit. For God of his greete curteisye wole yat we leete oure flessh haaue al yat hym needeth skilfulliche, and yat he ordeyneþ for vs ynouȝ, booþe mete *and* drynke *and* clooþing. And he wole yat we taaken þerof in swyche mesure as best is for vs. And whan we taaken so þerof, yat it dooþ vs harme, he hooldeþ hym not apayed, but as a good leeche þat kepte not þat þe seeke man tooke moore þanne shulde turne hym to goode, alþouȝ þe seeke man desire ofte tymes to taake *and* vse out of mesure aȝens his lyf and his heele also.

And þerfore, ȝef we shuln in at þe strayte ȝaate, we musten keepe oure flessh in right reule as men keepe*n* a seek man þat is disposed to fallen into woodnesse,

hoopynge to bryngen hym to heele. For oure flessh hath alwey yat seeknesse yat he is disposed to be woode, ȝef yat he haaue al yat he desireth. And ȝef yat he weere woode, þanne wolde he raþest doon harme to hise nexte *and* hise beste freendis, for yat is þe kynde of woodnesse. And þerfore, with good reule of þe spirit, maake we deede þe vicious lustes *and* werkes of þe flessh, and ȝeue we þe flessh al yat is good for hym *and* no moore, and þanne shal he lyuen *and* been al hool, and so shuln we euermoore lyuen togidere in eendelees blisse. And þus shal þe goode hoope of vs maken vs to reule wel oure flessh *and* keepen hym heere a lytel while from his vnskilful lykerousnesse, þe whiles yat we been heere in þis soory world, in good hoope yat þe leest þing yat we suffren now heere wilfully in oure flessh, shalle turne vs into muche moore blisse þanne al yat we kouden deuyse heere vpon eerthe. And þus shuln we, þoruȝ þe grace of God *and* þoruȝ good hoope, hoolde the flessh vnder *and* walke after þe spirit in at þe streyte ȝaate into þe narugh wey yat leedeþ to heuene.

We moten also stryuen ful harde aȝens þe worlde þe whiche, with folye *and* vanitee,

is ful besy aboute to bryngen vs into þe broode wey yat leedeþ to helle. And þerfore, do we as seynt Poul teecheþ, for he biddeth vs yat we shulden sauoure þoo thynges yat been aboue *and* not þoo thynges yat been heere on eerth. / And sikerly, 3ef f. 118v we taaken good keepe, þis is a trewe counseil. For 3ef yat we byhoolden þe thynges yat been aboue, we shuln fynde þere oure Lord God and his blissed moodir, hise aungelis *and* hise seyntes, with alle reste, ioye *and* pees withouten any eende. And 3ef yat we bihoolden to þe thynges yat been heere on eerth, we shuln fynde yat þere is nothyng withouten trauail or dreede or anger or sum diseese; and þerto, al þat euere is geten heere, it passeth soone. And therfore, for þe loue of God, sette we not oure hertes so muche vpon þe foule stynkyng muk of þis false faillynge world. But with good resoun, we shulden haue greet sauour in þoo thynges yat been abouen *and* louen hem with alle oure hertes, for þei been goode, delitable, sikere *and* lastyng. And certes, we shulden dispise *and* haate þise veyne thynges of þe world, for þei been euele, vneesie, vnsikere *and* not lastynge, and eek

472 he] *twice* U

þei ben contrarious to þe thynges abouen. Also seynt Iohan seiþ, 'Loue ȝe not þe world, ne þoo thynges yat been in þe world. For he yat loueth þe world, þe charitee of God is not in hym; for alle þing yat is in þe world, it is lust of flessh, or lust of eyen, or pruyde of lyf, þe whiche is not of þe faadir of heuene, but it is of þe worlde.' And seynt Iame seith þat þe frensshipe of this world is enemy to God; and he seith yat who yat euer wole be maad frende of this world, he is ordeyned enemy to God. How myȝte we þanne doo moore folie þanne for to loue þis wrecched world, sithen we seen wel by teechyng of þise seyntes yat þe loue of þe world shulde brynge vs fro þe loue of oure Fadir of heuene and maake vs hise enemys?

Preye we þanne hertely to oure Lord God, þe Fadir of heuene, yat he ȝef vs grace for to louen hym and dispise þis world. For sykerly, we mown not wel loue hym as we shulden doo, ȝef yat we louen þe world; for þis world is ful of falsheede, vanitee, *and* folie, and al þis is contrarie to God. And also, þei yat setten here trust in þis world been alle disseyued, and þei yat setten hooly here trust in God *and* in heuenely

þinges abouen, þei been euere siker *and* shuln lakke nooþing þat is good for hem. And also, þe world may ȝeue nooþing to hise loueres, þouȝ þei pleesen hy*m* neuere so muchel. For to hem yat he best loueth, he may ȝeue noothyng but swiche as he cleepeth richesses and worsshipes, þe whiche been myscleped soo; for ȝef it weere trewely cleped, men shulden clepe it sorewe *and* shaame. For yat yat is cleped richesse, it is greet tra-/-uaill to geten it and it is greet dreede to keepen it, *and* to depa*r*te þe*r*fro it is greet heuynesse, so þat fro þe firste getynge to þe laste forgoyng, it is alle sorewe. And þei yat haan þe greete rychesses of þis world, þei been as ofte sithes ateened, as ofte adrad, as ofte seeke, *and* as soone deede as þei yat haan noone swiche richesses. *And* whan þei been deede, it letteth hem to comen to heuene moore þan it helpeth hem, for Crist seide þat it was hard for a riche man to entre into þe kyngdom of heuene. And þe*r*fore, yat muk of þis world yat is cleped richesse, it shulde bee cleped sorewe *and* noo richesse, for whan þat we haan moost neede it may stoonde vs in noo stede. And so by resou*n*, we aughten for to dispisen swiche richesses

f. 119r

and bee besy abouten to maken vs tresour *in* heuene as Crist biddeth, for yat is sauoury tresor and shal neuer faile, and þis tresour heere vpon eerthe is fals *and* passyng *and* vnsauoury. And þerfore, as seynt Poul seiþ, *and* also it is seid heere byfore, 'Take we sauour in þoo þinges yat been abouen in heuene.' And with þe sauour of hem, we shuln dispise thise false, vnsauoury þinges yat been heere vpon eerthe þe whiche wolden liȝtly, ȝef yat we tooken sauo*ur* in hem, bryngen vs into þe broode wey of helle. For þider haþ þe sauo*ur* of eerthely þinges y-lad many oon, and yat witnesseth seynt Poul þe*re* as he seith þus, 'Thoo yat wolen bee maad riche fallen into temptacio*un* *and* into þe deuels pant*er* *and* into manye vnp*ro*fitable and envious desirs, þe whiche drawen men to manslauȝtre *and* also bryngen men to los of body *and* of soule.' And þerfore, by þis, *and* by manye oothere auctoritees, *and* also by kyndely skile, we mown wel see yat þise yat men clepen heere richesses been noone verrey richesses, but þing of nouȝt yat letteþ men to gederen hem þe faire richesses of heuene, þe whiche been verrey richesses.

And þerfore, taake we sauour in þe richesses abouen, *and* dispise we al yat is

heere bynebe vpon eerthe yat wolde letten vs to goo in þe streite wey þat leedeþ to þe blisse of heuene. And also, þe worsshipes of þis wrecchide world þat men desiren so greetly, ȝef yat we been wel avised, þei been noone worsshipes, ne þei auȝten not with treuth to been cleped worsshipes. And we mowne bee riȝt siker yat bifore God, þat is verrey treuth, þei been neither richesses ne worsshipes; for byfore God, alle vertue is worsshipe and alle synne is shame. And in þis world it is euene þe reuers, for þe world holt hem worsshipful yat been greete werrey-/-ours *and* fiȝteres, and yat dis- f. 119v troyen *and* wynnen manye loondis, *and* waasten *and* ȝeuen muche good to hem yat haan ynouȝ, and þat dispenden oultrageously in mete, in drynke, in clooþing, in buyldyng *and* in lyuyng in eese, slouþe *and* many ooþere synnes. And also, þe world worsshipeþ hem muchel yat woln bee venged proudly and dispitously of euery wrong yat is seid or doon to hem. And of swy[che] folke, men maken bookes *and* soonges, *and* reeden *and* syngen of hem for to hoolde þe mynde of here deedes þe lengere heere vpon eerth. For yat is a þing yat worldely men desiren greetly,

603 swyche] swy U

yat here naame myȝte laste loonge after hem heere vpon eerth. But what so euere þe world deemeþ of swiche forseide folke, leerne we wel yat God is souuerayn treuþe *and* a trewe iuge þat deemeth hem riȝt shameful byfore God *and* alle þe compaignie of heuene, for þere is alle synne, shame *and* vnworsshipe.

And also, swiche folke yat wolden fayne lyuen meekeliche in þis world and ben out offe swich forseid riot, noise *and* stryf, and lyuen symplely, *and* vsen to eten *and* drynken *in* mesure, and to clooþen hem meekely, *and* suffren paciently wroonges yat ooþere folke doon and seyn to hem, *and* hoolden hem apayed with lytel good of þis world and desiren noo greet naame of þis world, ne no pris therof, swiche folke þe world scoorneth *and* hooldeþ hem lolleris *and* loselis, foolis *and* schameful wrecches. But sikerly, God holdeth hem moost wise *and* most worsshipful, *and* he wole worsshipen hem in heuene foreuere whan yat þoo yat þe world worsshipeþ shuln bee shaamed *and* pyned for euere in helle, but ȝef yat þei amenden hem heere, eer þanne þei passen out of þis world. And þerfore, taake we sauour in þoo þinges yat been so goode *and* so worsshipful

abouen, *and* recche we neuer, þou3 þe world scoorne vs or hoolde vs wrecches. For the world scoorned Crist *and* heeld hym a fool, *and* alle yat he suffrede paciently. And seynt Poul seith þat Crist suffrede for vs, leeuynge vs ensaum*p*le yat we schulden so doo, folewynge hise traaces. And therfore, folewe we hise traaces and suffre we paciently þe scoornes of þe world as he dede, *and* þa*n*ne wole he 3euen vs *g*r*a*ce to comen in by þe narugh wey to the worsship-fulle blisse that he regneth inne./ And 3ef yat we folewen þe worsshipes of þis world as God forbeede, thei woln ful li3tly bryngen vs by þe broode wey into þe schameful place yat þe feend is inne, yat is, into þe peyne of helle. f. 120r

Also, it needeþ vs greetly to bee ful wel waar yat we folewen not euel companye of þis world, ne yat we confoorme vs not *yer*to, for yat is a thinge yat my3t li3tly brynge vs into þe broode wey of helle. For ofte sithes euel companyes bryngen men to synne whan yat þe feend, þe flessh ne the world shulden not bryngen hem *yer*to, 3ef yat swiche euel companies ne weere. And þus, ofte tymes men goon to þe tau*er*ne and been dru*n*ken, or to þe bordel *and* doon leccherye,

and þere þei fiȝten oþerwhile *and* doon manye oothere synnes for plesaunce of yuel felasshipe yat þei folewen. And ȝet, ne weere swiche euel companye yat þei been inne in yat tyme þei wolden not doo so, neiþer for temptacioun of þe feend, ne for likerousnesse of þe flessh, ne for vanyte of þe world.

And yerfore, it seemeth yat in swiche caas euele companie is worse þan any of þise ȝre forseide enemys, *and* yat wot þe deuel ful wel. And þerfore, he dooþ as a foulere yat taaketh first a brid *and* maakeþ þerof a wacchebrid and setteþ it bisyde his net for to synge, and þanne whanne yat oothere briddes seen it *and* heeren it synge, þei fallen alle doun to it. And þe foulere draweþ his net *and* so taaketh hem, *and* summe of hem he sleeþ and summe he keepeþ to maake wachbriddes of for to bigyle with alle the wachbriddes and eeke þilke yat he taketh. And riȝt so þe feend, whan he may taaken a leccherous man, he feedeth hym ofte with þe foule lustes of his flessh and of þe worlde als. And þanne he taakeþ hym *and* maakeþ of hym his wach for yat he shulde, with enticynge *and* euel ensaumple, maaken moo to fallen and to been y-kauȝt in þe feendes

net, *and* so moo *and* moo til þat at þe laste, he bryngeþ hem alle þat he taakeþ to þe deeþ of soule, but ȝef it so bee þat þei, þoruȝ þe grace of God, breken out of his net *and* fleen vp to heueneward. And þerfore, it is ful needful yat we preye besily to God yat he keepe vs from euel companye, lest yat we fallen adoun with hem *and* been y-kauȝt of oure oolde enemy as he kauȝte Adam, oure forme fadir, by entycynge of Eue his wif. *And* þoruȝ yat ouercomynge of Adam, þe feend gaat power of alle mankynde, til þe tyme yat oure blessede Lord Ihesu Crist suffrede harde deeþ for to / aȝenbuggen mankynd out of his power. f. 120ᵛ

But now, swiche as been synful men *and* wacches of þe feend been cleped of þe world goode felawes. For þei yat woln waaste þe goodis yat God hath sent hem in pruyde of the world *and* in lustes of here flessh, and goon to þe tauerne *and* to þe bordel, *and* pleyen at þe dees, waaken loonge anyȝtes *and* sweren faste, *and* drynken *and* ianglen to muche, scoornen, bakbiten, iaapen, gloosen, boosten, lyen, fiȝten *and* been baudes for here felawes, *and* lyuen al in synne *and* in vanitee, þei been hoolde goode felawes. And, moore harme is, þere is now in this

world muche swich curside felashipe. And forsothe, alle swiche felashipe walkeþ in þe broode wey yat leedeþ to losse of body *and* of soule, and as þe gospel seith, fewe men fynden þe nargh wey yat leedeþ to blisse.

And 3et of þoo fewe, whan þei comen amonges hem yat goon þe nargh wey, *and* speken to hem yat leeuen þe broode wey yat þei been inne, *and* conseillen hem to t*urn*e into þe nargh wey yat leedeþ to blisse, þei of þe broode wey been comunliche encou*m*bred of hem *and* scoorne*n* hem, mysseyn hem *and* blamen he*m*, *and* hoolden with oother yat mayntene*n* here euele deedes, *and* þei been veery with þe felasshipe of he*m* yat hoolden þe nargh wey. And 3et, for al yat þe nargh wey is þe wey of God *and* þe broode wey is þe wey of þe feende, and neuerthelees, þe world clepeth hem fooles yat goon Goddis weyes, and men clepen hem goode felawes *and* worsshipful yat goon in þe feendis weyes, *and* so in this world, þe seruice of þe feend is worsshiped *and* pre*i*sed. And þe*r*fore, it is ful sooþ yat seynt Iohan seith þat alle þis world is set in euel. And siþþe yat it so is, do we after seynt Poul þat biddeþ vs yat we shulden not bee in wille to bee maad lich to þis world.

And þ*er*fore, dispise we þis wrecchide fals world yat is alle set in euel, *and* taake we sauour in þoo þinges yat been abouen, þe whiche been alle goode. **A**nd on þis wise, as it is seid byfore, withstoonde we þe feend with stroong feiþ, *and* hoolde we þe flessh vndir with good hoope, *and* dispise we þe world with þe charitee of God *and* þe blisse of heuene. And þa*n*ne shuln we, with Goddis grace, goon in at þe streite ȝaate *and* so goo forth in þe nargh wey, þe whiche shal, w*ith* Goddis mercy, bringen vs to þe blisse of heuene. **A**nd whan yat God of his greete goodnesse haþ ȝouen vs grace to comen into þe nargh wey, þanne it is good yat we hoolden vs þerinne, and yat we fallen not out of it into þe broode wey. Þat is, yat we keepe þe comau*n*dement3 of God, *and* yat we breeke hem for nooþing; for,/ as it is seyde f. 121r heere bifore, the nargh wey is þe keepyng of Goddis comaundement3, and þe broode wey is þe brekynge of þe selue comau*n*dement3. **A**nd þ*er*fore, we shuln vndirstoonde þat þ*er* been ten comau*n*dement3, the whiche been þise yat folewen next after.

The firste is yat we shuln haue noon oother God but oure Lorde God of heuene. Þe seconde is yat we shuln not taake þe naame

of oure Lorde God in veyn. The þridde is yat we shuln halewe oure haliday. The feerþe is yat we shuln worsshipen oure fadir and oure moodir. The fifthe is yat we shuln slee no man. The sixte is yat we shuln doo noo leccherye. The seuenthe is yat we shuln not steele. The eightthe is yat we shuln bere noo fals witnesse aȝens oure neiȝebour. The nyenthe is yat we shulne not coueyte oure neiȝebores hous. The tenthe is yat we shuln not desire oure neiȝebores wyf, ne his seruant, ne his mayden, ne his oxe, ne his asse, ne nooþing of his. And of thise ten comaundementȝ, þe ȝree firste been apropred to þe loue *and* þe worsshipe of God, and þe oothere seuene folewyng to oure euene cristene.

And þerfore, taake we alwey riȝt greete keepe of þise forseyde hestes, *and* yat we breken noone of hem. For alle þei yat been in any fals byleeue, or doon ydolatrie or wichecrafte, or louen or dreden or worsshipen anythyng moore þan God, þei breken þe firste comaundement. And alle þei yat taaken þe name of God falsly or in veyn, þei breken þe secounde comaundement. And alle þei yat setten hem not on þe hooliday to þe seruice of God, and keepen hem not fro

werchyng of eerthly werkes at here power, or yat dispenden þe halyday in worldly besynesse, in flesshly lustes or *in* merth of vanitee, þei breken þe ȝridde comau*n*dement. And all þoo yat worsshipen not here fadir *and* here moodir, or yat helpen hem or coum*f*orten hem not, in body *and* in soule, in here neede at here power, or þei yat worsshipen not here gostly moodir, holy chirche, as þei auȝte*n* to doo, þei breken þe feerth comau*n*dement. And alle þoo yat sleen any man in þouȝt, in woord or in deede, þei breken þe fifthe comau*n*dement; but ȝef it been swiche as haan auctorite by good resou*n* for to putte men *y*erto yat disseruen þe deeth by Goddis lawe and ellis not. And alle þoo yat dou*n* lecchery *in* any degre, kyndely or vnkyndly, þei breken þe sixte co*m*mau*n*dement. And alle þoo yat robben or stelen, taa-/-ken by maistrie or be extorcou*n*, or by any gyle or falsheede, here neiȝebores goodis, þei breken þe seuenþe comaundeme*n*t. And alle þoo yat beren falsse witnesse aȝens here neiȝebore, or sclau*n*dren or bacbyten hem falsly in euel, þei breken þe eightþe comaundement. And alle þoo yat coueiten here neiȝebores hous, land or any thyng of his, oonly for þe coueityng of it, f. 121ᵛ

þei breken þe nyenþe comaundement. And alle þoo yat desiren here neiȝebores wyf or housebonde, seruant or mayden, alle be it so yat þei geten not yat þei desiren, ȝet for þe desirynge, þei breken þe tenþe comaundement. And also, alle þei yat breken any of þise forseide comaundementȝ, þei been in þe broode wey yat leedeth to helle, til yat þei repenten hem þerof and been in ful wille to kepe alle þe forseide comaundementȝ at here power into here lyues eende. And so it is ful perillous to breken hem *and* ful profitable to keepen hem.

But worldly *and* flesshly men þenken yat þe comaundementȝ been ful harde to keepe; but sikerly, þei yat been goostly *and* louen wel God, þinken hem not heuy to keepe. For seint Iohan seith þat it is þe charge of God þat we keepe hise comaundementȝ, and hise commaundementȝ been not heuy. And þerfore, ȝef we louen God as we auȝten to doo, we shuln alwey keepen þoo ten comaundementȝ, with louyng and dreedyng hym as oure Fadir and oure Lorde, and oure neiȝebore as oure self. And yat we mown wel knowe by þe woordis of Crist yat seide to a man yat askide hym what was þe gretteste comaundement in þe lawe, and Ihesu answerde

and seide, 'Thou shalt loue þi Lord God of alle þin herte, of alle þin soule, of alle þi mynde *and* of alle þi strengthes. This is þe firste *and* þe gretteste co*mm*aundement. The seconde is lyke to þis, you shalt loue þi nei3ebo*ur* as þiself. And in þise two co*mm*au*n*dement3 hangeþ alle þe lawe *and* þe pr*o*phetes.' And sithen yat we mown, with þe louyng of God and of oure neighebour, keepen alle þe co*mm*au*n*dement3 of God, we au3ten not þanne hoolde*n* it heuy for to keepen hise hestes, ne we shulden not grucchen to keepen hem on yat wise.

For sikerly, it is resonable, delitable *and* profitable for to loue God abouen alle oothere þinges and oure nei3ebo*ur* as oureself. Reso*u*nable it is, for of nou3t he ma-/-ade vs to his owene ymage *and* lyknesse, f. 122r and he hath ordeyned vs 3ef yat we woln ourself to be parteneres with hym of þe blisse of heuene. And al yat is here vpon eerthe, he hath ordeyned it for þe helpe *and* þe eese of vs. And al yat we haan yat good is, he 3eueth it vs. And al yat we asken hym, with a good trewe herte yat skilful is, he grau*n*teth it vs.

And whanne yat we hadden lost, þoru3 þe synne of Ada*m*, oure part of pa*r*adis, he coom

þanne for loue of vs, *and* tooke flessh and bloode of þe blesside mayden **M**arie *and* bicoom man for vs, and was born of yat blesside mayden withouten wem of hire maydenhoode. **A**nd þe tyme of his blesside berthe was in þe cooldeste of þe wynter, *and* in a poore logge and a coolde. **A**nd wha*n*ne yat he was born, his blesside moodir wrappide hym in a fewe poore clooþis *and* leyde hym in a maungeo*ur*, bitwene an oxe *and* an asse, for to warmen hy*m*, for þere was no gretter*e* aray. **A**nd he coom on so poore and so meeke a wise into þis world, al for to ȝeuen vs ensau*m*ple of meeknesse and of wilful pouerte. **A**nd þe eiȝteþe day after his burthe, he was circu*m*cised *and* shedde for vs þoo of his p*r*ecious blood. **A**nd after yat, he wonede heere vpon eerthe moore þanne two *and* ȝritty wynter, and p*r*echede and tauȝte þe poeple þe riȝte wey to heuene *and* wrouȝte monye **w**ondres and heelede muchel folke, booþe bodyly and goostly, **a**nd suffrede heete and coolde *and* þirst, booþe weet and drie, and euel herberewe, scoornes, repr*e*ues, bacbity*n*ges, chidynges, wroonges *and* manye oothere dispites and greete diseeses; **a**nd at þe laste, his owene disciple bytrayed hym for his goodnesse.

And afterwarde, þei tooken hym and bounden hym as a þeef and ladden hy*m* to here bisshope, and þere þei acusiden hy*m* with fals witnesse, *and* buffeteden hym and blyndefelden hym, *and* scoorneden hy*m* *and* spitteden on hys blisside face as þei wolden haue dou*n* on a dogge. And after yat, he was y-lad bifore Pilat of Pou*n*ce, and þere he was falsly accused *and* enprisou*n*ed, and afterward y-stript naaked *and* bounden to a piler *and* beeten with scharpe scoorges, til yat al his blesside boody ran on bloode þat neue*r*e dede synne. And after, / þei setten f. 122ᵛ on his blesside heed a coro*u*ne of greete, scharpe þornes, and cloo*þ*iden hy*m* as a fool *and* scorneden hym. And after yat, þei deemeden hym falsly to þe deeth and maaden hym go bitwene two þeeues, as weery and al forbled as he was, and maden hym to bere his heuy cros, yat he shulde dyen on, vpon his owene bak þoru3 þe citee in si3te of his blissede moodir, his kyn *and* his oothere freendis. And whanne yat he coom into þe place of comun iuyse, þei naylleden his blessed feet and hise hoondis with greete, boistouse naylles to þe cros and al to-drowen his hooly lymes vpon þe cros. And 3et, in alle hise greete peynes, þis

innocent *prey*ede for hise enemys *and* seide,
'Fadir forȝeue hem þis gilt, for þei witen
not what þei doon.' And þoo þei heengen
þeef on his riȝt half and anoo*þer* on his
lyft half *and* hym, for dispit, þei heengen
bytwene hem two. And þanne he þirstede
soore for þe greete peynes *y*at he hadde
suffred and þe bleedynge þat he hadde bled.
And þoo þei ȝeeuen hym eysel and galle for
to drynke, and whanne he hadde assayed what
it was, he wolde not drynke it, but boowide
his blessede heed adoon *and* ȝelde vp þe
goost. And þanne þere coom a knyȝt y-cleped
Longeus, and smoot hy*m* þoruȝ þe her*t*e with
a spere, and þe*r* coom out waatir and bloode,
and alle þis he suffrede for vs. And after
þis, hise blesside body was taaken doon of
þe cros *and* buried. And þanne he wente dou*n*
into helle, *and* þere he fette out þilke yat
he louede. The thridde day after, he aroos
froom deeth to lyue, *and* schewede hym to
manye men *and* wo*m*men, and yat on manye
wyses. And after, in þe siȝte of hise
disciples, he steigh vp into heuene.

And now, of his greete goodnesse, he
keepeþ vs fro manye p*e*rils, and we greeuen
hym ful soore eue*r*y day, and ȝet he spaareth

950 yat] *text begins here* S 951 þe] for þe S
956 y-cleped] i-cleped, -i- *eras*. S

vs to loke whether we woln amende vs with long tyme. And þouȝ we synnen neuere so greetly, anoon as we been riȝt soory yerof and in ful wyl to synnen no moore, anoon he forȝeueth vs gladly. And þerfore, whan we biþenken vs wel vpon þise forseide þinges, þe whiche yat God of his greete goodnesse hath doon and dooth euery day for vs, *and* vpon þe harde peynes yat he hath suffred for vs, we mown / wel knowen þat it is re- f. 123r
sounable to loue God obouen alle oothere þinges, as it is seide bifore.

And also, it is resounable yat we louen oure neiȝebour as oureself, for it is þe wil *and* þe commaundement of God yat we so doo. And eek, oure neighbour is of þe selue fourme and kynde yat we been of, *and* þerfore kyndly, we shulden iche oon hertely loue oothere with good skile. And also, it is delitable for to loue God abouen alle oother þinges, *and* oure neiȝebour as oureself. For who yat loueþ God ouer alle þing, he may wel deliten hym in þenkynge þat he loueth hym yat passeth alle ooþere þinges in goodnesse, in fairnesse, in konnyng *and* in myȝt; and yat God, of his greete goodnesse, wole louen hym aȝen, a þousandfold better þan any herte

975 vs] hit vs S 984 neiȝebour] neiȝebors S
988 iche oon] euerichone S

kan þenken or deuysen. And ȝet yerto, he shal haaue þe loue of alle þe companye of heuene and of alle þe good folke on eerthe; and yat shal not passe as worldly loue dooþ, but it shal laste euere withouten eende. And to louen oure neiȝebour as oureself, it is ful merye, booþ to body and to soule, so yat þe loue of God and of oure neiȝebour, it is ful of merthe, and it is of grettere delite þan is any oother þing. And also, it is profitable to loue God abouen alle oothere þinges and oure neiȝebour as oureself, for he yat dooþ so shalle haue þe blisse of heuene yat euere shal laste, and þat is þe althergretteste profit yat may bee. And þerfore, siþþen yat þe loue of God and of oure neiȝebour is so resounable, delitable *and* profitable as it is preued here bifore, we been to greete foolis, but ȝef we keepen vs with alle oure myȝt in yat loue, for yat is þe nargh wey yat leedeth to heuene, of þe whiche is spoken of heer tofore.

And þerfore, preye we hertely to oure Lord Ihesu Crist yat of his muchel mercie, he ȝeue vs grace to commen into yat wey and to hoolden vs þerinne. But þere is muche

1002 euere] *om.* S 1017 ȝef] *om.* S 1019 is] hit is S 1020 tofore] bifore S

folke yat seyn yat þei ben in yat wey, whan it is not so, for þe speche of alle is yat þei louen God abouen alle oothere þinges. But what so euere þei seyn, Crist, yat may not lyen, seiþ þus, 'Who yat loueþ me, schal keepe my woordes *and* my commaundement3. And my Fadir shal louen hym, and we shullen commen to hym *and* maake oure dwellynge with hym. And who yat loueþ not me, keepeþ not my woordis.' Also, Crist seiþ þus, 'He yat hath myne commaundement3 *and* keepeth hem, yat is he yat loueth me.' / And seynt Iohan f. 123v seiþ, 'In yat we witen yat we knowen God, 3ef yat we keepen hise commaundement3. And who seith yat he knoweþ God and keepeþ not hise comaundement3, he is a lyere, *and* treuth is not in hym.' And also he seith, 'Loue we not with woord ne with toonge, but with deede *and* with treuth.' And þerfore, we mown wel knowe by thise woordis of Crist *and* of hise apostles, *and* by manye oothere auctorites of hooly writte, yat noo man may come to þe blisse of heuene, but 3ef [he] be in wille to keepe þe commaundement3 of God, þe whiche comaundement3 been fully kept of hem yat louen God *and* here nei3ebour as

1036 he] *corr.* S 1040 comaundement3] hestes S 1041 also] *om.* S 1047 he] *om.* U 1049 comaunde-ment3] *om.* S 1050 God] God ouer alle þing S

hemself, as þei auȝten to doun, *and* as it is seid bifore. And þerfore, alle þoo yat louen so God *and* here neiȝebour as hemself, þei been in þe nargh wey yat leedeþ to þe blisse yat euere shalle lasten. And alle þoo yat loue not so God and here neiȝebour, þei been in þe broode wey yat leedeþ to þe deeth of helle peyne yat euere shalle lasten. And þerfore, lifte we vp oure hertes to oure Lord God alle myȝty, þat hath maad vs *and* bouȝt vs with his precious blood. And preye we hym hertely, of his greete goodnesse *and* of his eendeles mercy, yat he ȝef vs grace to keepen vs out of yat broode wey yat leedeþ to þe griseliche peynes of helle, and graunt vs grace to goon in þat nargh wey yat leedeth to þe blisse of heuene, til þat we comen to yat blisse yat he hath ordeyned for hem yat louen hym, Amen.

1051 þei] hem S 1052 yat...*and*(1053)] *on eras. corr.* S 1053 neiȝebour] neihȝebores S as hemself] *om.* S 1058 deeth...peyne] pyne of helle S 1067 þe] *om.* S 1068 þat] *om.* S yat...yat] þulke ioye whuch S 1070 Amen] *om.* S

NOTES[1]

title — I have adapted Scattergood's name of 'The Two Ways' which he based in his note on William Smith's name 'de viis duabus' in the index on f. 4 of U. Scattergood's assumption that Clanvowe would not have used a Latin title is unfounded (Scattergood (1975), 86.

The theme of the 'two ways' was very popular in the contemporary literature: for example, see the anonymous text found in BL, Harley 2398, ff.174^{r}-175^{v} and Magdalen College, Cambridge, Pepys 2125, ff. 125^{v}-126^{r} (Jolliffe I.2); FM V.xiii.484/43-9; SP I.xlii.98-9; the poem 'On the Evils of Covetousness' in Tokyo, Takamiya Collection 15, ff. 82^{v}b-83^{r}a.

1-4 — Scattergood's note on the incipit draws attention to the meaning of the 'greete see' as a referent to the Mediterranean or the Black Sea, in contrast to the Sea of Marmora (Scattergood (1975), 86 note to lines 2-3). What should be noted here is the import of this biographical detail. It refers to Clanvowe's possible pilgrimage and death near Constantinople in 1391. But does this incipit, written after his death, allude to when the text was written, perhaps before or during his 'viage'? The question as to when Clanvowe composed his text has led to some dubious suggestions such as J. Catto's that it was 'written on the eve of his last crusade' (Catto (1981), 54). Likewise, whether Clanvowe's 'last viage' was a crusade or pilgrimage has also sparked some speculation. A further look at The Westminster Chronicle reveals that the entry following that on Clanvowe's death mentions the death, also in October of 1391, of Thomas, Lord Clifford: 'Item in ista estate in quadam insula versus Jerosolim obiit cum magna contricione dominus de Clyfford' miles juvenis fortis et audax' (480). Perhaps both were on their way to the Holy Land following the routes overland and across the sea described by Sir John Mandeville in his travels (Mandeville's Travels, ed. P. Hamelius (EETS OS 153, 1919)). This has been

[1] See notes to the text in Scattergood (1975), 86-89.

suggested by Waugh (1914), 77 n.6.
It is unlikely that Clanvowe and his companion, Sir William Nevill, were going on crusade, as the next crusade was not until Nicopolis in 1396 (Atiya (1938), 435-62).
It should also be noted that in 1382, Clanvowe was seriously ill and required a surgeon, Richard le Leche of Salisbury, who was personally thanked by Richard II with a gift for his services on Christmas Day 1382 (Waugh (1914), 76; CPR 1381-5 214-5). It may have been this experience of illness, perhaps close to death, which inspired Clanvowe to write his penitential text.

5-13 LUKE 13:23-4, 'Ait autem illi quidam: Domine, si pauci sunt, qui salvantur? Ipse autem dixit ad illos: Contendite intrare per angustam portam: quia multi, dico vobis, quaerent intrare, et non poterunt.'
MATTHEW 7:13-4, 'Intrate per angustam portam: quia lata porta, et spatiosa via est, quae ducit ad perditionem, et multi sunt qui intrant per eam. Quam angusta porta, et arcta via est, quae ducit ad vitam: et pauci sunt qui inveniunt eam!'

30-4 I CORINTHIANS 2:9, 'Sed sicut scriptum est: Quod oculus non videt, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus iis qui diligunt illum.'

64-5 PSALM 24:9, 'Diriget mansuetos in iudicio; Docebit mites vias suas.'

67-8 PSALM 24:4, '....Vias tuas, Domine, demonstra mihi, et semitas tuas edoce me.'

77-94 A fool's baubel: Scattergood refers to its proverbial usage in Whiting F 394, which is also found in the Lollard interpolated version of the Ancren Riwle: 'a more fole þan he þat bereþ a Babyl' (The Recluse: A Fourteenth Century Version of the Ancren Riwle, ed. J. Påhlsson (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift ns 1, VI:i, Lund, 1911), 121/16-17).

97-8 I CORINTHIANS 3:19, 'Sapientia enim huius mundi, stultitia est apud Deum....'

104-6 PSALM 16:5, 'Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis, ut non moveantur vestigia mea.'

110-12 PSALM 127:1, '....Beati omnes qui timent Dominum, qui ambulant in viis eius.'

115-16 See the 'Ten Commandments', 4-8. On the keeping of the ten commandments as vital to the Christian faith, see all of PSALM 118.

118-21 MATTHEW 19:16-7, 'Et ecce unus accedens, ait illi: Magister bone, quid boni faciam ut habeam vitam aeternam? Qui dixit ei: Quid me interrogas de bono? Unus est bonus, Deus. Si autem vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata.'

130-1 PROVERBS 1:7, 'Timor Domini principium sapientiae....'
PSALM 110:10, 'Initium sapientiae timor Domini....'
PROVERBS 9:10, 'Principium sapientiae timor Domini....'

145-6 PSALM 118:21, 'Increpasti superbos; maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis.'

162-3 Repeat of l. 130-1

165-8 See also the 'Ten Commandments', 516-523.

183-93 Monetary metaphor given here to exemplify the speaker's point: that the money put forward as an investment for profit or a small payment to ward off a debt is like the giving up of our sins to win more heavenly bliss (profit) and to avoid the pains of Hell (debt).

207-11 The three ghostly enemies of man: the flesh, the world, and the fiend are mentioned in various other texts. See the 'Ten Commandments', 68-70, though in reverse order; the poem 'On the Evils of Covetousness' in Takamiya 15, ff. $83^{r}a$; Chaucer's 'The Tale of Melibee' VII.1421 (*2611); FM V.xxvii-xxxvii.556/1-622/115, which instructs to fight the world through faith, the flesh through hope and the devil through charity; and S. Wenzel, 'The Three Enemies of Man' Medieval Studies 29 (1967), 47-66.

221 The image of the battle or war between man and his ghostly enemies is the theme for 'A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle' or the 'Milicia Christi'; see Horstman (1896), ii. 420-436 and V. Murray, 'An Edition of "A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle" and 'Milicia Christi"' (unpubd. D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1970). It originates from JOB 7:1, 'Militia est vita hominis super terram...' or 'Alle

mannes lyfe vpone erthe ys but fygthynge and knygthode ayenst gostly enemyes. These enemyes bene the fende, the worlde, and the flessh' (Horstman (1896), ii.421/18-20). Jacob's Well also uses the theme of the seven battles in which one must fight, including the battles against the flesh, the fiend and the world (Jacob's Well, ed. A. Brandeis (EETS OS 115, 1900), 299-301. See also Wenzel (1967), 63-6.

223-45 The reference here to saints' lives and legends, one wonders which Clanvowe would have been familiar with. However, if he is to be associated with the Lollards, it is strange that he should recommend saints' lives as role models when Lollards shared a strong 'disapproval of post-biblical saints' (Hudson (1988), 197). See also Hudson (1988), 302-3, for more about the Lollard objection to the veneration of saints.

247-9 PROVERBS 16:6, 'Misericordia et veritate redimitur iniquitas, et in timore Domini declinatur a malo.'

249-50 PSALM 84:10, 'Verumtamen prope timentes eum salutare ipsius, ut inhabitet gloria in terra nostra.'

263-6 The use of the commonplace argument here questioning the existence of Heaven and Hell is discussed in Spencer (1993), vi-vii, in which she quotes from Chaucer, Etienne de Bourbon, and Margery Kempe.

267-77 Similar here to the description of the battle against the flesh in Jacob's Well: 'þanne comyth þe iij. batayle, þat is, of þe flesch, þat lestyth longe wyth man. for whan þe flesch sufferyth penauns or hardnesse, it grucchyth þer-with; for all þat is soft, esy, & delycate, it louyth, and ȝif þe flesch haue his wyll, he ouercomyth a man'(Brandeis (1900), 300).

295-9 I PETER 5:8-9, 'Sobrii estote, et vigilate: quia adversarius vester diabolus tanquam leo rugiens circuit, quaerens quem devoret: cui resistite fortes in fide: scientes eandem passionem ei quae in mundo est vestrae fraternitati fieri.'

302-4 The Devil is a liar and always out to beguile man, see Whiting D 186. Scriptural

source JOHN 8:44, 'Vos ex patre diabolo estis: et desideria patris vestri vultis facere. Ille homicida erat ab initio, et in veritate non stetit: quia non est veritas in eo: cum loquitur mendacium, ex propriis loquitur, quia mendax est, et pater eius.'

337-8 JAMES 4:7, 'Subditi ergo, estote Deo, resistite autem diabolo, et fugiet a vobis.'

368-71 The mean between the two extremes is a virtue, see the 'Ten Commandments', 141-4, and Whiting M 443, V 45, and W 117.

401-3 GALATIANS 5:17, 'Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum: spiritus autem adversus carnem: haec enim sibi invicem adversantur: ut non quaecumque vultis, illa faciatis.'

403-5 Paraphrase of GALATIANS 5:19-23, 'Manifesta sunt autem opera carnis: quae sunt fornicatio, immunditia, impudicitia, luxuria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, irae, rixae, dissensiones, sectae, invidiae, homicidia, ebrietates, comessationes, et his similia, quae praedico vobis, sicut praedixi: quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non consequentur. Fructus autem Spiritus est: charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, bonitas, longanimitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas. Adversus huiusmodi non est lex.'

406-7 Paraphrase of GALATIANS 5:25, 'Si spiritu vivimus, spiritu et ambulemus.'

408-12 ROMANS 8:6-7, 'Nam prudentia carnis, mors est: prudentia autem spiritus, vita et pax: quoniam sapientia carnis inimica est Deo: legi enim Dei non est subiecta: nec enim potest.'

413-17 ROMANS 8:13, 'Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini: si autem spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis vivetis.' Translation here follows Latin syntax in a way similar to the early and later versions of the Wycliffite Bible: '...but if ȝe bi the spirit sleen...'(LV).

426-32 ECCLESIASTICUS 29:28, 'Initium vitae hominis, aqua et panis, et vestimentum, et domus protegens turpitudinem.' ECCLESIASTICUS 39:31, 'Initium necessariae

rei vitae hominum, aqua, ignis, et ferrum, sal, lac, et panis similagineus, et mel, et botrus uvae, et oleum, et vestimentum.'
I TIMOTHY 6:8, 'Habentes autem alimenta, et quibus tegamur, his contenti simus.'
Also found in the B-text of Piers Plowman: 'And comaunded of his curteisie in commune three thynges:/ Are none nedfulle but tho, and nempne hem I thynke,/ And rekene hem by reson - reherce thow hem after./ That oon is vesture from chele thee to save,/ And mete at meel for mysese of thiselve,/ And drynke whan thow driest - ac do noght out of reson,/ That thow worthe the wers whan thow werche sholdest' (B.I.10/20-6).

472-5 COLOSSIANS 3:2, '...quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram.'

488-9 The strong language here has commonly been used to associate Clanvowe with the language of the Lollard wills of Cheyne, Clifford, and Latimer. See the introduction to the text, ii.192.

498-505 I JOHN 2:15-6, 'Nolite diligere mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est charitas Patris in eo: quoniam omne quod est in mundo, concupiscentia carnis est, et concupis-centia oculorum et superbia vitae: quae non est ex Patre, sed ex mundo est.'
It is interesting to note here that Clanvowe has translated 'et...et' as 'or...or' and not as 'and...and'.

505-9 JAMES 4:4, 'Adulteri nescitis quia amicitia huius mundi inimica est Dei? Quicumque ergo voluerit amicus esse saeculi huius, inimicus Dei constituitur.'

545-7 MATTHEW 19:23 (MARK 10:23-4, LUKE 18:24), 'Iesus autem dixit discipulis suis: Amen dico vobis, quia dives difficile intrabit in regnum caelorum.'

552-7 Paraphrase of MATTHEW 6:19-20, 'Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra: ubi aerugo, et tinea demolitur: et ubi fures effodiunt, et furantur. Thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo, ubi neque aerugo, neque tinea demolitur, et ubi fures non effodiunt, nec furantur.'

558-60 Restatement of l. 472-5 from COLOSSIANS 3:2.

567-72 I TIMOTHY 6:9, 'Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem, et in laqueum diaboli, et desideria multa inutilia, et nociva, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem.' Scattergood ((1975), 20) notices a misreading here, where 'mergunt' has been translated as 'drawen' and not 'drownen'. This may have resulted in a scribal error, where the copyist has mistaken the 'o' for an 'a', and missed the nasal mark. However, because Clanvowe has translated 'in interitum' as 'to manslauȝtre' and not as 'in to deth' (LV), this reading certainly makes sense. But the quotation is more a paraphrase than a direct translation.

588-9 JOHN 14:6, 'Dicit ei Iesus: Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita....'

591-600 Contemporary commentary here from Clanvowe, which is ironic when juxtaposing Clanvowe's own military career with this text. See the introduction to the text, ii.184-91. The common parallel is with the tenth conclusion of the Lollard 'Twelve Conclusions' which condemns 'manslaute be batayle' (SEWW 28/135-53).

606-9 Clanvowe's criticism of the vain desire for one's name to be remembered after death echoes the tenth of the Lollard 'Twelve Conclusions': 'And knythtis þat rennen to hethnesse to geten hem a name in sleinge of men geten miche maugre of þe King of Pes' (SEWW 28/149-51).

611 Repeat of l. 588-9.

625-7 For a discussion of Clanvowe's use of the word 'lolleris', see the introduction to the text and the footnote, ii.192-4.

634 Clanvowe switches here to the first person, having used the third person in his discussion of the Lollards. See the introduction to the text, ii.193.

639-42 I PETER 2:21, 'In hoc enim vocati estis: quia et Christus passus est pro nobis, vobis relinquens exemplum ut sequamini vestigia eius.'

675-84 The exemplum of the fowler who takes one bird as a 'wacchebrid' and puts it near a net to tempt other birds into the net in

the same way that the Devil uses people to tempt each other comes from the proverb: 'the Fowler's melody beguiles the bird' in Whiting F 582, but seems to have originated from Cato's Distich I.27: 'Noli homines blando nimium sermone probare: fistula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps' (Boas (1952), 65). It may have become known through Trevisa's translation of the De Proprietatibus Rerum: 'Also briddes and foules hauen likynge in melodye of swete voys in so moche þat ofte by swete soun þe foulere bryngeþ hym to grennes and to snares and periles, as þe poete seiþ: "þe pipe singeþ sweteliche while þe foulere desceyueþ þe bridde"' (DPR V.xxiii.213/24-8). See also FM III.xxi.278/34-48.

694-6 PSALM 123:7 (PSALM 90:3, PROVERBS 6:5), 'Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium; Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus.'

707-9 See Scattergood's note on the use of the term 'goode felawes' which he compares with Chaucer's use of it in The Canterbury Tales, 'where it bears not only its literal meaning but connotes rascality as well' (Scattergood (1975), 88 note for lines 577-85). See the 'General Prologue' I.395, I.650, and I.653, 'The Wife of Bath's Prologue' III.618, and 'The Friar's Tale' III.1385. See also 'The Sermon of William Taylor' in Hudson (1993), 14/419-22 and 100 for the note for these lines.

720-4 Repeat of l. 9-13.

743-4 I JOHN 5:19, 'Scimus quoniam ex Deo sumus: et mundus totus in maligno positus est.'

745-7 ROMANS 12:2, 'Et nolite conformari huic saeculo, sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri: ut probetis quae sit voluntas Dei bona, et beneplacens, et perfecta.'

773-88 EXODUS 20:3-17. See the notes to the text of the 'Ten Commandments', ii.86-93 and the introduction to this text, ii.196-9.

788-92 See note to the 'Ten Commandments' for lines 25-7, on the division of the commandments into three and seven.

795-837 Those who break the commandments, a text similar in concept but not in content is

found in Columbia University, Plimpton Add. 3, f. 241^{r-v}; see also the 'Wycliffite' version of the LFC 35-57. Note the absence of any mention of images in Clanvowe's discussion of the first commandment and his mention of 'here gostly moodir, holy chirche' in the fourth commandment. See the introduction to the text for a further discussion, ii.196-7, ii.208.

817-20 Special dispensation to condemn to death by God's law, see D&P V.xvi.36-7. It is interesting to note this in light of the tenth Lollard conclusion which states that 'And ouer þis we knowe wel þat no clerk can fynde be scripture or be resun lawful punschement of deth for on dedly synne and nout for anoþer' (SEWW 28/143-5). This is also noted by Tuck (1984), 152. See the discussion in the introduction to this text, ii.200.

849-51 I JOHN 5:3, 'Haec est enim charitas Dei, ut mandata eius custodiamus: et mandata eius gravia non sunt.' Scattergood ((1975), 20-1) notices another error in translation here where 'charitas' has been translated as 'charge'. Scattergood admits that these are probably the copyist' errors, 'but if so they are not simple mechanical errors, and some "editing" must have been involved' (Scattergood (1975), 21). Could it be possible to suggest that while the error may have occurred when copying from an exemplar, or was already present in the exemplar being copied, perhaps this error was present in the copy of an English translation of the Bible which was used for the initial text (especially as these errors would be difficult to detect without a Latin version of the Bible to correct it against)?

860-7 See the 'Diliges' text edited in this thesis and the notes to the text, ii.161-71.
MATTHEW 22:37-40 (LUKE 10:27), 'Ait illi Iesus: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et in tota anima tua, et in tota mente tua. Hoc est maximum, et primum mandatum. Secundum autem simile est huic: Diliges proximum tuum, sicut teipsum. In his duobus mandatis universa lex pendet, et prophetae.'

886-967 Narrative here of Christ's life and passion echoes that found in the 'Med. Alone' (ii. and Rolle's 'Meditation A' (Ogilvie-Thomson

(1988), 66/85-67/137), and other Gospel Harmonies and accounts of Christ's life, and the Articles of the Faith, though not as detailed or graphic as Rolle. The passion narrative is based on JOHN 19, as Scattergood says in his notes that it is the only account which includes Christ asking for a drink, bowing down his head, and pierced by the spear of Longeus (Scattergood (1975), 88 note for lines 742-79).

892-99 Parallel here with 'The Mirror of St Edmund': 'Þe tyme was in myd-wyntter, whene it was maste calde, þe houre was at mydnyghte, þe hardeste houre þat es, þe stede was in mydwarde þe strete, in a house with-owttene walles; in clowtis was he wondene and als a childe was he bundene, and In a crybbe by-fore ane Oxe and ane Asse þat lufely lorde layde was, for þare was na noþer stede voyde' (Horstman (1895), i.235/20-5).

909-14 Similar to Rolle's 'Meditation A': 'Sithen what meschief he suffred, that is hungur, thriste and colde, and many hooge reproeues, so many that no tounge may telle ne hert thinke' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 64/23-5). This is also found in the 'Med. Alone', 63-8.

921-2 Similar to Rolle's 'Meditation A': 'And sithen how thei spitten in his face so that thei made [him] like a lepre' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 65/71-2).

939 In Scattergood's edition, he has emended 'iuyse' to 'iustyse' (Scattergood (1975), 76/762). This emendation is unnecessary because the word 'iuyse' comes from the form 'juwis', a noun meaning 'judgment, justice' (third definition in MED). The 'iuyse' spelling is used by Chaucer in his 'The Man of Law's Tale' and glossed in The Riverside Chaucer to mean 'judicial sentence': '"The king comandeth his constable anon, / Up peyne of hangyng, and on heigh juyse, / That he ne sholde suffren in no wyse / Custance in-with his reawme for t'abyde / Thre dayes and o quarter of a tyde' (II.794-98). Scattergood's change to 'iustyse', meaning 'law and order', makes sense in this context, but the original 'iuyse' is perfectly acceptable.

945-6 LUKE 23:34, 'Iesus autem dicebat: Pater,

dimitte illis: non enim sciunt quid faciunt....'

956-8 Scattergood's note on Longeus states: 'St Longinus, the name given to the soldier who pierced Christ's side. Traditionally cured of blindness and converted to Christianity by a drop of the precious blood, he became a monk in Caesarea in Cappadocia, converted many pagans, and finally was tried for his faith and beheaded' (Scattergood (1975), 88, note for line 776). The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (ed. F.L. Cross (revd. Oxford, 1983), 835) states: 'The name traditionally given to the soldier who pierced the side of Christ with his spear.' See also the Cursor Mundi, ed. R. Morris (EETS OS 62, 1876), iii.962-5.

983-1020 See the 'Diliges', ii.161-71.

1029-34 JOHN 14:23-4, 'Respondit Iesus, et dixit ei: Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus; qui non diligit me, sermones meos non servat. Et sermonem, quem audistis, non est meus: sed eius qui misit me, Patris.'

1034-6 JOHN 14:21, 'Qui habet mandata mea, et servat ea: ille est qui diligit me. Qui autem diligit me, diligetur a Patre meo: et ego diligam eum, et manifestabo ei meipsum.'

1037-41 I JOHN 2:3-4, 'Et in hoc scimus quoniam cognovimus eum, si mandata eius observemus. Qui dicit se nosse eum, et mandata eius non custodit, mendax est, et in hoc veritas non est.'

1042-3 I JOHN 3:18, 'Filioli mei, non diligamus verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate.'

VI

AN EXPOSITION ON THE PATER NOSTER IN SHORT

INTRODUCTION

The last text found in the second booklet of U is a brief treatise on the Pater Noster. The only other copy known to exist is found in Simeon (S), where it has been incorporated into the larger compilation of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues'.[1] In Simeon, this particular Pater Noster tract does not supersede the original longer Pater Noster tract from 'The Book', but immediately precedes it.[2]

On the whole, both copies seem to be good and have few careless errors, though the readings given in S are usually superior. There are no apparent errors in U, though the text seems to have been corrected at lines 18 and 41. The scribe of S has made a few careless errors, but on the whole, S is a very good copy of the text.[3] These few errors in S could have been easily detected and corrected by a scribe, and so it is possible to suggest that either manuscript derived from the other. However, because this text is very short, there is not enough evidence present to assert this possibility with any confidence. But based on the evidence given for the longer texts

[1] The text as it appears in S has been printed in Francis (1942), 333-6 (Appendix II), but no mention is made of the copy in U.

[2] See the brief description of Simeon's contents, i.24-6.

[3] Errors in S with the reading in U given first: 60 *oure*, S *om.*, lat. panem nostrum; ; 82 *and*, S *and and*; 91 *I*, S *and*.

shared between U and S, it is probably safer to conclude that the two manuscripts shared the same exemplar, an exemplar which resembled the text as it appears in U.

Indeed, at some points it seems that the readings given in U are closer to that of the original exemplar, whereas S has edited the text to render a better version of it. The scribe of S seems inclined to change double negatives, such as those present in U at lines 11, 49 and 50, to single negatives. The scribe of S also tries to modify his text by shortening words as at line 7 where the adjective *profitable* is changed to the noun *profyt*, line 63 where *bretherens* is shortened to *brebers*, and at line 119 where *ne is* has been contracted to *nis*.

Evidence that the version of the text in U is closer to the original exemplar may be indicated by some awkward readings it contains. At line 124, the reading in U, *hem oweth for to do*, has been made more concise in S, *þei schulden do*. At line 106, it is possible to suggest that the original exemplar contained the reading *other what* found in U, meaning 'or what', but that the scribe of S found this awkward and reversed the order to read *what other*.

The corrections made to both copies of the text offer little insight into their relationship. The addition of *three* at line 18 in U and its absence in S leads one to conclude that the *three* was probably

not present in the exemplar, but added later to U. Likewise, in S the scribe had originally omitted *aȝens* at line 51, but a later scribe, without a copy of the text in hand, corrected this omission by adding *not*. The correction of *þe* in U at line 41 was probably made to match the exemplar, as this reading is also found in S. It appears at line 17 in S, that the scribe may have initially written *peticions* and then, keeping the *p*, erased *-eticions*, replacing it with *-arties*.[4]

The 'Exposition on the Pater Noster in Short' provides a good instance of the difficulty in determining whether U derives from S, S derives from U or if they shared a common exemplar. While some of the examples discussed above might point to the derivation of S from U, this evidence must be regarded in light of the other, more substantial, texts of the next booklet to be discussed in this thesis. The evidence provided by the texts of Booklet Three suggests that they probably shared a common exemplar.

[4] With so many texts written about the petitions of the Pater Noster, such confusion wouldn't seem unusual, see the note to the text for lines 16-20.

AN EXPOSITION ON THE PATER NOSTER IN SHORT

Heere bygynneth an exposicioum of þe Pater Noster in schort. f. 123v

Crist oure goodeheed of al hooly chirche *and* oure God, he tauȝt vs to preye þe Pater Noster. For he wiste ful weele what prayer was moost plesynge to his Fadir *and* moost profitable to þe poeple, and he tauȝte it vs for þe greete loue yat he hadde to vs. And þanne is it seemliche þat þe Pater Noster is þe beste preyere. But I trowe yat for men ne witen not wel what here Pater Noster meeneth, þerfore men haan not greet sauour yerinne as in oothere special preyeres yat been of eerthely mennes maakyng. But I am certayn yat þer is noon so goode preyere as þe Pater Noster is, for in þe Pater Noster been sixe parties: in þe \three/ firste, a cristene man herieþ the Fadir, þe Sone *and* þe Hooly Goost; and in þe ȝre oothere parties, a man preyeth to God for alle þing yat is / needful to hym and f. 124r to hise breþeren, booþe for tyme yat now is, for tyme yat is y-passed, and eek for tyme

US

2 schort] schort wordes S 7 profitable] profyt S 11 ne] *om.* S 16 preyere] a preyer S 17 parties] *on eras. corr.* S 18 three] *om.* S

yat is to-comynge.

For whanne I seye, '**O**ure Fadir yat art in heuene, halewed bee þin naame,' I worschipe þe Fadir of heuene, *and* I herie hym in yat seyenge.

And whan I seye, '**T**hi kyndoom come to vs,' I desire þe worschipe of þe Sone, whiche is oure Lord Ihesu Crist, whom þe Fadir haþ maade kyng of þe kyndom of heuene, *and* sente hy*m* su*m*metyme into þe world to be kynge of cristene men yat dwellen in þe eerth, for to reule men in þe eerthe þorugh a lawe *and* a ri3twisnesse of heuene. **A**nd þerfore in desirynge yat the kyngdom of God come to vs, I herie þe sone whiche is kyng of yat kyngdom.

But whan I seye, 'Þi wil bee y-doon in eerthe as it is in heuene,' I herie \þe/ Hooly Goost, þe whiche is þe wil and þe loue yat passen from þe Fadir *and* þe Sone. **A**nd ri3t as þere is o wil of þe 3re p*er*sones of þe godhede, and what þing yat oo p*er*sone wole, euery p*er*sone wole þe saame þing, ri3t so alle þe angelis yat been in heuene haan oo wil. For alle þei woln as God wole, *and* noone of hem wilneþ nooþing yat is a3ens Goddis wil, **n**e noone of hem wilneth nooþing

49 nooþing] eny þing S 50 nooþing] eny þing S

yat is a3ens ootheres wil, for þei alle lyuen in parfit loue. And þerfore, in desirynge yat þe wil of God be fulfilde in eerthe as it is in heuene, we herien þe Hooly Goost yat 3eueth þe aungelis of heuene grace to lyuen euermoore after þe wil of God. And thus in þise þre firste parties of þe Pater Noster, a cristene man herieþ þe 3re personnes of þe Trinite þat been oo God.

And whan I seye, '3ef vs today oure euery-dayes breed,' I preye to God for alle þing yat is needful to þe lyuynge of my soule *and* of my bretherens soules for tyme yat is now. For Crist, yat is the breed of heuene, is þe lyfloode of mennes soules yat bileeuen in hym. And who yat haþ yat breed, hath alle þing yat hym needeþ to þe sustenaunce of his soule. And alle ooþer þing yat a man needeth, cometh to hym 3ef he haue yat breed, for he is lord of alle þinges. And þerfore, to þilke men yat he 3eueth hymself, he 3eueth with hymself alle þinges yat hem needeth.

And whan we seyn, 'For3eue vs oure dettes, as we for3euen oure det-/-tours,' f. 124v we preyen to God for alle þing þat is

51 a3ens] \not/ S 60 oure] *om.* S 64 the] *om.* S
73 þinges] þing S

needful for vs for tyme yat is y-passed;
for in yat, we preyen to haue forȝeuenesse
of oure synnes yat we haan doo heere bifore.
But I reede swiche men to bee wel war yat
been wrooth with here breþeren yat han agilt
hem, and woln algate punysshen hem after þe
rigour of þe lawe, withouten any mercy or
forȝeuenesse. For Crist yat is eendles in
treuth seiþ, 'But ȝef ȝe forȝeuen ȝoure
breþeren here giltes, ȝoure Fadir of heuene
wole not forȝeue ȝow ȝoure synnes,'

And in þe last partie of þe Pater
Noster, whan I seye, 'Ne leede þou vs not
into temptacioun, but delyuere vs from
yuel,' I preye to God for alle þing yat is
needful to myself *and* to my breþeren, for
tyme yat shal come hereafter. For I preye
to God to kepen vs out of temptacioun yat
wolde bryngen vs to synne, and from þe yuel
of synne also.

A blessid Lorde is he, þe whiche wolde
yat hise seruauntȝ preyeden hym so shortly
for alle þing yat is needful to hem, and
wolde also yat a man shuld preye for hise
bretheren as wel as for hymself. What
preyere may bee moore plesyng to God þanne
þilke which yat God maade hymself? And he

77 for] to S 82 and] *twice* S 86 of] in S
91 I] and S

hym*m*self, for þe greete loue yat he hadde to his poeple, tau3t he*m* to preye þis p*re*yere. Other what p*re*yere may be moore p*ro*fitable to þe poeple þan þilke which þat God hym*m*self tau3t his poeple, in þe which þei shulden p*re*yen hym for alle þing yat is needful to hem and herien hym also? And who yat eu*e*re it bee, yat with a cleene herte p*re*yeth þis p*re*yere, *and* setteþ al his fulle trust in God and not in þe woordes of hise p*re*yere, God wole graunten hy*m* as he desireth in his preyere. For God wolde not elles han y-tau3t his poeple þis preyer, but 3ef he wolde han y-g*ra*nted hem as þei p*re*yen hym in þis preyere. And ther may noo man desire any skilful þing of God, yat it ne is enclosed in þis p*re*yere, as short as it is. How may, þanne, any man seye yat þe*re* is any so good preyere as þe Pat*er* No*ster*, or so p*ro*fitable eiþ*er*, so yat cristene men preyen it as hem oweth for to doo?

106 other what] *rev.* S 119 ne is] nis S 124 hem ...to] þei schulden S

NOTES

5 MATTHEW 6:9-13, 'Sic ergo vos orabitis: Pater noster, qui es in caelis: sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adveniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in caelo, et in terra. Panem nostrum supersubstantialem da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.' See also LUKE 11:1-4.

16-20 The division of the prayer into six parts is unusual, most treatises on the Pater Noster divide the prayer into seven petitions, askings, or prayers. This is seen in LFC, where the sixth part, as found in U, is split into two: 'Oure Fadyr lede vs nat in temptacioun' (10/141), and 'But gracius fadyr delyuere vs fro euyl'(11/150). See also Francis (1942), 97/8-116/26; 'The Mirror of St Edmund' in Horstman (1895), i.251-3; and the 'Tractatus de dominica oracione secundum' in Horstman (1895), i.261-4. For versions which divide the prayer into the seven petitions see Kellogg and Talbert (1956), 358-63.

60-73 In the discussion of the fourth part, some texts divide it to consider the different types of 'bread' as in 'The Mirror of St Edmund':'þat is to witen, þreo maner of bred: bodiliche, as mete and cloþ, gostliche as holy writ, and þe bred of Eukarist, to cumforten þe ton and þe toþur kynde' (Horstman (1895), i.253/7-9); or, as in the 'Tractatus': 'hase myster of twa maners of brede: of bodyly brede and of gastely brede' (Horstman (1895), i.263/17-18). Though the division here is not as explicit, it could be suggested that 'Crist, yat is the breed of heuene, is þe lyfloode of mennes soules yat bileeuen in hym' refers to the bread of the Eucharist, while 'alle ooþer þing yat a man needeth' refers to bodily needs of food and clothing.

64-8 JOHN 6:51, 'Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi.'

80-7 Interesting commentary echoes the language of the fifth commandment of the 'Seven Commandments', 16-19.

85-7 MATTHEW 6:14-5, the continuation of the 'Pater Noster', 'Si enim dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum: dimittet et vobis Pater vester caelestis delicta vestra. Si autem non dimiseritis hominibus: nec Pater vester dimittet vobis peccata vestra.'

VII

THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF THE FAITH

INTRODUCTION

The first text of the third booklet is an instructional treatise on 'The Twelve Articles of the Faith,' and was probably used to teach the 'Apostles' Creed' based on the legend of the Apostles' creation of the Creed, with each article attributed to a specific Apostle.[1] The version of this text in U is taken from 'The Book of Vices and Virtues' and is also found in Simeon (S), San Marino, Huntington Library HM 147 (M), and British Library Additional 17013 (Al). However, only the copy of the text in U is not a part of this larger compilation and, at some later point, several of the attributions to the Apostles in it were altered by another scribe.[2]

The original attributions in U probably matched those found in Simeon, HM 147, BL Add. 17013, but the first three pages of the text in U, folios 125^{r}-126^{r}, appear to have been rewritten in a darker ink to restore faded text. During that restoration, the scribe also changed the attributions to some of the articles. Upon closer examination, it should be noted that this 'corrector' only changed the attributions on

[1] For more on the history of the Apostles' Creed see The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (1911), IV.237-8; W.A. Curtis, History of the Creeds and Confessions of Faith (Edinburgh, 1911), 48-50; and P. Schaff, A History of the Creeds of Christendom (London, 1877), i.14-23.§ 7.

[2] See the text and variants for lines 36, 60, 81, 90, 99, 107 and 118.

those folios which were touched up with the darker ink, leaving folios 126^{v}-127^{r} untouched and the attributions unchanged, still corresponding to those in the three other copies of the text. But why should this later scribe have decided to change the names assigned to some of the articles?

The tradition of ascribing an Apostle to each segment or article of the Creed has been difficult to trace, but seems to have originated during the fourth century.[3] However, over time variation has occurred in the order in which these Apostles were assigned to the articles. The variation within this tradition seems endless and has previously been explored by C. Bühler, Sr M.T. Brady and J. Gordon.[4] Bühler, who records in a chart some fifteen different patterns found in over thirty texts in several languages, concludes that 'local tradition' was probably the greatest influence on the order in which the Apostles

[3] The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church ((1983), 75) traces it to a letter of St Ambrose written in 390 AD. C.F. Bühler in 'The Apostles and the Creed' (Speculum 28 (1953), 335-6) argues that the earliest accounts of the legend vary from one another as well. F. Chavannes places it in the fifth century and attributes it to Rufinus, see his Le Mireour de Monde: Manuscript du XIV^{me} Siècle (Le Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande IV, Lausanne, 1845), 14 n.2.

[4] Bühler (1953), 335-39; Sr M.T. Brady, 'The Apostles and the Creed in Manuscripts of "The Pore Caitif"', Speculum 32 (1957), 323-5; J.D. Gordon, 'The Articles of the Creed and the Apostles', Speculum 40 (1965), 634-40. Sr Brady adds 'The Pore Caitif', which corresponds with the second pattern illustrated in the chart provided by Bühler (336-7), to Bühler's list of texts. She, however, writes more about the deletion of the legend from 8 copies of 'The Pore Caitif' and draws attention to this deletion and its possible connection with the Lollard rejection of the legend, ((1957), 324-5).

appeared.[5]

Gordon has suggested that some variation may have originated from confusion in the breaking down of the creed itself into the separate articles.[6] Just as much variation occurs in the division of the text into articles as in the order of Apostles assigned to those articles. In an attempt to offer more reasons for the vast array of traditions, Gordon states that the original form of the creed has changed over time, changes which were implemented after the legend was attached to the creed, so it may be that these later changes effected the order of the Apostles.[7] One interesting conclusion Gordon makes is that the order in which the Apostles are recorded has no real connection with their personal attributes, but is related to the lists of the Apostles as they occur in Scripture.[8]

The order of the Apostles in Simeon, HM 147 and BL Add. 17013 is the same as that in Acts 1:13 and the Sacramentarium Gallicanum, either of which may have been the source for 'The Book of Vices and Virtues' in its French original, the 'Somme Le Roi'.[9] The changes

[5] Bühler (1953), 336-7.

[6] Gordon (1965), 634-7.

[7] Gordon (1965), 635-6.

[8] Gordon (1965), 638.

[9] Bühler (1953), 338: number 13 in the chart. According to Gordon, this pattern seems to have been one of the most common ((1965), 637 n.21, 638-9.

made in U bring it in line with the list given in the Canon of the Mass.[10] In comparison with a number of other Middle English and Latin texts not included in Bühler's study, it appears that the alterations made in U indicate an association with what may have been a more widespread tradition within England, a tradition with which the 'corrector' of U may have been more familiar.[11]

ISOLATIVE ERROR

To return to the textual analysis for 'The Twelve Articles of the Faith', we shall see how the four manuscript copies of this text fall into two separate groups: MA1 and US. Though the text has previously been edited by W. N. Francis, he does not seem to have known of the copy of the 'Articles' in U, and thus the conclusions he reached in his discussion of the textual relationships between the other three copies should be re-examined.[12]

'The Book of Vices and Virtues' is one of the many English translations of the thirteenth-century

[10] Gordon (1965), 638.

[11] I have consulted the following other versions in my research: the 'Disce Mori' in Laud Misc. 99 (f. 150^{v}) and Oxford, Jesus College 39 (p.374-5), a treatise on 'Five Things Needful to Love God' in BL Harley 2398 (f.130^{r}), a text in Bodley 110 (ff. 155^{v}-156^{r}), the fourteen articles (though based on the twelve apostles) discussed in FM (V.xxviii.562/28-568/140), and a Latin tract in Rawlinson A.423 (ff. 45^{v}-46^{r}) which includes twelve Old Testament prophets. The order of the Apostles in U corresponds to that in 'The Pore Caitif', the 'Disce Mori', BL Harley 2398 and Bodley 110, though the division of the articles differs.

[12] Francis (1942), 6-9.

French text the 'Somme le Roi'.[13] There is a very large number of extant manuscripts of the French text, and no systematic comparison with all of them could be made here.[14] Thus three copies of this French text in convenient libraries have been consulted to compare against the English text of my present edition: British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. V. (C), folios 21^{r}-23^{r}, Royal 19 C. II.(R), folios 3^{v}-4^{v}, and Harvard University FR. 123 (H), folios 5^{v}-9^{r}.[15] The following isolative errors have been determined by comparison with the readings given in the French copy of the text in R (the best copy of the three), and with the readings given in the other English copies. The manuscripts are discussed in the following order: USMAl.

U: 7 *been*, al. *ben twelue after þe noumbre of þe*, fr. sont xij selonc le nombre des. This is the only significant error in U, probably due to eyeskip. The scribe of U also adds *is this* to the rubric headings at lines 82, 91-2 and 100-1.

S: 32 om., al. *thyng*, fr. choses; 54 om., al. *the*

[13] For a list of the other translations, see Francis (1942), xxxii-xl.

[14] For a list of some of the French manuscripts see Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt, ed. P. Gradon, (EETS OS 278, 1979) ii.112-14.

[15] The various readings witnessed in the English are not always found in all the French copies of the text which I have consulted. For example, U: *And by this, thow schalt vnderstonde yat he maade alle creatures that been in heuene and in eerthe* (22-4), R: Et en ce doit len entendre que il fist toutes les creatures qui sont en ciel et en terre, C: om. U: *As in this article is vnderstonde* (42-3), R: Dont il est contenu ou tiers article, C: Dont ou tiers article il est contenu. Thus the French readings given are from whichever manuscript best corresponds to the English and will be written in the spelling of that manuscript indicated by its siglum in parentheses. For a comparison of the French and the Ayenbite of Inwyt, see Gradon's notes on the text (1979), ii.117-18.

citee; 57 *bisechyng*, al. *the bisechyng*, fr. la requeste; 67 *and hopede*, al. *and hope*, fr. et en esperance; 102 *quyke*, al. *the quyke*, fr. les vis; 109 *nybe*, al. *nynthe*, fr. nuefuieme. S has no major omissions, just a few careless errors which do not prevent it from being a good copy of the text.

M: 115 *Sone*, al. *the Sone*, fr. le fil. M is a very good copy of the text and it was chosen by Francis to be the base text for his edition.[16] However it and Al are different from the version in US.

Al: 12-5 om., al. *For...Holy Goost*, fr. Car cest le fondement de la foi croire en la sainte Trinite. Cest ou Pere et ou Fil et ou Saint Esperit; 15 *and*, al. *oo*, fr. vn; 52 *suffrede*, al. *he suffrede*, fr. il souffri; 144 *general* al. *the general*, fr. la general. Al has several careless scribal errors, but the long omission is difficult to explain.

GROUP ERROR

It is perhaps easiest to discuss the group error and shared readings of these four witnesses to the text by examining the French version. The following comparison will show that the version of the 'Articles' found in MAl is much closer to the French, while that of US has been altered. From the beginning of the text through to line 132, both versions in US and MAl are very close to each other and to the French. But after line 133, the versions in US and MAl considerably diverge from each other: MAl remain close to the French, while US expand the text, though never actually changing the meaning.

There are only three instances in which portions of the French text have not been preserved in the English translation in USMAl: at line 45, the French adds 'Et est a entendre que il fu conceus en la vierge

[16] Francis (1942), lxxviii-lxxix.

Marie' (R), at line 110, 'Et est li nuefuiemes tels, "Je croy ou Saint Esperit"'(R), and at line 122, 'Cest a dire la compaignie des sains'(R). Likewise, the English translation adds text which is not found in the French: at line 25, the English text adds *in the crede*, and at line 55, *that heelden that tyme the lordschip*. While the English text often adds to the French to elaborate or elucidate its meaning, avoiding a too literal translation,[17] it sometimes succumbs to the awkward translation of seemingly simple French:

	French (R)	English (U)
76-8	non mie en celle partie ou les dampneȝ estoient	but nouȝt theder there thei been that been dampned
85-6	les escriptures	that þat was writen of hym

Of course, it is unlikely that the exact French source for this translation will ever be known, so we cannot assume that the above examples accurately represent the correspondence or difference between this particular English translation and the French text present in C, R and H.

At the eleventh article, the two groups, US and MAl, separate from each other: while MAl remain true to the French text, the changes in US are characterised by additions of adjectives, articles, etc. which elaborate the text as in the few following

[17] Compare the following, U: *þat setten hem and ordeyneden hem* (8), R: qui les establirent; U: *of oure fadres, hooly men* (64-5), R: des sains peres; U: *the good and the stedefast hope* (70-1), R: li bon certaine esperance.

examples:

US(U)	MAl(M)	French(R)
134-5 The elleuenthe article is this, that wee schullen bileeue	Þe eleuenþe article is to bileue	Le onȝieme article est croire
152-3 hath i-ordeyned to alle thilke that schullen foreuere be dampned inn helle	haþ ordeyned to hem þat are dampned	donne aus damneȝ
156-8 whether that euere þei been goode other euele, thei schullen bee at the dreedful iugement of the day of doom	be he good or euele, schal be at þe iugement at domes day	soit bons soit mauues, sera au jour du jugement

The US version also has a tendency to use *oure Lord* *God*, when the French and MAl merely have *God*/diex, as at lines 136 and 151. Though most additions are minor, like those at lines 145, 148, 149, 150 and 155, there are a few instances where the reading in US is better, as at line 143, where MAl have omitted *article* present in the French text, and in the following example:

US(U)	MAl(M)	French(R)
162-3 thei schullen receyue here fulle meede	schal take his mede	receura son guerredon

The most significant difference between these two versions of the text is that of the ending. Again, MAl are much closer to the French, while US stretch the English out to more than twice its length, but

never changing the meaning, only expanding it:

US(U)	MAl(M)	French (C)
163-77 euene after that þat thei han deserued heere in here lyuynge. Thanne schullen alle the wikkede, the whiche han not i-lyued heere after the lawes of God and dyeden withoute ful repentaunce, bee dampned in helle, bothe body ande soule, foreuere withouten eny eende. And alle the goode, the whiche haan heere i-lyued after the lawes of God and dyeden so, schullen that day be glorified, bothe in body and in soule, in the blisse of heuene yat euere schal laste. To the whiche God vs brynge, Amen. This laste article of oure feith sette seynt Mathie the apostle.	as he haþ deserued here in his lif. And þerfore schulle þe goode þat day be glorifiied in bodi and soule, and þe wikkede y-dampned body and soule for euere-more. Þis article sette seynt Mathy.	selonc ce que il aura desserui en ceste vie et pour ce seront il bon a y celui iour en cors et en ame en la vie pardurable et les mauues dampneȝ pardurablement en cors et en ame cest article ymist saint Mathias.

In the introduction to his edition of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues,' Francis suggested that Al descended from M, either directly or from a copy of M.[18] However, he does not take into consideration the scribal usage of the rubric headings for each of the articles. These headings are found in both U and S, whose shared exemplar probably had them. But while

[18] Francis (1942), lxviii-lxxviii.

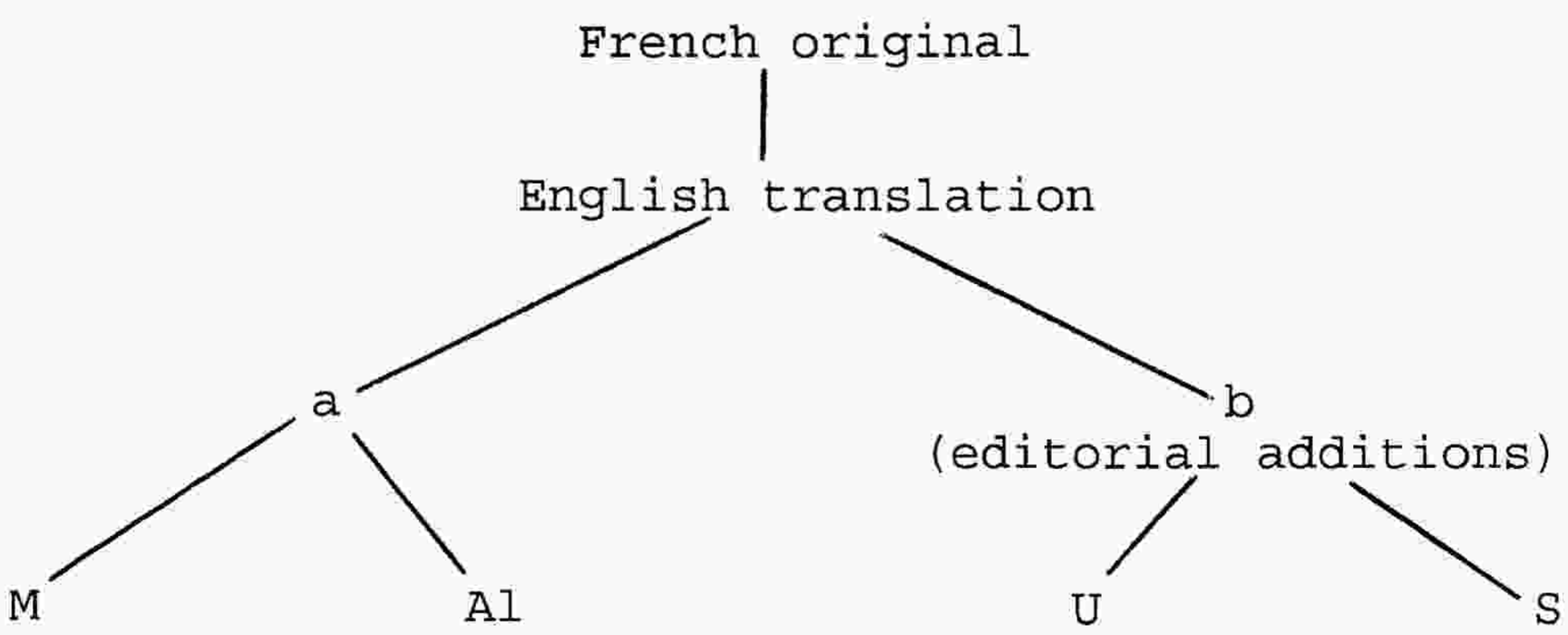
M does not employ these rubrics, it appears that the exemplar of Al must have, as the rubric heading for the eleventh article at line 133 is present in Al. It seems more plausible then that Al and M shared a common exemplar which contained these rubric headings, but while M chose not to copy them, the scribe of Al must have initially intended to do so, but at the eleventh article he forgot to omit that which was written in the exemplar before him.

Francis also asserted that the scribal editing found in S was originally made in a prototype, and this can be further supported by U which shares most of the changes made.[19] That these changes made in the exemplar shared by U and S are purely editorial and not part of the original translation, is shown by the copies of the text in MAl, which are closer to the original French. But why did the scribe of this exemplar wait until such a late point in the text to change the style? Francis has suggested that the exemplar may have been written by two scribes: one who merely copied the text, while the other 'was more given to capricious as well as systematic alteration of the text before him.'[20] While this may seem plausible, it may also be suggested that the version of the 'Articles' in U and S is from an altogether different source based on, though not part of, 'The

[19] Francis (1942), lxxvi-ii.

[20] Francis (1942), lxxvii.

Book of Vices and Virtues'. Evidence to support this suggestion comes from the fact that the copy of the 'Articles' in U exists separately from the rest of the compilation. Likewise, in S the text occurs immediately after 'The Ten Commandments' (ff. 92^{r}a-93^{v}a), the version shared between U and S but which is not part of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues', at folio 93^{v}a-b. The rest of column b has been left blank and 'The Book of Vices and Virtues', in its true form, begins on the recto side of the next folio.[21] It may be then that the exemplar shared between U and S contained this particular version of the 'Articles', and perhaps 'The Ten Commandments' and 'An Exposition on the Pater Noster in Short' as separate texts. In U the texts were kept separate, while the scribe of S decided to incorporate these particular texts into the larger compilation of 'The Book of Vices and Virtues'. The following stemma is given to help illustrate the above conclusions:



[21] See the description of S, i.24-6.

AN EXPOSITION ON THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF THE FAITH

Heere bigynnen þe twelue articles of the feith. f. 125r

Thise been the articles of the feith of cristene men, þat euery cristene man schulde bileeue stedefastly and elles he may not been i-saued, ȝef he haue wit and vnderstondynge. **A**nd þeer been twelue apostles þat setten hem and ordeyneden hem to kepe and to holde to alle hem þat wollen be saued. **T**he first longeth to the Fadir, the seuene to the Sone, þe foure to the Holy Goost. **F**or þat is the foundement of the feith to bileeue in the hooly Trinyte, that is, in the Fader and þe Sone and the Hooly Goost, oo God in thre *per*sones. **A**nd alle thise articles been in the crede that the twelue apostles maaden, and euerich maade his part.

The firste article of the feith. The firste article is this, 'I bileeue in God almyȝty, makere of heuene and of eerthe.'

And by this, thow schalt vnderstonde yat he

USMAl

1 heere bigynnen] now ben here after M, *om.* Al 7 been] be*n* twelue after þe no*u*mbre of þe SMAl 12 for...Goost(15)] *om.* Al 15 oo] and Al 19 the ...feith] *om.* MAl firste article] article furste, *marked for rev.* S

maade alle creatures that been in heuene and in eerthe. **And** this article sette seynt Petir in the crede.

The secounde article of the feith. The secounde bilongeth to the Sone as to his godhede, that is to seie that he is God, and is this, 'I bileue in Ihesu Crist oure Lord, the sone of God the Fader.' **And** in this schal a man vnderstonde that he is euene with the Fader and i-like hym *in* alle thyng that longeth to þe godhede, and is al oo thyng with the Fadir, saue oonly the *per*sone of the Fader. **This** article sette seynt **A**ndrewe.

The thridde article of the feith. The thridde article, and the fyue that folwen after, longen to the Sone as to his manheede; that is to seie, as to that þat he is man and took *pro*purly nature, yat is kynde, of man deedliche. As in this article is vnderstonde and seid that he was conceyued of the Holy Goost and borne of the mayden Marie by the werke and vertue of the Holy Goost and not by werke of man; **a**nd that

26 the...secounde(27)] þat oþer MA1 30 the] *om.* MA1 32 thyng] *om.* S 34 saue] but MA1 36 Andrewe] *on eras. corr.* U, Ion þe ewa*n*gelist SMA1 37 the...feith] *om.* MA1

the mayden Marie bi lefte alwey mayden hool-
liche, bifore and after. This sette / seynt f. 125v
Iame, seynt Ioones brother.

The feerthe article of the feith. The feerthe article bylongeth to the passion; that is to seye, that he suffrede vnder Pounce Pilate that was hethene and iuge in þat tyme in the citee of Ierusalem, for the Romaynes that heelden that tyme the lordschip. Vnder that iuge was Ihesu Crist iugged with wronges at the bisechynge of wikked Iewes, *and* crucified *and* dyede and leyd in sepulcre. This article sette seynt Iohan the euaungelist.

The fifthe article of the feith. The fifthe article is yat he lighte into helle after his deeth, for to drawe and to delyuere the soules of oure fadres, hooly men and alle thilke yat fro the biginnynge of the worlde hadden died in stedefast bileue and hope that thei schulden be saued by hym. Forwhy, alle that weren deede mosten go to helle for the synne of Adam, oure first fader, and in helle to abide the

47 hoolliche(48)] holiliche MAl 50 the...feith] *om.* MAl 52 he] *om.* Al 54 the citee] *om.* S 57 wronges] wrong SMAl the] *om.* S 58 wikked] þe wikkede MAl 59 leyd] was leid SMAl sepulcre] þe sepulcre Al this...euaungelist(60)] *on eras. corr.* U article] *om.* SMAl 60 Iohan...euaungelist] Andreu SMAl 61 the...feith] *om.* MAl 63 to^{2}] *om.* MAl 67 hope] hopede S 70 abide] bide MAl

good and the stedefast hope that Ihesu Crist, Goddes sone, koom thedir and delyuerede hem as he hadde byhote by his prophetes. And for this reson, he wolde after his deeth alighte into helle; that is to seie, thedir that the seyntes weren, but nou3t theder there thei been that been dampned, that dieden in here synne and in here mysbileue. For hem, he drowe nou3t out, for thei ben dampned withouten eende. This article sette seynt Thomas.

The sixte article of the feith is this.

The sixte article is of his resurreccion; that is to seie, þat the thridde day of his deeth, for to fulfille that þat was writen of hym, he aroos vp fro deeth to lyue, and schewede hym to his disciples and preuede his resurreccion in many maneres, fourty dayes lastynge. And this article sette seynt Iame seint, Symoundes brother.

The seuenthe article of the feith is this. / The seuenthe article is that at the fourty dayes eende after yat he was risen, f. 126r

71 the] *om.* MA1 74 he wolde] *rev.* MA1 76 but] *om.* MA1 77 there] þat Al that...dampned(78)] dampned þat ben, *marked for rev.* S been[2]] are MA1 78 synne] synnes, *final* -s *canc.* S 81 Thomas] *on eras. corr.* U, Philippe SMA1 82 the...this] *om.* MA1 is this] *om.* S 85 þat] *om.* MA1 86 aroos] roos MA1 lyue] lif MA1 90 Iame...brother] *on eras. corr.* U, Thomas SMA1 91 the...this(92)] *om.* MA1 the...of] *on eras. corr.* U is this(92)] *om.* S

whan he hadde eten with his disciples, bifore hem apertly steigh vp into heuene; that is to seie, aboue alle heuenes, whiche is aboue alle creatures yat been in heuene, to the right syde of God the Fadir, there he sitte. This article sette seint Philippe.

The eighthe article of the feith is this. The eighthe article is þat he schal come at domesday *and* deeme bothe the quyke and the deede, the goode and the wykkede, and ȝelde to euery man after yat he hath deserued in this world. Thise been the articles that been longynge to the Sone. This article sette seint Bartholomew.

The nynthe article of the feith. The nynthe article, and the thre after, longen to the Hooly Goost. Thise articles bidden that men bileeue that the Hooly Goost is the ȝifte and the loue of the Fader and the Sone, by whom cometh to vs alle ȝiftes of grace. And þat he is al oo God and al oo thyng with the Fader and the Sone; but oonly the persoone is oother than yat of the Fader other of the Sone. This article sette seint

96 whiche] þat MAl 99 Philippe] *on eras. corr.* U, Bartholomew SMAl 100 the...this(101)] *om.* MAl is this(101)] *om.* S 102 bothe] *om.* MAl the] *om.* S 105 the] *om.* MAl 106 articles] article M 107 Bartholomew] *on eras. corr.* U, Matheu þe ewangelist SMAl 108 the...feith] *om.* MAl 109 nynthe] nyþe S 114 al^{2}] *om.* MAl 115 the^{2}] *om.* M

Mathew the eu*a*ungelist.

The tenthe article of the feith. The tenthe article is this, 'I bileeue in hooly chirche *and* houselynge other comunynge of halwene, and of alle the goode men that been and schullen bee into the worldes eende and that han i-bee fro the begynnynge hiderward togedere in the bileeue of Ihesu Crist.' And in this article been vnderstonde the seueune sacramentis the whiche been in hooly churche, that is to seye: cristenynge, confermynge of the bisshop, houselynge, penaunce, ordre, mariage and the hooly / anoyntynge at mennes and wommennes deeth. f. 126ᵛ

This article sette seynt Symound.

The elleuenthe article of the feith. The elleuenthe article is this, that wee schullen bileeue the forȝeuenesse of synne the which oure Lord God ȝeueth þoruȝ the vertu of the hooly sacramentis in hooly churche. This article sette seynt Iude, seynt Symoundes brother, but nought þilke curside Iude the whiche so falsliche bytraiede oure blessede Lord Ihesu Crist.

118 Mathew...euaungelist] *on eras. corr.* U, Iame seint Symoundes broþer SMA1 119 the...feith] *om.* MA1 127 the whiche] þat MA1 130 and] *om.* MA1 131 anoyntynge] anoilynge MA1 mennes...wommennes] a mannes MA1 133 the...feith] *om.* M of...feith] *om.* A1 134 this...the(135)] to bileue MA1 136 the...Lord] þat MA1 the²] *om.* MA1 139 but ...Christ(141)] not he þat bitrayede oure Lord MA1

The twelfthe article of the feith and the laste is þis. The twelfthe article is this, to bileeu[e] on the general resurecciou*n* of the bodies and of the lyf withouten eende, which is the ioye of paradis, yat God schal ȝeue to hem þat deseruen it be good bileeue and also by goode werkes. And so this article techeth vs to knowe his contrarie, which is the peyne withoute eny eende, that oure Lord God hath i-ordeyned to alle thilke that schullen foreuere be dampned in*n* helle. And this article schal bee vnderstonden on this manere, that is to seyn, that euery maner man and womman, whether that euere þei been goode other euele, thei schullen bee at the dreedful iugement of the day of doom; and thanne schullen thei bee areysed fro deeth into lyf in here owene bodies the whiche that they beeren heere vpon eerthe. And theere thei schullen receyue here fulle

142 the...þis(143)] *om.* MA1 143 article] *om.* MA1
144 this] *om.* MA1 bileeue] bileeu U the] *om.* A1
145 the] *om.* MA1 of²] *om.* MA1 146 which] þat MA1 147 schal] wol A1 148 also] *om.* MA1
149 and so] *om.* MA1 150 vs] *om.* MA1 which] þat MA1 151 eny] *om.* MA1 oure Lord] *om.* MA1
152 alle...and (153)] hem þat are dampned MA1
155 manere] wise MA1 that...seyn] *om.* MA1 maner] *om.* MA1 156 whether...been] be he MA1 157 thei] *om.* MA1 158 dreedful] *om.* MA1 of...thei(159)] at domesday and MA1 159 areysed] reised MA1
160 into] to MA1 here] his MA1 bodies] body MA1
the... vpon(161)] þat he bar on MA1 162 theere... fulle] schal take his MA1 thei] þe S

meede, bothe in body and eke in soule, euene after that þat thei han deserued heere in here lyuynge. Thanne schullen alle the wikkede, the whiche han not i-lyued heere after the lawes of God and dyeden withoute ful repentaunce, bee dampned in helle, bothe body ande soule, foreuere withouten eny eende. And alle the goode, the whiche haan heere i-lyued after the lawes of God and dyeden so, schullen that day be glorified, bothe in body and in soule, in the blisse of heuene yat euere schal laste. To the whiche / God vs brynge, Amen. This laste article of oure feith sette seynt Mathie the apostle. **Heere eenden the twelue articles of oure feith.** f. 127r

163 bothe] *om.* MA1 eke in] *om.* MA1 euene...*to end of text*(178)] as he haþ deserued here in his lif and þerfore schulle þe goode þat day be glorified in bodi and soule and þe wikkede y-dampned (be dampned A1) body and soule for eueremore þis article sette seynt Mathy MA1

NOTES

10-15 The division of the twelve articles into three reflects the Trinity and probably originates from St Thomas Aquinas and St Albert the Great. This is explained further in Gordon (1965), 634.

20-1 The first article, 'Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae....'

24-5 Attribution of this article to Peter is found in all the other versions of this legend consulted for this thesis, see ii.284 n.11. Bühler states contradictorily that Peter 'is invariably identified' with the first article, though not always ((1953), 338).

29-30 The second article, '...et in Iesum Christum, filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum....'

35-6 The attribution of this article to St Andrew is traditional, while that to St John the Evangelist found in SMA1 is unusual. See III in Bühler's chart (1953), 336.

43-8 The third article, '...qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine....'

52-9 The fourth article, '...passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus.'

59-60 The attribution to St John the Evangelist is common, but that to St Andrew in SMA1, I have not found elsewhere. See V in Bühler's chart (1953), 336.

62-8 The fifth article, 'Descendit ad inferna.' The fifth and sixth articles are often joined together as one as in FM, 'The Pore Caitiff', and the text in Bodley 110. See footnote, ii.284 n.11.

81 The attribution to St Thomas by the corrector of U is much more common, though that to St Philip in SMA1 is also found in several sources, see VI in Bühler's chart (1953), 336.

83-9 The sixth article, 'Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.'

90 Because of the occasional combining of the fifth and sixth articles, the sixth has also been attributed to St Thomas, as we find in SMA1, but the attribution to St James 'the Less' in U occurs also in Rawlinson A.423. See Gordon (1965), 636-8.

93-9 The seventh article, 'Ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis.'

99 The attribution found in SMAL to St Bartholomew again appears to have been corrected in U to correspond with perhaps a more local tradition with the attribution to St Philip. See VII in Bühler's chart (1953), 337.

101-5 The eighth article, 'Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.'

110-14 The ninth article, 'Credo in spiritum sanctum...'

120-5 The tenth article, '...sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem...'

126-31 The inclusion of the seven sacraments under the tenth article stems from an earlier tradition that 'sanctorum' also refers to the sacraments. See Gordon (1965), 637.

132 In the remaining articles, the attributions to the saints in U and SMA1 correspond and all of them correspond with the majority of the other texts in Bühler's chart and with the others noted above, ii.284 n.11.

134-8 The eleventh article, '...remissionem peccatorum....'

144-8 The twelfth article, '...carnis resurrectionem, et vitam aeternam.'

VIII

THE MIRROR OF SINNERS

INTRODUCTION

The next five texts edited here form a coherent group of meditations that for thematic and paleographical reasons stated above were perhaps deliberately kept together.[1] The first text of this group, 'The Mirror of Sinners,' is a free translation of the 'Speculum Peccatoris' attributed to St Augustine.[2] There appear to be two separate Middle English translations made of the 'Speculum Peccatoris': the one edited here which survives in 21 known manuscript copies,[3] and another which exists in a single known manuscript, Wiltshire, Longleat House, Longleat 32.[4]

[1] See Introduction, i.80-98, i.111-23.

[2] PL 40:983-992. Quotations from the Latin text are taken from this edition. The text has been printed from U in Horstman (1896), ii.436-440 and critically edited by C.A. Page, 'An Edition of The Myrrour of Synneres' (unpubd. Ph.D. diss., Fordham, 1973). However, this thesis is unreliable and its author made several vital errors which will pointed out during the course of this introduction.

[3] Cambridge University Library Ff.5.45(F^1), Ff.6.55(F^2); Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2125(P); Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 496(H), Hunterian 520(H^1); London, British Library Add. 22283(S), Harley 1706(Ha), Harley 2339(Hr), Harley 4012(Hy); London, Lambeth Palace Library 3597(C); London, Society of Antiquaries 300(So); Manchester, John Rylands Library, Eng. 85(R), Eng. 412(Ry); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 3(B), Douce 13(D), Laud Misc. 23(L), Laud Misc. 174(Lm), Lyell 29 (Ly) and Tanner 336(Ta). Fifteen of these manuscripts also contain the 'Three Arrows': CUL Ff.5.45, CUL Ff.6.55, Pepys 2125, Hunterian 496, Hunterian 520, Simeon (Add. 22283), Harley 1706, Harley 2339, Lambeth 3597, Rylands Eng 85, Bodley 3, Douce 13, Laud Misc. 23, Laud Misc. 174, Tanner 336.

[4] The text, found on ff. 88^v-111^v, is incomplete, a good portion of it missing from the end of the manuscript. Page mentions this other translation stating that it represents either a different tradition descending from a separate translation or is, itself, a unique text ((1973), vii, lxxxiii). He provides the first

Unfortunately, space does not allow here for a detailed comparison of the two versions, but from my own brief examination of Longleat 32 in comparison with the text edited here and the Latin, it appears that the Longleat version is a translation of the entire Latin text, including all those portions which have been omitted from the present text. The style of the translation is by no means literal, but much longer and more explicit as the following example will show:

Latin	U	Longleat
si te saepius in hujusmodi speculo prospexeris, eris absque dubio Samsone fortior, Davide cautior, Salomone sapientior (58-60).[5]	For ȝef þow ofte biholde thiself in this myrour, and ȝef þow bisily studye to sette thus þiself before thyself, doutelees thow schalt be strengere þan Sampson, moore waar þan Dauyd, and wiser than Salomon (48-52).	Soþli, ȝif þou beholde well thiself on þis mirrour and take it well to herte, and þou þerwiþ studye and se well þyn owne ymage, þeron considerynge þiself in þeself wiþowte any dowte, þenne schalt þou be strenger þan was Sampson, more meke þan Dauid, and wise þan kynge Salamon (f.90^{v}).

To return to the translation of the 'Speculum Peccatoris' edited for this thesis, this text can be

twenty lines of the text in Appendix II (55), but does not discuss this version in any detail nor make any comparison between the two versions and the Latin. Page also gives a brief sample from a sixteenth century translation, The Glasse of Vaineglorie by John Windet (London, 1587), in his Appendix III, 55a-b.

[5] PL 40:985.

described as a free translation in the sense that large portions of the Latin text were omitted and some areas of the translation greatly differ from its Latin source, though always maintaining the same general sense. Of course one cannot rule out the possibility that this Middle English translation was taken from a corrupt Latin source, a corrupt source which may have had large portions of the Latin text missing. But for the purposes of the following comparison, it will be assumed that the Latin text of the 'Speculum Peccatoris' used by the translator was complete and similar to that text edited by Migne. By comparing the 'Mirror' with its Latin source, the intentions of the translator are more apparent, but because the alterations made by this translator are so extensive, only a few characteristic examples will be given here.

The most striking difference between the Latin 'Speculum Peccatoris' and its English translation is the large portion, roughly sixty percent of the text, which was omitted from the English text. The following examples should illustrate how the English translator manipulated his Latin source to create a text more suitable for a lay or lower religious audience by choosing to omit some sections of the Latin text which may have seemed repetitive or inappropriate for his audience. For example, the following lines from the Latin text precede that which was actually translated, and in comparing the two

sections, their themes are repetitive:

Latin omitted:	Latin translated:
O felix et utile consilium, mortis remedium, salutis antidotum, peccatoris speculum....O salutifera nostri Redemptoris sententia, ex qua nobis instructio sapientiae, admonitio continentiae, speculum providentiae, exaltatio poenitentiae, acquisitio divinae gratiae datur! (6-12).[7]	Consideratio enim hujus sententiae, destructio est superbiae, exstinctio invidiae, medela malitiae effugatio luxuriae, evacuatio vanitatis et jactantiae, constructio disciplinae, perfectio sanctimoniae, praeparatio salutis aeternae (46-51 (23-31 U)).[6]

The literal meaning of each example differs, but the sense is similar, and the translator may have chosen the text he translated because it expresses the purpose of this 'sententiae' or 'consilium' in a way more familiar to his audience, as a weapon against the seven deadly sins and a guide to eternal salvation. The remainder of the untranslated text here continues in its overflowing praise of God.

The next omission of Latin text occurs at line 156 of the 'Mirror' where a brief discussion of the main theme of the text *Utinam saperent, et intelligerent, ac novissima providerent* from Deuteronomy 32:29 is divided into its three parts and supported by quotations from Jeremiah 2:19, Ecclesiastes 1:2 and Genesis 41:33.[8] The translator who has already stated: *Biholde, brother, thre thynges*

[6] PL 40:985.

[7] PL 40:985.

[8] PL 40:986/51-63.

been set bifore þe in this myrour: sauoury knowyng, vnderstondyng, and purueaunce (93-5), may have found this section repetitive and thus did not include it. When the Latin text elaborates on a quotation from Book I of Ovid's Metamorphoses and addresses the audience as *clericus christianus*, the translator anticipates that his audience may not be familiar with the classical poet, likewise he may have felt that a quotation from a pre-Christian source was not suitable for his audience.[9]

The translator continues to omit the more erudite portions of the Latin text in an effort to keep his translated text simple and straightforward. Where the 'Speculum Peccatoris' examines the *studiis vanis* and the deteriorating lifestyle of 'clerici,' the translator has chosen to omit this section perhaps because it was irrelevant to an audience which may not have included clerics.[10] The largest portion of the 'Speculum Peccatoris' which was not translated is the last 150 lines where the Latin text continues to discuss the horrific consequences of a sinful and condemned life, the mercilessness of God toward damned souls, and the ignorance of man in his living. In contrast to the Latin, the English translator merely concludes his text by reiterating his main theme.[11]

[9] PL 40:987/12-27.

[10] PL 40:988/11-56.

[11] PL 40:989/46-992/28.

The Middle English translation, itself, offers more obvious evidence as to the purpose of the translator who simplified his text to make it more appropriate for his audience, evidenced in the changes he makes to his Latin source. The translator, following the stylistic form of 'modern' sermons, constantly repeats his 'theme' to the audience even when his Latin source doesn't as at lines 46-8.[12] Likewise, the translator's division of the theme into three parts and thus the text into three sections (a division not found in the Latin text) makes the English translation more clearly structured for a reader or listener.[13]

Several other additions to the text, such as the English translations of the Latin scriptural quotations and some sentences which help to personalise the text, reveal to us that the translator's intended audience may not have been able to read Latin and were perhaps under his spiritual guidance.[14] Particularly interesting additions are those at lines 87-8, where the translator adds to the Latin *ita nulla sacrae Scripturae sapit sententia* (PL 40:986/7-8) the English *to the redere, ne to þe herere þeerof*, lines 118-19 where the Latin *intelligas ergo*

[12] Page (1973), xciv; See Spencer (1993), 242-7 on the 'modern' form of medieval sermons.

[13] The three parts start at lines 98, 108 and 138.

[14] This occurs as well in the adaptations of the 'Three Arrows' by the scribes of DTaHR (the D-group), see ii.445-52.

(PL 40:986/27-8) has been translated as *Ande passyng al this vnderstonde, I prey þee*, and the addition of lines 186-92 which introduce Latin text excerpted from the 'Speculum Peccatoris' and presented in the translation as Latin verse.[15] In one particular example, the translator has exchanged the comparison between a man's dead body and dung given in the Latin, to the comparison of a man's dead body and a sheep similar to that found in the Fasciculus Morum:[16]

Latin:	Translation:
Et quid huic mundo tantum vilescit, sicut homo, cujus corpus cum sit exanime, non permittitur esse intra domum triduo prae fetore: sed ut vile stercus foras pro-jicitur, in profundo terrae absconditur, putredini traditur, vermibus in escam datur, cadaver efficitur? (11-16).[17]	For what thyng, after þat it is deed, waxeth so vyl as man? For the flesch of a man is moore vyl than the skyn of a schepe. For though a schepe dye, sum profit cometh þeerof: the skyn is take fro the flesch and on it men writen in both sydes. And whan a man dieth, alle dieth with hym: the flesch, þe skyn and þe boones (267-75).

As much as the translator adds to the text to adapt it to the needs of his audience, we find that he more frequently omits or condenses portions of the Latin text he has chosen to translate. For example:

Latin:	Translation:
procul dubio mox sine	doutelees þow schuldest

[15] PL 40:987/11-12. Other portions of the English text which do not originate from the Latin source occur in U at lines: 31-3, 44-8, 210-11, 230-3, and 311-16.

[16] See the note to the text for lines 267-75.

[17] PL 40:988.

mora, spretis pompis, postpositis mundi curis, despectis carnis illecebris, projectis voluptatibus, contemptis deliciis (69-71).[18]	þanne, withouten lette, dispise al þe boost of þis lyf, þe bisynesse of worldly vanytee, and alle þe lustes þat longen to the flesch (162-5).
facies nigrescit, oculus tenebrescit, auris surdescit, nasus putrescit, lingua fatiscit, os obmutescit (66-8).[19]	the tunge engleymeth, the teeth stynkyn, the speche wexeth thynne, the breeth gooth awey (251-3).

Finally, there are many examples where the translator has not attempted to follow his Latin source verbatim, but has chosen to convey the sense of the sentence in an alternative way, usually expanding his material. This is best illustrated through the following examples:

Latin:	Translation:
ac in proximo moriturus (32).[20]	and happily thow schalt not abide til tomorwe (122-3).
quantoque studio nobis est vigilandum, quibus inest tanta debilitas, tantaque imperitia? (64-5).[21]	with how muche studye mooten we þanne awake in biholdyng on this myrour, in the whiche is soo muche freelte, so greet vnkunnyng, and so muche recheleeshede? (60-3).
Istiusmodi recordatio contritionem concipit, contritio compunctionem parit, compunctio con-	In this maner of thenkynge the soule conceyueth forthenkynge, forthenkyng bryngyth

[18] PL 40:986.

[19] PL 40:987.

[20] PL 40:986.

[21] PL 40:985.

templationem, scilicet pium et humilem affectum in Deum (52-4).[22]

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 (233-9).

Though this comparison of the Latin text of the 'Speculum Peccatoris' and its Middle English translation has necessarily been brief, it is still possible to draw some conclusions as to the intention of the translator and the audience for which it was prepared. Indeed, the Latin text was probably inaccessible to the translator's non-Latin-reading audience, providing the inspiration for the translation itself. Due to the omission of the more learned sections of the text, the imposed organisation of the English text in a way similar to sermons, and the various additions to make the text more explicit suggest to us that the audience may have been lay or of lower religious orders.

ISOLATIVE ERROR

The occurrence of a number of isolative errors in each manuscript suggests that none of the manuscripts here collated is the source of any other. The manuscripts are discussed in the following order: USLmHaRyLF^{1}TaDHSoRHrLyCPBH^{1}F^{2}Hy.

U: 7 *that*, al. *that thyng that*; 118 *ande and*, al. *and*; 347 *no*, al. *now*. U is a good copy of the text and a good base text, containing only a few careless errors.

[22] PL 40:987.

S: 105 *beo*, al. *the*; 135 *þi*, al. *this*, lat. hoc; 190 om., al. *of...thynges*; 193 *qui*, al. *quam*, lat. quam; 241 *þen*, al. *to*, lat. ad. These few careless scribal errors, including one omission, do not lessen the quality of this copy of the text and, as usual, it is closely related to U.

Lm: 15 *nouissiam*, al. *nouissima*, lat. nouissima; 37 om., al. *fewe*, lat. pauci; 142 *quis*, al. *quid*, lat. quid; 166 om., al. *sette*; 326 *on oone*, al. *anoon*; 329 *and helle*, al. *of helle*, lat. tartarei; 340 *kyk*, al. *lyk*, lat. similia; 357 om., al. *Goddes greete*. These are the only apparent errors in Lm which represents a well corrected and relatively good copy of the text.

Ha: 16 om., al. *and*, lat. et; 20 *me*, al. *men*; 62 *is soo is soo*, al. *is soo*; 130 *mudo*; al. *mundo*, lat. mundo; 157 *the*, al. *inne*, lat. in; 344 *feersnesse*, al. *feerdnesse*, lat. timor.[23] Ha has a few more errors, attributable to scribal error, but otherwise the text is a good copy.

Ry: 141 om., al. *meorum*, lat. meorum. Ry has very few errors and seems to have been thoroughly corrected. There may be evidence of conflation in Ry where its original reading shared the omissions at lines 62-3 with BH^1F^2 and 186-7 with H^1, but the omitted text was added later when Ry was corrected against a copy of the text similar to U.

L: 24 *fo*, al. *for*; 37 *his*, al. *þis*, lat. hanc; 106 *þing*, al. *lif*; 148 om., al. *and*, lat. vel; 176 *siþe*, al. *sire*; 217 *at at*, al. *at*; 281 *to þee and to þee and*, al. *to þe and*; 343 *the of*, al. *of the*. L has several minor scribal errors, but it nonetheless offers a very good copy of the text. The scribe also abbreviates the quotation from Deuteronomy, by replacing *and purueieden for the laste thynges* with *et cetera* at lines 47-8, 81-2 and 91-2.

F^1: 13-4 *þe blessed prophete Dauid seiyng on this wyse*, al. *þat blessed Moyses his prophete seienge thus*, lat. per beatum Moysen nobis consuluit dicens; 67 om., al. *to...ensaumple*, lat. ad exemplum; 121 *vertu*, al. *vertues*, lat. virtutibus; 222 *honoured*, al. *honour*, lat. honore; 301 om., al. *after...deeth*, lat. post mortem; 303-4 om., al. *þow...flesch*, lat. tu caro superba; 341 om., al. *i-seye*, lat. viderit.[24] F^1 has many more errors which actually alter the text,

[23] See also variants for lines: 27, 35, 45, 84, 87, 136, 202, 209, 219, 237, 293, 296, 299, 342.

[24] See also variants for lines: 18, 83, 191, 316.

changing or omitting sections which are found in the Latin source, and it is therefore not a reliable copy.

Ta: 24 *redist or herist*, al. *redist*, lat. legis; 55 *in into*, al. *in*; 126 *ȝef þow ȝef þow*, al. *ȝef þow*; 229 *euerlastyng rest to itself*, al. *whider it may go*, lat. provideat quo vadat; 318 *o*, al. *of*. Ta is a good copy of the text, but it shares many other readings and errors with DHR. The scribe seems to have had difficulty judging the length of each line, and there are at least 15 instances where a word has been started at the end of a line, then cancelled when it does not fit, and continued onto the next line.[25]

D: 25 *of of*, al. *of*; 128 om., al. *in thy mynde*; 311 *bee bee*, al. *bee*. D has few errors, mostly of dittography, but it is still a good copy of the text. This scribe, like the scribe of Ta but to a lesser extent, also has some difficulty in judging the length of lines, and there are ten occasions where a word has been started, deleted, and continued on the next line.[26]

H: 50 om., al. *thyself*; 63 *and and*, al. *and*; 99 *vnlappid*, al. *bilappid*, TaDRHr *biwlappid*, LmL *biwrapped*, HaSoCBH^{1}F^{2}Hy *wrapped*; 229 om., al. *goo*, lat. vadat; 264 *man*, al. *mannes*; 322 *and*, al. *eer*; 336 *deþ*, al. *teeth*, lat. dentium. H has a few careless errors as well, but is still a good copy of the text.

So: 5 om., al. *as*, lat. sicut; 90 *a*, al. *and*; 121 0m., al. *an*; 212 om., al. *dreedful*; 279 om., al. *than on the bookes of holy writ*; 280 om., al. *the*. So has few isolative errors, and offers a good copy of the text.

R: 290 *noon*, al. *not*; 306 *synne*, al. *vanytee and*, lat. vanitatem. These are the only apparent isolative errors in R, which appears to have been well corrected. R has also been slightly damaged where the bottom outside corner of f.62 has been torn.[27]

Hr: 241 *and*, al. *to*, lat. ad; 278 om., al. *leerne and to*. These are the only apparent errors in Hr which has been thoroughly corrected.

Ly: 57 *folden*, al. *fellen*; 313 *for*, al. *fro*; 326 *þei*, al. *þeer*. Ly also has only a few isolative errors,

[25] For example, see lines 11, 60, 70, 78, 79, 179, 200, 230, 257, 267, 282, 322, 347, 351, 355.

[26] See lines 9, 142, 165, 172, 204, 243, 311, 350, 358 and 363.

[27] See variants for the following lines where text is missing: 297, 298, 299, 315, 316 and 317.

but it is not a reliable copy of the text based on the readings it shares with other manuscripts to be discussed below.

C: 56 *blyndes*, al. *blyndenesse*, lat. caecati; 135 om., al. *in*, lat. in; 145 *what*, al. *þat*; 171 *tho*, al. *that*; 200 om., al. *whiche*, lat. quae; 287 *tradde*, al. *drad*. C contains only a few careless errors, but for reasons to be explained below, it is not a reliable copy of the text.

P: 26-8 *vices, dryuynge awey of malice*, al. *pruyde, quenchyng of enuye, medicyne of malice, dryuyng awey of licherie, voidyng of boost*, lat. destructio est superbiae exstinctio invidiae medela malitiae effugatio luxuriae evacuatio vanitatis et jactantiae; 94 *sauour oþer knowynge*, al. *sauoury knowyng*; 129 *vertues here*, al. *two versis*.[28] As will be seen in the other texts that follow the 'Mirror', the scribe of P constantly revises his text, changing the word order, word choice and meaning of his exemplar, adding and omitting portions of text. But, while succumbing to numerous errors, the text itself is not as corrupt as it would seem, especially when compared to the Latin.[29]

B: 48 om., al. *thiself*; 74 *neiþer vnderstondyn*, al. *ne thei vnderstondyn*, lat. nec intelligerunt; 88 *but*, al. *but ȝef*; 127 *herte wiþ good lyuynge*, al. *herte*, lat. corde; 142 *scia*, al. *sciam*, lat. sciam; 327 om., al. *and an horrible*. B has relatively few isolative errors, though it is not a reliable copy of the text for reasons given below.

H^1: 100 *ful redy*, al. *soiet*, lat. subjectam; 142 *quod*, al. *quid*, lat. quid; 186-7 om., al. *he synneth withouten eende*; 211 *moun not*, al. *mowe*; 273 *siþes*, al. *sydes*; 289 om., al. *þoo*, lat. his. H^1 has few errors, but is not a good copy of the text.

F^2: 38 om., al. *bifore*, lat. ante; 63 om., al. *þre*, lat. tres; 100 *so greet*, al. *soiet*, lat. subjectam; 114 *dayes*, al. *thi dayes*, lat. dies tuos; 133-4 om.,

[28] For more errors in P see lines: 126, 150, 153, 168, 216, 233, 238, 244, 302, 333, 334, 354.

[29] Some changes in P are stylistic, especially in the handling of the Deuteronomy quote in which P consistently omits the first *and* and adds *hem*, as at lines: 33-5, 46-8, 80-2, 90-92, 265-7. The following lines are examples where P changes the word order: 13, 57-8, 59-60, 62-3, 97, 190-2, 223, 239-40, 276, 278, 304-5, 345-6, 365. Where P changes word choice, or adds a synonym or adjective, see lines: 29, 43, 66, 84, 105, 110, 117, 171, 208, 215, 217, 236, 252, 254, 295, 306, 315, 322, 337, 353, 362. P also tries to add a more personal tone to the text by adding the first person at lines 276, 355, 358.

al. *and...henne*, lat. semper transire paratus; 190 *counceil*, al. *contynuel*; 200 *la laste*, al. *laste*; 219 *god*, al. *at god*, lat. apud Deum; 257 om., al. *turned*, lat. vertitur; 296 *forsakinge*, al. *forthynkyng*. F^2 has many more errors than B and H^1, mostly consisting of omissions, and is thus an unreliable copy of the text.

Hy: 12-3 *Moyses*, al. *vs by þat blessed Moyses*, lat. per beatum Moysen nobis; 37 *hertful*, al. *heelful*, lat. salutarem; 91 om., al. *and vnderstoden*; 116 *þi herte and*, al. *þin entree*, lat. tuus ingressus; 133 *clene all synne*, al. *al cleene of synne*.[30] The scribe of Hy is prone to numerous errors which makes one wonder if he understood the text. While the scribe of P changes the words and word order to suit his needs, he makes few errors. In Hy, however, the scribe's alterations only succeed in distorting the text, distancing it greatly from U and its Latin source.

GROUP ERROR

Due to the existence of isolative errors in each manuscript, it can be stated that none is the source for any other, but there are various examples of shared errors which may suggest numerous textual relationships between these manuscripts, however questionable they may be. There appears to be only one definite subgroup, BH^1F^2, and two possible subgroups, TaDHR and LSoR.[31] Though we shall see later in the textual analysis for the edition of the

[30] For further errors in Hy see lines: 4, 8, 10, 14, 28, 34, 36, 38-9, 50, 63, 68-9, 76, 87, 89-90, 113, 128, 129, 152, 158, 161-2, 168-70, 177, 190, 206, 216, 217, 242, 258, 266, 267, 284, 286, 303, 322, 322, 353-4, 356-8.

[31] The textual analysis in Page's thesis is fundamentally flawed by the fact that he has confused Lm(Q in Page) and F^2(E in Page) with one another, thus his conclusion that $BLmH^1$ form a subgroup is incorrect ((1973), lxxxiii-lxxxiv). He bases his analysis on three readings: the long omission at lines 17-22, the omission of 'operibus tuis' at line 183 and the confusion between *ne presume* and *persone ne* at lines 68-9. With this last reading, another error in Page's analysis appears. According to Page, the manuscripts which contain the erroneous reading of *persone ne* should include Hy (R in Page) and So (V in Page), but from my own examination of these two manuscripts, this is incorrect ((1973), lxxxv).

'Three Arrows' that these subgroups, particularly BH^1F^2 and TaDHR, are indeed well established, the evidence here in the 'Mirror' is quite sketchy and, with the exception of P and Hy, the manuscripts collated do not differ significantly from the text presented in U. Apart from these three subgroupings, there are only a few potential pairs and the remainder of the manuscripts reveal no further clues to any other textual relationships.

As stated above, the most prominent subgroup is that of BH^1F^2, which share thirty-four readings exclusively, 11 of which are errors:

55 om., al. *here*, lat. quae.

62-3 om., al. *freelte, so greet vnkunnyng, and so muche*, lat. debilitas tantaque imperitia.

103-5 *as muche as this world is knowen for more yuel*, al. *as muche as this world is knowen to bee moore vil*, lat. quatenus quanto infelicior mundus iste esse conspicitur.

148 *knowe ne (for)to coueite bifore*, al. *coueite to knowe bifore*, lat. praescire deposcas.

240 *souereynlier*, al. *sonner*, lat. facilius.

258-60 *þis ful happi eiþer gracious*, al. *this is an horrible siȝt, but it is a profitable myrour. O, ful happy*, lat. ecce satis horribile spectaculum sed est nimis utile speculum.

280-1 *Dauiþ seiþ*, al. *seith to þee, and to alle suche, in his psalme*.

310 om., al. *hast been, what you art, and what thow*, lat. quid es et quid eris.

313-14 *þou hast resseyued*, al. *it passeth fro thee, be it neuer so deynteuous whan thow receyuest*.

333 *and derknessis of peyne*, al. *of peyne and of derkenesse*, lat. poenarum chaos et caligo tenebrarum.

348 om., al. *thanne*, lat. tunc

It is interesting to note that Ry originally shared this subgroup's omission at lines 62-3 and the omission in H^1 at lines 186-7, but in Ry these omissions were marginally corrected. It is possible that Ry was originally copied from an exemplar similar to BH^1F^2, but that it was subsequently corrected to match a copy of the text similar to U. Ry, however, does not share any other errors with BF^1H^2 alone, but does share some of the larger group omissions including BH^1F^2 and several other manuscripts at lines 35, 36 and 175.

The BH^1F^2 group as a whole shares errors with a variety of other manuscripts, but most of these do not offer enough consistent evidence to support any possible textual relationships.[32] The group does share several errors with So:

228 *presence*, al. *prison*, lat. carcere.

236 *fully asseth*, al. *ful asseth*.

287 *owt it to be drad*, al. *to be drad*, lat. metuenda.

The BH^1F^2 group also shares the one long omission with R at lines 37-8, the alteration of *that* to *þe* (illa) with Hy at line 203, the changing of *and* to *or* (et) at line 342 with F^1, and the addition of *operibuȝ tuis* at line 183 with Hr. These singular shared errors are insignificant, but the few shared with So possibly

[32] See variants for lines: 9, 35, 57, 122, 126, 155, 165, 172, 201, 213, 226, 247, 254, 263, 264, 305 and 311.

suggest some distant relationship. Such a relationship with So may have been the result of the conflation in an ancestor of So, because So does not share some of the group's larger errors, most notably the omission of lines 17 to 22. This lengthy omission of the text which is present in the Latin source represents a considerable error shared between BH^1F^2 and HrLyCPHy, the only error which all eight of these manuscripts share.

Individually, only F^2 shares errors with other manuscripts outside this subgroup, as at line 36 with $LmHaRyLF^1TaDHSoRHrLyCHy$ and line 65 with L, but neither of these is sufficient to substantiate any relationships. Within the subgroup, H^1F^2 appear to be more closely related, sharing errors exclusively at lines 54, 152 and 283. B and H^1 share only one error at line 8, and B and F^2 share no errors together.

A less defined subgrouping is that of TaDHR which shares only four readings exclusively and of those four only two are debatable errors: 27 *medicine aȝen malice*, al. *medicine of malice*, lat. medela malitiae; 86 *put upon hoot colis*, al. *put into the fuyr*, lat. ponatur in igne. As a group, TaDHR share six errors with other manuscripts at lines 36, 69, 75, 175 and 278, but these other manuscripts occur with such irregularity that it is not possible to even suggest any textual relationships with the TaDHR subgroup. Within the group itself, errors are shared in various

combinations between the manuscripts of the subgroup and other manuscripts outside it:

95-7 om. F^1DH, al. *For God wole that þow sauoure þat þou knowest, that þow vnderstonde, and þat be of good purueaunce.*

148 *knowe* DHRP, al. *coueite to knowe*, lat. praescire deposcas.

158 om. RyTaDHHy, al. *in*, lat. in.

226 *the* HaLDHSoR, al. *that*, lat. illum.

263 *vices* LmHaLTaDSoRHrCPBH^1F^2Hy, al. *vice*, lat. malitiam.

These shared errors also offer too varied a group of manuscripts to establish any links between the TaDHR subgroup and the other manuscripts.

Within this group it is equally difficult to pin down any firm relationships. While TaDR share no variant readings alone, TaDH share the longer omission at lines 48-9 of *ofte biholde thiself in this myrour, and ȝef þow*, as well as variant readings at lines 72, 148, 203, 238, 277, 311, 320, 321, 327, 338 and 362. Apart from R, the other manuscripts Ta, D, and H do not stray from the group and share no errors with other manuscripts outside the TaDHR subgroup. R, however, straddles between the TaDHR subgroup and the LSoR subgroup.

As I mentioned earlier, R does share a lengthy omission with BH^1F^2 at line 37-8, but because this is the only error shared exclusively between them, it should be dismissed as independent scribal error in R, probably resulting from eyeskip due to the repetition

of *ful fewe* at lines 36 and 37. R shares errors with L and So in the following, and in one case with other manuscripts as well:

58 *was* LF[1]SoR, al. *theer was*, lat. adfuit.

125 om. LSoR, al. *and vnderstonde*, lat. intelligas.

139-40 om. SoR, al. *with the prophete*, lat. cum propheta.[33]

This does not seem on its own to be enough evidence to support a relationship between LSoR, but as we shall see in the ensuing discussion, this evidence is relatively significant.

Looking now to the rest of the manuscripts that are collated for this edition of the 'Mirror' it becomes obvious how meager the evidence is in helping to establish any textual relationships. U, though a good copy of the text, does share a few errors with some other manuscripts, but most of these are of little consequence:

32 *oure* USP, al. *on (of) oure*.

126 *wolt write* USHaRyLF[1]SoRHr, al. *write*, lat. scribas.

183 *novissima* USLmRyLF[1]SoBH[1]F[2], al. *novissima tua*, lat. novissima tua.

245 *hys* US, al. *þe*.

259 *a* UHy, al. *a ful*, lat. nimis.

294 *meo* USLmRyPBH[1]F[2], al. *suo*, lat. suis.

Some of these readings are truly erroneous, but in nearly all of them, S accompanies U and these two

[33] LSoR share exclusively variant readings at lines 23, 128, 142 and 290, and share readings at lines 103 and 121 with F[1].

alone also share readings at lines 119 and 176. Now apart from these readings and errors that S shares with U, S shares no other errors or variant readings with any other manuscript collated here.

Lm shares errors with a large group of other manuscripts at lines 36, 75, 82, 226 and 263, but these errors are minor and the manuscripts do not recur with any frequency, though Ly and Ta each appear in four of them. While containing many isolative errors, Ha shares six errors with a large number of the manuscripts here at lines 36, 75, 226, 254 and 263, with D and R each appearing in four of them. As with Lm, the errors are minor and few of the other manuscripts recur with any constancy. Like Ha and Lm, Ry is found in ten errors shared between a large group of the other manuscripts at lines 35, 36, 70, 158, 172 and 278, and Ly and F^1 are each present in four of them. Ry does share another error at line 38 with Ly and Lm, and with Ly, So and F^1 at line 321.

L has been discussed before in regard to its tentative relationship with So and R, and apart from the errors L shares with So and R (including other manuscripts), it shares only one other error and that is with F^2 at line 65, where both have *pe churche* for *hooly churche* (sancta ecclesia). Likewise, So has been discussed with regard to its relationship with L and R, but it shares several errors with a large number of manuscripts at lines 35, 36, 75 and 263. To

avoid being repetitive, it should only be noted that F^1 shares a lengthy omission at lines 95-7 with HD as mentioned above.

It is at this point when the long omission of lines 17 to 22 divides HrLyCPBH^{1}F^{2}Hy from the rest of the manuscripts collated here, and it is the only significant error that all of these manuscripts share.[34] When looking at this group of manuscripts individually, we see that Hr and Ly are a possible pair. Though they share only one minor error between them at line 5, they occur consistently together, though with other manuscripts, in the erroneous readings for lines 35, 36, 70, 75 and 82. Hr shares no other errors, but Ly also shares errors at lines 38, 132, 278 and 321 with a variety of other manuscripts, though predominantly with Ry.

P is truly a unique and independent copy of the text, and this is reinforced by the fact that it shares only three minor errors with any other manuscripts at lines 148, 226 and 302, and none of these are sufficient to substantiate any links between P and the other manuscripts. Finally, C and Hy appear to be another somewhat doubtful pair.[35] These two share errors between them at lines 9, 192 and 210. In

[34] It is interesting to note that despite this obviously important error, Page still asserts that Ry and Ly 'perhaps shared an immediate common source' ((1973), lxxxix).

[35] See Wilson ((1977), 295-303) for a discussion of the large number of contents shared between Harley 4012(Hy) and Lambeth 3597(C), the Coughton Court Throckmorton MS.

all the other errors, except at line 75, which C shares with the other manuscripts, C and Hy are always together. Hy, however, is an extremely corrupted version of the text and shares other errors with a variety of manuscripts as at lines 158, 203, 264, and 305. But none of these is any more significant than the few shared between Hy and C.

From the variants in the text of the 'Mirror', there is very little evidence to support any further relationships other than the ones discussed above.[36] For the most part, errors that do exist are shared between a large number of manuscripts, which are never consistent. The only evident relationships appear to be the subgroup of BH^1F^2, and the possible subgroupings of TaDHR and LSoR. Likewise, the pairs of US, HrLy and CHy are based on extremely weak evidence, but compared to the remainder of the manuscripts, this evidence seems substantial enough to suggest that such textual relationships might exist. The four texts in this group which follow the 'Mirror', especially the 'Three Arrows', should provide further evidence adding to what little we have uncovered here of the textual relationships shared between the manuscripts collated for this edition.

[36] As Page, himself, concludes: 'The relationship of manuscripts described in these pages would seem to indicate that while some are much closer than others, all bear family resemblances. It further suggests that a good number of manuscripts which would serve as links from group to group and from one to the other are not present' ((1973), xc).

THE MIRROR OF SINNERS

Heere bigynneth a sentence ful good and profitable to rede which is i-cleped the myrour of synneres. f. 127r

For þat we been in the wey of this failyng lyf ande oure dayes passen as a schadewe, þerfore it nedeth ful ofte to recorde in oure mynde that [thyng that] oure freelte and oure deedly seeknesse maketh vs so ofte to forȝete. But what thyng is yat? Certis it is þat highe sentence of hooly writ, þe whiche almyȝty God, wilnyng oure profit þorugh his grace, hath ȝeuen to vs by þat blessed Moyses his prophete, seienge thus, Vtinam saperent, *et* intelligerent, ac

USLmHaRyLF¹TaDHSoRHrLyCPBH¹F²Hy

1 heere...synneres(3)] here sueþ a profitable mirrour for synful men *and* wymmen to biholde ynne Hr, here bigynneþ a tretis þat is clepid þe mirrour of synneris H¹, here is þe myrour of synners loke perfyhtly in it F¹, now here bigynneþ þe myrrour of synners So, here bigynneþ þe myrour of synners LmHaLTaRLyCBF², and bigynneþ þe mirrour of synners H, here is the mirroure of sinnes Hy, the myrour of synners P, *om*. Ry *upper margin* þe mirour of synners D 2 which] þe whuche S 3 synneres] synne S 4 this] his Hy 5 failyng] fallynge P as] *om*. So a] *om*. HrLy 6 þerfore] and þerfore BH¹F² nedeth ful] is nedeful RyLF¹TaDHRHrLy to] *om*. P 7 thyng that] *om*. U that²] that in Ha 8 deedly seeknesse] deedlynes BH¹ deedly] mynde that thing that oure freelte and oure Hy 9 so] *corr*. B, *om*. CHy what] w *canc*. /, what D thyng] *om*. CPBH¹F²Hy 10 certis] certaine Hy it...þat] that C, the Hy 11 whiche] w *canc*. /, which Ta 12 hath] *corr*. C vs...blessed(13)] *om*. Hy 13 þat ...thus(14)] þe blessed prophete Dauid seiyng on this wyse F¹ þat] his P, *om*. DR Moyses...prophete] prophete Moyses P prophete] *on eras*. *corr*. Hy, seruaunt L 14 thus] this Hy ac] at Lm, a Hy

nouissima prouiderent. That is, 'Wolde God þat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden and purueieden for the laste thynges.' 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.

My deere brother, I prey þee, vnderstond wel what þow redist, for þe bisy vnderstondyng of this sentence is 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. And þerfore the prophete, pleinyng oure greete blyndenesse, preieth with pitee seiþnge thus, 'Wolde God þat men sauouredyn

15 nouissima] nouissiam Lm is] is to sey CP *margin* deut° 32 BH¹ 16 þat] *om.* R and] *om.* Ha 17 purueieden] prouide Hy for] hem for P o... thynges(22)] *om.* HrLyCPBH¹F²Hy 18 and þat] *om.* F¹ þat] *om.* L not] not only F¹ 19 needful] it is needful DR 20 yat] *om.* F¹R men] me Ha 23 brother] broþer or sister LSoR 24 what] þat Hy redist] redist or herist Ta for] fo L bisy] bisy *and* quicke F¹, very C 25 of] *twice* D 26 pruyde...boost(28)] vices dryuynge awey of malice P quenchyng] for þe besi vnderstonding and quinching Hy 27 of] aȝen TaDHR of²] awey of Ha 28 and] *om.* Hy of²] *om.* RyF¹C 29 informacion] bryngiþ informacoun H¹, bringiþ in enformacioun BF² leernyng] good lyuynge P 31 prophete] prophete of God D pleinyng] blaming Hy 32 oure] of oure HaF¹SoH¹F², on oure LmRyLTaDHRHrLyCHy, \on/ oure B 33 thus] this Hy þat] *om.* Hy

and vnderstooden and purueiedyn for the laste þinges.' But allas, allas! For al to fewe han this vertew; ful fewe þeer been yat sauouren þis heelful sentence; ful fewe there been þat setten bifore þe eiȝen of here mynde þe knowynge of here owen infirmyte, here bodily corrupcion, þe mynde of here synnes, / þe day of here deeth, and f. 127v the horrible peynes of helle.

Behold now, freend, how profitable a myrour it is for synneres, the inwardly biholdyng of this highe sentence, that is, wolde God þat men sauouredyn and vnderstonden and purueieden for the laste thynges. For ȝef þow ofte biholde thiselfin this myrour, and ȝef þow bisily studye to sette thus þiselfbifore thyselfe, doutelees

34 and] in Hy, *om.* P vnderstooden] vnderstanding Hy purueiedyn] wolde puruaie Hy for] hem for P 35 allas for] *om.* TaHSoBH^{1}F^2 allas^2] *om.*RyF^{1}RHrLyCHy for] all for Ha, *canc.* Hr, *om.* LD 36 this vertew] þese vertues LmHaRyLF^{1}TaDHSoRHrLyCF^{2}Hy ful] for H^1 yat] haue þees vertues ne Hy 37 sauouren...þat (38)] *om.* RBH^{1}F^2 þis] his L heelful] hertfull Hy fewe] *corr.* F^1, *om.* Lm 38 bifore] *om.* F^2 þe] þer LmRyLy, *om.* L eiȝen...here^2(39)] mynde þei knaw not theeir Hy 39 here mynde] *corr.* Hr owen] *om.* HaBF^2 infirmyte(40)] infyrmyte or vnstedfastnesse Ha, vnstidfastnes BF^2, vnstidfastnes *and* H^1 40 here] ne their Hy 41 þe] and *canc.*, þe R, and þe LSo, nor þe Hy here^2] his Hy 42 peynes] peyne H^1 43 now] i *canc.*, / now R, *om.* F^2 freend] broþer P 44 the] in þe L, *om.* Lm inwardly] inward DHBH^{1}F^2 45 this] *om.* Ha 46 þat] *om.* HHy sauouredyn] *corr.* Lm and] *om.* P 47 and...thynges(48)] *et cetera* L for] hem for P 48 for] *om.* F^2 ofte...þow(49)] *om.* TaDH ofte biholde] *rev.* H^{1}F^2 ofte] *om.* F^1 thiselfe] *om.* B 49 bisily studye] *rev.* P to sette(50)] *after* thus PBH^{1}F^2 50 thus] this Hy þiselfe] thi lyffe C bifore thyselfe] *om.* BH^{1}F^2 thyselfe] *om.* H

thow schalt be strengere þan Sampson, moore waar þan Dauyd, and wiser than Salomon.

Thise men, for þei weren rechelees in biholdyng of hemself in this myrour of forsight, thei fellen into here lusty desires and to blyndenesse of here flesch. And sitthe þise men fellen into so horrible synne, in the whiche theer was so greet strengthe, so heigh wisdom, and so greet waarnesse, with how muche studye mooten we þanne awake in biholdyng on this myrour, in the whiche is soo muche freelte, so greet vnkunnyng, and so muche recheleeshede? And for this skyle been þise þre men i-red and i-spoken of in hooly churche, that þei schulden be to vs a myrour of forseynge and

51 schalt] *corr*. F[1] be] *twice, 1st canc*. Ly þan] *illeg*. Hr 52 Salomon] Salamon his sone DSoR 53 for þei] *om*. Hy þei] hy P 54 of] *corr*. Lm, *om*. L this] þe H[1]F[2] 55 into] *in* into Ta, *in* C here] *om*. BH[1]F[2] lusty desires (56)] desires lusti *marked for rev*. Ry 56 and to] into Hy to] into HaLF[1]TaDHSoCPBH[1]F[2] blyndenesse] blyndes C 57 sitthe] sume \of/ Hy fellen] folden Ly into...theer(58)] in synne so horrib-liche in whom P so] *om*. CBH[1]F[2]Hy 58 synne] synnes HaHr the] *om*. LTaDHSoRHy theer] *canc*. B, *om*. LF[1]SoR 59 heigh...waarnesse(60)] gret warnesse *and* so gret wysdom P heigh] gret BH[1]F[2] 60 muche] i / mich Ta, myche more BH[1]F[2] mooten...awake(61)] þenne nediþ ous to wake P mooten...þanne(61)] þanne must we F[1] 61 þanne] *om*. Lm on] *in* F[1], of LLyCPBH[1]F[2]Hy 62 the whiche] whom F[1] is soo] *twice* Ha freelte...muche(63)] *margin corr*. Ry, *om*. BH[1]F[2] greet...recheleeshede(63)] myche recheles-nesse *and* so myche vnconnynge P 63 -hede] *om*. Hy and[2]] *twice* H 64 this] *partly illeg*. R þre] *om*. F[2] 65 hooly] þe LF[2] þei] þu F[2] 66 schulden] *corr*. F[1] be] *corr*. Lm to] vnto C a] as a L forseynge] *on eras*. *corr*. Ly, byforeseeynge P, forsyhte F[1]

not to þe ensaumple of fallynge; so þat noon of vs truste in his owene stren3the, ne presume in his owene wisdom, but euermoore to be bisy for the helthe of oure soule, and neuere to for3ete oure deedly corrupcion. For alle þei yat been recheles in suche maner of lokynge in this myrour, neither thei sauouren, ne thei vnderstondyn, ne þei bysyen hem to purueye for the laste þinges. And for þat we schulden euere be bisy aboute this studye of bifore-waarnesse, the sentence of God moeuyth vs, seiynge thus, 'The men that been withouten counseil and purueaunce, wolde God þat thei sauouredyn and vnderstoden and purueieden hem for þe laste thynges.' / To this heelful sentence, f. 128r loke þat þow biholde, and that nou3t

67 to...ensaumple] *om.* F¹ to þe] *into* BH¹F², to HaTaHCHy ensaumple] sau*m*ple Ly 68 truste] st *canc.*, truste Ha stren3the...owene(69)] *om.* Hy ne] neiþer H¹F² 69 p*r*esume] p*er*sone ne RyF¹TaDHRHrLy in] on P owene] *om.* Ha 70 to] *om.* H¹F² the] *om.* LmRyF¹TaDHSoRHrLy helthe] i *canc.*/, helþe Ta, helpe Ha soule] soules LmLF¹TaDHSoRHrLyP, owne soule Ha 71 to] for to B corrupcion] corrupciounes LmRyLF¹TaDHSoRLy 72 þei] þo P, *om.* TaDH in] of D 73 lokynge] forlokynge HaCBH¹F²Hy in] of BH¹F² 74 ne thei] neiþ*er* B thei²] *om.* HaHrLyCPHy ne² ...to(75)] neiþer þei F², neiþer H¹ ne²] neyþer P 75 bysyen...purueye] purueien hem B hem] not them Hy to purueye] ne p*u*rueyeþ hem nat P to] not to LmHaF¹TaDHSoRHrLyC 76 for] *om.* L euere] euermore F¹, neuer Hy, *om.* Ha be bisy] bisily be BH¹F² aboute] of Hy 77 bifore-waarnesse] beforne-warningis Hy, afore-warnesse F¹ 78 God] i *canc.* /, God Ta moeuyth] meuedþ, -d- *canc.* Lm thus] *om.* B 79 the] 3e P, tho F¹ counseil] c *canc.* /, counseil Ta, ceil *canc.*, counceil L 80 thei] 3e P, men Ha 81 and] *om.* P and²...thynges(82)] *et cetera* L purueieden] puruaie Hy hem] 3ow P, *om.* HaF¹TaDHRBF² 82 thynges] þ*i*nges *canc.*, eende Ry, eende LmTaHHrLy heelful] *margin corr.* Ry 83 þow] 3e L, *om.* F¹ that] *om.* Hy

passyngly, but with greet studye *and* ri3t
good auysement. For ri3t as encens smelleth
not but 3ef it be put into the fuyr, so no
sentence of hooly scripture may sauoure to
the redere, ne to þe herere þeerof, but 3ef
it be i-boyled in [þe] herte with bisy and
brennynge studye of it. And therfore, wolde
God þat men sauouredyn and vnderstoden and
purueieden for the laste thynges.

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.
As for the firste, God wole þat þow knowe

84 with] *om.* Ha greet] ri3t gret P ri3t good(85)] *with* L ri3t] *with* righte C, wiþ LmRySoRHrLyHy, *om.* F¹TaDHPF² 85 ri3t] *om.* Hy smelleth] semelith ne smellithe Hy *margin* ex^m S 86 3ef] *om.* HaHrCP into...fuyr] upo*n* hoot colis TaDHR into] in PBH¹F² so] ry3t so PBH¹F² 87 scripture] writt HF² may sauoure] saueright not Hy sauoure] serue Ha to] vnto C 88 ne] neiþir BH¹F² to] *om.* Hy þeerof] *om.* Hy 3ef] *om.* B 89 i-boyled] grauid Hy þe herte] herte U, his mynde Hy with...brennynge(90)] with brennynge *and* bisie H and brennynge(90)] *rev.* P, *om.* Hy 90 and] a So therfore] þerof H 91 þat] *om.* R and vnderstoden] *om.* Hy and] *om.* P and²...thynges(92)] *et cetera* L 92 purueieden] bisily purueyeden BH¹ for] hem for CP, þem for Hy 93 brother] nowe brother HaCHy, now dere broþir BH¹F² 94 þe] *om.* F¹ sauoury knowyng] sauour o*þer* knowynge P sauoury] *corr.* Ly, -y *eras.* Hr 95 vnderstondyng] *and* vndirsto*n*di*n*ge LyH¹F² for...purueaunce(97)] *om.* F¹DH 96 sauoure ...knowest] saueredest or knewest P sauoure] \knowe/ þat F² þat] þat þing þat TaR that] and that HaRyTaSoRLyCPHy, a *canc.*, *and* þat Hr 97 vnderstonde] vnderstodest P and...purueaunce] *margin corr.* Ry and þat] þat þou TaSoR þat] þou L be...purueaunce] þou purueiedest for þe laste þynges P be] þou beo SLmHaRyHrLyCBH¹F²Hy of] oof, *1st* o- *canc.* L 98 as] *corr.* L, and S wole] wolde P þat] *om.* Hy knowe] knewe P *margin* 1· HaRC

þat this lyf is passyng, al bilapped in wrecchednesse, soiet to alle maner of vanytee, defouled with filthes of synne, corrupt with couetise, and þat it schal perisshe withynne schort tyme, so þat in as muche as this world is knowen to bee moore vil, in so muche it may the li3tloker be dispised for loue of þat lif that euer schal laste.

For the secounde, God wole þat þow vnderstonde þat þow koome naked into this world, and naked þow schalt goon hennes; for of eerthe þow weere i-maad, and into eerthe þow schalt turne. Wepynge, þow koome into this wrecchednesse, with teene and traueil þow hast endured thi dayes, and with sorwe *and* woo þow schalt passe hennes. Vnderstond, þerfore, how wooful is þin entree,

99 bilapped] biwlappid TaDRHr, biwrapped LmL, wrapped HaSoCBH^{1}F^{2}Hy, vnlappid H in] *with* L 100 soiet] so greet F^2, ful redy H^1 of] *om.* HaLTaHSoR 101 filthes] al *canc.*, filþis L synne] synnes S 102 it] al P 103 withynne] in Hy schort] a schort LF^{1}SoR 104 to...vil(105)] for more yuel BH^{1}F^2 105 vil] *corr.* R, foul P the li3tloker] li3ttere to L the] be the Hy, beo S li3tloker] li3tlier LmHaF^{1}TaDHRCBH^{1}F^2, lighter Hy, more li3tloker P 106 lif] Lord *and* lijf H^1, þing L 108 for] as for BH^{1}F^2 wole] wolde P *margin* 2· HaRC 109 þat] *corr.* C this] þe Hy 110 world] wrecched wordle P 111 eerthe] the erthe HaCBH^{1}F^{2}Hy weere] sch *canc.* /, were B eerthe^2] the erthe HaLCF^2 112 þow koome] *partly eras.* C 113 wrecchednesse] worldes wrecchednesse F^1, wrecchid world SoH^1, wrecchid lyf B, world F^2 teene and] *om.* Hy 114 thi] *om.* F^2 and] *corr.* L 115 passe] go DBF^2 116 þin entree] þi herte and Hy þin] tyne Ha

how chaungeable is thy lyuynge heere, *and* how feerful is thy passyng awey. Ande / f. 128v passyng al this vnderstonde, I prey þee, that in this vaale of weepyng, þow art bothe seeke and an outlawe, ful poore in vertues, ful vnstable in thy lyuyng, and happily thow schalt not abide til tomorwe.

Oo brother, ful wel schal þee bee 3ef þowe sauoure *and* vnderstonde thise thynges yat I telle þee, and 3ef þow wolt write hem in thyn herte as in a book, *and* namely 3ef thow bisye the to keepe in thy mynde thise two versis next folwynge: <u>Viue deo gratus, mundo toto tumulatus. Crimine mundatus, semper transire paratus</u>. That is, 'Lyue thankful to thi God, buried al to the world, maad al cleene of synne, *and* reedy euer to goon henne.' Lo nowe, my deere brother, now

117 lyuynge] lif P 118 how] *margin corr., eras.* ? Ly ande] *twice* U 119 passyng] ouer LmHaRyLF¹TaDHSoRHrLyCPBH¹F²Hy 120 vaale] valey HaLTaDHHrLyC 121 an] *om.* So in] of LF¹SoR vertues] vertu F¹ 122 thy] *om.* HaSoCBH¹F²Hy 123 til] forte P, *om.* Lm 124 oo] o deere P þee] thow HaRyLF¹TaDHRHrLy, 3e Hy, þu C 125 *and* vnderstonde] *om.* LSoR 126 3ef þow] *twice* Ta, *canc.* P wolt] *om.* LmTaDHLyCPBH¹F²Hy 127 herte] herte wiþ good lyuynge B 3ef...the(128)] to *canc.*, be busye P 128 bisye...to] *om.* Hy bisye] wolt bisye LSoR in...mynde] *om.* D thy] *om.* TaR 129 two versis] vertues here P versis] verse HaLF¹CB next folwynge] *om.* HrLy gratus] grates Hy, gratis CBF² *margin* v'sus P 130 mundo] mudo Ha toto] toti LyCHy, totus DBF² 131 is] is to seie LCPH¹F² 132 thankful] þankefully HaRyLF¹HrLyPBH¹F², þou þankfulli TaDHR thi] *om.* HaTaDHRP al to] *rev.* F¹TaRLy 133 maad...cleene] clene y-maked P al...synne] clene all sin Hy al] *om.* F¹D *and* ...henne(134)] *om.* F² *and*] *om.* TaR reedy euer] *rev.* HaLHrCBH¹Hy 134 nowe my] *om.* P nowe] *om.* DSoRBH¹F²

hast þow i-seye in this myrour what þow schalt sauoure and what thow schalt vnderstonde.

But now as for the thridde, lat see what þow schalt purueye, preynge thus with the prophete, Notum fac michi, Domine, finem meum et numerum dierum meorum quis est, ut sciam quid desit michi. That is, 'Lord, make myn eende i-knowe to me *and* which is the noumbre of my dayes, that I may knowe what me fayleth.' O þat profitable preyer, þat heelful contemplacioun, and þat necessarie askynge of God, nouȝt for to coueite to knowe bifore, tymes *and* momentis, the whiche the Fader of heuene hath sette in his owen power, but þat þow knowe and vnderstonde that þow art but an outlawe, a gest, and a pilgrym heer in this wrecchide lyf, a freel man and a feble, and luytel

135 hast þow] *rev.* SoHr i-seye] sume Hy, bifore þee So in] *om.* C this] þi S what] i-seen what So 136 sauoure] þu *canc.* /, sauere L and what] *twice* Ha what] whanne *canc.*, what H 138 for] to R *margin* iij CHy 139 thus] þis Hy, *om.* F^2 with... prophete(140)] *om.* SoR 140 prophete] profete Dauiþ BH^1F^2 141 meorum] *om.* Ry *margin* p' 38 BH^1F^2 142 sciam] s *canc.*/, sciam D, scia B quid] quod H^1, quis Lm that is] that is to sey CP, *om.* LSoR 143 i-knowe...me] redi to me knowen, redi *canc.*, to me knowen *marked for rev.* L to] onto F^1 which is] *om.* F^1 144 dayes] dayes whiche it is F^1 145 fayleth] fayleth or wanteth F^1 þat] what C 146 þat] o þat BH^1F^2 and] *om.* H 148 coueite... knowe] knowe ne to coueite BF^2, knowe ne for to coueite H^1 coueite to] *om.* DHRP tymes] þe tymes TaDH, \þe/ tymes P *and*] *and* þe P, *om.* L 149 sette] put D 150 owen] *om.* F^1 þat] at P, *om.* So 151 art but] art not but F^1, bounde art Hy a] *corr.* Ha, *and* a LmLP 152 a] *om.* HaF^2 this] *om.* Hy wrecchide] *om.* H^1F^2 153 a^2] *om.* RyR and^2] and a Ha, a P

while abydyng vpon þis eerthe. For ȝef þow
biholde wel to the schortnesse of this lyf
and seest how the lakketh /sufficeaunt tyme f. 129r
to fulfille inne penaunce for thy synnes, in
trew keepyng of the heestis of God and in
encresyng of thi perfeccion, þow schuldest
bothe sauoure and vnderstonde. And ȝef þow
wolt sette the sodeynte of deeth bifore þe
eiȝen of þi mynde, doutelees þow schuldest
þanne, withouten lette, dispise al þe boost
of þis lyf, þe bisynesse of worldly vanytee,
and alle þe lustes þat longen to the flesch,
and sette wise *and* waar kepynge of thi
wittes, and bisily purueye þee for the laste
thynges. For alle wise men awaiten as
bisily to the eende of euerythyng as to the
bigynnyng, and rathere moore; *and* verreily

154 abydyng] bydynge Ha vpon] here vpon LmCP, on Ly, in Hy þis] the Ha ȝef] *corr.* L 155 biholde wel] bisili biholde R wel to] *om.* CBH^{1}F^2 wel] *om.* LmP to] *om.* Hy this] *corr.* So lyf] *corr.* Ry 156 the] þou Hy lakketh] fayleth F^1 sufficeaunt] *om.* Hy 157 to] for to HaLyCPHrHy inne] in þee HrBH^{1}F^2, *in* þi So, þi LF^{1}TaDHRPHy, the Ha in] and Hy 158 the...of] þi behest to Hy heestis] comaundmentes F^1 in] *om.* RyTaDHHy 160 bothe] knowe *canc.*, both F^1, *om.* Hy ȝef] *om.* LmHy 161 wolt] woldist LC þe...of(162)] *om.* Hy þe] þi L, þyne P 162 þow schuldest] *om.* Hy 163 lette] ony lette R, ony lettinge BH^{1}F^2 dispise] þou muste dispise Hy boost...to(165)] wrachidnes in þis worlde and þe lustis þat be of Hy 164 þis] þi RyLHr þe] *and* þe F^1 worldly] þe worldis TaH, þis worldis D 165 alle] *om.* CBH^{1}F^2 þe] *om.* Lm flesch] f *canc.* //, flesch D, w *canc.*, fleisch So 166 sette] *om.* Lm wise...waar] war and wise R wise *and*] *om.* Hy thi] þi v. Hy 167 þee] *om.* F^{1}D for] of Hy 168 wise] redy P awaiten...moore(170)] remember þe parell and inbarde in the laste ende Hy 169 euerythyng] euery wi, wi *canc.* L

he is proeued for wise that so wel þenketh of rekenyng bifore rekenyng, þat he may after, in tyme of rekenyng, eschewe peril of rekenyng.

But now, perauenture, þow seist to me thus, 'Sire, I am al reedy to doo after the counseil of God, þat I may sauoure *and* vnderstonde *and* purueye for the laste thynges. But whiche been my laste thynges that þow spekest of?' Soothly, thei been thoo the whiche þe Holy Goost spekith of to þee by Salomon, seiynge thus, Fili in omnibuȝ memorare nouissima, et in eternum non peccabis. Þat is, 'Sone, in alle thynges haue in mynde thy laste thynges, and þow schalt not synne withouten eende.' He

171 proeued] p *canc.*, proued Ha for] *om.* F¹TaDHHy wise] wys *and* redy P that] tho C so...of²(173)] wil remember þe ende of euere thing and þat he after nede not doute in his Hy wel...of(172)] wole þenke of L, wol þenke on BH¹F² 172 of] on HaCP bifore rekenyng] *om.* RBH¹F² rekenyng²] *om.* RyTaDH may] n *canc.* /, may D 173 after] *om.* P peril] al perel TaDHR, þe perel LF¹C, periles þat comeþ P 175 to] vnto C 176 thus] *om.* F¹ sire] siþe L al] *om.* LmHaRyLF¹TaDHSoRHrLyCPBH¹F²Hy to] for to F¹ the] thi, -i *altered to* -e C 177 God] good, -d *eras.*, 2nd -o- *altered to* -d C sauoure] vnders *canc.*, sauoure P, sai Hy *and*] *om.* Hy 178 for] me for P 179 my] þo P, þese L laste] l *canc.* /, laste Ta 180 thei] it PHy 181 thoo] þo tynges HaD the] of þe F¹, of Hy, þynges L of...þee (182)] to þe of R, *om.* Hy of] *om.* F¹ 182 þee by] *corr.* Hr thus] this Hy, *om.* B 183 omnibuȝ] omnibus operibus tuis BH¹F², omnibus \operibus tuis/ Hr nouissima] *corr.* Lm, nouissima tua, tua *canc.* Hr, nouissima \tua/ R, nouissima tua HaTaDHLyCPHy *margin* ecc' 7 BH¹ 184 non] n *canc.*, non F² peccabis] peccabiis, 2nd -i- *canc.* F² is] is to seie LCP 185 thynges] þi werkis BH¹F² haue... mynde] haue mynde of F¹, mynde þou B in mynde] þou in mynde P, *rev.* DH¹F² in] *om.* Hr thy] of þi Hr, þe PH¹F² 186 synne] do synne H¹F², do synne into B he...eende(187)] *margin corr.* Ry, *om.* H¹

synneth withouten eende, that deserueth peyne withouten eende; the which synne and peyne a man may redilokest eschewe by contynuel thenkynges of his laste thynges, as it is schewed by thise verses that folwen: Non melius poterit caro luxuriosa domari, mortua qualis erit quam semper praemeditari. That is, 'A lecherous flesch may no better be temed, than euere to thenke / byfore what it schal be after yat it is deed.' And therfore, ful blessed schalt þow be 3ef you holde with contynuaunce this holy bithenkyng of thi laste thynges. f. 129v

But whiche been þise laste thynges for the whiche men schulden purueie? Sykerly, thei been tho thynges that schullen falle to þee in that feerful hour of thi deeth, whan

188 the] *om.* Ha 189 redilokest] redylyeste Ha, redeli mai Hy, most redily F^1 190 contynuel] counceil F^2 thenkynges] þenkyng LmLF^1DHSoRHrLyPF^2 of...thynges] *om.* S his...folwen(192)] þis þat shewyþ by vers next folewynge P his] *twice, 1st canc.* R thynges] þinkingis Hy 191 is] *om.* F^1 by] *in* Ry verses] verse HaRyC, two vers, two *canc.* B that folwen(192)] nexte folowynge R
192 folwen] folowen after HaHrLyHy melius poterit] *rev.* CHy melius] *corr.* R *margin* v'sus P
193 qualis] *corr.* B quam] qui S 194 is] is to seie LCPBH^{1}F^{2}Hy 196 byfore] *om.* Hy what] whane, -ne *eras.* Ta it] þat it D, *om.* Hy be...it] folow after when he Hy 197 ful] *corr.* So blessed] blysfulle HaC, blessidfull Hy 198 holde] biholde F^1, holde in þi mynde DR this] thy Ha
199 bithenkyng] *corr.* Lm, byfore þenkyng LC, thinking Hy thi] þese P 200 but] bute 3et P, *om.* Hy whiche] u *canc.* /, whiche Ta, whicle, -le *altered to* -h D, *om.* C þise] þo BH^{1}F^2, þe L laste] la laste F^2 thynges] *corr.* R 201 the] *om.* HaCPBH^{1}F^{2}Hy purueie] purueye hem P 202 thei] it CPHy that] tha Ha to] vnto C 203 that] þe BH^{1}F^{2}Hy feerful] dredful TaDH

þi wrecchede soule schal passe out of thi careful body, dredyng and quakyng. For trust it wel þat in yat dreedful hour, þee were leuer to haue the freendschip of God, þan alle the lordschipes of the world. For whiche of thi freendis, þouȝ thei comen with swerdis *and* armes, with oostis of poeple or with mylions of goold, mowe in þat laste grisly and dreedful hour doo þee eny comfort or help? Sothly, þeer schal noon mowe comforte the of alle yat yow now loueste, cleerly without a cleene conscience of thyn owene, þough þow loke to be holpyn of men; for refut schal þeer noon bee þanne, but at God alone.

Thenk, þerfore, by theself, I prey þee,

204 schal] i *canc.* /, schal D passe] departe D out of] from Hy 205 dredyng] wiþ drede BH^1F^2 206 trust...þat] trist wele F^1 it] *om.* Hy þat] *om.* HaRyLTaDHSoRHrLyCHy hour] *corr.* B, woore Hy þee] þou Hy 207 were leuer] leuer were *marked for rev.* P leuer] bettere LHy the] al *canc.*, þe R 208 the] *om.* Lm lordschipes] lordeship Hy, frenshepe or lordship F^1, wurshupes P of the] of this F^1, in þis Hy the²] þis $LTaDHRPBH^1F^2$ 209 thi] alle thi F^1 þouȝ thei] that Hy with] *twice* Ha 210 *and*] *om.* CHy with] *and* TaDHCHy poeple] þe puple RF^2 or] oþer P 211 with] *om.* Hy mylions] *corr.* Ly mowe] moun not H^1 in...help(213)] litel helpe þe in þat owre Hy 212 grisly and] *rev.* $RyLF^1TaHSoRHrLy$ dreedful] *om.* So hour] last hour C eny] *om.* P 213 or] *and* L, oþer P noon] no F^2, bee non þat Hy mowe] *om.* PBH^1F^2 214 comforte] helpe ne conforte L the] be þanne to þee BH^1F^2 yat] þo þat P yow now] *rev.* F^1Hy now loueste] *rev.* $SoBH^1F^2$ 215 cleerly] surly P, here $SoBH^1F^2$, *om.* DHHrLyCHy a] *om.* F^1 cleene] clere H 216 þough...loke] þowȝt loke þou nat P þough] thought Hy be] *om.* Hy 217 refut] refut ne socour P þeer] *om.* Ta noon bee] *rev.* H^1F^2 þanne] *om.* BHy at] *corr.* Ry, *twice* L, as Hy, *om.* F^2 219 thenk þerfore] *rev.* Hr by] bisily bi F^1 theself] selfe Ha

with what dreed he schulde be dred, **w***ith* what loue he schulde be loued, and with what honour he schulde be worschiped, oure Lord *and* oure God, verrey Crist Ihesu, **t**he whiche oonly by hymself is myȝty to do vs refut after oure deth. **A**nd þerfore, bryng it ofte to thi mynde, that dreedful day of thy passynge, **a**nd, eer thi wrecched soule departe fro the prison of thi flesch, let it purueye whider it may goo.

Worche, þerfore nowe, suche thynges that mowen bothe helpe *and* spede þee in þat way, and leeue þilke / thynges þat mowen lette þee. In this maner of thenkynge the soule conceyueth forthenkynge, forthenkyng bryngeth forth confessioun, **a**nd confession norisscheth amendynge **a**nd ful asseth makyng, f. 130r

220 schulde] shal P dred] *corr*. F^2 w*ith*] *and* w*ith* LTaDH 221 schulde] shal P loued] biloued F^1 what] *corr*. F^2 222 honour] honoured F^1 schulde] shal PHy Lord] l *canc*. /, Lord Ta 223 *and*...Ihesu] our Lord God Ihesu Crist verray God P Crist Ihesu] *rev*. SRyH^1 225 it] *om*. TaDHRB 226 to] vnto C, in S thi] *om*. F^1 that] the HaLDHSoR dreedful] de // dreedful R thy] *om*. LmCPBH^{1}F^{2}Hy 227 eer] *om*. F^2 thi] þe P 228 departe] departid H, schal departe D, passe F^2 prison] presence SoBH^{1}F^2 229 whider...goo] euerlastyng rest to itself Ta goo] *om*. H 230 worche] *after* nowe Hy þerfore nowe] *rev*. L nowe] *om*. HB suche] i *canc*. /, suche Ta thynges] werkis now B 231 that] as F^1, *om*. Hy bothe] *om*. Hy helpe] helpe the HaF^{1}HP þat] þi CHy 232 þilke] suche F^1, thoo HaTaDHRCPBH^{1}F^{2}Hy thynges] *corr*. Ly þat] which Hy, as F^1 mowen] wolen BH^{1}F^2, schuld C, induȝen H 233 of] *om*. P the...forthenkynge(234)] *margin corr*. Ry 234 conceyueth] *corr*. Ha, coueytiþ P forthenkyng^2] *and* forþenkinge LyP 235 and...norisscheth(236)] norischinge SoBH^{1}F^2 236 amendynge] amendyng of mannis \lijf/ R ful] fully SoBH^{1}F^2 asseth] amendes P

and alle thise togidere engendryn in a man verrey hope strecchyng into God and perfit meeknesse in a man self. For what thyng is in eny mannes wit þat sonner meeuyth a man to mekenesse, to kepyng of hymself fro vanytee, to voydynge of vnriȝtwisnesse, *and* to perfeccioun of holynesse, than doth the consideracioun of a mannes corrupcioun and hys freelte, of his deedlynesse and of the dreedful day of his deeth? For whan a man bigynneth to wex seek *and* his seeknesse groweth, þe conscience dreedith, þe herte quaketh, the heed stoupeth, the wyttes waasten, his strengthe faileth, the visage wexeth paale, the tunge engleymeth, the teeth stynkyn, the speche wexeth thynne, the breeth gooth awey, the body croketh, the flesch widerith, and alle the beaute is

237 alle...togidere] al togiders Hy thise] theys þinges Ha, þis P, *om.* CHy togidere] togeders Ha in] into Ha 238 hope] helþe P strecchyng] *om.* F^2 into] vnto TaDH 239 a man] hym L man] mans F^1 self] hymselfe HaTaDHSoRCBH^1F^2Hy thyng ...eny(240)] is þer in a P 240 wit] *om.* S wit] power *canc.*, witt So sonner] souereynlier BH^1F^2, raþer hit Hy 241 to²] to *eras.*, *and on eras.* Hr, þen S, in BH^1F^2, *om.* Hy 242 to] *on eras. corr.* Ry voydynge of] voide Hy vnriȝtwisnesse] vnriȝtfulnesse Ly, vices P 243 to] to þe P, to come to SoBH^1F^2, *om.* Hy holynesse...of(244)] *corr.* H^1 doth] i *canc.* /, doþ D the] *om.* F^1 244 of] *om.* P a] *om.* F^1LyH$^1F^2$ and hys(245)] þe F^1Hy and] of *canc.* Ha, *om.* C 245 hys] þe LmHaRyLTaDHSoRHrLyCPBH^1F^2 of²] *om.* HaF^1TaDHSoCBH^1F^2Hy of the] þe vnsikirnes of þe R 247 bigynneth] diȝeþ *canc.*, bigynneþ R to] for to LmHaBH^1F^2 seek] cold LSo his] *om.* HaCBH^1F^2Hy *margin* no^{ta} PB 248 groweth] graueth Hy, growiþ on him SoBH^1F^2 250 his] þe LmF^1D 252 thynne] dym P 254 widerith] swankeþ P and] *om.* F^2 beaute is] bewtees HaCBH^1F^2Hy, beaute *and* fairnesse is P

turned into filthe and corrupcioun. Whan the body is buried, it falleth into powdir, *and* is turned alle into wormes. Bihold now, brother, this is an horrible siȝt, but it is a profitable myrour.

O, ful happy is he þat bisily biholdeth hymself in this myrour, for þeer is no craft, medicyne ne techyng þat so soone distruyeth vice *and* plaunteth vertewes as doth þe inwardly biholdyng thus of a mannes laste thynges. And þerfore, wolde God þat men sauouredyn *and* vnderstoden and purueiedyn for the laste thynges. For what thyng, after þat it is deed, waxeth so vyl as a man? For the flesch of a man is moore vyl / than the skyn of a schepe. For though a schepe dye, sum profit cometh þeerof: the f. 130v

255 turned] turnen HaBF², turne C, turnith Hy into] to Hy and] and to Hy 256 buried] dede F¹ powdir] pw *eras.*, powdre Ha 257 is turned] so turneþ PHy turned] *om.* F² alle] *corr.* Ry, *om.* LHy into] to HaCBH¹F²Hy wormes] wormis mete F¹ now] i *canc.* /, now Ta 258 brother] dere broþir BH¹F² this...happy(260)] þis ful happi eiþer gracious BH¹F² it] it hit Hy 259 a] a ful SLmHaRyLF¹TaDHSoRHrLyCP myrour] mi *canc.*, *hole in ms.* / mirrour R 260 o] *om.* P is] þenne is P biholdeth] wiþholdiþ So LB, neiþer medicyn H¹F² ne] nor C 263 distruyeth vice] distroied vices H vice] vices LmHaLTaDSoRHrCPBH¹F²Hy 264 þe] *om.* LmHy inwardly] inward BH¹F², *om.* Hy thus] *om.* F¹DSoBH¹F²Hy a] *om.* H¹ mannes] man H 265 þat] *om.* R 266 sauouredyn *and*] *om.* Hy *and*] *om.* P 267 purueiedyn] wiseli purueieden BH¹ for] hem for P for²] which þingis Hy what] *corr.* L, i *canc.* /, what Ta 268 þat] *om.* HaHHy it] *om.* Lm waxeth] tha\t/ waxith C so] *corr.* F² vyl...man (269)] foul as man H¹, foul as a man doiþ L vyl] foul SoCPBF²Hy 269 a] doþ H, *om.* TaDP man] mannes body noon P 270 vyl] ful LP than] þan is H¹F² though] if P 271 a] the HaCBH¹F²Hy

skyn is take fro the flesch and on it men writen in both sydes. And whan a man dieth, alle dieth with hym: the flesch, þe skyn *and* þe boones.

Be aschamed þow proude man, bee aschamed! Thow yat hast moore likynge to leerne *and* to reede on the bokes of vanytees than on the bookes of holy writ, ȝit be aschamed *and* heere what the prophete seith to þee, and to alle suche, in his psalme, Apprehendite disciplinam ne quando irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de via iusta. That is, 'Take ȝe techyng of amendement of maneres, lest oure Lord bee agreued and ȝe perissche fro the riȝte way.' O, how feerful a sentence is this, and howe muche to be drad! For it is openly schewed be this sentence, that alle þoo schullen perissche that taakyn

272 skyn] skyn of þe schep BH^1F^2 on it] theron Hy it] þat L men] men do C 273 in] on HaLDSoRLyCPBF^2Hy sydes] the sydys Ha, siþes H^1 and] bute P 276 be...man] nowe þou proude man y rede þe to P aschamed] *corr.* Ly 277 thow yat] *rev.* TaDH yat] *om.* P hast...reede(278)] haddiste leuer to loke Hy 278 leerne...the] rede *and* hure of P leerne...to] *om.* Hr *and*...reede] *om.* RyF^1TaDHRLy *and*] or Ha to] *om.* So vanytees] vanite LSoRHr 279 than...writ] *om.* So on] in Hy the] *om.* P holy writ] Goddis lawe F^1
280 aschamed] aaschamyd, *2nd* -a- *eras.* F^2 *and*] y counseile þe *and* P the] *om.* So seith...psalme (281)] Dauiþ seiþ BH^1F^2 281 to...and] *twice* L to] vnto C to^2] *om.* Hy his] þis LSo
282 disciplinam] i *canc.* /, disciplinam Ta 283 et] et ne H^1F^2 that] *corr.* L is] is to seie LCPH^1 *margin* p' 2 BH^1 284 ȝe] þe P, a Hy, *om.* HrLyC amendement] amendyng F^1 285 Lord] Lord God H agreued] greuid LF^1 286 fro] for Hy riȝte] iust L o] nowe Lord God P, *om.* Hy 287 is this] *rev.* P to] owt it to SoBH^1F^2 drad] tradde C 289 þoo] *om.* H^1 schullen] shulde Hy

not this heelful techyng of amendement.

And therfore, oure Lord seith þus by Moyses his prophete, Omnis anima que non fuerit afflicta die hac peribit de populo meo. That is, 'Euery soule schal perissche þat chastiseth not itself by hertly forthynkyng and laweful amendement of his maneres this day'; that is to seye, in this present lyf, whan the liȝt of grace *and* of mercy schynyth openly, take it who take wole. For who so wol not now taake tyme of forthynkyng schal, after hys deeth, haue no place of forȝeuyng. And þerfore be soore adred, þow wrecched chaityf synner, þow proude flesch, thow vile careyne, bee soore adred! Þow wrecche, bee adred! Cast awey

290 not] noon R this] his P, hede to þis LSoR heelful] i *canc.* /, helþful Ta techyng] sentence *canc.*, teching L, sentence *and* techinge B 291 seith ...prophete(292)] God seiþ bi his profete Moises þus BH^1, God seiþ bi his profete Moises seiynge þus F^2 þus] this Hy 293 hac] ac Ha, *corr.* H *margin* leuit' 3 BH^1F^2 294 meo] suo $HaLF^1TaDHSoRHrLyCHy$ is] is to seie LP, is \to/ sey C 295 itself] hymselfe HaLCHy by] *with* Hy hertly] hertful H^1F^2, erþly P 296 forthynkyng] forsakinge F^2 laweful] lawefully Ha amendement] amending SoB 297 this day] *ms. cut off* R in] *om.* LSo 298 whan] *ms. cut off* R of...mercy(299)] of merci *and* of grace L, of mercie and grace Hy 299 mercy schynyth] *ms.cut off* R schynyth] schewyth Ha who] who so $HaRyLF^1TaDHSoRHrLyCH^1F^2Hy$, nowþe who so P take²] tak it Lm, *om.* LF^1 who so] hose S 300 wol] *twice, 1st canc.* R 301 forthynkyng] forsakinge F^2 schal] he shal P after...deeth] *om.* F^1 hys] this Hy haue] haue after F^1 302 place...forȝeuyng] time to forthink Hy,tyme of forthinkyng CBH^1, tyme of forsakinge F^2 forȝeuyng] forþenkynge LmP -ȝeuyng] *on eras. corr.* Hr be...adred(303)] for þe passion of Crist P 303 wrecched] bichid Hy chaityf] *om.* P þow... flesch(304)] *om.* F^1 304 vile] foule LP bee... adred²(305)] þou foule wormes mete be adrad y rede þe and P bee] bee, *2nd* -e *eras.* F^1 soore] *corr.* F^2, *om.* F^1 305 þow...adred] *om.* $LRBH^1F^2Hy$ bee] be soore HaSo

thi pruyde, flee fro vanytee, and taak to the this heelful techyng of amendement lest þow perissche.

Behold in this myrour and see what þow hast been, what you art, and what thow schalt bee. Thenk of how vile a mater þow / woxe vp in thy modris wombe, how vyl al thyng is whan it passeth fro thee, be it neuer so deynteuous whan thow receyuest it. And last of alle, bihold how vile wormes mete þow schalt be lyggyng in thy graue. f. 131r

Bihold now, þow wrecche, what mateer þow hast of sorwe moore than of ioye, what mater of meeknesse moore þan of pruyde. And what so euer þat fooles doon, loke euer yat

306 pruyde] cursede pryde P vanytee and] synne R and] *om.* L to the(307)] *rev.* H, vnto the C 307 the] th *eras.* the Ha heelful] i *canc.* /, heelþful Ta 309 and see] *om.* P 310 hast...thow] *om.* BH^1F^2 what] *and* what Ly 311 bee] *twice* D, ben SoHrC thenk] biþenke TaDH vile] ful LP a] *om.* $LmHaF^1TaDHRCBH^1F^2Hy$ mater] i *canc.* /, mater D 312 woxe vp] were Hy how] *and* hou TaD vyl] ful LP al] a L, al þis Ly 313 is] *corr.* F^2, it is L it...receyuest(314)] þou hast resseyued BH^1F^2 fro] for Ly it^2] his S 315 how] *ms. cut off* R vile] foul P 316 mete] *om.* F^1 lyggyng] *ms. cut off* R 317 bihold] bihold \þou/ Ta þow wrecche] *ms. cut off* R, howe wrecched a wrecche þou art and P þow] *om.* LTaH wrecche] wrecchid synner BH^1F^2 what...pruyde(319)] what mater þou haste of mekenes more þan of pride what mater of sorowe more (i *canc.* /) þan of ioie D mateer] *corr.* C, maner Hy 318 hast] hast now CBH^1F^2 of] o Ta, more of Hy sorwe] *corr.* F^2, nowe sorowe Ha moore] *om.* Hy ioye] pride *canc.*, ioye P what] *and* what So 319 mater] maner Hy, matere þou hast P meeknesse] pryd HaL moore] *om.* H pruyde] meknesse HaL 320 so] sum Hy þat] þese TaDH, *om.* RP fooles] thow Hy doon] do P euer] *after* be DF^2, *om.* Hy yat] *om.* TaDHRP

you be mu*n*nyng of thyself. Let the world wexe vil to þee, eer thou be vil to hit. And ouer al þis, bihold in this myrour how yat in the laste horrible *and* dreedful houre, whan thi wrecchide soule schalle passe fro thi body, anoon þeer schullen be reedy *and* present a greet *and* an horrible multitude of wykked spirites, mynistres of the foule feend of helle, ri3t as it weeren as meny lyouns rorynge for to chase thy soule as for here pray. Thanne sodeynly þeere schullen appeere ful horrible plases of peyne and of derkenesse, places of dreede and of quakynge, places of gryndynge of

321 you...thyself] þi mynde be on þi self and Hy mu*n*nyng...thyself] me*n*ginge of þisilf þe mooste vnki*n*de wrecche So, mynewynge *and* myndynge þi self to helþe of þi soule P, meenyng ei*þer* þenki*n*ge of þisilf þe moost vile and wickid vnkynde wrecche BH^1F^2 mu*n*nyng of] myndful of Ha, myndful HrC mun*n*yng] megy*n*ge F^1 let] *and* lete HaC, *and*/ lete Hr, lest RyF^1SoLy, þat TaDH, so þat R 322 wexe] i *canc*. /, wexe Ta vil] ful LP, were Hy eer] and H be vil] wexe foul P vil^2] foul L, were Hy to] of Hy 323 þis] þese D how yat(324)] *rev*. $RyLF^1TaD$-HSoHrLy 324 yat] *om*. R the] þi L laste] laste *and* RyHy 325 thi] þe D schalle] sha Hy 326 passe] passe oute RH^1F^2 fro] ou3t of LSoB thi] *corr*. B body] careful bodi SoPB anoon] howe anoon $HaCBH^1F^2Hy$, on oone Lm þeer] þer, -r *altered to* -i Ly schullen] *om*. Hy be] be þere P 327 reedy...multitude (328)] in presens innumerate number Hy reedy... present] present *and* redi/ Ly reedy *and*] *om*. TaDH *and*^{2}... horrible] *om*. B 329 of...ri3t] like Hy of] *and* Lm ri3t] *om*. B as] as þowe P 330 as meny] *om*. H as] so PHy, *corr*. Ry lyouns] lyo *canc*., liones P chase] cache $HaLF^1TaDHSoR$ 331 soule] so *canc*. / soule R as] *om*. Hy 332 þeere] *om*. Hy appeere] be shewed *and* appere to þe P ful] *om*. Hy plases] peynes *canc*., placis Hr, place P 333 of ...derkenesse] *and* derknessis of peyne BH^1F^2 peyne] peynes Hr derkenesse] derknesses LmTaDHrLy places] place P 334 places...wepyng(335)] placis of wepinge *and* of gri*n*tinge of teeþ F^2 places] place P

teeth *and* of wepyng. Theer schal bee fretynge of wormes, and the hidous noyse of punysschede soules cryengge, 'Woo, woo, woo be to vs þe synful wrecchede sones of Eue!' And whan alle thise thynges and oother moo lyk to þise, ȝee and a þowsand-foold worse thynges yen mowen be spoken, i-herd, i-seye and felt of the wrecchid soule passynge out of the caareful body, how grysely and how muche dreed, feerdnesse, *and* tremblynge schal thanne be in it, the whiche tunge may not telle.

But no[w] I aske of thee, seyenge thus, 'What schal it thanne *pro*fite to þe al thy boost of ku*n*nynge, þe pompe / of the poeple, f. 131v the vanytee of the world, and al the dignytee of worldly couetise?' Sothly, it

335 teeth] deþ H 336 the] an L, *om.* F¹ noyse] voyce HaCHy 337 punysschede] punychi*n*g LHy, peynynge P 338 þe synful] *om.* TaDH synful] *om.* HrLy wrecchede] *om.* BH¹F² 339 moo] *om.* Hy 340 lyk] kil *canc.*, like C, kyk Lm ȝee and] ya F¹ 341 thynges] *om.* P yen] þat SoHy spoken] spokin of Hy, spoke þere BH¹, spoken \eiþer/ F² i-seye] *and* seie L, \or/ seen F², *om.* F¹ 342 and] or F¹BH¹F², oþer P felt] i-fleede Ha 343 of the] *rev.* L body] careyne P how] *corr.* So 344 muche] greetli *canc.*, myche So feerdnesse] fernes BF², ferdfulnesse TaDHRCHy, feersnesse Ha, *and* drede feerdnesse, drede *canc.* Hr 345 be] *twice, 1st canc.?* R in] to HaRyLF¹TaDHSoRHrLyCHy the...telle(346)] soþly þer can no tunge telle it P the] *om.* R tunge] \no/ tunge So 346 not] *om.* So 347 but] b *canc.* /, but Lm now] no U, i *canc.* /, now Ta of] *om.* LP seyenge thus] *rev.* HaLy, *om.* HP thus] this Hy 348 thanne ..þe] avayle þanne F¹ thanne] *om.* BH¹F² to] *om.* HaRyTaDHSoRHrCPHy 349 boost] bo<ost> D of] of þi C þe] *om.* Ly pompe] *corr.* Ha poeple] world S 350 the²...of(351)] *om.* Hy the²] þis L world] w *canc.* /, world D, people S al the] *om.* H¹F² al] *om.* TaDHB 351 of] of al H¹F², of the Ha worldly] w *canc.* /, worldli Ta, þe worldis DP

schalle but encrece thi peyne *and* thi woo, and after the quantite of thi lusty lyuyng heere, schal stoonde the quantite of thi peyne þeere. And therfore, amende þee now whiles tyme is of mercy, so þat þow be not dampned in the dreedful day of Goddes greete vengeaunce. And leerne wel, eer þow go hennes, to sauoure, to vnderstonde and wisely to purueye þee for the laste þinges, so þat þow bee euere moore reedy, what tyme þat oure Lord cometh to clepe thee, for to entre with hym into the blisse yat euer schal laste. To þe whiche blisse God brynge vs, that boughte vs with his precious blood,

352 but] *corr.* Ry, not but D *and* thi] sorwe and Hy thi^{2}] *om.* Ry 353 the...stoonde(354)] and after þe quantite of þi luste leuing here shall stande þe quantite of þi luste leuing shall stand þe quantite of þi paine Hy lusty lyuyng] lust *and* likynge P lusty] synneful lusty Ha 354 heere] here in þis wordle P the...of] *om.* P the] thy Ha 355 þeere] *om.* Hy therfore] ther Hy þee] *om.* F^{2} now] i *canc.* /, now Ta, y warne þe P, *om.* Ha 356 of... vengeaunce(358)] *om.* Hy so] *om.* F^{1} þow] be *canc.*, þou L not] *corr.* F^{2} 357 of] of dome of H Goddes greete] *om.* Lm 358 wel] i *canc.* /, wel D, to lyue wel BH^{1}, ȝe *canc.*, to liue wel F^{2} eer] y rede þe or P þow] þ<ou> D 359 to] þat þou maist BH^{1}F^{2} to^{2}] *and* to LmHaRyLF^{1}TaDSoRHrLyPHy, and HCBH^{1}F^{2} 360 þee] for *canc.*, þe P, þere RyLy, þere *canc.* Hr, *om.* HaLF^{1}DSoRH^{1}F^{2}Hy 361 so...vs^{2}(365)] and be redy to enter the blisse whiche blisse of heuen God bringe vs too þat he bought Hy þat] *om.* Lm moore] *om.* F^{1} 362 þat] *om.* TaDH Lord] *corr.* F^{1} cometh] coueiteþ P to] for to LDSoRC clepe] kalle F^{1} for] *om.* P 363 the] *om.* TaHRC blisse] i *canc.* /, blisse D, blisse of heuene P 364 þe whiche] þat DP þe] *om.* L blisse God] he H^{1} God] he LmHaRyLTaDHSoRHrLyCPBF^{2}, bryng, *canc.* he F^{1} brynge vs(365)] *rev.* P 365 boughte...blood] of nowȝt made al þyng P boughte vs] *after* blood F^{1} vs^{2}] man DB precious] herte Ry 1 blood] herte blood merciful God B, blood mercyful God H^{1}, blood merful Lord Ihesu F^{2}

Amen.

366 amen] amen amen amen P *explicit* here endiþ þis tretis þat is clepid þe mirrous of synneris H^1F^2, her endyth the myrroure of synners HaLHSoHrB, *om.* USLmRyF^1TaDRLyCPHy

NOTES

14-5 DEUTERONOMY 32:29, 'Utinam saperent, et intelligerent, ac novissima providerent.'

33 *seiþnge*: an example of þ/y confusion. See discussion in Introduction, i.53-6.

51-2 References to Sampson, see JUDGES 11; David, 2 SAMUEL 11; Salomon, 1 KINGS 11.

108-12 JOB 1:21, '...Nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae, et nudus revertar illuc....' GENESIS 3:19, 'In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane, donec revertaris in terram de qua sumptus es: quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris.'

129-31 SPECULUM PECCATORIS, 'Vive Deo gratus, toti mundo tumulatus, crimine mundatus, semper transire paratus' (PL 40:986). See also Walther (1967), V.33938.

140-2 PSALM 38:5, '...Notum fac mihi, Domine, finem meum, et numerum dierum meorum quis est, ut sciam quid desit mihi.'

171-4 LUKE 16:2, '...Redde rationem villicationis tuae....'

182-4 ECCLESIASTICUS 7:40, 'In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis.' See also the 'Three Arrows', 6-7.

192-4 SPECULUM PECCATORIS, 'Non melius poterit caro luxuriosa domari, quam qualis erit mortua praemeditari' (PL 40:987).

208-18 Similar to lines in Richard Rolle's 'Meditation A': 'Who shal þan be thy helpe, thy comfort and thy refuyt? Than, þou wreche, shal þer non be the for to comfort bot þat derward lord Iesus' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 68/165-7).

246-55 The signs of death, or 'proprietates mortis', a common theme usually found in verse, though here it is in prose. It is usually attributed to St Jerome and was placed in early medieval medical texts, gradually finding its way into the didactic, literary texts of the 12th century. See FM where it is attributed to St Bernard and St

Jerome (I.xiii.98/28-35 and VII.xix.718/114-720/133); see also S. Wenzel, Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and its Middle English Poems (Mediaeval Academy of America 87, Cambridge, 1978), 197-9(55); and Woolf (1968), 78-82.

267-75 Similar to verses found in FM: 'Vilior est humana caro quam pellis ovina:/ Cum moriatur ovis, aliquid valet illa ruina,/ Extrahitur pellis et scribitur intus et extra;/ Cum moriatur homo, moritur simul caro et ossa' (I.xiii.98/24-7). See also Walther (1967), V.33353; Horstman (1895), i.428/364-7.

282-3 PSALM 2:12, 'Apprehendite disciplinam , nequando irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de via iusta.'

292-4 LEVITICUS 23:29, 'Omnis anima, quae afflicta non fuerit die hac, peribit de populis suis.'

309-11 Similar to 'The Mirror of St Edmund': 'Thynke besely and ofte what þou erte, what þow was, and what þou sall be' (Horstman (1895), i.220/3-4).

337-8 Source not yet found.

IX

A MEDITATION OF THE FIVE WOUNDS OF JESUS CHRIST

INTRODUCTION

The next text in the third booklet is 'A Meditation of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ' and is only known to exist in two manuscripts, U and Simeon (S). Like the other texts which are shared exclusively between these two manuscripts, the 'Two Ways' and the 'Pater Noster', this one offers us another opportunity to examine the relationship between U and S. However, as this text is short, the introduction will be brief, merely adding reinforcement to my argument stated before that U and S probably shared the same exemplar.[1]

ISOLATIVE ERROR

The isolative errors in U and S suggest that neither is the source of the other, but that they shared the same exemplar. However, it is possible to argue with this particular text that S may have derived from U. The manuscripts are discussed in the following order: US.

U: 35 *lerynge*, S *lernynge*; 127 *ps*, S *ys*. The last error is most likely a hypercorrection of *þ* for *y*.[2] Apart from these few mistakes, the text is very good.

S: 4 *two*, S *tho*; 9 *pouȝtes*, S *ioyntes*; 55 *wal*, S *wow*; 74 *left*, S *leue*. S is a good copy of the text with just these few apparent errors.

[1] See introduction to the 'Two Ways', ii.172-4 and the 'Pater Noster', ii.271-3. The text has been printed before from U, with some of the variant readings in S, in Horstman (1896), ii.440-1.

[2] See Introduction, i.53-6.

For the most part, the differences between U and S are minimal and consist primarily of the additions and deletions of single words. But it is often difficult to determine what may have been the original reading in the exemplar, and whether the additions in S are not actually omissions in U. For example, the addition in S of *and* at line 17 and *blessed* at line 52.[3] Likewise, it is hard to know if the omissions in S are not actually additions in U. For example, the longer omissions in S of *þe whiche is* at line 31 and *for not withstondyng* at lines 48-9.[4] Variation in word choice occurs frequently between these two copies as at lines 19 and 20, and in word order as at lines 91 and 98.[5]

The readings in S are often shorter than those in U, as at lines 37, 50, 51 and 93, and while the texts seem very similar, it is possible that the readings in S are not those of the exemplar it copied, but are alterations made by an editing scribe. There are a few instances which suggest that the copy of the text in U is perhaps closer to that of the original exemplar, whereas the scribe of S has altered the text. The change in word order at lines 20 to 21 in S offers an equally good reading of the text, but the

[3] See also lines 54, 67 and 111.

[4] See also the briefer omissions lines 84, 90, 92, 99, 118 and 128.

[5] See also lines 26, 118, 126, 127, 129 for changes in word choice and lines 125 and 128 for changes in word order.

reading given in S at lines 100 to 104 seems slightly muddled and would read better than that in U if the scribe had changed *þere* to *where*. And so it may be that the scribe of S tried to alter the word order of his exemplar, whereas U remained true to its source.

At lines 57 to 60, the scribe of S at first copied the text as it probably appeared in the exemplar before him, and as it still exists in U, *hit is likly*. The scribe copied *hit is li3tly*, then cancelled it out and rendered his own version of the next few lines, a rendering which changes the word order but not the meaning. It seems feasible to suggest that S and U were copied from the same exemplar, but that at line 57, the scribe of S decided to deviate from the original text and deliberately cancelled what he had written and proceeded with his own version.

Perhaps this shred of evidence is enough to support the conclusion that both U and S copied from the same exemplar, and while the scribe of U faithfully copied it, the scribe of S made a number of changes to create a better version of the text. If one had only to consider 'A Meditation of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ', it could be suggested that the exemplar S copied from was U itself. However, based on the evidence from the 'Two Ways' and the 'Pater Noster', it is seems more probable that the two manuscripts shared the same exemplar.

A MEDITATION OF THE FIVE WOUNDS OF JESUS CHRIST

A meditacion of þe fyue woundes of Ihesu Crist f. 131v

Byhold specialy in þe fyue mooste notable wou*n*des: two in his blessed hoondys *and* two in his blessed feet, and þe mooste opene wounde in his riȝt syde. Into thise woundys of Cristes blessed hoondys *and* feet with Thomas of Ynde, put in thyne fyngres; that is to seye, thyne mooste sotyle þouȝtes *and* desires. And in the wou*n*de of Cristes blessed syde, sytthen it is the largeste and deppest, put in alle þin hoond; that is to seye, al þi lyf and alle þine werkes. And þeere feel Cristes herte so hoote louynge þee. Ande also þeere feel Cristis blessed herte blood sched for thee and to rau*n*some thi soule. Also þeere feel the watir of Cristis syde stremynge out as of a welle of lyf for to / wassche þe and alle mankynde f. 132r of synne. And þanne cleeche vp watir of euerelastynge lyf withouten ende of þise fyue mooste opene wou*n*dis of Crist as out of

US

1 a...Crist(2)] þe meditacion of Ihesu Cristes fyue woundus S 4 two] tho S 9 þouȝtes] ioyntes S 17 also] and also S 19 for] þere S 20 þanne] also S cleeche...ende(21)] *after* sprynges S

fyue welle sprynges. And vnderstond, see *and* bihoolde, *and* leerne þat þe wounde in Cristes riȝt hoond is the welle of wysdom. The wounde in Cristis lyft hoond is the welle of *mercy*. The wounde in Cristis riȝt foot is the welle of grace. The wounde in Cristis lyft foot is the welle of goostly comfort. The largeste and the deppeste wounde, þe whiche is in Cristis riȝt syde, is the welle of euerlastyng lyf.

Out of þe welle of wysdom in Cristis riȝt hoond, cleech vp þe holsum watir of trewe ler[n]ynge and techyng. Leerne þeere how muche Crist, God and man, louede mannes soule and how precious is mannes soule. For bycause of the greete loue of mannes soule Crist Ihesu, þat is the wysdom of the Fadir of heuene, schulde and wolde by þe ordynaunce of the blessede Trynytee, suffre his riȝtwys riȝt hoond so dispitously to be nayled to þe cros.

Out of þe welle of *mercy* in Cristis lyft hoond, cleech vp deuoutly the swete watir of remission and forȝeuenesse of oure synnes, and leerne bisyly heere for thy sauacion this lessun of mercy. For not

26 in] of S 31 þe...is] *om.* S 35 lernynge] lerynge U 37 for...greete(38)] for for, *2nd* for *canc.* S 48 for...withstondyng(49)] *om.* S

withstondyng þat the while mankynde was enemy to God, and eer that man hadde deserued it of God, ȝet oure blessed Fadir of heuene spared not his owen sone, but suffrede hym to be streyned on the harde cros moore dispitously *and* greuously þan euer was schepys skyn / streyned on the wal or vpon þe parchemyn makeris harowe aȝens þe sonne to drye. For it is likly þat þe blessede armes of Ihesu Crist weren so soore i-strayned and sprad abrood on þe cros for oure loue, þat þe veynes to-broston. f. 132ᵛ

Leerne heer þanne in this welle of mercy in Cristis lyft hoond, in whos lyft hoond hongynge and weldynge been alle richesses in heuene and in eerthe, how muche is his loue *and* how greet is þat flood euer flowyng; and also spryngynge of his mercy frely profred to man, þat suffrede so grisly and greuously his blessede armes to be sprad and nayled to þe cros to profre his mercy and hymself to vs his vnkynde enemyes. Therfore, sitthen euerlastynge goode God hath it of kynde, of custome *and* of myȝt to do mercy þat neuer may ceese ne faile, but

50 eer that] or S 51 ȝet...blessed] þe S
52 sone] blessed sone S 54 *and*] *and* more S
55 wal] wow S 57 it...loue(60)] hit is liȝtly *canc.*, so sore wher þe blessed armes of Ihesu Crist sprad abrod for oure loue on þe cros and streyned S
67 man] a mon S

3ef God loste his kynde or left his vertue or loste his my3t. But sitthe this may neuer faile in goode God almy3ty, al connynge *and* al wel-willynge, þerfore tristily and stedefastly out of þis welle of the wounde of Cristys lyft hoond, clecch vp þe watir of euerlastynge mercy of Ihesu Crist.

Out of þe welle of grace in Cristys ri3t foot, clecch vp þe watir of goostly refresschynge by bithenkyng þe inwardly what grace of sauacion was profred to vs alle in þat yat Crist hymself wolde suffre his ri3t foot so grisly to bee wounded. Of the whiche foot, holy wryt speketh þat the foorme þat it tredith vpon is worschipful, for it is holy and so hard to be nayled to the cros, þat he wolde neuere parte fro thee, but 3ef þow wolt alweies forsake hym. Heere þou my3t li3tly cleche vp watir of greet grace profred to vs alle.

Out of þe welle of gostly comfort in Cristys lyft foot, cleech vp þe ioyeful watir of spiritual comfort *and* gladnesse./ f. 133r

Þat þe Kyng of blisse louede so hertly oure soules, þat for sauacion of vs he wolde

74 left] leue S 84 by] *om.* S 90 for] *om.* S
91 wolde neuere] *rev.* S 92 alweies] *om.* S
93 li3tly...vp] cleche lihtly S 98 louede] *after* hertly S 99 he] *om.* S

suffre so soore a wou*n*de with þat hydous nayl þorugh his lift foot þat was so tender, for þeer koomen togidere þe veynes fro Cristys herte. And þus suffrede oure blessede Ihe*s*u 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.

Out of þe largeste and deppeste welle of euerelastyng lif in þe moste opene wounde in Cristys blessed syde, cleech vp deppest and hertyliest watir of ioye and blisse withouten eende, biholdyng þeere inwardly how Crist Ihe*s*u, God and man, to brynge þee to euerlastynge lyf, suffrede þat harde and hydous deeth on þe cros, and suffrede his syde to be opened and hymself to be stongyn to þe herte with þat grisly spere. And so, with þat deelful strook of þe spere, þeere gulchide out of Cristys syde þat blysful floode of watir and blood to rau*n*sone vs: watir of his syde to wasshe vs, and blood of his herte to bugge vs. For loue of þise blessede woundes, creep into þis hoot baaþ of Cristys herte blood and þeer bathe þee.

For þeer was neuer synne of man ne of

100 so...vs(104)] on his lyft foot þat was so tendre þere come togedre þe veynes from Cristes herte so sore a wou*n*de wiþ þat hidous nayl and þat to oure saluacio*u*n S 111 and²] and of S 118 þe] þat S þeere] *om*. S 125 þeer was] *rev*. S

womman, þou3t ne wrou3t, þat was last with lonely sorowe and hertly repentaunce, þat þeer ne þs in þis welle fully remyssion to buggen it and watir of lyf fully to clensen it and wasshen it. Therfore, reste þee heere, coumforte þee heere, lyue in Cristys herte withouten eende, Amen.

126 last] laft S 127 hertly] hert S 128 þeer] *om.* S ne þs] *after* welle S 129 buggen] buye S

NOTES

3-6 For the best discussion of the five wounds tradition see the series of articles written by D. Gray, 'The Five Wounds of Our Lord', N&Q 208 ns 10:2 (Feb 1963), 50-1; 10:3 (March 1963), 82-9; 10:4 (April 1963), 127-34; 10:5 (May 1963), 163-8. See also D. Gray, Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric, (London, 1972), 133-4, and D.L. Gougaud, Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages, G.C. Bateman, ed. and trans. (London, 1927), 80-104. On the 'five wounds' as part of the liturgy, see R. W. Pfaff's New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1970), 84-91.

8 JOHN 20:27: 'Deinde dicit Thomae: Infer digitum tuum huc, et vide manus meas, et affer manum tuam, et mitte in latus meum: et noli esse incredulus, sed fidelis.'

23-4 This line seems to reflect the frequent visual representation of the wounds. See Gray (May 1963), 164-8.

24-32 The depiction of the wounds as 'welles', the order in which the wounds are discussed (right hand, left hand, right foot, left foot, and heart), and the attribution of each wound to wisdom, mercy, grace, spiritual comfort and everlasting life in that order, may perhaps derive from St Bonaventure: 'inveniemus, a fonte Christo fontem derivari sapientiae, fontem misericordiae, fontem gratiae, fontem spiritualis laetitiae, fontem vitae aeternae...possunt autem adaptari isti quinque fontes quinque vulneribus Christi, quorum quatuor inflicta sunt Christo ante mortem, quintum vero post mortem, ('Collationes in Ioannem', Bonaventura Opera Omnia, A. Peltier, ed. (Quarracchi, 1882-92) VI, 555 as cited in Gray (May 1963), 163 n. 6; Gougaud (1927), 88; and 'Two Songs of Love-Longing' in Baugh (1956), 136/229-232.

33-4 The division of the text, and the formulaic beginning of each paragraph, as seen here and also at lines 44-5, 81-2, 94-5 and 108-10, show the text's debt to the verse tradition.

53-7 The text here is similar to 'The Privity of the Passion', a prose translation of the Meditationes Vitae Christi: 'And whene he was thus sprede o-brode one þe crosse more straite þan any parchemyne-skyne es sprede one þe harowe' (Horstman (1895), i.206/5-6; and Rolle's 'Meditation B': 'þy body is streyned as a parchemyn skyn vpon a rake,' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 78/382-3).

88-9 Probably from MATTHEW 5:35, 'neque per terram, quia scabellum est pedum eius....'

122-4 This image of the bath of Christ's blood in which man can wash himself of sin is also found in Rolle's 'Meditation B': 'Swet Ihesu, þens wil I nat flitte til I be with þy precious blode becomyn al rede; til I be mad with þy blode as oon of þyn owne, and my soule softe in þat swete bath,' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 81/498-500); and in 'A Talking of the Love of God': 'As wisliche as a drope of þi derworþe blod miȝte wasschen awey alle Mennes sunnes, also wisliche lord þat il[k]e fyf welles, þat of þi blessede bodi sprongen o blode, my soule mote wasschen of alle maner sunnes' (Horstman (1896), ii.348/5-8).

128 *þs*: an example of þ/y confusion in U, see the Introduction, i.53-6.

X

A GOOD MEDITATION FOR ONE TO SAY ALONE

INTRODUCTION

The following meditation has no known source, but follows the tradition of private meditations from St Anselm, the Meditiones Vitae Christi, Richard Rolle and the numerous anonymous meditations from the late 14th and early 15th centuries.[1] There are six other known manuscript copies of 'A Good Meditation for One to say Alone' which have been collated for the following edition: Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2125 (P) and Trinity College B.14.53 (T); Edinburgh University Library 93 (E); London, British Library, Arundel 197 (A) and Simeon (S); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 174 (Lm).[2]

On the whole USTLmEAP seem to be closely related, and though A and P have many additions, deletions and alterations, no single copy represents a completely independent version of the text. Despite the separate passion meditation from the 'Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God' which was incorporated into the

[1] For more on the meditative tradition see Nicholas Love's 'Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', ed. E. Salter (Analecta Cartusiana 10, Salzburg, 1974), 55-178; T.H. Bestul, 'Chaucer's Parson's Tale and the Late-Medieval Tradition of Religious Meditation', Speculum 64 (1989), 600-19; J.C. Hirsh, 'Prayer and Meditation in Late Medieval England: MS Bodley 789', Medium Aevum XLVII (1978), 55-66.

[2] This text has been critically edited before in the thesis by Martin (1978), i.315-357. His analysis of the textual relationships makes conclusions similar to those reached here, though his evidence is based more on shared variant readings than on shared errors. The text was first printed from U, with variants from S, in Horstman (1896), ii.441-3.

copy in A, and the unique ending in P, both A and P were probably based on the same version of the original text.[3] It is unlikely that the copy in A represents the original version of the text edited here because of its inclusion of this passion meditation.[4] Though the different ending in P may have descended from a previous version of this meditation, different from the archetypal ancestor of USTLmEA, it seems more probable that the ending was added independently by the scribe of P.

In the following discussion of the textual relationships between these manuscripts, it can be shown that due to the isolative errors in each manuscript, none is the direct source of any other.[5] In discussing group error, it will become obvious that there are no truly significant textual relationships between any of these manuscripts, not because these manuscripts are so different from each other, but because they are so similar.

ISOLATIVE ERROR

As it has been stated above, none of these manuscripts is the direct source of any other in this

[3] The additional meditation in A on ff. 1^{v} to 3^{r} is from the AB chapter of the 'Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God' or 'Fervor Amoris', see Connolly (1993), 42-4. In A, the rubric 'Fervor Amoris' appears at the top of f. 1^{r} though the real text of it starts on f. 10^{r}.

[4] The character of the manuscript as a whole is unreliable, many of its other texts significantly altered like this one, see Connolly (1994), 55-64.

[5] The absence of obvious errors in U may suggest that it could have been an exemplar for the others, particularly S, T and Lm.

group. Though U may be the source for one or more of the other manuscripts, based on the evidence from the other chapters in this thesis, this does not seem likely. The manuscripts are discussed in the following order: USTLmEAP

U: U is a very good copy of the text, with no apparent errors, and has proven to be a good base text for this edition.

S: 32 *suffre*, al. *suffice*; 97 *straunge freinde*, *straunche fremde* UTLm, *stronge fremmed* E, *strong and exiled* P; 116 om., al. *to*; 173 *beo*, al. *by*. S has few errors and shows again how closely related it is to U, having only made some linguistic changes, specifically substituting *syke* for *sighe* at lines 35, 39, 58, 76 and 100.

T: 55 *but*, al. *but ȝef*; 75 om., al. *and...not*; 76-7 om., al. *as...bifore*; 100-1 om., al. *as...bifore*. T has a few more errors, mostly deletions, but is still close to U and S. Some of its readings are perhaps better than those of the other manuscripts: 27 *of herte and of mowth*, al. *of herte and with mowth*; 34 *and here in þis biholdynge*, al. *in þis biholdyng and heere*.

Lm: 4 *scabil*, *stathel* UST, *stable* E, *filþe* P, *wrecchydnes* A; 7-8 om., al. *clennesse...to*; 13 *þei self*, al. *þiself*; 33 om., al. *as*; 133 *be ded*, al. *heded*; 135 *summe*, al. *so*; 137 *more more*, al. *moore*; 144 *aparte*, al. *apert*; 157 *stynkynge wrecched*, al. *stynkynge wrecche*. Lm has many more errors, mostly minor omissions and careless mistakes, but overall it is a fair copy of the text.

E: 4 *stable*, *stathel* UST, *scabil* Lm, *filþe* P, *wrecchydnes* A; 11 *as . as*, al. *as long as*; 21 *in þin*, al. *þin*; 40 *and*, *after* USTLmP, *then after* A; 113 om., *swete Lord for* USLm, *goode Lord* P, *for* T; 155 om., al. *goodnesse and*; 157-8 om., al. *And...me*; 181 *mynde*, al. *myn*.[6] E has many errors and omissions and is not a very reliable copy of the text, but the majority of its isolative variants are more commonly word substitutions such as *vengeaunce* for *dampnacion* at line 125, and the alteration of word order like *it be*

[6] See also the omissions in E at lines 195, 196, 196-7 and 197.

so for *ȝef it so bee* at line 164.[7]

A: 17-27 om., al. *ȝef...mowth*; 29 om., al. *and...wlatsum*; 61-2 om., *ȝef...luste* USLmEP, *if þu list* T; 63 *hight*, al. *highe*; 65-6 om., al. *and þe wrecchednesses*; 73-4 om., al. *of...lif*; 78-9 *it was*, al. *was it*; 141 om., al. *myn oonly body*; 160 *and*; al. *an*; 182-3 om., al. *þee...Amen*; 189 *lowly*, al. *lordly*. A has many errors and omissions, but what makes it unique and very unreliable are the numerous additions to and reworkings of the text, especially the addition of the passion meditation from the 'Contemplations' at lines 81 to 124.[8]

P: 4 om., al. *as...heere*; 13 om., al. *by...þeere*; 14-5 om., al. *in biholdyng*; 17-18 om., al. *and...so*; 21 om., al. *feele...þin*; 28 om., al. *þat...mooste*; 32-3 *þei beþ as þe wrek*, al. *my synnes been as þe soond*; 102 *blod*, al. *passion*.[9] P, like A, is also unique in its numerous additions, omissions and changes to the text, the most remarkable being the different ending starting at line 150. It is a highly unreliable text, but probably derived from the USTLmEA group.

Despite the significant changes introduced by A and P, there is still enough similarity between them and USTLmE to support the possibility that all of these texts stem from the same archetype.

GROUP ERROR

It has been relatively easy to establish a close tie between U and S in some of the previous chapters, but in this text it is difficult to separate the two from the rest of the manuscripts. Despite the lack of shared errors between U and S, they share only a few variant readings against the other manuscripts.[10]

[7] See also in E lines 159, 185 and 194 for changes in word choice, and lines 25-6, 85, 94 and 106 for changes in word order.

[8] See Connolly (1994), 55-64.

[9] See also omissions in P at lines 34-5, 39, 40-1, 43-4, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 61-2, 79, 104-6 and 123-4.

[10] See variants for lines 79, 100, 127 and 154.

S shares some readings with other manuscripts, but they are few and possibly coincidental. S shares what could be either an error or a correct reading with Lm at line 53, replacing *haue in so muche*, with *haue i so muche*. At line 193, S, T and A omit the second *with*. Neither of these are very significant, but the former may be supported by the additional readings at lines 37 and 73 shared between S and Lm.

Lm shares several readings with other manuscripts, but none are truly errors. A number of these variants are shared with T and E, and may suggest a relationship between these three manuscripts. These three also appear together as a group in variants which include other manuscripts, especially in the readings against U and S at lines 79, 100, 127 and 154.

The TLmE subgroup share variant readings at lines 105, 106 and 120. Within the subgroup, Lm and E share two minor omissions at lines 74 and 110, a variant reading at line 88 and an error at line 104. This error, where both read *kyndenesse* when the plural is needed, is interesting to note, and makes one wonder if such an error is coincidental, especially when it is the only error shared between these two manuscripts. T and Lm share the omission of the title at lines 1-2 and a variant reading at line 91, and E and T share a minor omission at line 61 and a variant reading at line 37. These few shared readings and

minor omissions are immaterial and offer little further evidence about this possible subgroup.

An examination of some of the shared omissions reveals another possible relationship, that between E and P, both of which omit the following:

20-1 *tyme þat þe*, om. EP

70 *highe*, om. EP

72-3 *foule stynkynge*, om. EP

115 *here burthe*, om. EP

137 *am*, om. EP

E and P also share readings at lines 131, 132, 142 and 143. Considering the lack of substantial evidence to support the relationships for this text, these omissions seem significant enough to suggest a possible textual relationship between E and P, perhaps descending from the TLmE subgroup.

There are still a few more, less significant, shared readings which should be discussed before concluding. At line 36, A and P both omit *and as hertly*, but this is the only error shared between these two manuscripts. Whether this error is coincidental, possibly due to eyeskip, or passed down through an erroneous exemplar is uncertain.[11] T and E share an error with P at line 121, where all three omit *am*, necessary to complete the passive voice of the verb here. This is probably coincidental, though it is possible that this error was in the ancestor of

[11] A also shares a reading with T and E at line 32.

the TLmEAP group, which the scribe of Lm corrected, but which was left in the others.[12]

Most of these shared readings or errors are insignificant and offer little help in revealing any textual relationships amongst these manuscript copies of 'A Good Meditation for One to say Alone'. Likewise, because the text is short and such a considerable portion of it has been omitted or reworked in A and P, it is difficult to relate these two copies of the text to the others, with the exception of the shared omissions of E and P discussed above. The fact that there are so few shared errors amongst USTLmEAP may hint at how closely related these manuscripts really are to each other. And as we will see in the textual analyses of the other texts which include some of the manuscripts mentioned here, such an idea is not unfounded.

[12] P also shares an omission with Lm at line 71.

A GOOD MEDITATION FOR ONE TO SAY ALONE

Heere bigynneth a ful good meditacion for f. 153r
\oon/ to seie by himself aloone.

3ef þou coueite to be maad cleene in soule, as it may be heere, of al þe stathel of synne the which wol alweies leeue in þee after þi confession, be þow neuer so besy so þat þow mowe by þat clennesse bee maad able to receyue þe special grace of God in encresynge of þi perfeccion. Thanne bihoueth þe a certeyn tyme, ny3t by ny3t or day by day, contynuynge as longe as þe þinketh it doth þe good, in sum pryue place by þiself. And þeere gedere togidere þe my3tes of þi soule *and* specially þi mynde in

USTLmEAP

1 heere...aloone(2)] here bigynneth a tretice þat is þe stabile of synne E, meditacio bona P, fervor amoris A, *om.* TLm oon] oon *canc.* \oon/ U 3 3ef] if hit so be þat P coueite] covete *and* desire A maad cleene] clensed P 4 as...synne(5)] take hede *and* serch wel þi *con*sience of alle þe wrecchydnes of þi synnys A as...heere] *om.* P heere] here in þis life E al...stathel] þe filþe P stathel] scaþil Lm, stable E 5 the] as hit may be here in þis lif P which] whiche fulthe P alweies] algates P, *om.* Lm leeue] ellis remayne A 6 be ...mowe(7)] but if þou have gode warenes þerof and so þat þou mayst A 7 mowe] maist E clennesse...to (8)] *om.* Lm 8 special] *om.* P 9 encresynge] encres P thanne...tyme(10)] then furþermore apon this hit bihoveth þe A 10 certeyn] *corr.* T 11 contynuynge...good(12)] as for a serteyne tyme to dispose þe to be A contynuynge] *om.* P as...as] as . as E 12 it] þat hit P place] place of þyn hows þat is deuout P 13 by...þeere] *om.* P þiself] þei self Lm þeere] ther priuely A þe] alle þe A 14 specially þi] haue special P in biholdyng(15)] *om.* P

biholdyng of þi wrecchide lyuyng, seiynge þus with herte or with mowth or with bothe togedere ȝef þe bothe leste, *and* ȝef þe þenketh þat it doth þe good to do so, 'Lord Ihesu Crist.' / And eftsoones reherse þise f. 153ᵛ thre wordes, 'Lord Ihesu Crist,' til þe tyme þat þe þenke, *and* þat þow feele verreily þin herte acorde with þi mouth, and þanne passe forth *and* not erst, þough þow schuldest seie it neuer so ofte til þat it so bee.

And whan þat it is so, seie þanne þus forth as I telle þee with þat saame acordaunce of herte and with mowth, 'Lord Ihesu Crist, I am þat wrecche, þe mooste wykkede synnere *and* þe mooste wlatsum of alle, þe whiche so wondirfullye haue wratthed þin highe maieste, *and* so ofte þat my wyt may not suffice to telle it. For my

15 seiynge] and reherce ten oþer twelue of þi grettest synnes in þe syȝt of God riȝt þere or þou passe ferther peyne *and* sey P 16 þus] this A 17 ȝef...mowth(27)] *om.* A *and*...so(18)] *om.* P 18 þat] *om.* E *margin primo* <.> pecca*tores* P 19 eftsoones] eft P þise] þo P 20 thre] iii E til] al S tyme...þe(21)] *om.* EP 21 þat] \til/ þat S þenke] þenkeþ Lm *and*...þow] þat þi P feele...þin] *om.* P þin] *in* þin E 23 not... mowth(27)] sey P 24 it] *om.* Lm 25 þat] *om.* Lm þus forth(26)] *rev.* E 27 with] of T,*om.* E 28 I am] I am he E þat...mooste] *om.* P þe] and y wene myself þe A, *and* Lm 29 wykkede] þe wikkedest P *and*...wlatsum] *om.* A *and*] *om.* P wlatsum] lathesome E, wrecche P 30 alle] alle \oþer/ A þe whiche] þat P haue] ofte tymes haue A 31 highe] *om.* P maieste] godenes A ofte] ofte haue renuwyd my synnfulle (*2nd -n- canc.*) dedus A 32 suffice] suffre S to...it] for to telle P it...my] *illeg.* Lm for] forwhi TEA my... soond(33)] þei beþ as þe wrek P

synnes been as þe soond of þe see, þe whiche for multitude mowen not be noumbred.' In þis biholdyng *and* heere, þow schalt sighe and sorwe as deeply and as hertly as þow maist. For þat þat smythes file dooth to þe rusty iren, þe saame goostly doth a sorweful and a deep fet sighynge to a synful herte.

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 and was nouȝt, þow brouȝtest me forth to þin ymage and to þi liknesse into so

33 as] *om.* Lm soond] sondes A þe³] *om.* P 34 for multitude] *illeg.* Lm mowen...noumbred] no man may number \them/ A noumbred] noumbred\id/ Lm in...heere(35)] and here *in* þis biholdynge T in...*and*(35)] *om.* P in] then in A 35 þow schalt] *rev.* P sighe] sike S 36 and...hertly] *om.* AP 37 maist] kanst or mayst P, canne A for...þat] for þat þat þe SLm, forwhi þat þat þe TE, forwhy in lyke wyse as a A smythes file] þe sporyer vyle P to þe] rubbe away alle A 38 iren] yronne *and* makethe hit shewe fayre *and* bright in A þe] þat P saame] same maner of wyse A 39 and...fet] *om.* P a²...herte] a contrite herte, rubbe away þe \fowle <rusti>/ synnys fro a mannys sowle *and* makethe hym shyne fayre *and* bright in þe sight of God A sighynge] sikynge S a] þi P 40 after] then after A, and E þis] þis \in/ A, þes Lm biholdynge...general(41)] *om.* P 41 in general] *om.* A 42 haue...of] remembur *and* thynke on A mynde] *eras.* S, kynden *canc.* mynde P and biholdynge] *om.* P and] and, -nd *eras.* S kyndenesse] grete kyndnes A 43 God] *om.* P and...bifore(44)] what he \hathe/ done for þe and then say thus A bothe ...bifore(44)] *om.* P 45 God almyȝty] *om.* P almyȝty] *om.* A no beynge(46)] non a beyng Lm 46 and...nouȝt] *om.* P þow...me] brouȝt þou nat me P 47 to...mercy(56)] *see appended variants* A þin...to] *om.* P

noble a beeynge aboue alle oother creatures, þorugh þe whiche hadde I not synned, I myȝte haue had þee by grace in þis lif and in þat oother haue seie þee face to face in blisse. And I, þis wrecchide erthely worm, þe mooste vyleste synnere of alle, haue in so muche deserued þe streitnesse of þi riȝtwys doom þat, but ȝef þow helpe me ȝeuyng me þi mercy, it weere bettere to me neuere / to haue been bore.' f. 154r

Heere schalt þow sighe *and* sorwe as þow dedist bifore, and after haue mynde of þe kyndenesse of his incarnacion, seiþnge þus bothe with herte *and* with mouth ȝef þe bothe luste, 'Lord Ihesu Crist, art þow not he, þat highe kyng of aungelis, so lowely mekynge þee and so wilfully for me takynge vpon þee alle þe charges *and* þe wrecchednesses of mankynde, as hunger, þurst and

48 aboue...creatures] *om.* P oother] *om.* E 49 þorugh] wher þorw P þe....synned] *om.* P 51 þee...blisse] þee *in* blisse face to face T, þe blisse face to face P 53 vyleste] foul P synnere] synner of synners E haue] *om.* P in] i SLm 54 deserued] haf deseruyd P þi] þe Lm *margin* 2° b'uf in credo P 55 þat] so þat E ȝef] *om.* T 56 it...to²] me had be better neuer P 58 heere] þer E sighe] syke S *and*] aand, *1st a-eras.* Lm 59 and] then A haue] þis þou shalt calle to þi A of þe] þe grete A 60 seiþnge] *and* sey P þus] þis A 61 bothe...luste(62)] *om.* P bothe] *om.* T with²] *om.* TE ȝef...luste(62)] if þu list T, *om.* A 62 Ihesu Crist] *om.* P *margin* 3° de'cione P 63 þat] þe P highe] hight A so ...takynge(64)] the whiche hast lessed þiself bynethe angels wylfully for to take P 64 þee] þiself A for me] *om.* Lm 65 þe] *om.* TA *and*...wrecched-nesses(66)] *om.* A wrecchednesses(66)] wrecchid-nesse LmP

coold with al þe remanant, saue synne *and* ignoraunce? **A**nd 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 euerlastyng goodnesse for a fewe foule stynkynge fleschly delytes of þis wrecchide lif. **A** deere Ihesu, whider may I flee? Huyde me may I not and schew me dar I not!'

Heere schalt þow sighe *and* sorwe as þow dedist bifore. **A**nd after, haue mynde of the kyndenesse of his passion and seye þus, '**W**as it not inough to þe, my swete Lord Ihesu, þus to bicome man for þe loue of man? But ȝef þow ouer þat, for þe releeuynge of so menye deedly wrecches, tokest vpon þee to suffre so harde betynges, so i*n*numerable woundes, þat fro þe sole[s] of þi feet to þe

67 þe...saue] wrecchednesses outake P remanant] remen *canc*. // remenaunt Lm, rem*n*aunte*s* A 68 this] a A 69 worm] caytiffe A me] myself A highyng] shamfully enhauncyng P me[2]] *om*. A 70 haue] haue ofte tymys ful gr*e*uusly A highe] *om*. EP 71 þe] *om*. LmP 72 foule stynkynge(73)] *om*. EP 73 delytes] dilices SLm of...lif(74)] *om*. A 74 a] *om*. LmE deere] *om*. P whider...flee] *and* y shulde fle fro þe whe*þer* shulde y go for A 75 and...not[2]] *om*. T 76 heere] þere E sighe] syke S as...bifore(77)] *om*. T 77 and...the] then apon þis þ*o*u shalt calle to þi mynde þe gr*e*te A 78 kyndenesse] *corr*. Lm passion] passio*n* suffrynge A was it(79)] *rev*. A, Lord Ihesu Crist was it P 79 to] vnto P my...Ihesu] *om*. P Ihesu] Ihesu Cr*i*st TLmEA 81 ȝef þow] þou of þi gr*e*te m*e*rcy A þat...mysbyleuy*n*ge(124)] *see appended variants* A þe] *om*. T 82 deedly] *om*. P tokest] toke P *margin* 4[to] 'c pass, x *canc*., xpi're P 83 betynges] betyng P 84 þe] þi, -i *altered to* -e S soles] sole USTEP þi feet] þe foot E, þi foot T

coroune of þine heed, was no lyme ne skyn of þi blessede body þat it ne fomede ful of þi precious blode?

'**A**, **I** wikkede, curside wrecche, what may I doo? I am cause of þi deeth. **W**heer may I wone? For by riȝtwis doom of resun, alle the creatures þat been bitweene heuene *and* helle schulden fiȝte aȝen myn oonly body. **N**owe trewely Lord, I am wel apaied þat þei so doo. **L**et hem ryse, Lord, as þin owene seruauntȝ of þin owene houshold, and venge with maistrie / her Lord *and* here f. 154ᵛ Makere of me, þis straunche freinde, wrecche þat so traytourly haue been cause of my Lordes turment.'

Here þow schalt sighe *and* sorwe as þow dedist bifore, hauynge goostly mynde of his precious passion, wounde by wounde to þe holugh of his herte. **B**ut, bycause þat thise three kyndenesses bifore nempned, **þ**at is to seye, **t**hy makynge, **h**is mankynd-takynge **a**nd

85 was...skyn] was no skynn ne lyme E was] þer was P ne] no Lm 86 blessede] *om.* P 88 a I] y LmE, *om.* P 90 by] by þi E of] *and* by P 91 bitweene] bitwix TLm heuene...helle(92)] helle *and* heuene P 93 trewely Lord] *rev.* P am] *corr.* P 94 so doo] *rev.* E þin owene(95)] þin Lm, þe E 97 of] on P þis] þus P straunche freinde] stronge fremmed E, strong an exiled P 98 haue] hathe E 100 þow schalt] *rev.* TLmEP sighe] syke S as...bifore(101)] *om.* T 102 passion] blod P wounde...þat(103)] and for alle P 103 holugh] þerlynge T 104 three] *om.* P kyndenesses] kyndenesse LmE nempned] named E, seid P þat...passion(106)] *om.* P 105 thy] of þi TLmE his] of his TLmE

his precious passion, haan bee do generally to alle oothere as wel as to þee, þerfore schalt þow, after þis, haue special mynde of sum special kyndenesse doon to þin oonly body bifore menye oothere and seye þus, 'A goode, swete Lord Ihesu Crist! How menye as worthi, and by a þousandfoold moore worthy þan I, han be suffred of þee swete Lord for to dye? Summe in here modres wombes and summe soone after here burthe bifore eny bapteem, and so to bee dampned to eendeles derknesse? And summe to lyue in here hethenesse to here [deth]-day and so to be dampned to eendeles peyne? And I, sweete Lord Ihesu, of þin ouerhaboundaunt goodnesse *and* þorugh þe grace of bapteem, am brouȝt into þi foold, þe whiche is holy churche, to be a scheep of þi flokke, pasturynge in þi lawe, þere be kept and saued fro þat apert dampnacion of alle mysbyleuynge.'

106 his] of his TLmE haan] þat han Lm do generally] *rev.* E 108 after...haue] haue after þis P special] a special P 110 menye] eny P a] *om.* LmE 111 goode] *om.* P as] *om.* Lm 112 by] *om.* E -foold...worthy] part wurthier P 113 han] as in kynde haueþ P of] t *canc.* of E swete...for] goode Lord P, for T, *om.* E 114 modres wombes] *on eras. corr.* Lm wombes] wombe P 115 here burthe] *om.* EP 116 to] *om.* S 118 hethenesse] mysbileue P deth-day] day U so] *om.* E 119 sweete...Ihesu (120)] am clepid P 120 Ihesu] Ihesu Crist TLmE of] am clepid of E ouerhaboundaunt] owen habundaunt P 121 am] *om.* TEP brouȝt] broþ, -þ *altered to* -it S 122 þi...is] þyn P 123 a scheep] on P pasturynge...be(124)] *om.* P 124 be] to be STLmE þat] þe P, all E 125 dampnacion] vengeaunce E mysbyleuynge] fals mysbileuyng men P

Here schalt þow þanke þi Lord God as hertly as þow maist, *and* after þow schalt þenke þus and seye with þi mouth, 'How meny moore worthy and fer moore able to grace þanne I am, bycause of meny moo goode dedes doon after here bapteem þan I haue doon after myn, been ri3tfully suffred of þee swete Lord, summe to been honged or heded, styked or drenched or sodeynly deed in sum deedly synne, and so to be dampned to eendeles fuyr? 3e sikerly / Lord, it may be þat f. 155r a þowsand moore worthy þanne I am, haan bee lawefully dampned to þe boilynge put of helle, þeere for to wone as longe as þou schalt be in heuene, for fewere synnes þan I haue doon myn oonly body. And 3et hast þow, my swete Ihesu, cleped me a3en to þe

126 here] then here A Lord God] Lord A, God P
127 maist] canne þat þis myche hathe done for þe A þow schalt] *rev.* TLmEP, then shalt þou A 128 þus] þis A how...grace(129)] a blessyd Lorde þer hathe bene mony a creatur þat hathe be more acceptabeler A
129 moore...am(130)] worthier þanne y 3e *and* fer more able to grace P 130 am bycause] am in þi sight and hathe be causer A moo] *om.* P 131 doon] *om.* EA here] *om.* E doon²] eny doon EP 132 after myn] *om.* A been] the whiche bethe A, haue ben EP ri3tfully] rightwisely E suffred] *om.* P þee] þe my E 133 Lord] Lord suffred P heded] be ded Lm
134 styked] or stiked P drenched] drownyd A or² ...synne(135)] in dedly synne or som sodeyn deþ P
135 so] summe Lm to...fuyr(136)] foreuer more A
to²] in T 136 sikerly...be] verely gode mercyfulle Lorde y may thynke *and* say bothe A 137 moore worthy] more more worþi Lm, moore worthier A, fold worþier *and* wyser P am] *om.* EP 138 boilynge] wellyng P 139 þeere...wone] to brenne þerynne P
þeere] and þer A þou] God P 140 be in] be \god/ in A 141 myn...body] *om.* A hast þow(142)] *rev.* A 142 Ihesu] Lord Ihesu EP cleped] callyd A
to] vnto A, into P þe] *om.* P

grace of repentaunce in þis lif þorugh þe whiche I may be kept *and* saued fro al apert vengeaunce in þis lif and after þis lif, fro þat horrible dampnacion of alle fals cristene men in þe day of doom.'

Heere schalt þow þanke þi Lord as hertly as þow maist, and afterward þenk þus *and* seye with þi mouth, 'Lord God, Fadir of mercy and of comfort, what schal I doo? For I may not make amendis of myne innumerable synnes þat I haue wrecchedly wrouȝt aȝens þi wil. I may not þanke þee of þe ouer-haboundant goodnesse *and* kyndenesse þat þow hast graciously doon to me. And ȝet I, þis stynkynge wrecche, vnnethes kan see þise greete kyndenesses doon to me. Now trewely Lord, I weere worthy to be deed, slayn, other hanged as an hound. But, for I may

143 repentaunce] penance EP 144 be...doom(147)] \be savyd, y hope to/ þi grete mercy A apert] aparte Lm 145 þis²...fro] þus from E 146 þat] þe P 148 heere] þer E 149 maist] canst or maist P, can A afterward] after shalt þou P þus] þis A *margin* lud ad quod recolat^cc P 150 Lord...*to end of text*] *see appended variants* P 152 may not] cannot A of] for E 154 I...þee] and alle þe preysynge *and* thankyng þat y canne make is as it were nothynge in compareson in recumpens vnto þi gode \grace/ A of] for TLmEA ouerhaboundant(155)] grete aboundant A 155 goodnesse *and*] *om.* E 156 doon] shewyd A to] vnto EA and...me(158)] *om.* E þis...þise(157)] so sympulle a wrecche vnnethe canne se *and* perseue þis A þis] *om.* S 157 wrecche] wrecched Lm 158 kyndenesses] kyndnes A 159 Lord] gode Lorde A to be] of my deserte sauynge þi grete mercy to be A slayn] *and* slayne A, killyd E 160 hanged] hangyd up A, an honged, an *eras.* S an] *and* A but for] sauynge A

not sle me myself *and* also I shulde not, þerfore I biseche þee Lord God almy3ti, þat þow wolt sle me þiself, þat so wrecchedly haue doon to þee. And 3ef it so bee þat þi greete pitee and þi greete goodnesse so bynde in þi ri3twisnesse, þat þow like not to slee me thyself, þanne I biseche þee þat þow wolt sende þin aungel of ri3twisnesse with his brennynge swerd to taake vengeaunce vpon me. And 3ef þi muchel meeknesse *and* þi grete mercy wol not suffre þee to fulfille þe vengeaunce þat I haue deserued, and me ou3te not by þi lawe, Lord, for to slee myself, for þanne dampnede I my soule, þanne wol I do þat in me is and alle þat I may doo. Heere, I 3elde me to þe as þi / boonde- f. 155v man and þi prisoner *and* þi perpetuel seruaunt, and alle þe dayes of my lif neuer to departe fro þi seruyce. And þis Lord, wol I do as mannes freelte wol suffre *and*

161 me] *om.* EA *and* also] and þi commaundment is also þat A 162 Lord God] gode Lorde A 163 wrecchedly...þanne(167)] wr\e/cchidly ofte tymys haue disobeyed þi lawys *and* commaundementis and if it please not þi gode grace to slee me with þi nowne handys A 164 haue] hath E to] vnto E 3ef... bee] it be so E 169 vengeaunce] correccion A 170 vpon] on A and...doo(176)] in what wyse þou wilte so þat it may be to þi blessyd plesure *and* \my/ saluacion and A þi] *corr.* Lm 173 by] beo S þi] þe E for...myself (174)] to slee me mysilf E 174 þanne] *corr.* E 176 doo] *om.* E to þe] vnto þe mercifulle Lorde A 178 and] in E lif] liftyme A 179 and...myn(181)] as ny as my fraelle disposicion wille suffur me A and] all E

specially myn, þe whiche freelte I biseche þee to strengthe with þi grace for þi muchel mercy, **Amen**.'

Heere shalt þow falle to þe grounde *and* 3elde þee to him as meekly and as hertly as þow maist and after þat, sitte vp and reste þee þenkynge thus, **h**ow gode þat God is in himself, **a**nd how fair þat he is in his aungelis, **a**nd how lordly þat he gouerneth alle hise creatures; **a**nd after þat, how swete he is in his loueres, **a**nd last of alle, how mercyful he is in synneres. **A**nd þanne seye þus bothe with herte and with mowth, withouten eny feynynge, '**M**y goode Ihesu, haue mercy on me. **M**y faire Ihesu, haue mercy on me. **M**y lord Ihesu, haue mercy on me. **M**y swete Ihesu, haue mercy on me. **M**y mercyful Ihesu, haue mercy on me. **A**nd not oonly on me, Ihesu, þough I haue most

181 myn] mynde E freelte] *om.* E biseche] besech þi grete mercy to stedfaste A 182 þee...Amen(183)] *om.* A to] for to E þi] þe E for] of E 184 heere] then here A, þere E falle] falle down E 185 meekly] hertely E hertly] mekely E, lowly A 186 maist] canne A vp] up agene A 187 in] *corr.* A 188 fair] *corr.* A þat] *om.* E 189 lordly] lowly A þat] *om.* E 190 alle] *om.* T 191 his] *om.* Lm 192 he...in] apon A in] in his S, to E 193 with²] *om.* STA 194 withouten] and *with*out A feynynge] faynynge *with* alle þine hole substans A, failynge E goode] *om.* E 195 haue... me] *om.* E 196 haue...me] *om.* E haue²...me(197)] *om.* E 197 haue...me] *om.* E 198 on] vpon E 199 on] no *canc.*, on E Ihesu] *om.* E

200 neede, but in alle þe creatures, quyke and deede, whiche þow hast bou3t with thy precious blood, **A**me**n**.

200 in] on E þe creatures] oþer *creaturis* A, creatures Lm, *om.* E quyke] bothe *quicke* A 201 whiche] þe whiche A, whome E bou3t] dure bowtte A

APPENDED VARIANTS

47 to...mercy(56)] *and* hast made \me/ vnto þi nowne lykenes and to no noþer symylytude wherefor y may say *and* thynke bothe þat y am myche bounde to þi \grete/ mercy and of þes grete gyfte\s/ of þi grace haue y had but litulle perseuerans *and* remembrans to loue and thanke \þe/ þerfor as y shulde adone wherefor *and* if þi mercy helpe me not **A**

81 þat...mysbyleuynge(124)] *insertion of passion meditation from AB chapter of 'Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God'*[1]*:* þat mekely dedist submytte þiself vtterly for to dye for þe redempcion of my synnys and for to saue me fro þe euerlastynge dampnacion of þe bitter paynys of helle then here þou mayst take hede *and* se *with* þi gostly y þis as y haue rehersyd his petewus passyon and then þou mayst þer ymagyn in þi herte as thof þou saist þi Lorde takyn of \his/ enemijs *with* mony grete repreuys *and* dispitis and brought byfore a iuge *and* þer a was falsly acusyd of meny wickyd men byholde then how he aunsweryd righte noughtte but mekely as a lam suffryd alle þer wordis þei wolde nedely haue hym dye but first to suffur meny grete paynys byholde then þi gode Lorde cheuerynge *and* quakynge and alle his body nakyd *and* bounde to a pelur and abowte hym standynge meny wickyd men *with*out any pety or reson sore scurgynge þat blessyd body *with*owt any pety or mercy se nowe *and* beholde howe þei sese not fro þer angery strokys tille they se hym stande in his precius blode up to þe ancleis and fro þe toppe of his hed to the soles of his fete hole skynne leuethe þei none his dere worthe flesshe þei rase vnto the bone then maist þou loke asyde apon his blessyd moder Mary and byholde *and* se what sorow she makethe for her dere sone *and* haue compasyon of her payne the whiche \here/ þer asownynge and then turne agene to þi Lorde *and* se howe þe Iuwis vnbyndethe hym *and* how hastly they draw*ith* hym furthe *with*owt any pety yet to do hym more dissese a garlond of sharpe *and* kene thornys þei sore th\r/astethe apon his \hed/ tille þe precius blode rennethe downe grete plentethe into þe yen nose mowthe *and* eris and then þei knelyd downe byfore hym *with* grete scornis and rose agene *with* grete repreuis þat was to oreble to hure and then þei sparyd not to spete in his glorius face se then agene how þat blessyd lady for inwardly sorowe hereof how she betethe her nobulle brist draw*ith* her clothis *and* how sorowfully she wryngethe her handis and y trow þou wilt wepe for þat sorowfulle sight loke yet agene to þi Lorde God *and* se how þat they drewe hym to *and* hie hille þerfor to nayle hym both hand *and* fote to þe rode tre byholde firste hou fresshely they drewe of his clothis þat byfore were fast clungynne vnto his precius wondis how mekely then he goethe fresshe bledynng vnto þe crosse they sprad abrode his armis they drewe hym \tille/ þe vanis synwis *and* ioyntis dede lepe asunder and then *with* grete naylis þei naylyd to þe crosse his precius handis in þe same maner þou maiste ymagyn howe þei drewe his dereworthe legges se then furþermore how in his grete thirste

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[1] Compare with Connolly (1993), 42-4. Her edition does not include this copy of the AB chapter, but includes the version of the AB chapter which appears later on ff. 36^{r}-38^{v} of A, part of the compilation itself. The version here seems more closely related to Connolly's base text than to the greatly altered version of the compilation in A.

þei prophered hym bitter galle medlyd with eysulle and then knelyd downe agene with mony grete mockys and scornis in grete dispite vnto hym se also howe sone after they perisshyd his precius herte with a sharpe spere and with fulle grete anger then comethe þer owte of his \moste/ blessyd body medlyd blode with water then mayst þou haue grete pety agene byholdynge þat gode lady how for sorowe sowneþe and synkeþe downe to þe grounde then y pray þe take hede to þe rufulle chere of þe apostille Iohan and to þe bitter teris of Mary Mawdeleyne and also to the sorowfulle lamentacion of his oþer fryndis and y trowe amonge alle thes þou shalte haue contricion in þine herte with plentethe of teris of þi nijs or ellis þi harte is harder then any stone then furþermore apon þis y counselle þe þat þou be welle and wysely avysyd þat when þer comethe any suche deuocionis into þi soule by þe grace of þe Holy Gost þat suche tymys þou speke wysely of þi nowne nedis and for alle oþer lyuys and deþis þat tristethe to þi poworis then cast downewarde þi body to þe grounde and lyfte vp hij devowtely þine harte with sorowfulle chere then make þi mone vnto almyghtty God and say þus a Lord God almight\ti/ blessyd mote þou be þat madyst me and þus hast boughte me with þi precius blode þi suffrans is fulle grete in me þou woldist not take me into no dampnacion where as ofte tymys y haue deseruyd hit but þou of þi grete godenes hast kepte and sauyd me tille y wolde forsake my synne and turne agene to þe then say þis wordis nowe Lorde y knolige myself gilty vnto þi gracius godhed þat falsly y haue mispende my fyve wyttis with\out/ prophete þe whiche þou gauist me graciusly for þe helthe of my sowle and y wrecchidly haue myspende þem alle my liftyme heþerto in mony dyuerse ydulnes and vanyteis of þe worlde alle the lemys of my body myspende in syn and superfluyte also þe grete grace of my cristyndome y haue myspende in pride and in wrecchydnes of þe worlde and mony a tyme and oftyn y haue louyd and delyted me more as for þe tyme in wordly thynges more \then in/ thyne almyghti godenes and yet not withstandynge alle my grete vnkyndnes euer þou hast norisshed and kepte me of þi grete and gracius suffrans and y haue had but litulle knowyng of þi grete rightwisnes y had no drede y toke none hede to thanke þe of þi grete godenes but from day to day and euermore and more, y haue shewyd þe grete maters of wrethe to be displesyd with me **A**

149 Lord...*to end of text*(201)] how meny worthier and more able to deuocion þan y am as in clennesse of conscience and meny oþer propretees in kynde and in grace beþ 3et last wadyng and walwyng in þe welþes and þe bisynesses of þis fals wordle and her foule flesh and perauntre wul be to her lyues ende and y gracious Lord withowten eny deseruyng of eny goode dedes but only of þi gret and habondaunt goodnesse and of þi gret mercy am clepid and chosen of þe to dwelle in þis degre þat y bere in þi churche where y may deserue þorw þe help of þi grace and þe kepyng of myn estat to be on of þi chosen derlyngges þou y be now a wrecche and to be fed in þis lif with þe swetnesse of deuocion in ernest of myn heritage þat is þe kyngdom of heuene here shalt þou þank þy Lord as hertily as þou may and after shalt þou þenk þus and sey with þi mouthe I thanke þe hertily my Lord Ihesu Crist for þou hast nat clepid me to þe rewle of seynt Benet ne of seynt Austyn ne of seynt

Fraunceys ne to non oþer rewle ordenyd be mannes chesyng but to þat souereyn *and* to þat holyest rewle þe (*folio missing*) **P**

NOTES

3-13 Some similarity with Rolle's 'Desire and Delight': 'Euery man þat coueitith endles hele, be he bisi nyght and day to fulfil þis lare,' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 40/14-15).

19-24 For more on meditation on the name of Jesus Christ, see Woolf (1968), 172-9.

32-4 GENESIS 32:12, 'Tu locutus es quod benefaceres mihi, et dilateres semen meum sicut arenam maris, quae prae multitudine numerari non potest.'

37-9 Comparison of filing rusty iron with cleansing one's soul seems to have been a familiar comparison and is found in the Ancren Riwle: 'þet he is þi uile, & uileð awei al þi rust, & al þi ruwe of þine sunnen ...ase þe uile deð, auh he makeð þe smeðe, ant brihteð þine soule,' (Morton (1968), 184/11-13); and The Book of Margery Kempe: 'a smyth wyth a fyle...makyth þe yron to be bryte & cler to þe sygth whech be-forn aperyd rusty, dyrke, [&] euyl colowryd,' (Meech (1961), 44/31-3).

45-8 GENESIS 1:27, 'Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam: ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, masculum et feminam creavit eos.' GENESIS 9:6, 'Quicumque effuderit humanum sanguinem, fundetur sanguis illius: ad imaginem quippe Dei factus est homo.' See also Rolle's 'Meditation B': 'as þou made me of noght' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 69/1); 'þat madest me lyk to þe' (69/7); 'þat mad me and al my lymmys' (69/13).

51 GENESIS 32:30, 'Vocavitque Iacob nomen loci illius Phanuel, dicens: Vidi Deum facie ad faciem, et salva facta est anima mea.'

52,68-9 PSALM 21:7, 'Ego autem sum vermis, et non homo; opprobrium hominum, et abiectio plebis.'

60 *seiþnge*, another example of þ/y confusion in U which also occurs at line 33 in the 'Mirror'. See the Introduction, i.53-6.

63-8 Similarity with Rolle, see 'Meditation B', (69/24-30), and 'Meditation A': 'Sithen what meschief he suffred, that is hungur, thriste

and colde, and many hooge reproeues,' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 64/23-4).

74-5 For a similar rendering see also lines 166-8 in 'Med. St Anselm'.

78-80 As in Rolle's 'Meditation B': 'Lord, þat lyghted fro heuyn to erth for loue of mankynd,' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 69/24).

82-7 There are many sources for the description of Christ's Passion, some which are extremely graphic like those of Rolle in both 'Meditation A' and 'Meditation B'. Though this text is close to that found in 'Meditation A': 'Sithen how thei scourged him that fro the hede to the feete thei lefte nouȝt hole on him,' (Ogilvie-Thomson, (1988), 66/92-3).

88-9 Similar to Rolle's 'Meditation B': 'Now, lady, þat peyne and passioun shold haue be myne, for I had deserued hitte and was cause þerof,' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 77/351-78/353).

90-93 Similar phrase occurs at lines 231-2 in the 'Three Arrows' which originates from St Bernard.

101-3 For comparison, see Rolle's 'Meditation A': 'and haue mynde of the v woundes in the hondes, feete and herte,' (Ogilvie-Thomson, (1988), 68/171-2). See also edition of the 'Five Wounds', ii.348-58.

121-4 EZEKIEL 34:31, 'Vos autem, greges mei, greges pascuae meae, homines estis; et ego Dominus Deus vester, dicit Dominus Deus.'
PSALM 78:13, 'Nos autem populus tuus, et oves pascuae tuae, confitebimur tibi in saeculum, in generationem et generationem annuntiabimus laudem tuam.'
PSALM 99:3, 'Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus; ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos; populus eius, et oves pascuae eius.'

126 Similar to Rolle's 'Meditation B', see Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 69/31.

167-70 GENESIS 3:24, 'Eiecitque Adam; et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis cherubim, et flammeum gladium, atque versatilem, ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae.'

176-9 PSALM 115:16, 'O Domine, quia ego servus

tuus; ego servus tuus, et filius ancillae tuae. Dirupisti vincula mea.'
I PETER 2:16, 'quasi liberi, et non quasi velamen habentes malitiae libertatem, sed sicut servi Dei.'

201-2 ACTS 20:28, 'Attendite vobis, et universo gregi, in quo vos Spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo.'

XI

THE MEDITATION OF ST ANSELM

INTRODUCTION

For the collation of my text, 'The Meditation of St Anselm', I was blessed in two ways. First, with the fact that another Middle English translation of the text, very different from the one in U, survives in London, British Library, Harley 535;[1] and secondly, that both texts derive from a Latin source which exists in several manuscripts and has been critically edited.[2] In trying to determine the differences between the Harley translation and the translation in U and its related manuscripts,[3] it is easiest to compare the two against the reading of the Latin source.

It is, at first, vital to assert the different characters of these two versions of the same text. In general, the translator of the Harley text (H) seems to have taken more pains to translate the Latin (L) for the 'sense', understandable to himself and to his readers. The Group version (G) of the text (based

[1] Hereafter referred to as Harley.

[2] See the 'Meditatio ad concitandum timorem' edited in Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946), iii.76-9, and 'Meditatio II' in PL 158:722-725. Latin quotations, herewith and in the notes following the text, are taken from Schmitt's edition. My knowledge of the translation in BL Harley 535 comes from a footnote in Martin's thesis ((1978), i.254 n. 4). The version of the text in U has been edited by Martin in his thesis ((1978), i.253-59, 285-314), with a supplementary note on the Latin ((1978) ii.574-81). The text was first printed in Horstman ((1896), ii.443-5) based on U with variant readings from S.

[3] Hereafter referred to as the Group.

here mostly on the readings of U, without note of the variants within the Group) tends to follow the Latin verbatim, at times so much so that the translation is quite awkward, as in the following:

L	G	H
quia non tantum dolet quantum se noscit, sed sic secura torpet, velut quid patiatur ignoret (21-2).	bycause þat it sorweth not so muche as it knoweth þat hit schulde, but þus it slepeth siker in slouthe, riȝt as it knewe not what it were worthy to suffre (45-8).	for she mourneþ \nat/ so muche as she auȝt, siþþe shue knoweþ hirsilf in so grete wrecchidnysse, but shue is slowe and as syker as þeiȝ shue wist nauȝt what shue suffreþ (36-40).

This example shows how concise the Latin is and how lengthy the English is in translating, especially here, for the 'sense' of the Latin and not just verbatim. Though the Harley text here is longer and does not follow the Latin as closely as the Group translation, Harley is better able to convey the sense of the Latin by adding the phrase *siþþe shue knoweþ hirsilf in so grete wrecchidnysse* (37-8). Another example follows:

L	G	H
Utique spinae pungentes et amara peccata. Quae utinam sic te paenitendo pungerent ut confringerentur, sic amarescerent ut evanescerent (31-3).	Sothly þow hast nouȝt but prikkynges 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	Forsoþe, prickyng þornes and bitter synnes; and ich wold þat hi pricked þee so bi repentaunce, þat hi to-breke þe harde bondus of synne. Also ich wolde þat þei to þee were so bittur, to make

	schulden van-yssche awey (66-71).	\þee/ þi synnes forsake (56-61).

Again, the concise Latin is laboriously expanded by the translators to make accurate sense. Both translations are similar, apart from lexical differences, but Harley follows the Latin source verbatim for the first line. Harley also uses *ich* for the subject instead of *God*, and repeats *ich wold þat* to break the sentence down into its two parallel parts. Though the Group translation is under-tandable, the Harley text more clearly illustrates the point here, using *repentaunce* as the translation for *paenitendo* and clarifying the *þei* of the Group text as *þe harde bondus of synne*. Likewise, the Harley text more accurately conveys the sense of *sic amarescerent ut evanescerent* as *þat þei to þee were so bittur, to make \þee/ þi synnes forsake*.

A final example of the Harley translator's possible interpretation of his text comes at the end of this meditation:[4]

L	G	H
Recognosce, benignissime, quod tuum est, et absterge quod alienum est (90-1).	Mercyful Ihesu, I biseche þee know þat þin is and wipe it awey þat is ootheres (202-3).	Biknowe, good Lord, þat is þine only creature, and wype awey and clense þat is my synne and wickednesse (194-6).

[4] Another example: 'Et tamen tu benignus deus, tu nutris et expectas tuum inutilem vermem et foetentem peccatis'(14-15), U 27-9, Harley 21-3.

The Harley text begins much closer to the Latin word order, but decides, instead of translating *absterge quod alienum est* literally as does the Group text, to try to illustrate clearly and interpret the meaning of this phrase - that *ootheres* is actually *my synne and wickednesse*.

Despite this general characterisation of the two translations, both tend to alternate between close, literal translations and vague interpretations of the Latin source. Though the Group text does still seem to follow the Latin more frequently than the Harley text, there are several instances when Harley adheres to the Latin text more closely:[5]

L	G	H
Auge ergo, peccator, auge superioribus aerumnis pondus, adde terrorem super terrorem, ululatem super ululatem (63-5).	Put to weiȝte vpon weiȝte and sorwe vpon sorwe, ferdnesse vpon feerdnesse and woo vpon woo (138-40).	Wharfore also, synful soule, charge þou and ouercharge þi formest mes-chefys and mys-seyses; ley drede vppon drede, and sorowe vppon sorowe (129-32).

Syntactically, the Harley text follows the Latin, while the Group text here differs enough to suggest

[5] For more examples see: 'Omnis arbor quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur et in ignem mittetur'(11), U 18-22, Harley 14-16; 'Quid ergo restat tibi, o peccator, nisi ut in tota vita tua plores totam vitam tuam, ut ipsa tota se ploret totam?'(19-20), U 40-3 (see note to the text), Harley 31-4; 'Hic cogita quid gessisti, quid oporteat te recipere'(48-9), U 103-5, Harley 93-5; 'O angustiae!'(72), U 157-8, Harley 153; 'Quid, quid tunc, quid erit tunc? Quis eruet de manibus dei? Unde mihi consilium, unde salus?'(77-8), U 173-5, Harley 167-70; 'Rogo, piisime, ne perdat mea iniquitas quod fecit tua omnipotens bonitas'(89-90), U 198-201, Harley 192-4.

that its Latin exemplar may have been corrupted at this point. Another example which might suggest that the Group's Latin source was corrupt follows in the text a few lines later:

L	G	H
Iam ipse est, iam ipse est Iesus. Ipse idem est iudex, inter cuius manus tremo. Respira iam, o peccator; respira, ne desperes (80-1).	Ceertes, it is Ihesu! He himself is þe iuge whom I dreede so soore. Looke vp þerfore aȝen now, þow synnere. Bee of good hope and dispeire not (178-81).	Nowe he is Ihesus, nowe he is Ihesus, Ihesus. Þe same is Domesman, in whos myghtful handes ich quake. Cumfort þee nowe, synful soule, confort þee, falle þou nouȝt into dispaire (172-76).

Here, Harley is true to the Latin, whereas the Group seems to have omitted *iam ipse est* and *inter cuius manus tremo*, and changed *Respira iam*, and *respira*.

Another example comes at the end of 'The Meditation of St Anselm', and again supports the suggestion that the Group translation possibly derived from a corrupt Latin source, or at least a source differing from the one that we have presently.

L	G	H
admitte me intra numerum electorum tuorum, ut cum illis te laudem, te perfruar et glorier in te inter omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum, qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto gloriaris per interminata	receyue me withinne þe noumbre of þin chosyn, so þat I bee fed in þee with hem and preise þee with hem, and þat I, withouten eend, ioye in þee with alle þoo þat louen þi name, Amen (214-18).	Receyue me into þe noumbre of þi chosen þat I, wiþ hem, þee worschipye, þee louye; in þee be glad among alle þat louyeþ þy name, þat wiþ God, þe Fadur and þe Holy Gost, regnyst foreuere wiþ-

saecula, amen (96-9).	outen ende, Amen (206-10).

Harley is not only close in word order, but also in word choice. Where the Group translates *perfruar* more literally to mean *fed*, Harley more appropriately translates this word as *glad*. Again, some of the text seems to be missing from the Group translation, particularly *qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto*, and the word order has been somewhat altered.

As convincing as this evidence may seem in suggesting that the Harley text represents a more faithful translation of our present Latin source, there are far more examples to the contrary. In many areas of the text, it seems that the Harley translation was born from a corrupt Latin source and the Group from the Latin text we have now.[6] For example,

L	G	H
Constat enim et verum est quod	For it is certeyn and trewe	Sooþ hit is þat Crist saiþ in þe

[6] For more examples see: 'Anima sterilis, quid agis? Quid torpes, anima peccatrix?' (23), U 49-50, Harley 41-3; 'dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis, dies tubae et clangoris' (25-6), U 53-7, Harley 45-8; 'Ibi procul dubio recipies prout gessisiti in corpore' (46-7), U 98-100, Harley 88-90; 'Inutilis peccator, an non sufficiunt tibi haec ad immanem rugitum? An non sufficiunt ad eliciendum sanguinem et medullas in lacrimas?' (51-2), U 109-114, Harley 101-106; 'Peccator inutilis, satis haec tibi debent esse ad continuandum luctum; sufficere tibi possunt ad sorbendas iuges lacrimas' (55-7), U 120-4, Harley 113-15; 'Si enim dixero quidquid potero excogitare, nondum ad id quod res est poterit comparari' (61-2), U 133-6, Harley 122-6; 'Nam ipse te iudicabit, ad cuius contumeliam spectat quidquid inoboediens deo aut praevaricator peccat' (65-6), U 140-2, Harley 132-5; 'Ira omnipotentis, ubi poteris capi in me? Non est quod te possit tolerare in tota me' (70-1), U 153-6, Harley 147-8; 'peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet? Constrictus ubi latebo, quomodo parebo? Latere erit impossibile, apparere intolerabile. Illud desiderabo, et nusquam erit; istud execrabor, et ubique erit' (74-7), U 164-72, Harley 159-66; 'obliviscere superbum provocantem' (84), U 187-9, Harley 181-3.

veritas dixit (10).		þat treuthe seyde gospel (13-14).
		himself in þe gospel (16-18).

Though both texts add *in þe gospel*, the Group is much closer to the Latin than the Harley text. But one wonders whether the translator of the text in Harley felt that his audience would not have understood this image of *treuthe* and so ignored it, or whether instead the Latin source was corrupt by an omission here? A further example shows the close adherence to the Latin of the Group translation and the great divergence and scribal interpolation on the part of the Harley translation:

L	G	H
Si multa bona, pauca mala: multum gaude. Si multa mala, pauca bona: multum luge (49-50).	3ef þei been meny goodes and fewe yueles, make muche ioye. 3ef þei been [meny] yueles and fewe goodes, make mu[c]he sorwe (105-8).	If þou hast i-do muchel good, muchell blisse þou schalt haue, more þan worþi þou be, þerof be gladde. And if muche quede þou hast i-do, þerof be ri3t sory, for grete payne þou schalt receyue, but lasse þan þou worþi be (95-100).

The Group text even tries to maintain the short, concise rhythm of the Latin, while Harley takes this opportunity to stress the penitential tone of this meditation. My final example occurs toward the end of the text:

L	G	H
Neque enim mortui laudabunt te,	For dampnede men schullen noone	A good Lord, hy þat falliþ

domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum (93-4).	preise þee, ne eny of þoo þat goon down into helle (208-10).	into helle, ne schulleþ not worschip þee (201-2).

The Group only omits *domine*, but remains faithful to the word order of the Latin source. Harley interprets the source by combining the sentences into one general statement.

In considering the above examples, it should become apparent that these two translations are truly independent of one another. But perhaps the best way to illustrate their individuality is by examining areas of the text where both are faithful to the Latin source, maintaining the word order as well as the 'sense', but are so different in their word choice that the distinction is quite obvious, and the difference in the style of translation is more noticeable.[7] For example,

L	G	H
Et si quid fructus in ea videtur, sic est aut simulatum aut imperfectum aut aliquo modo corruptum, ut possit aut non placere aut displicere deo (5-7).	And ȝef eny tyme þeer be seyn eny fruyt þeerinne, ȝet it is þanne but as it weere feyned or unperfit, or in sum manere corrupt, so þat outher it may not plese God as it schulde do, or ellys it fully displesith him (6-11).	And if eny fruit ȝit semeþ in my lif, ouþer hit is y-feyned oþer hit \is/ so vnperfit and vnstable þat hit may nouȝt plese almyghty God, but greuouslich him disqueme (4-7).

[7] For more examples see: 'Namque diligenter discussa apparet mihi aut peccatum aut sterilitas fere tota vita mea'(4-5), U 3-5, Harley 2-3; 'Vae, quot peccata proruent ibi ex improviso quasi ex insidiis, quae modo non vides' (43-4), U 90-3, Harley 79-81; 'Quot quae non esse mala putas' (45), U 95, Harley 83-5.

Both convey the same meaning, but the difference in vocabulary and word order emphasises their separate identities as translations. In some cases, the difference is quite remarkable, especially when the Latin is straightforward and easy to translate, as in the following:

L	G	H
Denique si quid ago utile, prorsus nullatenus illud compenso alimentis corporis quibus abutor (12-13).	And verreiliche what profitable þing þat I do, outrely I acounte it nouȝt for to answere to þe sustynaunce of body þat I mysuse (22-25).	Furþermore, if ich do auȝt profitabul, ich ne hold hit nouȝt worþe þe sustynaunce of my body, þe which I forwaste (16-19).

In some cases, one of the translations will attempt to be concise, while the other is struggling with its verbose elaboration, both still translating the same Latin text and both conveying the same 'sense', just using two different ways of expressing it, for example:

L	G	H
An ut improvise irruant repentini dolores, ut subito ingruat intolerabilis tempestas? (59-60).	In pyne of þe whiche þeer schal þanne aryse withoute eny auysement so hastif sorwes and so wonderful woes, þat sodeynly of hem þere schal growe an vnsuffrable tempest (128-32).	For sodayne sorowes schold come vnwar; for vnsuffrable tempestes schold falle sodaynlich (118-21).

But the Latin source, at times, also presents several areas of difficulty for the translator, and with these two texts, we are given a range of readings

and misreadings of the Latin. Mistakes are usually in the form of words which have possibly been misread in the Latin source and thus translated incorrectly into English, sometimes without making any sense as here with the word *obliviscere*:

L	G	H
obliviscere superbum provocantem (84).	For3et now Ihesu þis proude trespassour(187-8).	Ihesu, Ihesu, for3yue to þe proude þat wraþþed þee (181-2).

These mistakes are more frequent in the Harley version, particularly mistakes of interpretation when the translator may not have fully comprehended the Latin text:

L	G	H
quot quae nunc esse bona credis, nudata facie apparebunt ibi nigerrima peccata (45-6).	How menye þow wenest now been gode, with open visage schullen þanne schewen hem to þe alther-derkest synnes? (96-8).	How manye, whiche þou wenest þat buþ nowe priuey, schul be open-lich y-knowe tofore al þe world with naked visage, blake and horrible synnes? (85-8).

It is obvious here that Harley has either taken the text to mean, at one level, that one's sins now hidden will be revealed (giving a different interpretation of *bona*); or that *bona* was omitted from the Latin exemplar.

There are also misreadings of this type present in the Group text. One example of this is:

L	G	H
Vae mirabilis duritia (52-3).	Cursed be þat wrecchede hard-nesse (114-15).	Alas, þe wonder-ful hardnysse of þine hert(106-7).

It seems possible that the translator took *mirabilis* for *miserabilis*, which would still have made sense. Or, perhaps, the translator thought that *miserabilis* made more sense and so replaced it? The Latin exemplar could also have been corrupt, reading *miserabilis* instead of *mirabilis*. In another example, though the readings of Harley and the Group differ in word order, note the difference in meaning probably due to the misreading of one word, *imminentis*:

L	G	H
Sed cur debeo de gravedine, de magnitudine im-minentis miseriae quidquam dis-simulando tacere et oculis animae meae furari? (58-9).	But wharto schal I feynyngly be stille and stele enyþing fro þe eyen of my soule of þe heuynesse and þe gretnesse of my wrecchede ȝouthe? (125-8).	But whi schal I passe ouere þe heuynesse and þe meschef þat is to-commyng and stele hem fro þe siȝt of my soule? (116-8).

That one word, *imminentis*, may have appeared to the translator or to a scribe copying the Latin, as *iuventis*, thus explaining the presence of the word *ȝouthe* and the absence of the word *to-commyng* in the Group translation.[8]

In the comparison of Harley and the Group against the Latin source, omissions in the English texts also

[8] In the variants for the Group at line 128, T has replaced 'ȝouthe' with 'þouȝt.' A mistake similar to this one was made in London, British Library, Cotton Galba E.IX in the text of 'The Pricke of Conscience' (Morris (1863), 7/250), where Galba E.IX has 'thoght,' and not 'yhouthe' as in the other manuscripts.

become apparent. There seem to be various reasons for omission depending on the circumstances of each case and the nature of the text omitted. In the first instance, the Group text has omitted a phrase found in both the Latin and in Harley:

L	G	H
Utique si est infructuosa, est et damnabilis (9-10).	------	If hit is barayne, hit is also dampnable (12-13).

This type of omission raises two possible questions: was this line omitted from the Latin text that ultimately became the source of the Group or, was this line omitted from the original Middle English exemplar after translation? The possibility of eye-skip in the Latin due to the repetition of *est et damnabilis*(8) and in the English due to the repetition of *dampnable* (Harley 12) does not help in answering our question. Likewise, the omissions in Harley of the following lines which are found in the Latin source and in the Group translation, could be caused by a corrupt Latin or Middle English exemplar:

L	G	H
ad ictum oculi (39).	to þe twynclynge of an ee (83).	------
ut nomen eius vociferer? (79).	þat I may crye on his naame? (178).	------

The next type of omission occurs when a phrase is found only in either the Harley or Group texts, but not in the Latin. In such cases, it would seem more sensible to suggest that these phrases had originated

in the Middle English translation. I argue this mainly because of the personal tone of these additions, which might reflect the ideas of the scribe or translator. Likewise, the fact that these additions occur only in one or the other of the English versions and not in the Latin seems to support this.

Two examples exist where the Group version has added the following phrases to its text, phrases which are not found in Harley or the Latin source: *And wel I may seie 'stynkynge in synne'* (30), and *3us, sikerly, 3us* (76-7). Fortunately, in the case of the Group, we can examine the variants in other manuscript copies of this particular translation, which reveal that not all the manuscripts are witness to these additions. Of course, it can be argued that these phrases originated in a Latin version which has not become part of the Latin textual tradition we have today, i.e. a text that has either not survived or has not yet been found or used in the critical edition by Schmitt. The above explanation can also be applied to the following phrases included in the Harley text and not in the Group or Latin texts: *Nay trewlich!* (67-8), and *al to þe last poynt from þi bigynnyng into þine ende* (73-4).

All of these examples should cast out any doubt that the Group text and the Harley text are two different, independent translations of the same,

initial Latin source. But this evidence still begs several questions: are these texts different because they were translated from differing or corrupt copies of the original Latin source, or did these versions derive from two different and corrupt English translations of the same Latin source?

While it is, from the above evidence, fairly obvious that Harley is an independent version, is it possible that we have here a direct translation from the Latin in the form of a unique text? One possible way of detecting this would be through an analysis of the corrections made to the text itself. Whether the corrector was the original scribe or someone else is debatable, but the corrector consistently uses a caret to signify deletion by erasure of a word and an idiosyncratic symbol (C) to signify addition of a needed word. For the most part, the corrections are made in the same hand, similar to that of the original scribe, but the more significant corrections are made in an awkward, heavier hand in a darker ink.

The majority of the corrections are minor additions of single letters to words at lines 1, 84, 102, 106, 111, and 135. But there are corrections which appear to be the type made to a translation of a text and not just a copy of a text, corrections of grammar and word choice. At line 5, the verb *is* has been marginally added after the pronoun *hit* where it is obviously needed to complete the sense. But this

correction could merely be one correcting a scribal error in copying the text from another Middle English exemplar. Similar corrections, which seem to be corrections of errors in copying occur at lines 32, 49, 112, 136, 178 and 193.

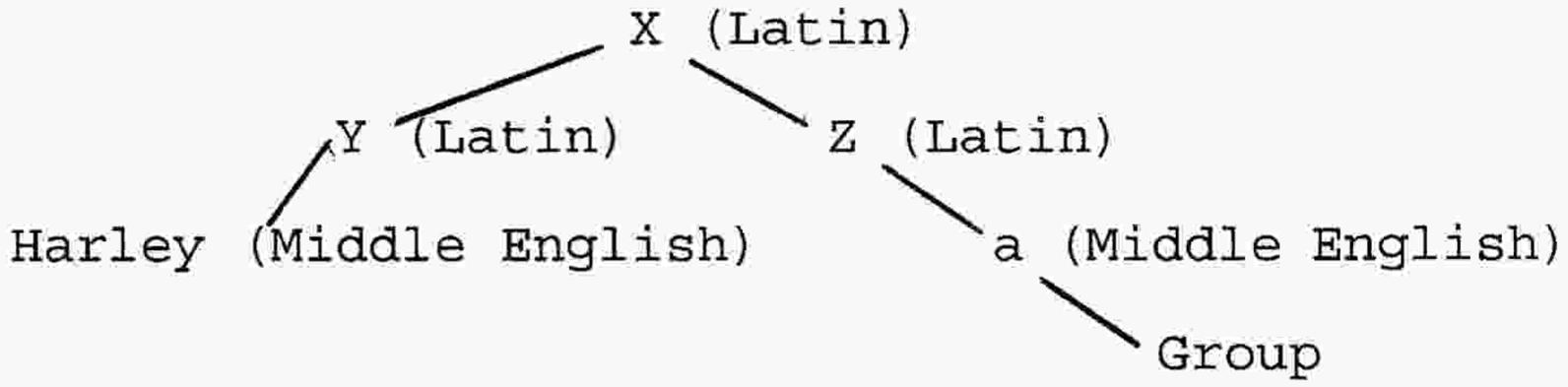
There are a few corrections which, when compared with the Latin, may support the suggestion that Harley is a direct translation of a Latin source. Line 36-7 has been corrected twice. The original sentence read, *for she mourneþ so muche as she auȝt*, which obviously deletes the negative of the Latin, *quia non tantum dolet quantum se noscit* (21-2). The first correction is made by changing the meaning of *tantum* by marking *so* for deletion and adding *as* above the line. The same hand returned to this correction, erased *as* and marginally added *nat* to come before *so*, thus correcting the sense to match the Latin text.

The most convincing evidence to support the idea that Harley is a direct translation of a Latin source is found at line 108. The original scribe had translated the Latin *ad quam confringendam leves sunt tam graves mallei* (53) as *þat so esye hamers and sleghes beþ liȝt to breke þine hert* (107-9). This did not make sense, and it seems possible that either the scribe while he was translating, confused the two adjectives, *leves* and *graves*, or that there was an error in the Latin source from which he was working. The corrector realised that this did not make sense

and, returning to the Latin text, added *to* before *li3t*, the *tam* of the Latin. But the sense was still not accurate and another corrector, perhaps returning to the Latin again, realised that the adjective *graves* was needed to modify *hamers* and so added *heuy* in the margin to replace *esye*.

Finally, there is also an error in the text which was marked in the margin for deletion and addition, but the correction was never made. At lines 147-8, the text reads *In me nys nou3t þat þee may suffre in al me*. Looking at the Latin, it is obvious that the first *in me* was cut off from the preceeding line, the rest of which was omitted in Harley: *Ira omnipotentis, ubi poteris capi in me? Non est quod te possit tolerare in tota me* (70-1). This instance suggests two possibilities. First, that the translator fell victim to *eyeskip*, skipping down from the *me* of the preceeding line to the end of the next line, omitting *Ira omnipotentis, ubi poteris capi*. But if a corrector realised this and the text existed in the Latin, why was it not corrected? The second and more likely possibility is that *Ira omnipotentis, ubi poteris capi* was missing from the Latin text being translated. The corrector, reading the text, realised that it did not make sense and marked it for correction. Upon returning to the Latin, the text was shown to be lacking and so with no suitable addition, the correction was never made.

Though this evidence is not conclusive, I believe it adequate enough to suggest that this text is indeed a unique translation of 'The Meditation of St Anselm' and the following stemma should clearly illustrate the relationship between the Harley and Group texts:



ISOLATIVE ERROR

Based on the following analysis of isolative errors in each manuscript of the Group collated for 'The Meditation of St Anselm,' no one extant manuscript is directly descended from another. There are two distinct subgroups of manuscripts within the Group, US and LLmTEHTkA, as well as a subgroup within the latter, EH.[9] They are discussed in the following order USLLmTEHTkA:

U: 107 *yueles*, al. *meny yueles*, lat. multa mala(50); 108 *muthe*, al. *muche*, lat. multum(50); 122 *euere euere*, al. *euer*. As my base text, U is a good copy of the text with very few errors.

S: 47 om., al. *ri3t*, lat. velut(22); 116 *and*, al. *a*, lat. O(53); 153-4 om., al. *falle...almy3ty*, lat. ne irruas super me! Ira omnipotentis(70); 211 *þi large bosum*, al. *þe broode bosum*, lat. latissimum...sinum (94-5). S is a very good copy of the text, with few errors, and is very close to U.

[9] See also Martin ((1978), i.253-9) for his analysis of the manuscript relationships, the conclusions reached here differ little from his, though again they are based more on the shared errors of the witnesses as opposed to their shared variants.

L: 4 *to*, al. *to me*, lat. mihi(4); 15 *dampnable*, al. *despisable*, lat. contemptibilis(8-9); 15-16 om., al. *but...dampnable*, lat. Sed quid separo infructuosam a dampnabili?(9); 17 *God*, USLMTEHTk *treuthe*, A *Crist*, lat. veritas(10).[10] L is a reliable text with a few errors consisting mostly of omissions, possibly attributable to eyeskip.

Lm: 23-4, *acountid not good fruyt*, al. *acounte it nouȝt*, lat. nullatenus(12); 35 *man*, al. *no man*, lat. non hominem(17); 44 *synfully*, al. *wondirful*, lat. mirabilis(21); 67 *better sins*, al. *bitter sins*, lat. amara peccata(32).[11] Lm is somewhat less reliable than L, having several careless errors, due possibly to the misinterpretation of an exemplar and there is even an error of partial repetition which was never corrected: 213 *moost desira desirable*, al. *moost desirable*, lat. desideratissime(96).

T: 128 *þouȝt*, al. *ȝouthe*, lat. imminentis(58); 151-2 om., al. *to...do*, lat. cui feci, quam male feci!(69-70). T is a very good, reliable copy and has very few errors.

E: 63-4 om., al. *wheer...tree*, lat. ubi sunt fructus tui? Arbor(30); 86 *founden of yuel in werk*, US *founden of werk*, LLmTH *founden in þe of werk*, lat. inventum in te operis(41); 189-90 om., al. *thy sweete naame*, lat. Nomen dulce(85). E does not have many errors, but is not a very reliable copy because of the number alterations, omissions and additions it shares with H.

H: 54 *a daie of trompe and claronynge a day of myst and of derkenesse a day of cloude and of whirlewynd*, al. *a day of myst and of derkenesse a day of cloude and of whirlewynd a day of trumpe and of clarionynge*, lat. dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis, dies tubae et clangoris(25-6); 118 *fere*, al. *stire*, lat. concitandum(54); 120 *a hors*, USLmT *is to hoos*, LETk *is to hoors*, Lat. raucum(55). H has more careless errors than E, but because of the numerous variants it shares with E, it is also an unreliable copy of the text.[12]

Tk: 4 om., al. *outher*, lat. aut(4); 17 *vnfruytfulle a certeine*, al. *certeyn*, lat. enim(10); 42 *al þou vnkepe*, al. *al weepe*, lat. tota se ploret(20); 52

[10] For more errors in L, see variants for lines 49-50, 64, 133, 142, 165-6, 186, 190, 194, 196.

[11] For more errors in Lm see lines 171-2, 173, 179, 210.

[12] For more errors in H see lines 8, 42 and 43.

waþe, al. *wrath*, lat. irae(24); 99 om., al. *doubt*, lat. dubio(46); 176 om., al. *þe aungel*, lat. angelus(79).[13] Tk has numerous errors, some particularly careless ones, and frequent omissions of text as well. For these reasons it is not a very faithful copy of the text.

A: 41 om., al. *a þow synnere*, lat. o peccator(19); 57-8 om., al. *þe dreedful day of*, lat. diei(27); 75-7 om., al. *þat...ȝus*, lat. nonne omne peccatum per praevaricationem deum exhonorat?(35); 109 om., al. *vnprofitable*, lat. Inutilis(51); 166-7 om., al. *thus...me*, lat. Constrictus ubi latebo, quomodo parebo?(75). A is highly unreliable, with several errors, misreadings, and omissions, but its scribe has made many more additions and changes to the text.[14]

GROUP ERROR

It has been previously stated that the Group falls into two distinct subgroups, US and LLmTEHTkA, with the pair of EH within the latter subgroup. The following examples will show that, due to the shared errors in US, LLmTEHTkA cannot be derived from US.[15]

51 US(A) *and*, LLmTTk *þe grete day of oure Lord it is ful nyȝ*, EH *þe grete day of þe Lorde (add. it H) is ful nyȝ*, lat. Iuxta est dies domini magnus(24).

72 US *eny*, LLmTEH *sum*, A *þi*, Tk om., lat. aliquod(34).

74 US *heelde*, LLmTEHA *wolde holde*, Tk om., lat. existimaret(34).

85 US *thanne*, LLmTEH *thanne sobly*, lat. Tunc quippe (40).

[13] For more errors in Tk see the long omissions at lines 30-4, 46-51, 67-90 and 132-6, see also: 7, 9, 11, 26, 44, 61-2, 63, 98, 115, 116, 140, 150, 162, 179, 184-5, 186-7, 202, 206.

[14] For changes in the text in A see lines 22-5, 26-34, 42-3, 51, 58, 60-2, 63-4, 77-9, 81-3, 85-90, 93-103, 113-15, 116-17, 119-20, 122-5, 127-36, 137-8, 141-50, 151, 157-8, 164-5, 187-8, 189, 191-2, 200-1, 206-8, 209-10, 210-11, 214-15, 216-18. For more on the scribe's habits of interpolation, see Connolly (1994), 55-64.

[15] When manuscripts, particularly A or Tk, have either omitted or changed the portion of the text being discussed, their readings are considered irrelevant and not included in the examples.

86 US *founden of werk*, LLmTH *founden in þe of werk*, E *founden of yuel in werk*, lat. fuerit inventum in te operis(41).

165-6 US *biseged, where schal he holde hym*, LmTTk *enseged in what partye schal he holde hym*, EH *ensegid of (on H) what party maist þou draw or hold þe*, A *bysegyd where schal he hyde hym*, L om., lat. peccator sic deprehensus in quam partem se premet?(74-5).

174-5 US *Where schal I haue helthe? Where schal I haue counseyl?*, LmTEHTk *where schal I haue counseil where schal I haue helþe (help EH)*, L *where schal I haue helthe*, A *where schal I haue counsel*, lat. Unde mihi consilium, unde salus?(78).

As can be seen in these examples, US have many shared errors, but LLmTEHTkA, especially LLmT, are much closer to the Latin source. But equally, though US are more inaccurate, they lack the following errors found in LLmTEHTkA:

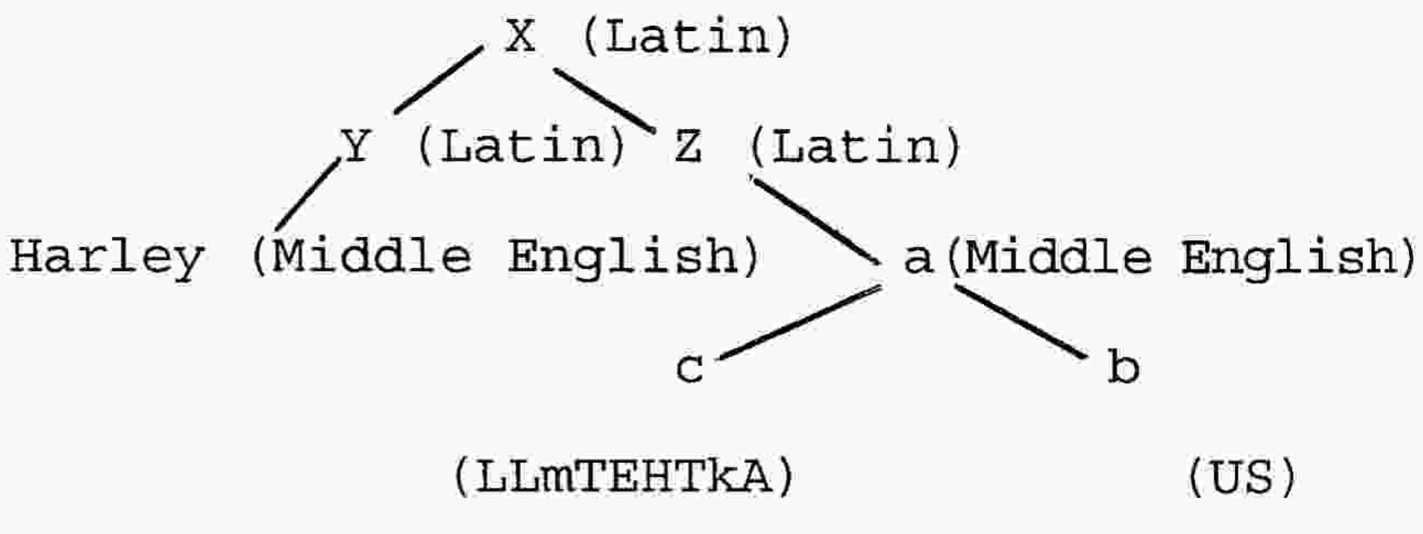
70-1 US *and so schulden þei waxe to þe so bittre, þat þei schulden vanyssche awey*, LLmT *and wolde God þat þei wolde wexe so bitter þat þou woldist spit hem awey*, EH *and wold God þat þei wold wex so bitter in þe þat þou woldist spit hem from þe*, A *and wold God þat þei might wex so bitter in þe þat þou alle way \miȝte/ spete þem owte fro þe*, lat. Quae utinam sic te paenitendo pungerent ut confringerentur, sic amarescerent ut evanescerent(32-3).

78 US *for to vnworschipe God*, LH *whanne it vnworchipiþ God*, LmT *whanne to vnworschipe God*, E *whan he vnworschipe God*, A *when it is contrary to þe plesure of God*, lat. Deum enim exhonorare(36).

164 US *Vnnethes, þe riȝtwys shal bee saued*, LLmT *vnnethes and of hard þe riȝtwis man shal bee saued*, Tk *vnnethes and of hard a riȝtful man shal be saued*, A *þat ful vnnethe and of harde þe riȝtwis man shal bee saued*, EH *vnnethes þan þe riȝtwys man shal bee saued*, lat. Iustus vix salvabitur(74).

Based on these group errors which separate LLmTEHTkA and US, I would argue that these 2 subgroups are derived from separate exemplars which ultimately descended from the same translation of the Latin

source:



From looking at the shared errors between U and S, it is obvious that they are quite closely related, close enough to suggest that they shared the same exemplar. Because of the nature of some of the isolative variants in each, particularly the omission at lines 153-4 in S and the minor omission at line 107 in U, it is probable that neither one is a direct copy of the other.[16]

There are only a few shared errors amongst LLmTEHTkA and they reveal little about the relationships within this group, though there is sufficient evidence for the existence of a closer tie between E and H. Looking at the few shared errors within LLmTEHTkA and those shared between members of this group and the US subgroup, we find many more intricate relationships which would make a stemma very difficult to devise, each shared error suggesting a unique and puzzling relationship. In the scriptural quotation at lines 18-20, *Omnis arbor que non facit*

[16] See also Martin ((1978), i.255-58) where he asserts that 'S may well be a faithful copy of U' while also suggesting their sharing of the same exemplar.

fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur, USTkA have written *qui* where *que* is the correct form. In US this was possibly in erroneous reading in their exemplar, which was not corrected by either scribe. But how did it come about in Tk and A ? It could have been a coincidental error in both or it may have been passed along through the subgroup's archetype from which Tk and A copied, and then corrected in a later generation from which LLmTEH descended. As this error comes from a familiar scriptural quotation, independent correction could be possible, suggesting that the error may have been passed down to the subgroup's archetype, not corrected in Tk and A, but independently corrected by the scribes of LLmTEH.

A stronger case can be made for the following shared error, though it creates some puzzling implications. The sentence *And wel I may seie 'stynkynge in synne'* at line 30, is not found in the Latin source or in SLEHTk, but it is included in ULmT (A has a different reading from lines 26-34). This omission could be attributed to eyeskip (*stynkynge in synne* ending the preceeding line), or may have been consciously omitted by a scribe who had access to the Latin. Because U retains this sentence, one could reasonably deduce that it was present in the exemplar it probably shared with S. And similarly, because it is found in LmT, one could believe that it probably existed in this subgroup's archetype. While it seems

feasible that the omission in S was caused by eyeskip, the presence of the omission in LmT might suggest that these two are more closely related to US than the rest of their subgroup, or at least more closely related to each other.

Another agreement in error connects S to the subgroup LLmTEHTkA. The Latin reading *Sed heu me, nonne omne peccatum per praevaricationem deum exhonorat?* (34-5) has been changed from a question into a statement in SLHA, *But allas, it is not so þat alle synne, by brekynge of Goddes heestes, vnworschipeth God* (74-6), where all the other manuscripts read *But allas, is it not so þat alle synne, by brekynge of Goddes heestes, vnworschipeth God?* Because this seems to be a minor error in word order, it is possible that it occurred coincidentally in S, as well as in L, H and A. It also may be that such an error was present in the archetype and passed down separately to SLHA, but corrected either in the exemplars for ULmTE or independently corrected by the scribes of ULmTE. Again, because of the numerous alternatives, it is difficult to give credence to any of these suggestions.

A possible textual relationship between E, H and A may exist, though like the previous examples, the evidence is very slim. At line 121, the Latin *satis* (56), is omitted in EHA though it is found in USLLmTTk as *ynouȝ*. Because the majority of manuscripts contain

this reading, it can be supposed that it was found in the original archetype. Though *ynou3* may accidentally have been omitted in A, the following evidence should be sufficient to suggest that this omission was probably present in an exemplar shared by E and H.

Such scattered evidence as that discussed above gives us little hope in establishing any familial bonds between these manuscripts. Apart from the separation of the US and LLmTEHTkA subgroups, there is only one pair within the latter subgroup which demands closer inspection. As it has been stated before, E and H each have isolative errors which makes it highly unlikely that either one is the source of the other. However, E and H share over one hundred variant readings, including 31 errors. Some of these variants appear to be merely reworkings of the text, but when compared to the Latin, a substantial number of them actually alter the meaning of the text and support the assertion that E and H probably shared the same exemplar.

I will not attempt an exhaustive survey of all the shared errors here, but give examples of errors which are characteristic. While some of the deletions and alterations in EH are inexplicable, many are not. For example, the deletion of lines 18-20, including the Latin scriptural quotation, may have been deliberately made by a scribe for a non-Latin reading audience. Such an argument can be supported by the

fact that in another text in H, 'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday,' the Latin quotations have also been omitted.[17] The omission at lines 101-2 in EH may also be explained by the possibility of scribal eyeskip where *Thanne as now, schal no(t)* is repeated twice. The shared omissions at lines 27, 44 and 209-10 are inexplicable and seem to be careless error. Unlike these omissions, additions to the text in EH are minimal and of little significance, consisting mostly of an added adjective as at lines 62 and 149, or a further explanatory phrase like those at lines 99 and 106-8.[18]

Alterations made to the text in EH take the form of minor changes as simple as the replacement of a pronoun in the first person to one in the second as at lines 40 and 166-7. There are numerous changes in prepositions and pronouns, interrogatives and articles which slightly alter the text in such a way as to suggestion a conscious effort on the part of the scribe to change his text.[19]

The longer alterations may provide us with more information about the scribe's intentions, while further illustrating the close relationship between E and H. Some of these longer revisions to the text add

[17] See the introduction to the 'Three Arrows', ii.439-67.

[18] See also lines 46, 194, 204.

[19] See also lines 28, 67, 79, 98, 100, 135, 213-14.

a stronger penitential tone to the language as the following comparisons with U show:

106-8 U: *make muche ioye. 3ef þei been [meny] yueles and fewe goodes, make mu[c]he sorwe*

EH: *þat þou ne haste after þi (add. cunnynge and E) power amendid hem þou haste þan grete cause to ioy but loke þi ioy be temperid with drede and if þou perseyuest in þe many yuels and fewe goodis þou haste cause of myche (add. sorowe H) but of Goddis mercy dispeyre þou not*

153 U: *falle þow not vpon me!*

EH: *I haue deseruyd þat it fall vpon me o good God þi mercy let it fall vpon me*

195-6 U: *Thow þat bou3test me, lat me not be dampned*

EH: *Ihesu accepte my wil þough my wordis be lewid for I knowleche in trewth þat I neuer (neiþer H) can ne may inclepe þin help neiþer deserue to haue it but of þi speciall grace but for I can not as I shulde I recommaunde me to þi merci Ihesu þou þat boughtist me haue mynde of þi price and departe it fro þe deuel and let it neuer be dampned* [20]

It is a shame that E and H share no other texts between them, for it would be interesting to see if their relationship extended beyond this text, and such evidence would give further support to their relationship. The argument that E and H may have used the same exemplar is further supported by the fact that each one has few isolative errors (3 in E, 6 in H). As to which line of descent this exemplar came from is debatable; either from a copy of the LLmTEHTkA subgroup or directly from the main archetype. As for the rest of the manuscripts in the LLmTEHTkA subgroup, there is frustratingly little evidence to suggest any

[20] See also lines 95, 137-8, 164-6, 180-1, 184-5, 188-9.

other relationships, and we can only reconfirm the separation of the two larger subgroups (US and LLmTEHTkA) and the pair (EH) within the LLmTEHTkA subgroup.

THE MEDITATION OF ST ANSELM

Heere is a good meditacion the which seynt Anselme maade. f. 155v

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. And ȝef eny tyme þeer be seyn eny fruyt þeerinne, ȝet it is þanne but as it weere feyned or unperfit, or in sum ma-/-nere f. 156r corrupt, so þat outher it may not plese God as it schulde do, or ellys it fully displesith him. Therfore now, þow synful wrecche, þi lif, not wel neigh al but fulliche al, outher it is in synne *and* dampnable, or it is vnfruytful *and* despisable. But wharto make I departesun

USLLmTEHTkA

1 heere...maade(2)] here biginneþ a meditacioun of seynt Anselme L, here bigynneþ a meditacoun of seynt Ancelm Lm, here bigynneþ þe meditaciones (meditacioun HTk) of seynt Ancelme EHTk, s. Austine is seynge A, *om.* T 3 my] o my Tk soore] so sore H whan... it(4)] I serche it bisely E 4 bisyli...it(4)] serche it bisely H me] *om.* L outher synne(5)] oþer *in* synne LLmEH, synne Tk 5 wel nygh] durynge A 6 eny] *corr.* L þeer] eny fruyt EH be seyn] hathe ben þat A eny fruyt] *om.* EH 7 þeerinne] hathe be founde þerin A it is] *rev.* S, is Tk þanne] *om.* A but] *om.* EHTk it weere] *om.* EH 8 or] *and* H unperfit] *on eras. corr.* A sum] *canc.* A 9 outher] *om.* Tk may] may be Tk 10 as] purely as A do] *om.* EH or] eiþer Tk it fully] *rev.* Tk 11 displesith] it displesiþ L him] *om.* Tk 12 þi...synne(13)] thynke þat þi lyf felethe nought for it is synfull A þi...not] not þi luf Lm 15 despisable] dampnable L but...dampnable(16)] *om.* L but...departesun] but þen where for make y a departeson A departesun] a departinge Tk

bitwene vnfruytful and dampnable? For it is certeyn *and* trewe þat treuthe seyde himself in þe gospel: Omnis arbor qu[e] non facit fructum bonum excidetur et in ignem mittetur. That is to seyn, 'Euery tree þat bereth not good fruyt, schal be kut doun and cast into þe fuyr.' And verreiliche what profitable þing þat I do, outrely I acounte it nouȝt for to answere to þe sustynaunce of body þat I mysuse. But who fedith eny beest þe whiche profiteth not as muche as it wasteth? And ȝet, neuerthelees, mercyful God, þow norisschest, fedist and abidist þin vnprofitable worm, and stynkynge in synne. And wel I may seie 'stynkynge in synne,' for withoute comparisun moore suffrable is a roten hound to men, þan is a synful soule to God; and muche moore wlatsum is such a soule to God, þan is such an hound to men. Allas,

16 bitwene] bitwix LmT 17 certeyn] vnfruytfulle a certeine Tk treuthe] God L, Crist A seyde] seyth HA himself] *om.* A 18 in...seyn(20)] *om.* EH que] qui USTkA 20 to seyn] *om.* LLm 21 bereth] makith ETk not] no LA schal] it schal TA 22 into] in L þe] *om.* H and... mysuse(25)] alas gode Lorde what bethe \the/ frutis þat y brynge forthe to þe truly none in compareson but syn *and* wrecchidnes alle my lif is none oþer A and] *om.* EH 23 outrely] *om.* ETk acounte... nouȝt(24)] acountid not good fruyt Lm 24 nouȝt] at nouȝt E, as nouȝt Tk, it att nouȝt H 25 body] my body Tk but] for whi Tk, for A who] who is he þat Tk 26 þe...men(34)] *see appended variants* A it] *om.* Tk 27 wasteth] schalle waste Tk, coste E, costiþ H and...neuerthelees] *om.* EH mercyful] o mercyful EH 28 fedist] and fedist E þin] an E, a H 30 and...synne] *om.* SLEHTk for...men(34)] *om.* Tk 32 to] vnto T is] *om.* E to^{2}] vnto T 33 wlatsum] lathesome E 34 is] *om.* H

allas, now may I clepe þe no man, but schame *and* repreue of al men, moore vile þan a beste and worse þan a careyne.

My soule is soore anoyed of my lif; I am soore aschamed for to lyue, and dye dar I not. **T**herfore, what schalt þou now doo? [**A**] þow synnere, **c**ertes nou3t but al þi lyf þow wepe al þi lif, **s**o þat it al weepe it al. **B**ut 3et, in þis also is þi synful soule wrecchidly wondirful and wonderfully wrecchede, **b**ycause þat it sorweth not so muche as it knoweth þat hit / schulde, **b**ut þus it slepeth siker in slouthe, ri3t as it knewe not what it were worthy to suffre. f. 156ᵛ

What dost þow, þou bareyne soule? **W**hi art þou so slough, þow synful soule? **Þ**e day of þi doom cometh. **I**t is ri3t nei3 and

35 clepe þe] sey y *am* A no] *om.* Lm 36 al] *corr.* T vile] fouler Tk 37 and] *om.* H a] *om.* EH 38 soule] *twice, 1st canc.* Tk 39 for] *om.* Tk 40 I] þou EH þou] y A now doo] *rev.* H now] *om.* L 41 a...synnere] *om.* A a] and U, *om.* LHTk nou3t] no Tk but al] but þat al UTEA, but alle þat Tk, but \þat/ al S 42 þow...þi(43)] at dyuerse tymys þou wepe tille þat alle þi synnys be for3eue an þat shalle be at þi last \end/ and so longe þou muste so contynw *and* then þou shalt haue a precius rewarde for þi A it] *corr.* Lm, *eras.* T al weepe] al þou vnkepe Tk al] *om.* H 43 also] *om.* H 44 wrecchidly...and] *om.* EH wrecchidly] is wrecchydly A wondirful] synfully Lm, wondirfully Tk 45 so] as A 46 þat] or myght know þat EH, *om.* A but...cometh(51)] *om.* Tk but þus(47)] for þi EH but...as(47)] and \it/ slepethe in sleuthe as thowe A 47 ri3t] *om.* S 48 it] þat it L were] is E 49 dost] thynkest A þou] þan EH, now Lm, *om.* L whi...soule(50)] *om.* L whi] and why A 50 slough] slowe to do gode dedus A þow] *om.* EH 51 þi] *om.* EH it...ri3t] fast apon þe it is fulle A ri3t] *om.* Tk and] þe grete day of oure Lord it is ful ny3 LLmTTk, þe grete day of þe Lorde (*add.* it H) is ful ny3 EH

swift in his comynge. **A** day of wrath is þat day; **a** day of trouble *and* of anguyssch, **a** day of caare and of wrecchednesse, **a** day of myst and of derkenesse, **a** day of cloude and of whirlewynd, **a** day of trumpe *and* of clarionynge. **A**, þat bitter voys of þe dreedful day of oure Lord! **W**hi slepist þou, þow synful soule and worthy to be wlated, whi slepist þow? **F**or who so waketh not *and* who so quaketh not at so greet a þunder, certes he slepeth not, but he is deed.

Thow vnfruytful tree, wheer been þi fruytes? **T**how tree þat art worthy an ax *and* a fuyr, worthy to be kut and brent, wheere been þi fruytes? **S**othly þow hast nouȝt but prikkynge þornes and bitter synnes, **þ**e whiche wolde God þat þei prikkaden þee so

52 in his] *om.* Lm a...a(53)] þat is þe day of wrethe þe A wrath] waþe Tk is] it is H
53 of] *om.* H a²] þe A 54 of] *om.* H a] þe A, a daie of trompe and claronynge a H 55 a] þe A cloude] cloudis A 56 whirlewynd] whorelle wyndis A a...clarionynge(57)] *om.* H a] þe A trumpe] trum*m*petis A 57 clarionynge] clarnoris A bitter] sharpe *and* kene A þe...of(58)] *om.* A þe] þat EH
58 oure] þe EH whi...þou] *see appended variants* A
59 þow] *om.* LEH wlated] lathyd E, dam*m*pnyd A
60 whi...deed(62)] for he þat bereth not þis dredeful voyce daly in remembrans in his mynd bi contynwans of his lif truly þen it may be sayde a slepethe not but þat he is dede fro þe life of euerlastynge ioy A
for] *om.* EH who so] hose S 61 who so] hose S at...not(62)] *twice* Tk 62 is] lyuynge is EH
63 thow...fruytes(64)] therfor þou vnfruteful tre where bethe þe gode frutis þat þou bringgiste furthe A wheer...tree(64)] *om.* E þi] þey Tk 64 þat] þou H art] were L worthy] *corr.* E an] *and* A
65 a...kut] to be cast into þe fyre A a] *om.* H
66 sothly...nouȝt] truly þei bethe no noþer A
sothly] certis Tk 67 and] þat is EH bitter] better Lm þe...God(90)] *om.* Tk 68 wolde...þat] þat wolde God A þat] *om.* A

soore by forthenkynge, þat þei weren broke;
and so schulden þei waxe to þe so bittre,
þat þei schulden vanyssche awey. Per-
auenture þow wenest þat eny synne be luytel?
But wolde God þat þe streyte Doomesman
heelde eny synne luytel! But allas, is it
not so þat alle synne, by brekynge of Goddes
heestes, vnworschipeth God? 3us, sikerly
3us. What synne þanne dar eny synnere seie
þat is luytel? For to vnworschipe God,
whanne is þat luytel?

A, þow druye and vnprofitable tree
worthy to euerlastyng fuyr. What schalt þou
answere in þilke day, whan it schal been
asked of þee to þe twynclynge of an ee alle

69 by] þorough EH forthenkynge] fore contricoun and repentans A broke] alto brokyn A, broke in þe EH 70 and...awey(71)] *and* wolde God þat þei wolde wexe so bitter þat þou woldist spit hem (*add.* ou3t, *canc.* L) awey LLmT, and wold God þat þei wold wex so bitter in þe þat þou woldist spit hem from þe EH, and wold God þat þei might wex so bitter in þe þat þou alle way \mi3te/ spete þem owte fro þe A
72 wenest] woldest Lm, gessist EH eny] sum LLmTEH, þi A be luytel] alle way \be/ but litulle A
73 þat] *om.* LLmTA 74 heelde] wolde holde LLmTEHA eny] euery Lm is it] *rev.* SLHA 75 þat...3us (77)] *om.* A brekynge] þe brekynge L Goddes heestes(76)] þe heste of God LLmTH 77 3us] *om.* S what...luytel(79)] how may a synner sey þat any synne is litulle when it is contrary to þe plesure of God A þanne...eny] dar þanne a L þanne] þerfore T eny] a LmTEH 78 þat] *om.* EH is] it is L for to] for forte S, whanne it LH, whanne to LmT, whan he E vnworschipe] vnworchipiþ LEH 79 whanne...þat] how is it E, how it is H, whane it is L þat] it T, *om.* Lm 80 and] tre *and* LLmTEHA tree] *om.* LLmTEHA 81 worthy to] and worþi A schalt...to (83)] aunswere wilte þou geue in þat dredefulle day for *with* A 82 answere] *corr.* E þilke] þat LLmTEH 83 to] at EH an] *and* A alle... þe²(84)] þou shalte be callyd to aunswere for alle þi daijs A

þe tyme of lyuynge ȝeuen to þe, how þou hast dispended it? Thanne / it schal be dampned f. 157r in þe whatsoeuer may be founden of werk or of slouthe, of woord or of sylence to þe leeste þouȝt; ȝe and of alle þat þow hast i-lyued, ȝef it haue not be dressed to þe wil of God. **A**llas, how meny synnes schullen breste vp þeere without warnynge, as it were enemyes liggynge in a wait, þe whiche þow seest not now? **C**ertes fer moo, *and* happily moore grysly, þan been þilke þat þou seest now. How menye þow wenest been not þuele? **How** menye þow wenest now been gode, with open visage schullen þanne schewen hem to þe altherderkest synnes? Theere, withouten doute, þou schalt receyue as þow hast wrouȝt heere with þi body. Thanne as now, schal

84 lyuynge...þe] þi life EH þou] *om.* E 85 dispended] spen *canc.*, dispendit L, spende A thanne ...God(90)] for in lesse þen þou kepe the clene whyle þou art here alle þat euer may be founde in þe at þat dredefulle daye shalle turne to þi confusion with out any mercy A it[2]] soþly it LLmTEH 86 of] *in* þe of LLmTH werk] yuel in werk E 87 slouthe] *eras.*, *margin corr. illeg.* L woord] speche EH þe] þee U 88 and...þat] also more nyȝ þat LLmT, also more nyghe þan EH 90 schullen] þer wille aryse *and* A 91 breste] berste S vp] out E without warnynge] unwarned E, without any warnynge A 92 liggynge] *corr.* Lm þe] *om.* EH 93 seest] knowest EH not ...suffred(103)] *see appended variants* A now] how Lm fer] *om.* E, fe\l/ L 94 grysly] ferful LLmTEHTk been þilke] *rev.* S þilke] þies synnes EH, þese LLmTTk seest] knowest EH, seest þe Tk 95 þow...þuele] synnes þou gessist now bene not in charge EH been] be S 96 how] ȝhe how Tk þow...been] dedis (*add.* þou E) gessist now be EH now been] *rev.* Tk with...visage(97)] openly EH 98 altherderkest] most derkest LLmTk, moste derk EH, derkeste T theere] for EH, þre Tk 99 doute] *om.* Tk as] þere *in* body *and* soule as EH hast] *om.* H 100 heere...þi] hem in EH with] in LLmTTk thanne...now] for þanne as nowe is Tk

not be tyme of mercy. **T**hanne as now, schal no forthenkynge be receyued, ne eny amendement suffred. Thenk þerfore heere, what þow art worthy to receyue þeere, and what þow hast doo. 3ef þei been meny goodes and fewe yueles, make muche ioye. 3ef þei been [meny] yueles and fewe goodes, make mu[c]he sorwe.

A thow vnp*ro*fitable synnere! **W**hethir þise thynges suffice not to þee for to make in þe hidous and greet gronyng in sorwe? **W**hether þise þinges suffice not to þee for to drawe out of þee mergh and blood in wepynges? **C**ursed be þat wrecchede hardnesse, þe whiche þus heuy hameres been to li3te for to breke! **A** þat ouer-dulled slouthe, þe whiche þus scharpe prikkes been

101 be...no(102)] *om.* EH thanne...now] neiþer þanne as nowe is Tk 102 no] not L 104 art ...to] shalte A 105 what...doo] *om.* A þei... goodes] þou through Goddis grace fyndest in þe many goodis EH goodes] gode dedis A 106 þei] þe*r* L yueles] eville A make...sorwe(108)] þat þou ne haste afte*r* þi (*add.* cunn*y*nge *and* E) power amendid hem þou haste þa*n* grete cause to ioy but loke þi ioy be tempe*r*id *with* drede and if þou pe*r*seyuest in þe many yuels *and* fewe goodis þou haste cause of myche (*add.* sorowe H) but of Goddis me*r*cy dipeyre þou not EH 3ef] and if A 107 meny] *om.* U yueles] eville A goodes] gode A 108 muche] muthe U 109 vnp*ro*fitable] wrechid EH, *om.* A whethir... thynges(110)] where þes warny*n*ge*s* A 110 for] *om.* EH 111 in...greet] *om.* A hidous] hydosnesse Tk gronyng] gronynges L gronyng in] *om.* EH in[2]] *and* ATk 112 whethir] and where A for] *om.* EHTk 113 out...heuy(115)] fro myrthe *and* lerne to dye for cu*r*sed be þat grose *and* hevy sy*n*nis þat þes A mergh] merþe T 114 wepynges] wepyng H 115 hard-nesse] hardynesse H þe] *om.* EH þus] þat L hameres] *om.* Tk 116 for...þus(117)] to bete downe and cu*r*syd be þat dede sleuthe þat þes A **a**] and S dulled] dwelled Tk 117 þe] *om.* LmEH whiche þus] þese H þus] þe þus Lm

to blunte for to stire! **A**llas, for sorwe of þat deede slepe, þe which so grisly a þunder is to hoos for to wakene! **A** þow vnpro-fitable synnere, ynouȝ þise thynges schulden bee to þee euere / for to contynewe in way- f. 157ᵛ mentynge! **T**hise þinges oughten to suffice þee euermoore to sobbe bisyly in wepynges.

But wharto schal I feynyngly be stille and stele enyþing fro þe eyen of my soule of þe heuynesse and þe gretnesse of my wrecchede ȝouthe? **I**n pyne of þe whiche þeer schal þanne aryse withoute eny auysement so hastif sorwes *and* so wonderful woes, þat sodeynly of hem þere schal growe an vnsuffrable tempest. **C**eertes, þow wykkede synnere, al þis spedeth not to þee. **A**nd,

118 for...stire] to awake up A stire] fere H allas] allas allas L 119 þe...wakene(120)] for þe whiche þis thunder is ordeynyd to awake A þe] *om.* EH which] which is H so...þundir] þus ferful þondir L, þus ferdful a þundir LmTk grisly] feerful T, ferdeful EH 120 is...hoos] a hors H hoos] hoors LETk to²] *om.* L vnprofitable(121)] caitife EH 121 ynouȝ] *om.* EHA 122 to...but (125)] \y/nowe to þe to put þe in remembrance to wayle *and* sorowe \for/ þi synnis alas þen A euere] euere // euere U, cause euer EH for] *om.* E waymentynge(123)] sorwe LLmTEHTk 123 thise] and thise EH to...þee(124)] for to suffice to þee LmTEH, to suffice to þe LTk 124 euermore to] euere for to Tk to] for to T bisyly] *om.* LmTk wepynges] wepyng LLmTH 125 schal] shulde A feynyngly be] *rev.* A be] *om.* Lm 126 and] to A 127 of...and(136)] for þe lest thought þat is in my hart is as opyn to þe sight of God as is þe sonne when a shineþe moste clereste to þe y of a man A þe²] *om.* EH 128 ȝouthe] þouȝt T pyne] þe peyne Lm þe] *om.* H þeer] þere þe, þe *canc.* Lm 129 þanne] *om.* EH aryse] rese LmH eny] *om.* E 130 hastif] hastely EH so] *om.* LEH 132 ceertes ...and(136)] *om.* Tk wykkede] wrechid EH 133 þis] þese H spedeth] spe\k/iþ L to] *om.* L

nathelees, þou3 I seie al þat I may þenke,
3et may it not be lykned to þat þat þe þing
is in itself. **A**nd þerfore, let þin eyen
weep by day *and* by ny3t and neuere to be
stille. **P**ut to wei3te vpon wei3te *and* sorwe
vpon sorwe, **f**erdnesse vpon feerdnesse and
woo vpon woo. **F**or he schal deeme þee, to
whom it falleth to punysche what þat eny
trespassour or inobedient to God synneth; **þ**e
whiche hath 3olde me good for euell, and to
whom I 3elde yuel for good; **t**he whiche is
now þe mooste suffrynge, and þanne schal be
þe mooste vengynge; **now** þe mooste mercyful,
þanne þe mooste ri3tful.

Allas, allas, to whom haue I synned?
God I haue vnworschiped! **T**hee almy3ty I
haue wratthed! **O** I wrecchede synnere, what

134 þou3] if LLmTEH 135 3et...it] it may LLmTEH lykned] rekened E þing] yuel EH 136 itself] hymsilf L and] *om.* LLmTEH let] late H 137 ny3t] *corr.* A and...stille(138)] to redeme þe false forfetis of þi fraelle yowthe A to...wei3te (138)] be þou without sorow if þo bithynke þe wele þou maist put weght EH 138 to] *om.* A *and*] *om.* LETk 139 ferdnesse] and fere A feerdnesse^{2}] fere A and] *om.* EH 140 woo] *om.* Tk for] for whi TATk 141 falleth] belongethe A to] for to LLmTTkA what...synnere(150)] *see appended variants* A 142 trespassour] trespasse L inobedient] ony inobedient LLmTEHTk þe] *om.* Tk 143 hath...me] hath euer yolden to me EH me] to us Tk to...3elde(144)] I to hym have euer yolden EH 144 I 3elde] we 3eelde a3en Tk yuel] *corr.* H 145 þe] *om.* EH 146 þe] *om.* EH þe^{2}] is þe Tk, *om.* EH 147 þanne] *and* þanne LLmEHTk þe] schal be þe Tk, *om.* EH 148 allas^{2}] *om.* E 149 God] good God EH vnworschiped] vnworschiped þe ETk 150 wratthed] wraþþiþ H I] *om.* Tk wrecchede] haue *canc.*, wrecchid L

haue I doo? To whom haue I doo? How yuele haue I doo? Allas, þow wratthe of þe almyȝty, falle þow not vpon me! Thow wratthe of þe almyȝty, where maist þow be taken in me? Ceertes, þeer is noþing in al me þat may suffre þee.

O þe anguyssches and / þe annuyes þat schullen þanne bee! For on þat oo syde schullen bee synnes accusynge, on þat oother syde streit riȝtfulnesse soore afferynge; bynethe þe opene derkenesse of helle, aboue þe wrathful Domesman; withinne a smertynge concience, and withoute þe brennynge world. Vnnethes, þe riȝtwys shal bee saued. A f. 158r

151 haue] schal Lm doo] *see appended variants* A to...doo(152)] *om.* T to...doo] *om.* EH doo²] synnyd A how] and how Tk, whom haue y offendid þe almighti maker it is þat þou haste so sore offendid a wrecchyd synner what haue y done to whom haue y done *and* how A 152 þow] þe LmEH 153 almyȝty] almighty power of God A falle...me] I haue deseruyd þat it fall vpon me o good God þi mercy let it fall vpon me EH falle...almyȝty(154)] *om.* S þow] *om.* LmA thow] þe H 154 þe] *om.* Tk almyȝty] moste dredefulleste domysman A þow] þi \ponisshement/ A 155 ceertes] \for/ A al] *om.* E 156 þee] *corr.* L 157 o þe] *om.* A anguyssches] angwysshe A and...bee(158)] of þe in þat day of þi grete dome A þe²] *om.* EH annuyes] noies Tk 158 schullen...þat] in cristdome shal be \vp/on þe E, in cristisdome shal be vpon þe H schullen þanne] *rev.* LmTTk, þanne schulde L for] *om.* LLmTTk þat] þe A oo] to H 159 on þat] and on þat S, *and* in þe A, vpoun þat H 160 riȝtfulnesse] riȝtwisnes EHTk soore] and soore S, me sore A 161 þe] *twice* Tk, *om.* EH 162 þe] *twice* Tk wrathful] most dredefulle A withinne] within þe A smertynge] ferynge E, fretynge H 163 and] *om.* EH þe] *twice* ATk 164 vnnethes] þat ful vnnethe A, and so vnneþis Tk þe riȝtwys] *and* of hard þe riȝtwis man LLmTA, and of hard a riȝtful man Tk, þan þe riȝtwys man EH a...hym(166)] o þou wrechid synnere þus ensegid of (on H) what party maist þou draw or hold þe EH a...biseged(165)] alas þen a synner þat is þus bysegyd A

synnere þus biseged, where schal he holde hym? Thus constreyned, where schal I huyde me? How schal I appere? For to huyde me it schal be impossible, and for to appere, it schal bee vnsuffrable. I schal seeche where to huyde me, but nowhere fynde it. Me schal agrise to appere, and euere I schal be present.

A, who is he þat schal delyuere me fro þe hoondis of wratthed God? Where schal I haue helthe? Where schal I haue counseyl? Who is he þat is cleped 'þe aungel of greet counseil,' þe whiche is cleped 'sauyour,' þat I may crye on his naame? Ceertes, it is Ihesu! He himself is þe iuge whom I dreede so soore. Looke vp þerfore aʒen now, þow

165 biseged...thus(166)] *om.* L biseged...holde] enseged in what partye schal LmTTk holde] hyde A
166 thus... me(167)] *om.* A schal...me(167)] maist þou huyde þe H I] þou E 167 me] þe E how] or hou A, o how EH I] he A appere] *corr.* E
169 where] placis A 170 nowhere...it] no place I shal fynde EH fynde] y schal fynde Tk me²... agrise(171)] y shal be sore ashamyd A, I schal sore agrise EH, and sore y schalle agrise Tk 171 and ...present (172)] *om.* Lm 173 he] *om.* TA fro] for Lm 174 of] of þe Tk wratthed God] \the/ dredefulle iuge A where] wheree U 175 helthe] counseil LmTEHATk where...counseyl] *om.* LA counseyl] helþe LmTTk, help EH 176 who] who shal help iny (my H) wounde who EH he] *corr.* Lm is²] *corr.* L, *om.* Lm cleped] called A þe aungel] *om.* Tk greet] þe greet E 177 counseil] conceil where schalle y haue helþe,where schalle y haue helþe *canc.* Tk þe] *om.* EHTk cleped] called A sauyour] þe sauiour Tk 178 on] of E, in A, vppou*n* Tk ceertes] t*ru*ly A it] þis EH 179 he] for he A, be Tk iuge] þinge Lm 180 so] *om.* LA soore] moste A looke...hope(181)] o þou synful soule be þou co*m*fortid o soule why art þou so drery and trowblest me hope þou in God for yit I shal knowlege to hy*m* bihold þou caitif soule (synner H) biholde *and* be of stedfast hope EH vp] vp aʒen T þerfore... now] now þerfore Tk aʒen] aʒe*n*ward LLm, *om.* T

synnere. Bee of good hope and dispeire not. Hope in him whom þow dreddest. Fle to him fro whom þow fleddest. Crie vpon him meekly for mercy whom þou hast soore agreued by pruyde.

Ihesu, Ihesu, for þin naame Ihesu, do to me after þi naame Ihesu. For3et now Ihesu þis proude trespassour and bihold with mercy þis wrecche clepyng þi naame. Thy sweete naame! Thy delitable naame! Naame of comfort to sy*n*neres and of blessede hope. For what is Ihesu to seie but sauyour? Therfore Ihesu, for þin / owene self, be to me Ihe*sus*. Thow þat maadest me, lat me nou3t perisschen. Thow þat bou3test me, lat

f. 158v

181 dispeire] dispeir þou EH, dispayre þe A
182 hope] but hope A him] hem Lm, ihesu Tk whom] moste whom EH dreddest] dreddest moste EH
183 fro] *om.* A crie] crie þou Tk meekly] hertly *and* contynuely EH 184 for] of S mercy] mercy *and* grace A hast...pruyde(185)] haste moste offendid meke þe to hym ayens whome þou haste bene proude cleue to hym fro whome þou haste departyd þe withstondynge his hestis *and* sey EH by pruyde (185)] *with* syn þerfore A, *om.* Tk by] *with* LLmT
186 Ihesu] and þanne seie to him þus Ihesu Tk þin] þei Lm naame] holy name A do...Ihesu(187)] *twice* Tk 187 me] me Ihesu Tk naame] holy name A for3et...trespassour(188)] and forgeue me my wrecchid synnys A for3et] for3ef SL, for3ette not Tk now ...thy(189)] not me (*rev.* H) Ihesu out of þi proteccion þough I haue be a grete trespassour Ihesu biholde me with þe y3es of þi mercy inwardly clepyng þi naame (*add.* þi swete naame H) þi comfortable name to synneres þe moste EH 188 and] but Tk 189 mercy ...clepyng] þine y oper mercy to me sy*n*ner cally*n*ge in A þis] þus Tk 190 thy] *om.* Lm delitable] delectable TkA naame^{3}...of^{2}(191)] and of moste EH naame^{3}] þe name A, *om.* L 191 to...for(192)] *and* of most swetteste hope for synneris A 193 owene... Ihe*sus*(194)] holy name saue me tristynge in þe EH, holy name be to me sauyo*ur* A 194 me] vs L Ihesus] Ihesu SLm me^{2}] me of nought EH lat] suffur A 195 thow...not(196)] *see appended variants* EH lat] suffur A

me not be dampned. Thow þat maadest me þorwe þi goodnesse, lat me not perisschen þoru3 my wykkednesse. And as þow art þe mooste mercyful, suffre not my wykkednesse to leese þat þin almy3ty goodnesse hath maade.

Mercyful Ihesu, I biseche þee know þat þin is and wipe it awey þat is ootheres. Ihesu, Ihesu, haue mercy whiles tyme is of mercy, þat þow dampne not in tyme of þi doom. For what profit schall be to þee in my bloode, 3ef I schal descende into euerlastynge corrupcion? For dampnede men schullen noone preise þee, ne eny of þoo þat goon down into helle. 3ef þow wolt suffre me, Lord, entre into þe broode bosum of þi

196 not] *om.* L be] to be A thow] 3he þow Tk, thow Ihesu EH 197 goodnesse] greet goodnes Tk lat...not] suffur me not to A 198 my] mercy *canc.*, my Tk þe] *om.* EHA 200 þin...maade(201)] þou haste so dure bouhtte A þin almy3ty] þat þin almy3ty EH, þou *canc.*, almy3ti þin *marked for rev.* L goodnesse] *corr.* E 202 I...þee] for þi godenes EH þee] *om.* Tk know þat] to know þat that A, and knowe and kepe þou in as al þat Tk 203 þin is] þat is þine EH it...ootheres] awey clene þat þat is ouris EH it] *om.* ATk is ootheres] alle wickednes þat comeþ of vs Tk 204 Ihesu] o Ihesu Tk haue mercy] haue merci on vs Tk, on me haue mercy A, mercy of þin handwerke EH tyme...mercy(205)] it is tyme of mercy Lm, tyme of mercy is Tk 205 not] me not LE, not me HATk tyme] þe tyme Tk 206 doom] dreedful doome Tk schall] shalle hit A þee] me Tk in...corrupcion(208)] to se me descende downe into euerlastynge dampnacoun A 207 bloode] bloode or lesynge EH 208 men] men Lorde EH 209 schullen noone] may neuer A noone] not HTk ne...into(210)] nor none of þem þat gothe downe to A, *om.* EH 210 down] *om.* Lm helle] in helle EH 3ef...Lord(211)] therfor gode Lorde y beseche þi mercy suffur me to A suffre] Lorde suffre EH 211 Lord] *om.* EH entre] to entre LHTk into] to Lm, in H þe broode] þi large S

mercy, it schal neuere bee þe streiter for me. Receyue me þerfore, moost desirable Ihesu, receyue me withinne þe noumbre of þin
215 chosyn, so þat I bee fed in þee with hem and preise þee with hem, and þat I, withouten eend, ioye in þee with alle þoo þat louen þi name, **Amen.**

212 it...neuere] for gode Lorde it shalle no thyng A, certis Lord it schalle be neuer Tk bee...streiter] stretter be Lm 213 moost...Ihesu(214)] þu moste desirable Ihesu T, moost desira desirable Ihesu Lm, þou most benigne Lorde A, to þi mercy mercyful Ihesu EH 214 withinne] þerfore mooste desirab wiþyne, mooste desirab *canc*. Tk þin chosyn(215)] one of þi chosyn flocke A 215 fed] *om*. A and] and þat y may A 216 and...name(218)] in euerlastyng ioye y beseke þi grete mercy A and] *om*. EH 217 with] with hem and wiþ Tk 218 name] name Ihesu E amen] amen explicit Tk

APPENDED VARIANTS

26 þe...men(34)] so muche but if a prophete as miche as a wastethe feow or none þat so wille do but gode blessyd Lorde þou hast fedde *and* supportyd me *and* vnprophytabulle creatur *and* a false stynkynge synner alle my liffetyme hetherto and sent Anselmo seth that þe soule \of a synner/ stynketh worsse in þe sight of God then doth a stynkynge dogge þat \lieth in a dike to þe smellynge of a man/ **A**

58 whi...þou] so sore hit wille make al his enmys to trembulle *and* qwake/ þat day why arte þou so slowe to do gode dedis þerfor þou synfulle wrecche *and* worþi to be dampnyd for alle þe angelus of heuyn dothe tremulle *and* qwake to hyre þat dredefulle voyce of owre blessyd sauyour then in as myche as they bethe so clene and þou so corupte with synne then maiste þou thynke þat þou hast myche more cause to qwake *and* to drede then þei why slepist þou in syn þerfor **A**

93 not...suffred(103)] fulle litulle now for þer euery mannys dedus shalle be openyd to þe sight of almighti God owre lady *and* to alle þe company of heuyn *and* to alle þe pepulle þat euer were fro þe begynnynge of þe \worle/ into þe last ende and if þei be founde gode whyle þou leuiste here in þis vale of mysery þou shalt haue þen þe rewarde of euerlastynge ioye for þi labore þe whyche ioye alle þe hartis in þe worde *and* alle þe tunges also cannot thynke *and* speke þe infynyte godenes of hit and so þe contrary wyse to them þat shalle suffur *and* by geue to euerlastynge sorow *and* payne **A**

141 what...synnere(150)] for he shalle ponisshe *and* sore correcte alle synneris as þe prophete sethe Reges eos in iuga ferrea *et* tanquam vas figuli confringes eos þat is to say y shalle chastyse myne enemijs with an yron rodde and bete þem togeder with alle to smalle pecis as a man wolde bete togeder a passelle of erthyn pottis with *and* yron staffe þerfor remembur þe þou synner of þis sharpe correccoun of þi Lorde God whyle þou arte here and while þou haste tyme *and* space and leysur *and* grace and be gladde euer to be besy to do gode dedus þat when þou art callyd to examinacoun þou maiste be founde stronge in vertu þat þou maiste be sauyd fro þis sharpe correccoun of þi Lorde and as y sayde be þou euer besy *and* gladde to do gode dedus while þou art here for in þat þer is nothyng loste for þer is no gode dede þat evere þou hast wro\u/ghte in alle þi daijs but þat þou shalt haue a rewarde þerfor for as many as þou hast fulfillyd fro þe firste owre of þi birthe into þe last owre of þi deþe and remembur thre thynges specially to provyde for whyle þou arte here with þe whiche þou shalte be chargyd when þou comiste to aunswere afore God þat is alle þi gode dedus *and* alle þi badde dedus and also specially to note þou shalt be chargyd with alle þe gode dedus þat euer þou mightiste ado *and* dede them not alasse my Lorde *and* my sauyour **A**

151 doo] done for þen y foule ouersay myself for many is þe gode de\de/ þat y might ado *and* dede not where for gode Lorde y \be/seche þi mercy of forgeuenes for þou geuiste me daly gode for evelle and y haue geve þe eville for gode meny a tyme *and* oftyn and if y shulde be rewardyd after my deserte y am not worþi to ete þe mete þat bestisse ete nor to

ly as bestis ly but worse but \yet/ gode Lorde wille y not be in dispayre of my synnys for *and* þei were as many in numbur as beth þe sondis of þe see yet gode Lorde (gode Lorde *canc.*) wille y not be in dispayre of þi mercy for *and* y shulde afende þi mercy *and* þen falle in dispayre þat shulde be to þe a more displesure þen alle my synnys for þou arte nowe alle fulle of mercy to alle þem that wille aske hit mekely *and* rightfully for þou willeste not þe dethe of euery synner but þat þei leve *and* do penansse for þer synnys for þou arte nowe moste pacient *and* fulle of suffranse and at þe dredefulle day of þi grete dome þou wilte be þe contrary alle fulle of wrethe *and* clene *with*out mercy þen alas alas then **A**

195 thow...not(196)] Ihesu accepte my wil þough my wordis be lewid for I knowleche i*n* trewth þat I neuer (neiþer H) can ne may inclepe þin help neiþer deserue to haue it but of þi speciall grace but for I can not as I shulde I recommaunde me to þi mercy Ihesu þou þat boughtist me haue mynde of þi price and departe it fro þe deuel and let it neuer **EH**

NOTES

3-37 These lines are also quoted in 'The Pricke of Conscience', giving the Latin text and a free translation, though wrongly attributed to St Bernard, see Morris (1863), 70/2540-63.

10 *as it schulde do*: line not found in Latin or in Harley 535.

15 Latin text adds here: 'Utique si est infructuosa, est et dampnabilis' (9-10), Harley 535 adds: 'If hit is barayne, hit is also dampnable' (12-13).

18-20 MATTHEW 3:10, '....Omnis ergo arbor, quae non facit fructum bonum, excidetur, et in ignem mittetur.'

30 *And wel I may seie 'stynkynge in synne.'*: line not found in Latin in Harley 535.

34-6 PSALM 21:7, 'Ego autem sum vermis, et non homo; opprobrium hominum, et abiecto plebis.'

35 *now may I clepe þe*: line not found in Latin or in Harley 535.

38 JOB 10:1, 'Taedet animam meam vitae meae....'

40-3 The translation of the Latin, 'Quid ergo restat tibi, o peccator, nisi ut in tota vita tua plores totam vitam tuam, ut ipsa tota se ploret totam?'(19-20), here is very awkward, but the translation in Harley 535 is somewhat better: 'Wharfore, what schalt þou do, synful soule, but in al þi lyf þou biwepe al þi lif, so þat al þi lif bywepe al himsilf?'(31-4). The modern English translation reads: 'Nothing is left for you, sinner, but to deplore your whole life all your life long, so that the whole may deplore the whole,' (Ward (1973), 221/20-2).

50-58 ZEPHANIAH 1:14-16, 'Iuxta est dies Domini magnus; iuxta est, et velox nimis; vox diei Domini amara, tribulabitur ibi fortis, dies irae dies illa, dies tribulationis et angustiae, dies calamitatis et miseriae, dies tenebrarum et caliginis, dies nebulae et turbinis, dies tubae et clangoris super

civitates munitas, et super angulos excelsos.' Also in 'The Pricke of Conscience' (Morris (1863) 165/6097-6117) and Sermon 20, *De Dominica Prima Quadragesima*, in Mirk's Festial, ed. T. Erbe (EETS ES 96, 1905), 87/32-4.

76-7 *ȝus, sikerly ȝus*: line not found in Latin or in Harley 535.

80 ISAIAH 56:3, '...ecce ego lignum aridum.'

80-98 A free translation of this section found in 'The Pricke of Conscience', see Morris (1863), 67/2424-57.

83 Image of the *in the twinkling of an eye* also occurs in 'The Pricke Of Conscience', see Morris (1863), 135/4973-8; and in 'A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle', see Horstman (1896), ii.433/30.

95 *þuele*: another example of þ/y confusion in U, see the Introduction, i.53-6.

99-100 LUKE 16:2, '....Redde rationem villicationis tuae....'

136-8 JEREMIAH 14:17, 'Et dices ad eos verbum istud: deducant oculi mei lacrymam per noctem et diem, et non taceant.'

138 Latin text adds here: 'Auge ergo, peccator, auge superioribus aerumnis pondus' (63-4), Harley 535 adds: 'Wharfore also, synful soule, charge þou and ouercharge þi formest meschefys and mysseyses' (129-31).

157-69 See FM (V.xxxi.590/52-6) which sites St Bernard's 'Tractatus De interiori domo' XXII.46 (PL 184:531-2) as a source of this along with St Anselm.

164 I PETER 4:18, 'Et si iustus vix salvabitur, impius et peccator ubi parebunt?' Also in 'The Pricke of Conscience', see Morris (1863), 146/5395-5401.

173 Latin text adds before this 'Quid, quid tunc, quid erit tunc?' (77), Harley 535 adds: 'What, what þanne, what schal þere be þanne?' (167-8).

173-4 JOB 10:7, '...cum sit nemo qui de manu tua possit eruere?'

176-7 ISAIAH 9:6, '...et vocabitur nomen eius: Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus, Fortis....'

177 LUKE 2:11, 'quia natus est vobis hodie Salvator....'

178 Latin text adds 'Iam ipse est' (80) after *ceertes*.

186-7 PSALM 108:21, 'Et tu, Domine, Domine, fac mecum propter nomen tuum....'

206-8 PSALM 29:10, 'Quae utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendo in corruptionem...?'

208-10 PSALM 113:17, 'Non mortui laudabunt te, Domine; neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.'

217-18 PSALM 5:12, '....Et gloriabuntur in te omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum.'

Latin text adds here: 'qui cum deo, patre et spiritu sancto gloriaris per interminata saecula' (98-9), Harley 535 adds: 'þat wiþ God, þe Fadur and þe Holy Gost, regnyst foreuere wiþouten ende' (209-10).

THE MEDITATION OF ST ANSELM FROM BL HARLEY 535

My lyf makeþ me agast *and* a\g/ryse. f. 121r

For yf ich biþenke bisiliche my lif, nye al my lyf schal seme to me synful oþer barayn. And if eny fruit ȝit semeþ i*n* my lif, ouþer hit is y-feyned oþer hit \is/ so vnperfit *and* vnstable þat hit may nouȝt plese almyghty God, but greuouslich hi*m* disqueme. Þerfore synful soule, nouȝt nye al þi lyf, but al þi lyf, ouþer hit is synful *and* dampnable, oþer bareyn, worthi to be despised. But whi make I departyng of barayne and dampnable? If hit is barayne, hit is also dampnable. Sooþ hit is þat Crist saiþ in þe gospel, 'Euereche tre þat makiþ no good fruyt schal be hewe adoun *and* be cast into þe fuyre.' Furþermore, if ich do auȝt profitabul, ich ne hold hit nouȝt worþe þe sustynaunce of my body, þe which I forwaste. But who / norischeþ a beste þat f. 121v profiteþ nouȝt so myche as hit deuoureþ *and* forwasteþ? And, neuerþelatter, þou almyghty God, þou abidest þe amendyng of þine vn-profitable worme þat stynkiþ in synnes. More suffrabliche a roted hounde stynkeþ among men, þan a synful soule tofore God;

14 *margin* m^t 3 luc' 3

more worse stynkiþ he tofore God, þa*n* a hou*n*de among men. Alas *and* wo to me, nou3t man, but þe outecast of men; fouler þan a beest, worse þan eny careyne.

I am wery of my lif! I am aschamed to lyue! I am agast to deye! Wharfore, what schalt þou do, synful soule, but i*n* al þi lyf þou biwepe al þi lif, so þat al þi lif bywepe al hi*m*silf? But i*n* þis also, my soule is wrecchidliche wonderful *and* wondurfullich wrecchid; for she mourneþ \nat/ so muche as she au3t, siþþe shue knoweþ hirsilf i*n* so grete wrecchidnysse, but shue is slowe and as syker as þei3 shue wist nau3t what shue suffreþ.

Bareyn soule, where buþ þi fruites? What dost þou? Whi artou slowe, synful soule? Þe day of dome comeþ. Godd*us* grete daye ys nye, ny and ry3t swift. Day of / wraþþe is þat day, day of t*ri*bulacioun *and* of anguysch, day of clowde and derknesse, day of wynde and of blowyng of trumpe *and* of grete noyse. O þe bitter voys of Goddis day! Whi slepyst þou soule slewful, worþi to be cast awey? Whi slepist þou? Who þat awakith nou3t, who þat drediþ nou3t suche

f. 122r

32 synful] synful syn, syn *eras.* 37 so] so \as/, as *eras.* 49 soule slewful] slewful soule slewful, 1st slewful *eras.*, soule slewful *marked for rev.*

þonder, he slepiþ nouȝt, but he is dede.

Barayn tre, where buþ þi fruytes? Tre worþi to þe ax *and* to þe fuyr, *and* worþi to be al forhewe *and* to be brent, whiche beþ þine fruytes? Forsoþe, p*r*ickyng þornes *and* bitt*er* synnes; and ich wold þat hi p*r*icked þee so bi repentau*n*ce, þat hi to-breke þe harde bond*us* of synne. Also ich wolde þat þei to þee were so bittur, to make \þee/ þi synnes forsake. P*er*auenture, þou demest þat synne be small? I wold þat þe strait Domes-man wold holde eny sy*n*ne smal o*r* riȝt litul! But alas, vnworschipeþ not eue*r*eche synne God? What sy*n*ne schal þe synful soule clepe smal? To vnworschipy God, to vnwor-schipy such a lord, is hit smal? Nay trew-lich!

Drye / tre, and nouȝt worþ but to þe f. 122ᵛ
eue*r*lastyng fyre, what schaltou answere in þilke day wha*n*ne þer schal be asked of þee al þe tyme of þi lyif þat was ȝyfe*n* to þee, al to þe last poynt fr*o*m þi bigynnyng i*n*to þine ende, how hit is y-spende? Þa*n*ne schal hit be y-da*m*pned, al þat is y-fou*n*de in þee of werk, of ydelnesse, of word *and* of silence to þe lest þouȝt. And also, þat þou hast lyued nouȝt afte*r* þe wille of almyȝtty

64 *margin* opti'a questio 70 *margin* no^{ta} bn'

God. Alas, how many synn*us* schulleþ come forþ vnwar, as out of a buschement, þe whiche þou seest not nowe? And, forsoþe, many mo *and* more griseliche synnes þan þese, þe whiche þou seest nowe. How manye whiche þou wen\e/st and demest þat þei ben none wicked synnes? How manye, whiche þou wenest þat buþ nowe p*ri*uey, schul be openlich y-knowe tofor*e* al þe world w*ith* naked visage, blake and horrible synnes? Þ*er*e [w]iþoute doute, þou schat receyue as þou hast y-do i*n* þi bodi wherwiþ þou hast myswrouȝt. Þa*n*ne, wha*n*ne schal be no tyme of m*er*cy, wha*n*ne pena*un*ce schal be nouȝt receyued *and* whan ame*n*dement schal nouȝt be bihote. Þ*er*fore here, / biþenk what þou hast i-do *and* what þou most receyue. If þou hast i-do muchel good, muchell blisse þou schalt haue, more þan worþi þou be, þ*er*of be gladde. And if muche quede þou hast i-do, þ*er*of be riȝt sory, for grete payne þou schalt receyue, but lasse þan þou worþi be. f. 123r

Vnp*ro*fitabul soule *and* synful, ne suffiseþ nouȝt þis to þee to make þe\e/ wepe blody teeres? O þou vnp*ro*fitabul, synful wrecche, whe*þer* þese mescheues, hidowsnesses *and* dredeful peynes beþ not sufficient to

88 wiþoute] biþoute

make þe\e/ i*n* grete waylyng? Alas, þe wonderful hardnysse of þine hert, þat so \heuy/ esye hamers and sleghes beþ \to/ li3t to breke þine hert. Alas, þe dedlich sleuþe, þat so scharp p*ri*ckes beþ blont *and* dulle to wake þe\e/ out of dedlich slepe. Alas þat dedlich slep, þat so griselich \a/ þund*er* is hoos to awake þee! Synful soule *and* vnp*ro*fitabul, þese schuld*en* suffise to þee to mourne foreu*er* *and* to wepe foreu*ere*.

But whi schal I passe ou*ere* þe heuynesse and þe meschef þat is to-com*m*yng *and* stele hem fro þe si3t of my soule? For sodayne sorowes schold come vnwar; for vn-

suffrable tem-/-pestes schold falle sodayn- f. 123v
lich. Forsoþe hit were not p*ro*fitabul to þee, my synful soule. Sothliche, for if ich seye and telle of alle my mescheues of my synnes, *and* also of my paynes þe whiche ich am worþi, þe paynes to my synne ich may nou3t co*m*parsony. For ri3tfullich, mor*e* payne ich am worþi þan I may deme. Wharfore, myn eyen, wepe 3ee day *and* ny3t *and* cesse 3ee not. Wharfor*e* also, synful soule, charge þou *and* ou*er*charge þi formest meschefys *and* mysseyses; ley drede vppon drede, *and* sorowe vppon sorowe. For he schal deme þee þat is despised wiþ eu*ere*che

trespasse and gyltes of þyn þortouer synfull soule. 3\h/e of him þou schalt be y-demed, þat \haþ/ y-3old to þee goodnysse for þi mysdede, and ich i-3old to him wickednysse for his goodnysse. Forsoþe, of him þou schalt be y-demed þat is nowe most suffrabul and þanne most strayt; most mercyable nowe, most ri3tful þanne. Alas, to whom haue I mysdo *and* trespast? I haue vnworschiped God! I haue offendid God, hym þat is almy3tty. Synful soule, what haf ich y-do? To whom haue ich mysdo ? / How wickedlich f.124r haue ich y-do? Alas, alas, almy3ty Goddis wreth falle nou3t vppon me. In me nys nou3t þat þee may suffre in al me. As who saiþ, neiþer in my body noþer in soule is au3t þat may suffre þi rightful wraþþe for aypres vnpacience. And þou3 þei my3t endure, 3it mochel more were þei worþy euer to suffre.

Alas anguysches! For in þis syde schulleþ be accusyng synnus, and in þat side dredeful rightwisnysse; byneþe *and* vnder þe opene pitte of helle, above þe Domesman wrooþ; and inward þe brennyng conscience, wiþoute opene knowlache of al þe world. Þe rightful vnneþe schul be saued. Þe synfull þus i-take, into what partie oþer in which

153 *margin* no^ta bn'

byhalf schal he hi*m* biturne? Where schal he lotye? How schal he forþe stonde? Lotye hit schal be i*m*possible, to stonde forþ vnsuffrable! Lotye he schal coueite, and hit schal nowhere be. To stonde bifore, he schal hate *and* hit schal oueral be.

What, what þanne, what schal þere be þanne? Who schal nowe defende me f*ro*m Godd*us* my3tful honden? Whannes schal me come *coun*sail? Whannes helthe? Who is he þat / is i-clepid messag*er* of þe grete cou*n*- f. 124ᵛ seil, þat is y-clepid saueo*ur*? Nowe he is Ihesus, nowe he is Ihe*sus*, Ihesus. Þe same is Domesman, i*n* whos myghtful handes ich quake. Cu*m*fort þee nowe, synful soule, confort þee, falle þou nou3t i*n*to dispaire. Trist on hi*m* whom þou dredist. Retourne þou \þee/ to hi*m* f*ro*m whom þou ronne. Clepe bysilich, wham þou proutlich wraþþedist.

Ihesu, Ihesu, for þis name, do to me aftur þis name. Ihesu, Ihesu, for3yue to þe proude þat wraþþed þee, *and* bihold þe wrecche þat clepiþ to þee. Swete name, likyng name, name þat cou*n*forteþ þe synful soule, *and* name of blisful hope. For what is Ihe*sus*, but sauyour? Wherfore Ihesu, for þisilf, be to me Ihesus. Þou þat madest me, suffre me not perische. Þou þat me

bou3ttist ry3t dere, ne dampne me nou3t.
Þou þat madist me þurgh þi goodnesse, suffre
nou3t þi werk perische þurgh my wickednesse.
I biseche þee, mercyful Lord, þat my
wikkednesse \leese/ not þat þyn almy3tty
goodnysse hath y-made. Biknowe, good Lord,
þat is þine only creature, and wype awey *and*
clense þat is my synne *and* wickednesse.
Ihesu, Ihesu, haue mercy / þe while tyme is f. 125r
of mercy, þat þou me ne dampne in tyme of
dome *and* of iugement. What schal ich pro-
fite to þee, if I falle into euerlastyng
mescheef? A good Lord, hy þat falliþ into
helle, ne schulleþ not worschip þee. If þou
receyuest me into þi large bosom of þy
mercy, Lord, hit schal be neuer þe strayter
for me. Receyue me, þerfore, my swete Lord.
Receyue me into þe noumbre of þi chosen þat
I, wiþ hem, þee worschipye, þee louye; in
þee be glad among alle þat louyeþ þy name,
þat wiþ God, þe Fadur and þe Holy Gost,
regnyst foreuere wiþouten ende, Amen.

NOTES

37 *she/shue*: An unusual form of feminine third person singular pronoun probably from Devon. See Linguistic Atlas iv.7-8.

57 *hi*: Another unusual pronominal form for the third person plural which probably comes from Devon, the Southwest and West Midlands. See Linguistic Atlas iv.10-11.

89 *schat*: Form for *schalt* from the East, Cambridge, Ely and Norfolk. See Linguistic Atlas iv.38.

XII

OF THREE ARROWS THAT SHALL BE SHOT ON DOMESDAY

INTRODUCTION

The last in this group of meditative texts, 'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday,' seems to have been quite popular, evidenced not only by the large number of known existing manuscript copies, but by the inclusion of modified versions of this text in several others.[1] The 'Three Arrows' survives in 21 known manuscript copies, all of which have been collated here.[2] Other versions of this text are found incorporated into 'A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle'[3] and combined with a passion meditation from 'Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei' in Cambridge University Library Ff.5.40, London, British Library, Arundel 507, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 285 and San Marino, Huntington

[1] The text was first printed in Horstman (1896), ii.436-40. An edition of the text is included in Martin (1978), ii. 497-533 (Appendix II).

[2] Cambridge University Library Ff.2.38 (F), Ff.5.45 (F^1), Ff.6.55 (F^2); Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.53 (T); Magdalene College, Pepys 2125 (P); Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 496 (H), Hunterian 520 (H^1); London, British Library, Add. 10036 (Ad), Add. 22283 (S), Arundel 197 (A), Harley 1706 (Ha), Harley 2388 (He), Harley 2339 (Hr); London, Lambeth Palace Library 3597 (C); Manchester, John Rylands Library, Eng. 85 (R); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 3 (B), Douce 13 (D), Laud Misc. 23 (L), Laud Misc. 174 (Lm), Tanner 336 (Ta).

[3] See V. Murray, 'An Edition of "A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle" and "Milicia Christi"' (unpubd. D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1970). See her discussion of the Three Arrows text (i.81-2) and in the edited text of 'A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle' (ii.26-33). For the other manuscripts which contain the 'Tretyse', see IPMEP 120. The author of the 'Tretyse' left the 'Three Arrows' text virtually unchanged, omitting only the beginning, lines 1-11, and end, lines 263-75, to fit the text within the of the rest of the treatise. In comparing the corresponding portion of the 'Tretyse' in Harley 1706 with the version edited here, it is found to share variants with the H^1-group at lines: 71, 86, 101, 108-9, 133-54, 158, 159, 160, 169-70, 175, 202, 206, 220, 226-31, 243, 253.

Library, HM 148.[4] The entirety of the text is also found in a sermon for the Octave of the Epiphany in Shrewsbury School III and portions of the text also appear in Richard Alkerton's Easter Week sermon.[5]

It would seem reasonable to suggest, based on the large number of surviving manuscripts, that a textual analysis of the 'Three Arrows' would shed more light on some of the manuscripts which have been discussed in the previous chapters, particularly STLLmPA, and would reinforce the relationships which have been explored in the textual analysis for the 'Mirror'. For a few of the manuscripts, the evidence for the 'Three Arrows' strongly reinforces these relationships, but this is not the case for all of them. While the quantity of extant copies does attest to the popularity of this text, it may also suggest the existence of numerous other copies which have not survived.

Indeed, for the majority of manuscripts collated for this text, the shared errors are limited and tell us very little about any possible inter-relationships. There are, however, two distinct subgroups which stand out against the rest. Douce 13, Hunterian 496,

[4] See Horstman (1895), i.117-121; Richard Rolle and Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei: an edition with commentary, ed. Sr M.L. Arntz (Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92:2, Salzburg, 1981); G.R. Keiser, 'Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei,' Viator 12 (1981), 293.

[5] See O'Mara (1994), 47-50 and 57-66 for notes to lines 57-66, 177-9, 192, 200-2, 266-7, 278-80.

Rylands Eng. 85 and Tanner 336 are all members of a very definite subgroup which is referred to here as the D-group. Their readings have proven to be so different from the other manuscripts (as will be shown below) that I have printed them separately as a parallel text. Another noticeable subgroup consists of Hunterian 520, Harley 2388, CUL Ff.6.55, Add. 10036 and Bodley 3, and is referred to here as the H^1-group. The remaining manuscripts form an ambiguous collection, each related in varying degrees to U, and they are referred to as U-type copies of the text.

ISOLATIVE ERROR

Based on the isolative errors shown below, none of the manuscripts is the source of another. Within the subgroups, however, it is possible to argue that D may be the source, or closely related to it, for the D-group; likewise, that H^1 may be the source, or closely related to it, for the H^1-group. The manuscripts are discussed in the following order: USTFHrLLmF^{1}CHaPAH^{1}HeF^{2}AdBDTaRH.

U: 19 *be*, al. *he*. This is the only error found in U, which is a very good copy of the text. It shares a few variants with S discussed below.

S: 93 om., al. *wol...I*^{3}; 228 *periberit*, al. *prohibuerit*; 267 *vobis*, al. *nobis*, om. TFHrF^{1}CHa. As usual, S is a good U-type text, showing its close affinity with U and containing very few isolative errors.

T: 86 om., al. *pi...wykkednesses*; 144 *as as*, al. *as*; 239-40 om., al. *and...arwe*; 257 *for to*, al. *eer, or* FHrLLmCH^{1}HeF^{2}AdB, *til* F^1; 262-3 om., al. *and...arwe*. T is also a good copy of the text with only the few errors cited above, and is closely related to U.

F: 59-60 *vppon them alle myne*, al. *alle myne arwes vpon hem*, lat. sagittas meas complebo in eis; 66 *filius*, al. *filij*; 208 om., al. *to*^{2}; 216 om., al. *and...seyntes*; 223 om., al. *greete*, lat. magnitudinis; 266 *benedicte*, al. *benedicti*.[6] F has several more errors, but on the whole it is a good U-type text.

Hr: 37 om., al. *doo*^{2}; 93 *nyle*, al. *nyl I*, *ne wul y* P. Hr's few errors show that it is a good copy of the text, except for the occasional cancellation of words as at lines 5, 212, 255, and the erasing or cancellation of the word 'purgatorie' at lines 123, 133, 156 and 161, by a later hand. Evidence, to be discussed later, suggests that Hr was corrected to match F.

L: 17 *be souereynly be*, al. *souereynly be*, *be souereynly* FHrLmF^{1}; 112 om., al. *me*, lat. me; 119 om., al. *and vengynge*; 131 *be*, al. *bere*; 207 *do*, al. *for to*, *to* PH^{1}HeF^{2}AdB; 225 *noen*, al. *noone*; 258 *ve ve ve*, al. *ve ve*, lat. ve ve; 268 om., al. *mundi*, *mundi et cetera* H^{1}HeF^{2}Ad.[7] L has few errors, but is still a good U-type copy of the text.

Lm: 19 *vengeaunce*, al. *vengeable*; 21 *not*, al. *out*; 31 *of*, al. *on*, *in* AH^{1}F^{2}B; 55 *schat*, al. *what*, *nowe what* P; 67 *que*, al. *qui*; 146 *ragۇe*, al. *argue*; 149 *fiil*, al. *lif*; 175 *soules*, al. *sones*, lat. filios; 181 *þat þat*, al. *þat*; 194-5 om., al. *I...drynke*; 230 om., al. *vt sagitta*; 238 *hin*, al. *him*; 258 om., al. *of...þus*; 260-1 om., al. *woo...is*, lat. ve ve quibus est. Lm seems to be characterised by several careless scribal errors, not only in the English but in the Latin as well. Apart from these, Lm is still relatively close to U.

F^{1}: 23-4 *þat*, al. *þe...virgyne*; 32 om., al. *out*; 39-40 om., al. *whanne...lyoun*; 94 om., al. *knyt*, *put* FHr; 167-8 om., al. *þe...Man*; 169-70 om., al. *Nos...cetera*; 226 om., al. *Bernard*. The scribe also has a tendency to omit *þat is* after Latin quotations as at lines 41, 222, 231 and 238. Despite these several errors, F^{1} is a good copy of the text and somewhat closely related to U.

C: 192 om., al. *fals*. This is apparently the only isolative error in C, which is a very good, clear and carefully corrected copy of the text. Corrections in it have been made to match U.

Ha: 16 *in in habyten*, al. *enhabiten*; 18 om., al. *drad*;

[6] See also omissions at lines 236, 255 and 258.

[7] See also omissions at lines 45, 99, 162 and 166.

69 *þat alle þat alle*, al. *þat alle*; 102 om., al. *reedyn*; 218 om., al. *after*; 228 *perhibuerit*, al. *prohibuerit*, lat. prohibuerit; 253 om., al. *hem*. Ha has few errors because it has been thoroughly corrected to match U.

P: 66 om., al. *et procedent*; 87-8 om., al. *in helle*; 91-2 om., al. *for...þee*; 104 *he*, al. *he ne*, *ne he* F^2B; 131 *eny reward*, al. *euer either*, *eyþer oþer* A; 168 *olim*, al. *aliquando*; 215 om., al. *he*. P again is typified by its unique and numerous additions, alterations and omissions to a basically U-type text.[8] It is not a reliable copy, though its frequent errors have been corrected to match U. P often changes its choice of words from those in its exemplar as at line 159, where it originally copied *vnmy3ty* from its exemplar, then cancelled it and replaced it with *vnworthy*.[9]

A: 6 *momorare*, al. *memorare*, lat. memorare; 20 *lyke wyse*, al. *liknesse*; 48 *þis*, al. om., *þus* US; 85-6 om., al. *in...wykkednesses*; 102-4 om., al. *and*^{2}*...writynge*; 181-3 om., al. *the...vengeaunce*.[10] A has even more extensive alterations than P, containing a multitude of additions, deletions and changes to a basically U-type text.[11] And, like P, it shows a tendency to change the word choice of its exemplar as at line 17 where A originally read *soraynely*, but erased *-raynely*, and added *-rely*.[12]

THE H^1-GROUP[13]

H^1: 194-5 om., al. *and...þurst*; **270-4(4) *3e*, al. *and 3e***. These are the only evident errors in H^1, the

[8] For minor additions to the text in P see lines 64, 105, 159, 199, 274; for minor alterations see lines 83, 101, 201, 209, 256.

[9] See also lines 51, 73, 98, 105, 128, 129, 182.

[10] For more isolative errors in A see lines 22-4, 33, 34, 40, 43, 185, 208, 222, 229, 254-5, 261, 262-4.

[11] For minor additions in A see lines 87-8, 94, 107, 116, 152, 166, 209, 265. For minor alterations in A see lines 28, 51-2, 89-90, 90-1, 108-9, 140-2, 151-2, 154, 171-2, 174-5, 179-80, 185, 187, 218, 248-9, 256, 257-8 and lines 40-2 and 237-9 where the scribe has changed the order of Latin quotation and English translation.

[12] See also lines 6, 9, 16, 17, 29, 30, 31-2, 48, 63, 93, 139, 172, 176, 232, 246.

[13] Isolative errors which occur in the H^1-group appended variants are given after the errors against U and are printed in bold. The line number from U is given first, with the line number from the appended variant in parentheses.

omission possibly due to eyeskip. H^1 provides a good copy of its group version, but because of these errors, it is probably not the source for any other manuscript in the group. However, the familiarity of the Biblical quotation makes scribal correction feasible.

He: 208 om., al. *to hem*; 209 *a*, al. *and*; **169-70(14) *ostendere*, al. *orindere***, lat. orindere. From the textual evidence that remains, He seems to have been a good witness to the H^1-group version, but it has been badly damaged. The first folio, lines 1-62, is missing and large portions of the top, outside corners of folios 3 and 4 have been torn away.[14]

F^2: 27 *ri3twis*, al. *ri3twisnesse*; 57 om., al. *meas*; 108 *profrid*, al. *preieth*; 131 om., al. *to...euer*; 216 *to*, al. *with*; 258 *venit*, al. *ve ve*, *ve ve ve* L, *ve* H^1Ad; **71(2) om., al. *don*; 169-70(3) *in estimabamus*, al. *estimabamus*; (7) *sumen*, al. *lumen*; (8) *nobit*, al. *nobis*; (11) *autem*, al. *aut*; 175-80(3) *is*, al. *hab*; (13) *foonde*, al. *fynde*; 270-4(9) *tho*, al. *to*^{2}.** F^2 has a number of careless errors, especially in the Latin, but it is still a good copy of the H^1-group version.

Ad: 80 *to*, al. *fro*; 174 *hem*, al. *been*; 211 *after more*, al. *a fer moore*, *a more* C, *moche more* F^1, *a welle more* A; 217-19 om., al. *euery...Iob*; 219 *stellam*, al. *stillam*; 251 *curaturus*, al. *creatures*; 252 om., al. *not*; 260 *credere noli*, al. *credere*; **169-70(3) *saniam*, al. *insaniam*; (14-15) *habemus autem uram*, al. *valemus...nostra***. Ad has several errors, mostly in the Latin quotations, but the majority are careless scribal errors. On the whole, the text is a reasonably good copy of the H^1-group.

B: 4 om., al. *of*; 5 om., al. *to...synne*; 114 *chastite*, al. *chastise*; 116 *passiouns of mannys kynde may kynde*, al. *mannes passion*, *passiouns of mannes kynde* H^1HeF^2; 161 om., al. *pat...be*; 191 om., al. *schal...arwe*; **169-70(2) *eorum*, al. *ipsorum*; (4-15) om., al. *ergo...umus*; 175-80(1-17) om., al. *perfore...pus*; 270-4(6) om., al. *3e...was***. B is similar to Ad and F^2 with several careless errors, but its extensive omissions within the H^1-group appended variants shows that it is not a reliable copy of the H^1-group version.

THE D-GROUP[15]

[14] For parts where text is missing from He see lines 190, 191-2, 192-3, 194, 195-6, 197, 198, 222-3, 223-4, 224, 225, 225-6, 231, 232, 233, 258, 259-60, 261, 262, 263-4, 265, 266-8.

[15] Line numbers given here are taken from the D-group version, ii.491-503.

D: 118 *peyne pain*, al. *peyne*; 293 *þou*, al. *sche*. D has been well corrected, containing these two isolative errors, and is a good base text of the D-group version. D may possibly be the archetype for this group or closely related to the archetype, as the above errors could easily be corrected.

Ta: 3 om., al. *dreede*; 45 *paise paise*, al. *paise*; 64 *þi*, al. *þei*. Ta has only these few isolative errors and offers a good version of the D-group text.

R: 12 om., al. *of...Lord*; 19 om., al. *signe...þe*; 35 om., al. *he was*; 39 *nile*, al. *wole*; 166 om., al. *day*; 188 om., al. *see*; 246 om., al. *yuel*. R also has a few errors and rarely varies from the base text, except for a rather long and unique addition at line 182.

H: 18 om., al. *þe sunne*; 100-1 om., al. *ferse... wraþþe*; 101-2 om., al. *of penaunce*; 184 *not haue*, al. *haue*; 200 *tristi*, al.*þristi*; 269 om., al. *opin... schal*. H is a less accurate copy of the D-group version, but like the others it seldom deviates from the group.

GROUP ERROR

THE D-GROUP

As stated above, within the group of manuscript copies of the 'Three Arrows' there are two distinct subgroups: DTaRH (the D-group) and H^1HeF^2AdB (the H^1-group). The most obvious of the two is the D-group whose members share some 146 variants, altering over 130 lines of the text, and with very few errors shared between them and manuscripts outside of the group. But before any discussion of errors shared between the D-group and other manuscripts, we must first establish the identity of this subgroup.

The D-group is characterised by constant alterations, additions and deletions to a basically U-type text, and it is far more idiosyncratic than the H^1-group which C.A. Martin claims, based on his

collation of UH^1HeF^2, to represent an independent version of the text.[16] To analyse all of the group's variants here is unnecessary, so I shall offer samples of variants which typify this group's alteration of the text. It seems most likely that the D-group's exemplar descended from an essentially U-type version of the 'Three Arrows' text, one reason being the group's exclusion of all Latin quotations which are present in all the other known copies of the text. It seems logical that these long Latin quotations were omitted from the archetype of the D-group rather than added to that of the U-type text. However, the author of the D-group version often expands many areas of the text and one could suppose that the D-group's version was closer to the original archetype, the U-type texts descending from a later, modified version.

The areas of text which are deleted in the D-group are chiefly the Latin quotations from scripture and patristic sources. By comparing U with the D-group, the modifications made by the writer of the D-group version are quite obvious as the following example shows:

U: *Memorare nouissima, et in eternum non peccabis. Þat is, 'Haue mynde on þe laste þinges, þat is day of doom, and it schal kepe þe fro synne.' Heere ȝe mowen fynde sumwhat writen þeerof, how oure Lord speketh by Ysaie þe prophete seienge þus, Egredietur Dominus de loco suo, vt visitet iniquitatem habitatorum terre. Þat is, 'Oure Lord schal weende out of his place for to visite þe wikkednesse of hem þat enhabiten þe eerthe'* (6-16).

[16] Martin (1978), ii.500.

D: *'Haue þi laste þingis in mynde, and þou schalt neuer synne.' Þat is, be þe day of dome in þi mynde, and þe bisi mynde þereof schal kepe þe fro synne. Of þis day, þe Lord spekiþ bi Ysaie seiȝynge, 'The Lord schal wende oute of his place to visite þe wickidnesse of hem þat enhabiten þe erþe.'* (4-11)

Where portions of Latin text have been deleted, the D-group version has been modified, leaving no trace of the missing text. Because each Latin quotation in the text follows a stylistic pattern (*seiþ þus*, Latin quotation, *þat is to seie*, English translation) the extraction of the Latin is quite easy, and the next example will show just how effortlessly the text can be reworked, leaving no awkwardness behind:

U: *And þerfore seith Iob, <u>Cum vix paruam stillam sermonum eius audire non possunt, tonitruum magnitudinis eius quis potest sustinere</u>. Þat is, 'Sitthe man may vnneethes heere a luytel drope of his woordes, þe greete þunder of his doom who schalle mowe suffre?'* (218-224).

D: *And forþi, þat þis day of dreede schulde be in mannis mynde, Iob seiþ, 'Siþ vnneþis men mowen here a litil sparke of Goddis wordis, þe greete þundir blast of his dome who schal here or suffre?'*(220-225).[17]

There are also numerous additions and changes in the D-group version which vary from the mere alteration of *man* to *man or/and womman* as at lines 28(26), 53(46-7) and 98(94), to the very lengthy addition of more than twenty lines at 248(241-61) discussing the role of men and women as advocates either of God or the Devil working to draw others to

[17] D-group omission of the Latin in U also occurs at lines (with corresponding lines in D-group in parentheses): 40-1(37), 43-5(38-9), 56-7(49), 64-8(60), 110-12(103), 133-4(124), 157(152), 168-70(177), 180-1(187), 226-31(227), 237-8(233), 243-5(238), 258-60(276), 265-8(303).

Heaven or Hell.

Many of the additions found in the D-group version seem to have been made in an effort to make the text more explicit to the reader. For example:

U: *Three scharpe arwes schullen bee schot of oure Lord in þat day, vpon hem þat þeere schullen be dampned* (60-62).

D: *For þre scharpe arowis Crist schal schete in his dome and hitt hem alle þat schulen be dampnid þere, departynge hem fro hym for euere; forþi þat for þe loue of þe world and of her lustes, þei dispiseden to kepe hise heestes*(51-6).

Again at lines 63-4(58-9), what is simply referred to by U as *clepynge to þe doom*, the author of the D-group clarifies this image: *þe dreedful voice of aungels whiche Crist schal sende to clepe al mankynde to þe dome.*

Many readings in U that are awkward or difficult are remedied in the D-group. Take for example, lines 141-2(130-1), *and be ateynt in a schameful inconuenyent of euerlastynge reproeue*, compared with the reading in the D-group, *Neiþer schame þou not me ne ateinte me þanne wiþ eendeles repreue.* Some alterations made in the D-group version suggest that the intended audience perhaps consisted of lower religious or lay men and women under the supervision of a priest or friar, as in the following:

U: *þat I may hertly forthenke hem, and cleerly confesse hem, and lawefully amende hem* (149-51).

D: *Þat I verili forþinke al my wickidnesse, truli confessynge hem to þee, and to hem þat ben wiser þan I in weiȝynge and tellynge to me my defautis, whiche oþrewise neiþer I knowe ne can amende, neiþer to þee Lord, ne to hem whom I haue offendid* (138-143).

It appears that the author of the D-group version used the 'Three Arrows' text as a vehicle for his own teaching and such teaching serves to elucidate the subtler points of the text like the long addition at lines 248(241-61) discussed above. Another example occurs at lines 262(279-95) which instructs the reader to believe in the word of God with an example from the third chapter of Job. But several attempts by the scribe to simplify the text fail, resulting in awkward readings which sometimes change the meaning of the original text as at lines 74-6(69-71) where U has *fro þis tyme forth withouten eny eende, to be felow to þe deuel and enemy to almyȝty God*, and D has *for now fro þis tyme forþe into wiþouten eende, þou schalt be felawid to ugeli deuils, enemies of almiȝti God*.

In accordance with the D-group version's tendency to clarify the text, its author often changes the personal pronoun *he* to the proper noun when referring to God or Christ, as at lines: 18(13), 33(31), 49(42), 54(47), 193(198), 223(223), 238(234) and 243(238), and consistently replaces pronouns with descriptive nouns as at line 184(189), where *thei* is replaced with *dampnid caitifs*. The D-group version is a much more vivid text, with additional adjectives and adverbs to make a more lasting impression on the emotions of the audience. There are plenty of examples, but the few

given here should suffice:[18]

	U	D
76(72)	þi ioye	Now wrecch, al þi worldli ioie
94-5 (90-1)	Goo we þerfore togidre	Þerfore, go we now carefulli togidre, eiþer into schame of oþre
124-5 (116-8)	Or elles þat schullen be pyned be vengeaunce	Or ellis þe vntelleable veniaunce þat dampnid wrecchis schulen suffre

These changes as well as others in the text show how careful the author of the D-group version was to dispel any confusion created by pronouns like the *it* of line 252(266) which has been changed to *hym or of hir*, and to add possessives to nouns like *voys* at line 204(206), changing it to the *voice of Crist*, and *multitude* at line 176(183), changing it to *multitude of seintes*.

It seems as if the motive for the extensive alteration of this text was the audience for which it was intended. As I have already suggested, this audience might have been comprised of lower religious or lay men and women, based on the omission of the Latin quotations and the gender inclusive language used by the scribe. Likewise, the author seems to have been in charge of the spiritual guidance of this audience.

Another characteristic of the D-group is the lack of any significant variation between its members:

[18] For more examples see lines 63-4(57-9), 124-6(116-18), 225(225-7).

DTaRH. D is very much the leader of this group with only two 'correctable' isolative errors and it shares no errors with any other manuscript within or without the D-group. It is for these reasons that one could suggest D as the possible archetype of this group, or at least closely related to the archetype of the group. In the readings TaRH share against D, it seems that D contains the longer, and perhaps older, readings as at lines 43, 217 and 243.

While Ta and H seem to be closer to D, each having only several isolative errors, it should be mentioned here that though R has relatively few errors, it has one substantial and unique addition of twelve lines at line 182. Between these three, TaRH, there are several errors and variants shared between them in various combinations, but they do little to help determine any closer relationships within the D-group. The first is the addition in Ta and R of *dampnid wiþouten eende for deeþ schal euir fede hem for euir þei schulen be* after *be* at line 298. However long this addition is, it is of little consequence when compared with the omission shared between Ta and H of *for I am vnmiȝti to beire þin indignacioun, eiþer here or in þi dome* at lines 153-4.[19] The remaining shared variants are minor and offer no further evidence to support any textual relationships between

[19] For other shared variants between pairs in the D-group text see: (TaR) 33, 36, 55, 130, 202, 218; (RH) 152, 300; (TaH) 26, 220.

Ta and H, Ta and R, or H and R.

THE H^1-GROUP

The H^1-group shares 53 variant readings, most of which are minor changes and omissions, and some very long additions at lines 71, 169-70, 175-80, and 270-4. Unlike the D-group, these changes do not reveal as much about the intention of the scribe who made them nor the audience for which it was intended, though some appear to have been made in an attempt to clarify the text.

Omissions range from the mere deletion of the word *pyne* at line 123, a noun not necessary here when the relative *whiche* is sufficient, to the more significant omissions of lines 133-156 including the quotation of Psalm 6:2 and its interpretation.[20] The omission of the Latin quotation attributed in the text to St Bernard at lines 226-231 may indicate that the scribe was also unable to find the Latin source of this quotation to check it and so he omitted it. The omission at line 82 of *alle þat þow dreddest. Now it is agoo*, however, was probably due to eyeskip, the scribe confused by the repetition of *alle þat þou*.

Putting aside the minor alterations such as the replacement of *þinges* with *deedus of mercy* at line 202, the group shows a tendency to add to nouns making them more descriptive. For example, at line 34,

[20] For more examples of short omissions in the H^1-group see variants for lines: 119-20, 121, 202, 220, 249, 269.

virgyne is changed to *virgyne Marie*, and *Lord* to *Lord God* at line 10.[21] The lengthy addition at line 71, shows that the scribe was conscientious enough to make sure his English translation matched his Latin text, but the presence of this portion of text may provide proof that the H^1-group is much closer to the original archetype, the U-type texts descending from a later, erroneous exemplar.[22] However, because of the longer, more significant deletions in the H^1-group, this does not seem possible. Again, the long addition to the Latin text at line 169-70 reveals either the extent of the quotation in the original archetype or that the author of the H^1-group version was able to doublecheck his Latin source and add the missing text.

Within the H^1-group itself, it is quite difficult to determine any direct or immediate connections between the five member manuscripts, as they are not knit together as tightly as the D-group, varying between themselves in several of the longer readings. Likewise, they share errors between themselves in various combinations which makes it difficult to establish any strong links between them.

H^1 consistently represents this group, witness to all the omissions, additions and minor alterations found in the other four manuscripts. Its longer

[21] See also variants for lines 120 and 216.

[22] The D-group also gives the full English translation here at lines 62-6.

reading in the appended variant at line 71(3) may further support the case for H^1 as the source for the others or at least its closer proximity to the archetype. As shown above, H^1 and He have the fewest number of isolative errors. Unfortunately, because of the damage He has suffered, it is impossible to know of any other errors it may have contained, but from the portion that remains, it differs very little from the copy of the text given in H^1.

The other manuscripts which complete this group, F^2AdB, are not as reliable, and apart from the numerous isolative errors that each contains, they share few errors between themselves. Internal relationships within the group have proven difficult to uncover and the errors shared by them do not occur with enough regularity to attribute them to any certain textual relationships. Within the appended variants, there are only two shared readings at lines 175-80(2) where F^2Ad read *schyne*, and 270-4(4) where HeAd omit *to*.

B conforms the least with the H^1-group and there are several instances where B seems to have shortened the longer readings found in H^1HeF^2Ad. For example at line 31, where the others have *þe deth bi Godes comaundement*, B has only *the deethe*. Likewise, at line 71 where the others have *dome þat is to be demed*, B merely states *doom*. Where B differs in these readings from the rest of the H^1-group, it seems to be

following the rest of the U-type copies of the text as in the two instances cited above. Perhaps there is some evidence here of conflation between the U-type text and the H^1-group text. B also reveals its individual character by occasionally deleting more of the text than has been omitted by the rest of the H^1-group as at lines 183-4, 191 and 208-9, or by changing the choice or order of the words given in the group's variants for lines 30, 56, 69, 95, 159 and 224. The partial omission in B of the H^1-group addition at lines 169-70 and the complete omission of the addition at lines 175-80 may have been due to a scribal decision to include only the Latin which corresponded to the English translation already present in the U-type version. If this were the case, however, the Latin in B should have included *ergo computati sunt inter filios Dei*.

But there are readings which B shares with H^1HeF^2 against Ad, the Ad reading being shorter and closer to those found in the U-type texts.[23] Like B, Ad seems to have been copied by an editing scribe and there are two specific instances where it appears that the scribes of both Ad and B had similar exemplars in front of them, but decided to change their texts more to their liking:

$H^1(He)F^2$	B	Ad

[23] See variants for lines 21, 51, 89, and 116. Brief alterations in word choice or deletion of a single word see lines 70, 72, 93, 96, 165, 188, 199, 210, 212, 233.

46 awey þer fro þeer fro awai

95 dredeful and ri3tful ri3tful moste drefulleste

The divergence of Ad and B only helps to place H^1HeF^2 closer to the H^1-group archetype, except for the minor error shared between Ad and H^1 at line 258.

U-TYPE COPIES OF THE TEXT

Apart from these two subgroups of D and H^1, there seem to be no real substantial connections between any of the other manuscripts collated for this edition with the exception of one minor pair, FHr. All of these manuscripts are in some way related to U, but there is very little evidence which would enable us to determine any specific textual relationships. The few errors shared between manuscripts of the U-type mostly occur in the Latin quotations, but these could be independently corrected by a scribe, and such a possibility makes these shared errors less significant. [24] There are, however, some shared errors which are quite puzzling and suggest either independent scribal error or some distant textual relationship.

S does not share any errors with any other manuscript, though it shares the reading of *seiþ* for *sau3* at line 129 with C and the H^1-group. It also shares readings with U at lines 28, 49, and 262 against the readings found in all the other manuscripts. These are not important, but S and U are

[24] See below.

still very closely related, and in one instance S seems to have corrected an error it found in the exemplar it possibly shared with U. At line 182 where U has *gladed*, the scribe of S corrected this reading by erasing the final *-d* (-t in S), a spelling which then matches that in FHrF[1]CHaP.

I would argue that T is also closely related to U because, like S, it has few isolative and shared errors. However, it shares two notable omissions with the D-group at lines 86(82) and 239-40(235). If the D-group ultimately descended from a U-type copy of the 'Three Arrows' text, it is possible that this copy was closely related to T.

L shares several correct readings in the Latin quotations with other manuscripts and these are discussed below. At line 186, Lm and PH[1]HeF[2] changed *fro* to *for*, but this is probably attributable to independent scribal error in Lm and P, but because of the established relationship of the H[1]-group, this may be a shared error in H[1]HeF[2]. An error of more significance is shared by Lm and He at line 234-5, where both have omitted *and euery creature of God schal ryse aȝens him*. It is more likely that this error is not shared, but results from independent scribal error, both scribes victim to eyeskip with the repetition of *aȝens him* at lines 233 and 234-5.

The only potential pair in this group of U-type copies of the text is F and Hr. They share several

readings in the Latin and several minor variants at lines 152, 224, and 265. These readings give some hint of a relationship between F and Hr, but the following evidence suggests that Hr was perhaps corrected by a scribe to match F or a manuscript very similar to F. At line 161, *it* has been changed to *yf hit* by F (as well as TF^{1}AAdB), and in Hr this change is written over an erasure of *it*. Though this alteration has been shared by other manuscripts, the following are only shared between F and Hr. F omits *euermore* at line 255, and in Hr, *euermore* has been cancelled. At line 5, F has omitted *fro*, and though originally present in Hr's text, *fro* was then erased. Also at line 235, *woundynge* is added after *arowe* in F and in an attempt to match an F-like copy of the text, the scribe of Hr added *wounding* in the margin. This evidence may not seem convincing, but it may be enough to suggest that Hr was corrected by a scribe who used F or an F-like copy to check his text. However, based on the later date of F, it may be more likely that these corrections and changes were first made in Hr and then later copied by the scribe of F or an exemplar for F.

F^{1} shares no errors with any other manuscript, but shares several readings and omissions with A at lines 45, 68, 101, 112, 170, 181, 245, 268. Almost all of these are merely the omission of *pat is* after a Latin scriptural quotation, and it seems appropriate

at this point to mention that the presence of *þat is*, *þat is to seie*, or its omission in the various manuscripts appears to have been a stylistic habit of individual scribes, regardless of their exemplars. Such a scribal habit usually proves to be consistent throughout a manuscript as in STCPAF[1], the first four always stating *þat is to seye* and the last two consistently omitting it.

Ha and C have no shared errors either, though the two share variant readings at lines 91, 96, 132 and 270. P only shares a few errors with other manuscripts in the Latin, but these will be discussed later. P's truly individual style makes it very difficult to place within the context of the other witnesses to the U-type text. A is equally difficult to place or relate to the other manuscripts because of its unique style, but it does share erroneous and correct readings that occur in the Latin quotations with other manuscripts.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE D-GROUP, THE H^1-GROUP AND THE U-TYPE COPIES OF THE TEXT

Now that we have established the identities of the D-group and the H^1-group, and examined the remaining U-type copies of the text, we should look at how these two subgroups relate to one another and to the other manuscripts collated in this edition. Between the D-group and the H^1-group, there are no shared errors, though the D-group shares the deletion of *in þe gospel* at line 183-4(189) with B of the H^1-

group. These two groups share several readings with a large number of other manuscripts against that given in U (sometimes including S, T and others).[25] Such readings may descend from the ultimate archetype of all of these versions of the 'Three Arrows,' and they help us to separate US, and sometimes T, from the other manuscripts collated here. For example, the reading at line 28 in U of *For þat tyme he was so fel þat* is shared with S, against the reading *for he was þanne so fel þat* found in all the other manuscripts including both subgroups. There are minor variants shared exclusively between the D-group and one or more members of the H^1-group as at lines 15(10) with H^1F^2Ad, 90(86) with H^1Ad and 191(196) with H^1F^2Ad, but none between the H^1-group and individual members of the D-group.

It seems quite clear from the previous discussions of the D-group and H^1-group, that these two subgroups are very different from each other with no textual links between them apart from their descent from the same ultimate archetype. The next stage is to determine how these two groups relate to the U-type copies of the text. First looking at the D-group, there are few readings this group shares with any U-type copy of the text. There are, however, two

[25] These shared variants between U and one or more manuscripts also occur at lines 81(STA), 91(STLLmA), 98(SLCHaP), 185(T, STHrLLmF^1), 188(SA), 217(SA) and 262(SA). Those with S only occur at lines 48, 123 and 159.

omissions already mentioned which the group shares with T, quite puzzling ones which suggest either a vague relationship or a mere coincidence. At line 86(82), both the D-group and T omit *þi delices and þi wykkednesses* and at line 239-40(235) both omit *and þis is þe secounde arwe*. These two errors may be independent scribal error, especially the second one which seems to be a formulaic sentence, but it is possible to suggest that the D-group may have descended from T or a similar copy of the 'Three Arrows' text. To further this argument, the only isolative errors found in T at lines 257 and 262-3 occur in portions of the text not present in the D-group version.

Now looking at the H^1-group's relationship with the other U-type copies of the text, the reading this group shares at line 129 with S and C may be coincidental because either *sauȝ* or *seiþ* makes sense. The group also shares an error at line 186 with LmP, mistaking *fro* for *for*, but this again seems to be coincidental. Neither of these shared readings carries much weight when it comes to determining any feasible connections between the H^1-group and the rest of the manuscripts collated for this edition of the 'Three Arrows'.

Apart from the D-group and the H^1-group, there is very little evidence to support any relationships within the group of remaining U-type copies of the

text, except that of FHr. But perhaps through an examination of the Latin quotations from scripture in these copies, we can learn more about the obscure relationships between these existing copies of the 'Three Arrows'.

Before beginning such an examination, I must stress that this will not be a discussion of how the Latin in U and the other manuscripts differs from that of the present Vulgate edition of the Bible, but of how the various copies compare with U, only referring to the Vulgate when it is apparent that the other manuscripts have corrected their readings to match it. Latin quotations which have remained unchanged in all copies of the text and any isolative errors in the other quotations will not be covered here. It is obvious that the D-group will be omitted from this section.

The first Latin quotation occurs at lines 6-7 where the addition of *tua* in FHrF^{1}HaA matches the reading of the Vulgate and suggests three possibilities. First, this correct reading was passed down from the archetype to these few manuscripts, the others descending from an erroneous exemplar; second, the reading was originally erroneous and corrected in the exemplar for FHrF^{1}HaA; or third, the error was independently corrected by the scribe of each manuscript. The last of these seems the most likely, though based on the relationship between F and Hr, the

addition of *tua* in them may be a shared reading. It is worth noting that in the English translation found in FHrF^{1}HaA, none of them adds this possessive pronoun. A similar situation happens again in the scriptural quotation from Isaiah at lines 12-13, where CHaH^{1}F^{2}AdB have added *sancto* between *loco suo*, an adjective which is not present in the Vulgate nor in the English translation of these manuscripts.

At lines 40-1, confusion between the use of *ipsa* and *cito* has created a few problems. While *ipsa* is found in the Vulgate, it is also found in FHrLCHaP. Again, there are three possibilities here: this correct reading was either present in the archetype and passed down to FHrLCHaP, erroneous but corrected in the exemplar for FHrLCHaP, or corrected independently by the scribe of each manuscript. In the English translation, *anoon* has been omitted in FHrCP, changed to *that* in Ha, but retained in L. At lines 43-5, the *magis ut* of U is reversed in LmF^{1}CHaAH^{1}F^{2}AdB, though there is no *magis* in the Vulgate text, this reversal does change the meaning of the sentence from 'more that they be converted' to 'that more be converted'. This change, however, is not reflected in the English translation, except in A where *more* is omitted.

The quotation from the gospel of John at lines 64-8 reveals either the efforts of a conscientious scribe or that the H^{1}-group is closer to the original

reading of the text. While U and the other U-type copies of the text translate *et procedent qui bona egerunt, in resurreccionem vite; qui vero mala, in resurreccionem iudicij* with *and so passe forth to the doom*, the H^1-group preserves the entire translation. The repetition at lines 133-4 of *Domine, ne in furore* is completely omitted by the H^1-group as well as the further discussion of the quotation in the English text from lines 133-156. There is some evidence that the exemplars for the other manuscripts contained more of this quotation than is found in U. U's quotation stops after *furore*, but we see that in P this quotation continues to include *tuo*, A includes *tuo ar-* and CHa includes *tuo arguas me*. The scribes of these manuscripts could very well have looked back to the first recording of this quotation in the text, and then realising that a full repetition was not necessary, they stopped; and in the case of A, the scribe stopped so abruptly that he did not even finish his last word.

The next example gives further evidence of either an original reading preserved in the H^1-group or a scribe who had access to a Bible with which to correct his text. At lines 168-70, U and the other U-type manuscripts have abbreviated the quotation and its English translation, while the H^1-group gives the entire reading from Sapientia chapters 3 to 9 and 13, with a full translation added at lines 175-80.

The Latin quotation attributed to St Bernard in the text at lines 226-31 is presently unidentified so there is no original against which to compare these various manuscripts. But when comparing the manuscripts against each other, it seems as if the scribes, who also may have been unable to find the original Latin source, tried to alter it in order to more clearly reflect the English translation, especially when these changes in the Latin read better. For example, FHrL have moved *contra eum* to come after *testimonium*: *witnesse aȝens him*. Likewise, Ha replaced *prohibuerit* meaning 'to prevent' with *perhibuerit* meaning 'to call, assert' or *bere*. And L seems to have added *tunc* before *erit* to allow for the *þanne* in the English translation.

There is yet another example of the H^1-group's correction of the Latin or perhaps its keeping of the original reading and this occurs at lines 243-5, where the H^1-group matches the Vulgate reading of *Discedite a me*, but the U-type copies of the text have *Ite*. Unlike some of the earlier examples where changes in the Latin text are not shown in the English translation, here it is reflected in the translation, U having only *go* while the H^1-group has *departe ȝe fro me*. This Latin quotation reveals another shared error between F and Hr, the omission of *est*, which further supports their relationship.

The next quotation, attributed to St Eusebius at

lines 258-60, also has no known Latin source, and so perhaps unable to correct their Latin, the scribes changed their text in order for it to better correspond with the English translation. Here we see that *est datum* has been reversed in the H^1-group and CHaA to *datum est*, *hoc prius* has been reversed in $FHrLmF^1$, and *noli* has been added after *credere* in Ad.

In the final Latin quotation, the U text varies so much from the Vulgate that it is difficult to tell here what would be considered a correct reading, and the H^1-group seems either to have corrected the U reading or contains the original reading of the archetype:

U: *Venite benedicti patris mei, percipite vobis regnum quod vobis paratum est a patre meo ab origine mundi.*

H^1-group: *Venite benedicti patris mei possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitucione mundi*

lat: Venite benedicti patris mei possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi

The English translation given by the H^1-group also differs significantly from that in the U-type copies of the text, not only showing its accurate recording of the Latin, but it also adds a translation of the rest of this quotation from Matthew 25:34-6.

This discussion of the Latin quotations has revealed an interesting quality in the H^1-group version of the text, that of accuracy in the recording of its Latin quotations and the English translations that follow. That the readings given by the H^1-group are the original readings found in the archetype for

the 'Three Arrows' text is a strong possibility, but because of the long deletion in the group of lines 133-56, I am hesistant to declare that the H^1-group is more closely related to that ultimate archetype than the D-group or the U-type copies of the text. The Latin quotations have also revealed several shared errors and readings between the various U-type copies of the text, though most are of little consequence.

The text 'Of Three Arrows that shall be shot on Domesday' seems to have been a remarkably versatile text evidenced by the many witnesses to the text which have been collated here and by the fact that it has been adapted for use in other texts such as 'The Tretyse of Gostly Batayle', the meditation of Christ's Passion, various sermons, and has influenced texts such as 'Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei'. Despite these various uses of the text, its basic themes of penance and fear in the face of a mercyful God on Judgement Day are left intact, and it is for these very themes that the text seems to have been so popular.

OF THREE ARROWS THAT SHALL BE SHOT ON DOMESDAY

Of þree arwes þat schullen bee schot on domesday. f.158ᵛ

Who so wol haue in mynde þe dreedful day of doom so þat he mowe be moeued *with* dreede to flee fro synne, **as** þe Wise Man biddeth his sone, Memorare nouissima, et in eternu*m* no*n* peccabis. Þat is, 'Haue mynde on þe laste þinges, þat is day of doom, and it schal kepe þe fro synne.' **H**eere ȝe mowen fynde sumwhat writen þeerof, how oure Lord

USTFHrLLmF¹CHaPAH¹HeF²AdB

1 of...of(62)] *text missing* He of...domesday(2)] and here bigynnyþ a tretis þat spekiþ of (*add.* þe F²) þre arowis þat schulen be schett at domysday to he*m* þat þere schulen be dampnyd H¹F², here begynnyth a tretyse of thre arows that schulu*n* be schette at domusday vnto (to Ha) hem that there schall be dampned CHa, here bygynneþ a tretice of þre arowis þat schullen be schett on domesday aȝenste þem þat schulle*n* be dampnedd F, *and* bigy*n*neþ anoþir tretis of þre arowis þat schulen be schot on domesday to hem þat þere schulen be dampned Hr, here bigynneþ þe þre arowis þat God schal schete at domysdaie apon hem þat schullen be dampned Ad, here it speketh of thre arowis þat shal be shette on domesday at them *and* to them þat shal be da*m*pned F¹, here it spekiþ of þre arewis þat schule*n* be schot on domysdai to he*m* þat þere schule*n* be da*m*pnyd LLm, here it spekeþ of þre arewes þat shulleþ be y-shote to hem þat shulleþ be y-dampned P, here sueþ a tretijs of þre arowis þat schulen be schote at domysdai upon hem þat þer schule*n* be da*m*pned B, of þe day of dome a gode note A, *om.* T 3 so] *om.* Ha 4 of] *om.* B so þat] where by A he] we Ad moeued...as(5)] þe better ware to leue synne take hede of þes wordis þat A 5 dreede] þat drede P to...synne] *om.* B fro] *om.* F, *canc.* Hr 6 biddeth] techeþe A sone] sone seynge þus PH¹F²AdB memorare] momorare A nouissima] nouissima tua FHrF¹HaA 7 eternum non] *illeg.* F þat is] þat is to seie TCP, *om.* A mynde] in mynde FC *margin* Ecc^a 7 H¹F²AdB 8 on] of THrLLmCHaAB day] the day STFHrLLmF¹CHaPAH¹F²AdB and] *and* y trowe A 9 kepe] saue A ȝe] we H¹F²AdB, þou A 10 sumwhat] sum w / what, w *canc.* U Lord] Lord God H¹F²AdB

speketh by Ysaie þe prophete seienge þus, Egredietur Dominus de loco suo, vt visitet iniquitatem habitatorum terre. Þat is, 'Oure Lord schal weende out of his place / for to visite þe wikkednesse of hem þat enhabiten þe eerthe.' f. 159r

Ceertes þis doom schulde souereynly be drad, for as muche as he now doth mercy, so muche schal [h]e þanne doo streit vengeable riȝtwisnesse. For it is of God in liknesse as it is of þe sonne. The sonne, holdynge his cours, passeth out of þe signe of þe lyoun into þe signe of þe virgyne and out of þe signe of þe virgyne into þe signe of þe balaunce. The lyoun is a strong beest and a fel, *and* in þis signe was Crist, þe sonne of riȝtwisnesse, bifore þe incarnacioun.

11 þus] *om.* B 12 loco] loco *sancto* CHaH^{1}F^{2}AdB 13 þat is] *corr.* Lm, þat is to seie SC, þat is to seye þus P, *om.* TA *margin* Isa 26 H^{1}F^{2}B, Isaie 2<6> Ad 15 for] *om.* H^{1}F^{2}Ad 16 enhabiten] in in habyten Ha, dwellethe apon A 17 ceertes] truly A souereynly be] *rev.* FHrLmF^1, be souereynly be L souereynly] *corr.* Ha, so\rely/ / raynely, raynely *canc.* A 18 drad] *om.* Ha as] in as H^{1}F^{2}Ad now doth] *rev.* FHrHa now] *after* mercy A doth] *on eras. corr.* C 19 he] be U, *om.* F^{2}B doo] be doon F^{2}B vengeable] vengaunce Lm 20 for] forwhi TA of] *om.* Ha in liknesse] *om.* F^2 liknesse] lyke wyse A 21 the sonne] he as the sonne H^{1}F^{2}B 22 out] not Lm signe...of^2(24)] balonis into þe virgynne and out of þe virgynne into A signe] syngne, *1st* -n- *canc.* L 23 lyoun] loui *canc.*, lioun Lm þe^2...virgyne(24)] þat F^1 26 a] *corr.* F^2 *and*] *om.* F^1 Crist] *om.* A 27 of] *corr.* F^1 riȝtwisnesse] riȝtwis F^2 bifore] owre savyour Criste byfore A þe] his A incarnacioun] *corr.* F^2

For þat tyme he was so fel þat what man þat braake hise biddynges, anoon he schulde bee deed. For as it is seid, a man was doon to deeth for he gederede stikkes on þe sabat-day.

But out of þis signe of þe lyoun, he passide into þe signe of the virgyne whan he took mankynde *and* was borne of þe virgyne Marie, and þanne was he maade moore redy to doo mercy þan euere he was to doo ven-geaunce. Thanne it bigan, *and* 3et it lasteth, þat he þat seide wha*n*ne he was in þe signe of þe lyoun, Anima que peccauerit, cito morietur. Þat is, 'The soule þat synneth, anoon it schal dye.' Now wha*n*ne he

28 for...fel] for why a was the*n* so sharpe of his co*m*maundeme*n*tis A for] for whi T þat tyme] *om.* TFHrLLmF¹CHaPH¹F²AdB so] þa*n*ne so TFHrLLmF¹CHaH¹F²AdB, þat tyme so P þat³] þo P, it was þat A, *om.* Lm 29 biddynges] biddynge CPAd, comau*n*deme*n*t*es* L, comau*n*dement H¹F²B, lawe A, comaundment or his bid-dyngis F¹ bee deed(30)] dye A 30 for as] and þe*r*for B as] *om.* CHaH¹F²Ad as...seid] it seid is, seid is *marked for rev.*, is *eras.* L seid] seid in holi writ þat B, write*n* T, writen in holi writ how H¹F²Ad, red A was] *illeg.* T doon] stooned B 31 deeth] the deethe FHrLCPB, þe deth bi Godes comau*n*dement H¹F²Ad for] for bycause þat A stikkes] *corr.* H¹ on] in AH¹F²B, of Lm sabatday (32)] haledy A *margin* Nm' 15 TH¹AdB 32 day] daie *and* dide no gretter trespas Ad 33 but] but þen A out] *om.* F¹ of] *om.* F² þis] þe LCHaAd signe ...þe] *om.* A 34 signe...the] *om.* A the] *om.* P virgyne] virgyne Marie H¹F²AdB whan...Marie(36)] *om.* H¹F²AdB 35 mankynde] mankynde vpon hym Ha 36 þanne] þo P was he] *rev.* HaH¹F²B 37 euere] *om.* H¹F²AdB to] tofore to L, bifore to P, in the signe of the lyou*n* *canc.*, to C doo²] *om.* Hr 38 thanne] þo P 39 þat...þat] fore he P he þat] *rev.* Ha þat²] *om.* F¹CH¹F²B whanne...lyoun(40)] *om.* F¹ in] *om.* F² 40 signe...þe] *om.* A lyoun] lyon þe sowle þat synneþe ano*n* hit shal dye A 41 cito] ipsa FHrL-CHaP þat...dye(42)] *om.* A þat is] þat is to seie STCP,*om.* F¹ *margin* Eze 18 H¹AdB 42 anoon it] that Ha anoon] *om.* FHrCP now wha*n*ne] and nowe P, now A

is in þe signe of þe virgyne seith þus, Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut conuertatur, et viuat. Þat is, 'I wol not þe deeth of a synnere, but moore þat he be turned þeer fro and lyuen.'

But certes, out of þis signe þus of þe virgyne, he schal passe into þe signe of þe balaunce at þe day of doom wheere he schal weye alle oure þou3tes, oure woordes, and oure werkes in euene peys of his ri3twis-nesse, þat he may 3elde to euery man after þe trouthe of his desert. And what he schal / þanne doo, heere þow what he seith now by þe prophete, Congregabo super eos mala et sagittas meas complebo in eis. Þat is, 'I schal heepen vpon hem here eueles, and I schal dispende alle myne arwes vpon

f. 159v

43 signe...þe] *om.* A seith þus] *and* seythe þus A, he seith thus $F^1HaH^1F^2Ad$, nowe seiþ he þus P 44 peccatoris] pectoris Lm magis ut] *rev.* $LmF^1CHa-AH^1F^2AdB$ 45 þat is] þat is to seie STCP, *om.* F^1A þe] *om.* L *margin* Eze 33 H^1AdB, a gret comforte A 46 moore þat] *rev.* HaP, þat A þeer fro] and *canc.*, þerfro P, awey þer fro H^1F^2, awai Ad þeer] *om.* F^1 fro] fro synne F^1 48 certes] truly A þis] that HaH^1F^2B, the $FHrLmF^1CAd$ þus] þis A, *om.* $TFHrLLmF^1-CHaPH^1F^2AdB$ 50 at] and at F^1 wheere] when Ad, *om.* F^1 schal] schal þanne H^1F^2AdB 51 oure] oure soulis all oure H^1F^2B oure^2...werkes(52)] *and* dedus *and* wordis A oure^2] alle oure B, *om.* FHrLmAd 52 oure] alle oure B peys] wey3ynge P of] by A 53 þat...3elde] yeldyng F^1 to] vnto C euery] eche TH^1F^2AdB 54 desert] deseruynge P 55 heere] ye may here F^1 þow] nowe þou Ha, now H^1F^2Ad, \now/ B, *om.* F^1 what] nowe what P, schat Lm 56 now] *om.* $LF^1HaPAH^1-F^2AdB$ þe prophete] his profete Moises B, Moises his prophete H^1F^2Ad þe] his F^1A 57 meas] *om.* F^2 þat is(58)] þat is to seie SCP, *om.* F^1A *margin* Deut° 32 H^1F^2B 58 vpon] up apon A eueles] yeu *canc.*, yuelys F, yuele L, owne evelys A 59 dispende] spende A alle...hem(60)] vppon them all myne F arwes] arowis of my wrethe A vpon] on F^1 *margin* nota3 C

hem.' Three scharpe arwes schullen bee schot of oure Lord in þat day, vpon hem þat þeere schullen be dampned.

The firste arwe schal be of clepynge to þe doom whan, as himself seith, <u>Venit hora ut omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem Filij Dei, et procedent qui bona egerunt, in resurreccionem vite; qui vero mala, in resurreccionem iudicij</u>. Þat is, 'Tyme schal come þat alle þoo þat been in graues schullen heere þe voys of þe Sone of God, and so passe forth to þe doom.' Thanne þe wrecched, dampned soule schal come to þe body and seye to hit, 'Aryse þow curside, caityf careyne, fro þis tyme forth withouten eny eende, to be felow to þe deuel and enemy to almyȝty God. Now þi ioye schal be turned

61 day] dredeful day A 62 þeere] *om.* F¹PAd 63 the] þe firste arowe the F² of] *om.* A clepynge] callyng A to] of HeC *margin* þe ferste L, p*rimum* sag T, -i- C 64 whan...seith] as a seythe hy*m*self A, when*ne* þat hymself syttynge shal seie P, wherof Crist spekiþ in þe gospel seyinge þus H¹F²AdB, whereof Crist spekith in his gospel seying þus He whan as] as Cr*i*st L 66 Filij] Filius F et p*r*ocedent] *om.* P p*r*ocedent] *corr.* F² qui] que Lm 68 þat is] þat is to seie SCPH¹HeAd, *om.* F¹A *margin* Ion 5 H¹HeF²B 69 tyme...þoo] the hour schal come in which alle me*n* B, þe houre comeþ in whiche alle men H¹HeAd, the hour comeþ in þe which alle men F² tyme] at þis tyme P þat alle] *twice* Ha þoo] *om.* T 70 graues] biriels H¹HeF²B þe² ...God(71)] Goddis Sone H¹HeF²AdB 71 and...doom] *see appended variants* H¹HeF²AdB to þe] into F, to P to] vnto C þe] *corr.* Hr doom] dome þat is to be demed H¹HeF²Ad 72 þe] shal þe F¹, þi A wrecched dampned] *rev.* Ha, wrecched dampnable H¹HeF²B schal] *om.* F¹ to] vnto T þe²] þi A 73 body] soule *canc.*, body He þow] *om.* S 74 caityf] wrecchede P 75 eny] en Ha, *om.* CPAH¹HeF²B to²] *with* F¹ deuel] fend TH¹HeF² 76 to] vnto C now] for now A

into woo, þi delit into bitternesse, **and** þi lauȝtre into wepynge. **N**ow þi wrecchide, schort lust schalle passe into euerlastynge sorwe. **N**ow it is fulliche fallen fro the, what so þow desiredest. **N**ow it is comen to þee, alle þat þow dreddest. **N**ow it is agoo, al þat þow louedest. **A**nd now it is comen, al þat þow hatedest. **C**ursid be þow, þow wrecched careyne. For in pyne of þi synnes, þi delices and þi wykkednesses, sith I passide fro þee, I haue besyly brend in helle. **C**ursed be þow helle brou*n*de, ordeyned to þe fuyr of helle þat neuere schal be quenched. **C**ursed be þe tyme in þe whiche I first was coupled to þee, for now

77 delit into] \swete delite*s* in/to A 78 lauȝtre] lauhyng F^1 into] to S now] and now A þi wrecchide] wrecchid þi, *marked for rev.* Ad 79 lust] lyf F^2 80 it] *om.* F^1 fulliche fallen] *rev.* P fallen] passid F^2 fro] to Ad 81 what so] þat A so] so eue*r*e H^1HeF^2AdB desiredest] desyrydyst to haue hadd $FHrLLmF^1CHaPH^1HeF^2AdB$ now] and nowe P it is] *rev.* F^1 it] *om.* Ha comen to] passid fro H^1HeF^2AdB to] vnto C 82 alle...agoo] *om.* H^1HeF^2AdB alle] *om.* A it is] *rev.* F^1 agoo] gone A, gon fro þe P 83 it...comen] is come to þe P it is] *rev.* F^1 84 al] that *canc.*, alle Ha þow^3] *om.* $F^1AH^1HeF^2AdB$ 85 careyne] caityf careyne Ad in...wykkednesses(86)] *om.* A of] for $CHaPH^1HeF^2B$ *margin* Ioh'es P 86 þi...wykkednesses] *om.* T þi] *and* þi H^1HeF^2AdB delices] delites P wykkednesses] wikkidnesse $LmCF^2$, wrecchydnesses Ha sith I] synne þe tyme þat y A, fro þat tyme siþen I H^1HeF^2AdB 87 besyly brend] bre*n*t ful bitte*r*ly A, brent L in helle(88)] in helle for þe sy*n*nis *and* false wyckednes þat þou vsedest whe*n* y dwellyd wi*th* þe A, *om.* P 89 ordeyned] ordeyned for þi sy*n*nes H^1HeF^2B þe] be P of helle] *corr.* B, of helle foreue*r* more A þat...schal(90)] *and* neue*r* to A 90 þe] *corr.* F in...first(91)] þat ever y A in] þat in P þe] *om.* H^1Ad 91 I first] *rev.* CHa first was] *rev.* $FHrF^1PH^1HeF^2AdB$ to] vnto AC for...þee(92)] *om.* P

I may not leeue þee. Thi cursed companye,
/ I may not eschewe. Wol I or nyl I, I am constreyned to be knyt aȝen to þee. Goo we þerfore togidre bifore þe dreedful Domes-
man, þeere for to heere oure euerlastynge dampnacion.' f. 160r

Thanne shullen alle þe wykkede men see þe iuste cause of here owene dampnacion, writen with here owene hoondes in þe book of here consciences, boothe leerid and lewed, and reedyn it hemself. 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. Thanne þei schullen see þe Domesman as he weere wood, forwratthed aȝens hem. Of þis woodnesse *and* þis wratthe speketh þe *pro*phete in þe firste

92 may not] ne may F^1 thi] ne thy CHaH^1HeF^2B 93 I] now I F eschewe] eschewe þee H^1HeF^2B, avoyde A wol ...I^3] *om.* S nyl I] ne wul y P, nyle Hr, nylly Ha 94 knyt] knyȝt, -ȝ- *canc.* Ad, put FHr, *om.* F^1 þee] þe y may not chuse A 95 dreedful] dredeful and riȝt-ful H^1HeF^2, moste drefulleste A, riȝtful B 96 þeere for to] þerfore *canc.*, þere for to P, ther to HaC, to H^1HeF^2B heere oure] *corr.* H^1 heere] hure þe iuggement of P 98 thanne...dampnacion(99)] *margin corr.* C þe] *om.* TFHrLmF^1AH^1HeF^2AdB 99 iuste] ryȝtful P owene] *om.* L 100 writen] *and* wretyn A here] *om.* F^1 101 consciences] conscience FPAAdF^1, owne concyence CHaH^1HeF^2B boothe] þe which book boþe H^1HeF^2AdB leerid...lewed] lewid and lered Lm, lewydd and lernyd FHr, lerned *and* onlerned F^1A, lered men and lewed men P 102 and] and alle pepul shal A, schulen H^1HeF^2AdB reedyn] *om.* Ha hemself] him self Lm and^2...writynge(105)] *om.* A ȝef] yet F^1P þat] þe He, *om.* F^2 103 lewede] onlerned F^1 þat] *om.* PHe 104 noon] o *canc.*, noon Ha þat] bute at P he ne] *rev.* F^2B, he P 105 writynge] writynge *and* of his owene workes P þei schullen (106)] *rev.* P þei] euery creatur A 106 þe] þat dredeful A as] riȝt as P wood] wroþ *canc.*, wood P 107 hem] them þat were his enemijs and A þis] of þis TAd, *om.* A 108 in...penaunce (109)] in spalmo A, Dauiþ H^1HeF^2AdB

psalme of penaunce, **w**here he preieth to be
delyuered of hem boothe seienge þus, <u>*Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me*</u>. 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, **b**ut herfore þei been set in scr*i*pture. **F**or þe werkes of God in punysschynge and vengynge of synne schullen taake effect of suche passions as been wratthe and woodnesse in al synneres. Þat [eyther] schullen be chastised by pyne þat schal haue eende, as is purgatorie; þe whiche pyne is cleped heere þe wratthe of God. **Or elles**

109 where] when Ad preieth] profrid F^2 to] for to P 110 hem] *om*. F^1 boothe] *om*. C 112 me] *om*. L that is] þa is Lm, þat is to seie STCP, *om*. F^1A *margin* Ps 6 H^1HeF^2AdB 113 woodnesse] wodenes y beseche þe A me not] *rev*. L with skiles] *om*. A and] ne P 114 chastise] chastite B in] *with* A 115 no...þenke] lo m*en* wolde wene A 116 troubled] *corr*. F^2, trobul of A mannes passion] passiouns of m*a*nnes kynde H^1HeF^2, passiouns of m*a*nnys kynde may kynde B may be] shulde not by founde A 117 herfore] here A, þ*er*fore $FF^1PH^1HeF^2AdB$ set] sette *and* shewyd A in] *in* þe T 118 punysschynge...synne(119)] punysshyng of synne *and* vengyng of þe same F^1 119 and vengynge] *om*. L vengynge] veniaunce Ad schullen] þat shal A, in alle sy*n*neris þat ben worþi to H^1HeF^2AdB effect of(120)] *om*. H^1HeF^2AdB 120 passions] passiou*n*s of ponyschinge H^1HeF^2Ad, passiou*n*s of ponyschinges B 121 in...synneres] *om*. H^1HeF^2AdB eyther] outher USTFHrLLmF^1C, oþer þei P, is eiþer þei H^1HeF^2AdB 123 eende] an ende TFHrLLmF^1CHaPH^1HeF^2AdB, *and* ende A is] in SF^1A purgatorie] *canc*. Hr pyne] *om*. H^1HeF^2AdB is] here is C 124 cleped] callid AAd heere] *om*. C or...þat(125)] eiþer ellis þei H^1HeAdB, eiþ*er* ellis þe\i/ F^2

þat schullen be pyned be vengeaunce in þe horrible peyne of helle þat neuer schal haue / eende, þe whiche is cleped heere þe woodnesse of God. f. 160v

Al þis þe prophete Dauid sau3 in spirit and þerfore he, in persoone of alle synneres felyng him vnmy3ty to bere euer either, first asketh to be delyuered of helle and sitthen of purgatorie seienge þus, Domine, ne in furore *et cetera*. As 3ef he seide þus to oure vnderstondyng, 'Lord, I biseche þee þat in þe dreedful day of doom, wheere þow schalt haaue þe to synneres as a man þat weere wood, spaaryng noþing, þat þow ouercome me not *with* skiles in fynal conclusion, so þat I be not convict for euere, and be ateynt in a schameful inconuenyent of euerlastynge reproeue. *And*

125 þat] þei PA be²] þoru H¹HeF²AdB þe] *om*. A 127 cleped] callyd AAd 129 þe] *om*. He sau3] seiþ SCH¹HeF²AdB 130 he] *om*. He persoone] the persone HaH¹HeF²AdB, ensample P synneres] suche synneris H¹HeF² 131 him] himself AH¹HeF²B vnmy3ty] vnwurþi P to...euer] *om*. F² bere] be L euer either] eyþer oþer A, eny reward P 132 first] þerfor first he A asketh] he askeþ P of] fro CHa 133 sitthen] after A, aftirward H¹HeF²AdB of] from C purgatorie] *eras*. Hr Domine...þus (156)] *om*. H¹HeF²AdB 134 furore] furore tuo P, furore tuo ar *et cetera* A, furore tuo arguas me *et cetera* CHa 136 dreedful] synners *canc*., dredful L wheere] where as A 137 schalt] shalt be A haaue] bihaue F¹, schewe FHr þe to] *rev*. L 138 spaaryng noþing] *and withowte* mercy/ A þow] þou then A 139 me] *om*. LC *with*] bi T skiles] causis A 140 so] *om*. A þat] tha Ha I] \we/ L for...reproeue(142)] *with* oþer synneres and so to be founde *and* take afore þe a false traytur atente for euer more/ A 141 be] *om*. P 142 inconuenyent of] *and* P inconuenyent] -y- *orig*. *n altered to y* U *and*...not(143)] *margin corr*. Hr

herfore I seye argue me not, for arguynge, as clerkes knowen wel, is to ouercome an oothere with skiles. But ȝef me grace, goode Lorde, so to argue and for to ouercome, with skiles of þi lawe, þe erroures of my blynde conscience heere in þis lif whiles tyme is of mercy; þat I may hertly forthenke hem, and cleerly confesse hem, and lawefully amende hem by ensaumple of newe cleene lyuyng to men, feruent preier to God, and by discreet chastisement of myself heere whiles I lyue, so þat þou haue no wil to chastise me in þi wratthe after þis lif in purgatorie. And þat it be þus, Miserere mei, Domine quoniam infirmus sum.

Þat is, "Haue mercy on me Lord, for I am

143 herfore] þerfor FHrHaF¹ 144 as] *twice* T, of *canc.*, as Ha wel] *om.* FHrF¹ is] ys oon FHrA to] for to P 145 but...Lorde(146)] but gode Lorde gyff me grace F¹ ȝef...grace] y beseche þi mercy A ȝef] if Lm 146 argue] rague Lm for to] to FHrA, *om.* P 147 skiles of] *om.* A 148 erroures] errour L heere] *after* lif P 149 lif] fiil Lm whiles] while CHaF¹ 150 forthenke] repent F¹ 150 and] by *canc.*, and Ha, *om.* P cleerly] *corr.* A 151 amende] to amende L by...of(152)] by P, while y am here *with* A 152 to men] vnto men T, þat it may be acceptabul to þi grace *and* to my saluacoun when y come þer and A, *om.* P feruent] *and* feruent P preier] in preyer FHr 153 to] vnto T and by] *with* A 154 -self] flesch *canc.*, self T heere... so] whyle y leue here also A I] þat y P 155 in] *with* A 156 purgatorie] *eras.* Hr and] ne in þi woodnesse after þis lif in helle *canc.*, and P þat] at P 157 Domine] Deus *canc.*, Domine P sum] sum *et cetera* CA 158 þat is] tha is to sey CP, *om.* FHrF¹A þat] þat, -t *eras.* Lm is] hys Ha haue] Lord haue H¹HeF²AdB Lord] gode Lorde A, *om.* H¹HeF²AdB am] haue *canc.*, am L *margin* Ps 6 H¹F²Ad

vnmyȝty to bere euereyther." That is, þin arguyng in þe doom, ne þi chastysement in purgatorie, but it so be þat I be vp born with þi mercy.'

O that dreedful day of oure Lord! Þanne schullen alle wykked men see hem sitte in þe doom with Crist, whom þei haue heere dispised, and / in þis sight been troubled f. 161r with an horrible dreede, seyenge þe woorde of þe Wise Man, Hij sunt quos aliquando habuim*us* in derisum *et cetera*. Nos insensati *et cetera*. Þat is, 'Thise been þoo, þe whiche sumtyme we hadden in scorn and despit. We vnwitty wrecches heelden here

159 vnmyȝty] syke *and* vnmyghty FHrCHa, vn<m>yȝty *canc.*, vnworthy P euereyther...is] þat on or þat oþer þat is to seie P euereyther] eyþer oþer A is] is to seie TFHrLLmF¹CHaA, is I am vnmyȝty to bere B, is to seie I am vnmyȝti to bere H¹HeF²Ad 160 þe] þi SCHaPA, *om.* H¹HeF²B ne] and A, eiþer H¹HeF²AdB, bute it be so þat y be vp bore *canc.*, oþer P chastysement] chastsyng CP 161 purgatorie] *canc.* Hr it] if it TFF¹AAdB, if it *on eras.* Hr, if H¹ so] *om.* B þat...be] *om.* B þat] þa, -a *canc.*, \t/ L I] it H¹HeF² vp born] *rev.* TA 162 with] eiþer supportid wiþ H¹HeF²AdB, by A þi] *om.* L 163 o] in Ad, on P, *om.* Lm oure...þanne(164)] dome P 164 þanne] for þen A wykked] þe wicked F¹Ha hem] oure Lord sitte *canc.*, hem P, alle suche pepul A sitte...doom(165)] sittynge A 165 þe] *om.* H¹HeF²B doom] *corr.* Lm whom...heere] þe whice þei A þei...heere] heere þei haue T haue] had Ad heere dispised(166)] *rev.* FHrHa 166 dispised] dispysed in byfore when þei were here in þis worde A and] *om.* L þis] þat F¹ been] be LH¹, they shal be F¹PA 167 with] in F¹ an] *and* A seyenge] remembrynge *and* seynge P þe...Man(168)] *om.* F¹ woorde] wordys HaA 168 Man] men L aliquando] olim P 169 habuim*us*...*et cetera*(170)] *see appended variants* H¹HeF²AdB in] 1 *canc.*, in P nos...*cetera* (170)] *om.* F¹ insensati] insensate Lm 170 þat is] þat is to seie TCP, *om.* F¹A þoo] they F¹A *margin* Sapi 5 H¹HeF²B 171 sumtyme] *after* hadden P in] into H¹HeAdB, to F² scorn...despit(172)] grete dispyte *and* in grete scorne A 172 despit] *in* dispit L, into liknes of schenschip H¹HeF²AdB we vnwitty] for we vnwitty A, and we vnworþi P heelden] countyd A

lif woodnesse and here eende withouten honour. But lo now, how þei been acounted amonges þe sones of God.' Thanne amonges al þat multitude, þei schullen not fynde oon þat schal haue compassion of hem, but alle schullen bee glaade *and* consent with God in here iuste dampnacion, after þe woordes of þe psalme seienge þus, Letabitur iustus cum viderit vindictam. Þat is, 'The riȝtwis man schal be gladed whan he schal see þe vengeaunce.' Thanne, as Crist seith in þe gospel, thei schullen seche for to entre into þe creuys of stones and into þe swelwys of þe eerthe fro þe dreedful face of oure Lord. Thanne schullen þei preie monteynes to falle vpon hem and hulles to huyden hem,

173 lif] lyfe but A 174 lo...God(175)] nowe we se how þei bethe avaunced *and* amonge þe numbur of þe rightful chyldryn of almighti God A now] *after* been P been] hem Ad 175 sones] soules Lm God] God and amonge þe seyntis of God þe lott of hem is H^1HeF^2AdB thanne...þus(180)] *see appended variants* H^1HeF^2Ad amonges²...multitude(176)] *om.* B 176 þat] þe L multitude] company A oon] oon among al þat multitude of seyntis B 177 of] vpon F^1 hem] þem at þat day A 178 schullen] they schullen CHaB with God] *om.* A in] into F^1 179 here] his P iuste] iuste *and* riȝtful P after...þus(180)] as þe profete Dauiþ witnessiþ seiynge B, acordynge to þe wordis of þe \prophet Daueth/ A woordes] worde FHr 181 þat is] þat // þat is Lm, þat is to seie TCP, *om.* F^1A the... vengeaunce(183)] *om.* A riȝtwis] ryghtfull CP *margin* Ps 57 H^1F^2AdB 182 gladed] -d *eras.* S, gladd $FHrF^1CHaPB$ þe] *om.* $CHaH^1HeF^2AdB$ 183 as] *om.* C in...gospel(184)] himself H^1HeF^2Ad, *om.* B 184 for] *om.* P 185 þe...of] hillis *and* A þe creuys] holes P þe] *om.* $SFHrLLmF^1CHaH^1HeF^2AdB$ þe²] *om.* $FCHaH^1HeF^2AdB$ *margin* Luc' 23 H^1AdB 186 þe] *om.* Lm fro] for $LmPH^1HeF^2$, to hyde þem fro A 187 thanne...þei] and also þei shalle wysshe *and* A schullen þei] *rev.* H^1HeF^2AdB monteynes to(188)] þat þe mowntaynes P 188 to] for to H^1HeF^2B to²] for to $TFHrLLmF^1CHaPH^1HeF^2AdB$ *margin* Apoc'6 H^1F^2B

so woo þei schullen be on euery syde. And
þis is þe wounde of þe firste arwe.

The secounde arwe schal be an arwe of scharp repreuyng of alle fals cristene men whan he schal seie to hem þus, 'I was anhungred, and ȝe ȝeue me noo mete; I was aþurst, and ȝe ȝeue me no drynke; I was naked, and ȝe ȝeue me no clothis; I was a gest, and ȝe ȝeue me noon herbere; I was seek and in prison, and ȝe visyted me not, ne dede me no comfort.' O what þis voys schal bee dreedful whan it schal be seid to hem, þat as ofte as þei deden not þise þinges to eny þat neede hadde in his naame, so ofte þei deden hem not to him. / f. 161v

And no wonder þouȝ þis voys schal bee dreedfull in þe day of doom, sitthe we reden

189 on] in AH¹HeF² 190 is þe] *corr.* P arwe] a *canc.* / arowe F, arowe her *ms. cut off* He 191 the] þe secunde arowe the F²B, ij sagitta the H¹ arwe ...of(192)] *ms cut off* He schal...arwe] *om.* B an arowe] *om.* H¹F²Ad an] *and* A of] *corr.* B *margin* ij T, -2- C, M^t 24 Ad 192 repreuyng] *corr.* Ha alle] *om.* Ha fals] *om.* C men...hem(193)] *ms cut off* He men] men schal be B 193 to] vnto C hem] hen Lm þus] þ *canc.*, þus P anhungred (194)] *and* hungred A *margin* Mt 25 H¹F²B 194 and ...þurst (195)] *om.* H¹ ȝe...I] *ms cut off* He I...drynke(195)] *om.* Lm a-þurst(195)] a furst P 195 no...naked(196)] *ms cut off* He 196 clothis] clothe FHr a gest(197)] herboreles Ad 197 gest ...ȝeue] *ms cut off* He ȝeue...herbere] herboreden noȝt me Ad me] *corr.* A 198 visyted] *ms cut off* He me not] *rev.* H¹HeF²AdB 199 ne] neiþir H¹HeF²B, ne ye C no] ony H¹HeF²AdB o what] o þat TAH¹, a þat S, Lord Ihesu mercy at P 200 to] vnto T 201 hem] þe dampned soules P 202 þinges] deed*us* of mercy H¹HeF²AdB eny] ony of his H¹HeF²AdB, the*m* A, þo P in...naame] *om.* H¹HeF²AdB 203 hem not] *rev.* A, it not H¹F²Ad, not He him] hem Lm 204 þis] hys FH¹ 205 in] at FHrLmF¹ sitthe] for A

in þe gospel þat Crist, whan he koom in fourme of a seruaunt for to bee deemed of þe false Iewes, seide to hem þat sou3ten for to take hym, 'I am he.' And anoon, þei 3eeden abak and fellen to þe eerthe. 3ef he, þat whan he was deedly and koom to be demed, hadde so feerdful a voys þat with his oo woord þrew3 to þe grounde so meny steerne men of þe Iewys, a fer moore feerdful voys schal he haue whan he schal come vndeedly with his oost of aungelis *and* of seyntes, for to deeme þe quyke and þe deede, euery man after þat he hath deserued. And þerfore seith Iob, <u>Cum vix paruam stillam sermonum eius audire non possunt, tonitruum</u>

206 þat...koom] whenne Crist cam P þat] Iues sayde to hem *canc.*, that C Crist whan] *rev.* H^1HeF^2AdB he] *om.* H^1HeF^2AdB 207 fourme] the forme CAH^1HeF^2Ad for to] to PH^1HeF^2AdB, do L 208 Iewes] Iewis \þat sou3ten to take hym/ B seide] he seyde $F^1PH^1HeF^2AdB$, and þen sayde A to hem] *om.* He þat...hym (209)] þus B sou3ten] þou3ten He, softe A for] hym *canc.*, for T, *om.* HaH^1HeF^2Ad to^2] *om.* F 209 and ...3eeden] and wiþ þat word þe Iewis flowe P and] a He anoon] anon *with* þe same worde A *margin* Ioh' 18° Ad 210 fellen] fellen doun H^1HeF^2B, for fere felle adoun P 3ef] thenne þus (if we, *canc.*) if P þat] þen þat A, þanne B, *om.* F^1 211 whan he] *corr.* Ha was] *corr.* F^1 to] into þis worlde to A 212 hadde] *and* hadde H^1HeF^2 with] at H^1HeB, as F^2 his] *corr.* F^2 oo] *canc.* Hr *margin* Ion 18 H^1B 213 þrew3] falde S þe] *om.* FHr sterne] stronge B, *om.* H^1HeF^2 214 þe] *om.* LAd a...moore] after more Ad, a more C, moche more F^1, a welle more A 215 schal he] *rev.* LB whan] þen when A he^2] *corr.* C, *om.* P 216 with] to F^2 aungelis] holi aungels H^1HeF^2AdB *and*...seyntes] *om.* F 217 þe] *and canc.*, the Ha euery...Iob(219)] *om.* Ad euery] eueriche P, ech $TFHrLLmF^1CHaH^1HeF^2B$ 218 after] *om.* Ha þat...deserued] after his deseruynge A þat] *om.* LB deserued] discerned Hr þerfore] herfore $STHrLmF^1CPAH^1HeF^2B$ 219 seith] seyde A Iob] Iob 26 T, Iob þus L stillam] smtillam, *1st m canc.* T, stellam Ad 220 non] *om.* H^1HeF^2AdB possunt] *twice, 2nd canc.* Hr

magnitud*in*is eius quis potest sustinere. Þat is, 'Sitthe man may vnneethes heere a luytel drope of his woordes, þe greete þunder of his doom who schalle mowe suffre?' As who seith noone. And þerfore seith seynt Bernard þus, Cum peccator accusatus fuerit *et* consciencia p*ro*pria contra eum testimoniu*m* p*ro*hibuerit et om*n*is creatura dei insurrexerit contra eu*m* in vindictam, grauis vt sagitta erit vox d*omi*ni ad sustinendum. Þat is, 'Whanne þe synful kaityf schal be accused, *and* his owene conscience schal bere witnesse aȝens him, and euery creature of God schal ryse aȝens him in vengeaunce, greuous as an arwe schal þanne be þe voys of God to suffre.' And þe

221 euis] *corr.* P potest sustinere] poterit intueri H^1HeF^2AdB *margin* Iob 26 H^1HeF^2AdB 222 þat is] that is to sey CP, þat is so say A, *om.* F^1 may ...his(223)] *ms cut off* He vnneethes] not A 223 woordes] worde A greete...schalle(224)] *ms cut off* He greete] *om.* F 224 who] þen who A mowe suffre] suffur *and* abyde A suffre] heere or suffre FHr, susteyne oþer suffre P, holde eiþir suffre F^2, biholde eiþer suffre H^1, biholde *ms cut off* He, biholde eiþir susteyne B 225 as...noone] *ms cut off* He who] hose S, so A noone] noen L, no man P seith^2] seyde A seynt...þus(226)] *ms cut off* He 226 Bernard] *om.* F^1 cum...is(231)] *om.* H^1HeF^2AdB 227 contra eum] *after* testimonium FHrL 228 p*ro*hibuerit] perhibuerit Ha, periberit S 229 eu*m*] ea*m* A 230 vt sagitta] *om.* Lm sagitta] sagittas, -s *canc.* Hr erit] tu*n*c erit L 231 þat is] that is to sey CPA, *om.* F^1 is] h *canc.*, ys Ha whanne] *ms cut off* He 232 kaityf] wrecche P, \man/ A be...owene] *ms cut off* He 233 bere] be H^1HeF^2B witnesse aȝens] *ms cut off* He him] hym-silf L 234 and...him(235)] *om.* LmHe creature] rightful creat*ur* A God] *corr.* T ryse] arise Ad 235 in] *om.* B greuous] and as gr*e*uus A an] *and* A arwe] h *canc.*, arowe C, arowe woundynge F, arowe \wound*in*g/ Hr 236 and...seith(237)] and herfore seiþ þe p*ro*fete Ieremye þus H^1HeF^2AdB þe^2] as þe A, þ*er*fore þe F^1, *om.* F

prophete Ieremie seith, Sagitta vulnerans, lingua eius. Þat is, 'The tunge of him schal be as an arwe woundynge.' And þis is þe secounde / arwe. f. 162r

The þridde arwe schal bee an arwe of eendelees dampnyng of alle wykkede men whan he schal seie to hem, Ite maledicti in ignem eternum, qui preparatus est diabolo, et angelis eius. Þat is, 'Goo ȝe cursede wiȝtes into euerlastynge fuyre, þe whiche is ordeyned to þe feend and to þe aungelis of him.' This arwe schal wounde hem þat it falleth on so greuously, þat alle þe lechis, phisiciens, *and* surgiens, ne ȝet alle þe creatures in heuene *and* in eerthe, schullen not mowe heele þe wounde of it. Thanne

237 prophete] prophete seyth Ha seith] sethe the tunge of hym shal be as *and* arowe woundynge A 238 lingua] lingus Lm eius] *twice, 2nd canc.* B þat...arwe(239)] *om.* A þat is] that is to sey CP, *om.* F^1 him] hin Lm *margin* Ier' 9 H^1F^2AdB, ix T 239 and...arwe(240)] *om.* T þis] þus F^2 240 þe] the wounde of þe HaH^1HeF^2AdB secounde] *corr.* Lm 241 the] iij sagitta the H^1B, iii sagitta the þe þridde arowe F^2, þis ys þe þridde arowe the He þridde] iij F^1 an arwe] *om.* F^1H^1HeF^2AdB an] *and* A *margin* iij TL, 3 CB 242 dampnyng] dampnacion FHrAdA of] *om.* F^1 men] *twice, 2nd canc.* Ha 243 he] *corr.* C to] vnto CA hem] hem þus TLAH^1HeF^2AdB ite] discedite a me H^1HeF^2AdB maledicti] mala dicti B 244 est] *om.* FHr 245 þat is] þat is to sey CPH^1F^2Ad, *om.* F^1A goo ȝe] departe ȝe fro me H^1HeF^2, departe (þee, *canc.*) ȝe fro me Ad goo] departe fro me B *margin* Mt 25 H^1F^2AdB 246 wiȝtes] wretches CHaPH^1He-F^2AdB, synnerys A þe...ordeyned(247)] þat is maid redi H^1HeF^2AdB 247 to] for P feend] deuyle H^1HeF^2AdB to²] *om.* PHe þe...him(248)] his aungels H^1HeF^2AdB 248 þat...greuously(249)] so sore þat hit \shal fal apon/ A 249 þe] *om.* H^1HeF^2AdB 250 *and* surgiens] *om.* A ne] nor A 251 creatures] curaturus Ad in] of H^1HeF^2Ad *and*] ne LPH^1HeF^2AdB in²] *om.* T 252 not] *om.* Ad mowe] *om.* PAB

benedicti patris mei, percipite vobis regnum quod vobis paratum est a patre meo ab origine mundi. Þat is, 'Cometh to me, ȝe Þat been Þe blesside children of my Fadir, and beeth parteneris of my ioye in Þe kyngdom Þat was ordeyned for ȝow by my Fadir fro Þe bigynnyng of Þis world.' To Þe whiche kyngdom and ioye he brynge vs, Þat bouȝte vs with his precious blood, Amen. Nomen scriptoris saluet deus omnibus horis.

266 benedicti] benedicte F percipite...origine (268)] possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitucione H^1F^2B, possidete paratum nobis regnum a constitucione Ad, possidete *ms cut off* He vobis] *om.* TFHrF^1CHa 267 vobis] nobis S 268 mundi] mundi *et cetera* H^1HeF^2Ad, *om.* L Þat is] Þat is to seie TCPH^1HeF^2Ad, *om.* F^1A to me] ye to me A, *om.* H^1HeF^2AdB 269 Þat been] *om.* H^1HeF^2AdB Þe] *om.* F^1 *margin* Mt 25 H^1F^2B 270 and...his(274)] *see appended variants* H^1HeF^2AdB 270 beeth] be the CHa, be ye FPA, be \ȝe/ Hr 272 Þis] Þe FHrP Þe] *om.* P 273 and ioye] *om.* P brynge vs] *rev.* P vs] us to Lm 274 bouȝte vs] *after* blood F^1 blood] blod vpon Þe rode hangynge P amen] amen amen amen P, mercyful God amen Ad 275 nomen...horis] here endyth the Þree arowes Ha, here eendiþ Þe tretis of Þre arowis HrB, here eendiþ Þe tretijs of Þe Þre arowis H^1F^2, here endiþ a tretice Þat is callid Þe iij arowes Ad, *om.* STFLLmF^1CPAHe

schal þe opene eerthe swelwe hem down into helle, wheere þei schullen be turmented with feendis euermore withouten eende. But allas þeer been, I dreede, ful meny þat neuere wollen bileeue þise þinges eer þei feelen hem, of whom seith seynt Euseby þus, Ve ve quibus est datum hoc prius sentire quam credere. Þat is, 'Woo, woo be to hem to whom it is ȝeuen rather to feele þise þinges þan to bileeue hem.' *And* þus eendeth þe þridde arwe.

But þanne schal Crist turne to hem þat been on his riȝt half and seie þus, Venite

253 opene eerthe] *rev.* CHaP, erþe opene his mouþ *and* H^1HeF^2AdB swelwe] and swelowe CHaP hem] *om.* Ha *margin* Ioob 24 Ier' 36 Apoc 9.16 F^2Ad 254 with... euermore(255)] *om.* A 255 þei] þi B euermore] *canc.* Hr, *om.* F eende] eny ende TLmP but] but yet F^1 allas] *twice* Lm 256 þeer...dreede] y drede me þat þer bene A þeer] for þere F^1 I...meny] ful meny y drede ful sore P neuere wollen(257)] *rev.* HaA 257 þise...hem(258)] *and* trowy þis til þei fele it P eer...of(258)] into þe tyme þei fele hit to A eer] or $FHrLLmCH^1HeF^2AdB$, for to T, til F^1 258 of...þus] *om.* Lm whom ...ve^2] *ms cut off* He whom] hem Ha, suche F^1 seith] *after* Euseby H^1F^2AdB seynt] *om.* F ve ve] ve ve ve L, ve H^1Ad, venit F^2 *margin* Iob 24 Iere' 36 Apoc' 9.16 H^1F^2B 259 est datum] *rev.* $CHaAH^1He-F^2AdB$ datum] satum P hoc...woo(260)] *ms cut off* He hoc prius] *rev.* $FHrLmF^1$ hoc] hec H^1F^2AdB 260 credere] credere noli Ad þat is] that is to sey CP, *om.* $FHrF^1A$ woo...is(261)] *om.* Lm woo^2] *om.* H^1F^2Ad 261 whom...to] *ms cut off* He whom] þe whiche H^1F^2AdB it...rather] raþer it is y-ȝyue P it] þis A ȝeuen rather] *rev.* F^1A to] *corr.* F þise þinges] *om.* A 262 þan...eendeth] *ms cut off* He hem...but(264)] and A *and*...arwe(263)] *om.* T þus eendeth] thys ys þe wounde of $FHrLLmCHa-PH^1F^2AdB$, this is þe incurable wounde of F^1 263 þridde] þe wounde of þe þryde He arwe...schal (264)] *ms cut off* He *margin* M^t 24° Ad 265 been] schullen be FHr on] in P riȝt...seie] *ms cut off* He half] honde Ad, side HrCHaA seie þus] seie to hem þus H^1HeF^2AdB, þus seye to hem Lm, to them a wille sey þus A þus] þus to hem $TFHrLCHaF^1P$

APPENDED VARIANTS[1]

71

1 and þei þat han don goode þingis schulen go
2 into a3enrisynge of lyf but þei þat han don
3 yuele þingis schulen go into a3enrisynge of
4 dome

2 don] *om.* F^2 3 schulen go] *om.* HeF^2AdB

169-70

1 in derisum habuimus et in similitudinem
2 impr*o*perij nos insensati vitam ips*orum*
3 estimabam*us* insaniam *et* finem illo*rum* sine
4 honore quomodo ergo computati su*n*t inter
5 filios Dei *et* inter s*anc*tos soris illo*rum* est
6 ergo erauimus a via v*e*ritatis *et* iusticie
7 lumen non luxit nobis *et* sol intelligencie
8 no*n* est ortus nobis lassati sum*us* in via
9 iniquitatis *et* p*e*rdicionis *et* ambulauim*us*
10 vias difficiles viam autem ignorauim*us* quid
11 nobis p*ro*fuit sup*e*rbia aut diuicia*rum*
12 iactancia quid nobis contulit t*ra*nsierunt
13 om*n*ia illa t*anqua*m umbra *et* uirtutis quidem
14 nullu*m* signu*m* valem*us* ori*n*dere in malignitate
15 autem nostra consumpti sumus

2 ips*orum*] eorum B 3 estimabam*us*] in estimabamus F^2 insaniam] saniam Ad 6 ergo ...sumus(15)] *om.* B 7 lumen] sumen F^2 8 nobis] nobit F^2 10 autem] autem d*omine* HeF^2Ad 11 aut] autem F^2 14 valem*us*...nostra (15)] habem*us* autem ura*m* Ad ori*n*dere] ostendere He

175-80

1 þerfore we haue errid fro þe waie of treuþe
2 *and* þe li3t of ry3twisnesse hath no3t schyned
3 to vs *and* þe sone of vndirstondinge haþ no3t
4 spronge to vs we ben made weri in þe waie of
5 wickidnesse *and* of p*e*rdicioun *and* we haue
6 gone harde waies for þe wei of þe Lord we
7 knowe nou3t what haþ pride p*ro*fitid to vs or
8 þe boost of rychesse what haþ it brou3t to vs
9 alle þise þinges han passid as a schadewe *and*
10 we forsoþe mowe schewe no tokene of holy-
11 nesse for we ben wasted in oure wickidnesse
12 þan among alle þat multitude of seyntes þei
13 schullen no3t fynde one þat schal haue com-
14 passioun of hem but alle þei schullen be glad
15 *and* consente with God in here iuste damp-
16 nacioun as þe prophete Dauyd witnesseþ
17 seiynge þus

2 schyned] schyne F^2Ad 3 haþ] is F^2 5 of] *om.* He 8 þe] *om.* He 10 tokene] *corr.* F^2 13 fynde] foonde F^2 14 þei] *om.* He

270-4

1 take 3e in possessiou*n* þe kyngdom maad redi
2 to 3ou fro þe maki*n*ge of þe world for I
3 hu*n*gride *and* 3e fedden me I þirstede and 3af
4 me to drynke I was herborowles 3e her-

[1] Based on the readings given in H^1.

5 boroweden me I was nakid and ȝe hiliden me I
6 was sike *and* ȝe visitid me I was in *prisoun*
7 *and* ȝe camen to me for as ofte as ȝe diden
8 þese þinge*s* to þe leste of myne ȝe diden hem
9 to me to þat blessid honour and kyngdom and
10 ioie euerlasti*n*ge bringe us Ihe*s*u Crist þat
11 bouȝtist man *with* þi

3 and²] *and* \ȝe/ He ȝaf] ȝe ȝeuen F²B
4 to] *om.* HeAd ȝe] and ȝe HeF²AdB
5 hiliden] cloþed Ad 6 ȝe...was] *om.* B
I] *corr.* F² 8 hem] *om.* Ad 9 to²] tho F²
and²] of B 10 bringe] grau*n*te B1

NOTES

6-7 ECCLESIASTICUS 7:40, 'In omnibus operibus tuis memorare novissima tua, et in aeternum non peccabis.'

12-3 ISAIAH 26:21, 'Ecce enim Dominus egredietur de loco suo, ut visitet iniquitatem habitatoris terrae contra eum....'

20-54 MATTHEW 17:2, 'et transfiguratus est ante eos. Et resplenduit facies eius sicut sol....'

The origins of the image of Christ as the sun rising through the Zodiac, specifically through the signs of Leo, Virgo, and Libra is difficult to trace, though Christ as the sun is a familiar Christian symbol based on Malachi 4:2. See The Chastising of God's Children where the coming of Christ is compared to the sun in May, then in the sign of Virgo (Bazire and Colledge (1957), 108/21-109/8 and the note to line 108.22 on 268). The closest source for the text here may be FM, though the order of the three signs is altered with Libra, Virgo and then Leo (I.xiv.106/40-108/65).

30-2 NUMBERS 15:32-6, 'Factum est autem, cum essent filii Israel in solitudine, et invenissent hominem colligentem ligna in die sabbati, obtulerunt eum Moyse et Aaron et universae multitudini. Qui recluserunt eum in carcerem, nescientes quid super eo facere deberent. Dixitque Dominus ad Moysen: Morte moriatur homo iste, obruat eum lapidibus omnis turba extra castra. Cumque eduxissent eum foras, obruerunt lapidibus, et mortuus est, sicut praeceperat Dominus.'

40-1 EZECHIEL 18:4, '...anima quae peccaverit, ipsa morietur.'

43-5 EZECHIEL 33:11, '...nolo mortem impii, sed ut convertatur impius a via sua, et vivat....'

56-7 DEUTERONOMY 32:23, 'Congregabo super eos mala, et sagittas meas complebo in eis.'

64-8 JOHN 5:28-9, '...venit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem Filii Dei:

et procedent qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae; qui vero mala egerunt, in resurrectionem iudicii.'

110-12, 133-4 PSALM 6:2, 'Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripias me.'

157 PSALM 6:3, 'Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum....'

168-70 SAPIENTIA 5:3-5, '...Hi sunt quos habuimus aliquando in derisum, et in similitudinem improperii. Nos insensati, vitam illorum aestimabamus insaniam, et finem illorum sine honore; ecce quomodo computati sunt inter filios Dei, et inter sanctos sors illorum est.'

180-1 PSALM 57:11, 'Laetabitur iustus cum viderit vindictam....' Also used in the Ancren Riwle, see Morton (1968), 186/28.

184-9 LUKE 23:30, 'Tunc incipient decire montibus: Cadite super nos, et collibus: Operite nos.' REVELATIONS 6:15-16, 'et reges terrae, et principes, et tribuni, et divites et fortes, et omnis servus, et liber absconderunt se in speluncis, et in petris montium: et dicunt montibus, et petris: Cadite super nos, et abscondite nos a facie sedentis super thronum, et ab ira Agni.'

193-9 MATTHEW 25:42-3, 'esurivi enim, et non dedistis mihi manducare: sitivi, et non dedistis mihi potum: hospes eram, et non collegistis me: nudus, et non cooperuistis me: infirmus, et in carcere, et non visitastis me.'

206-10 JOHN 18:4-6, 'Iesus itaque sciens omnia quae ventura erant super eum, processit, et dixit eis: Quem quaeritis? Responderunt ei: Iesum Nazarenum. Dicit eis Iesus: Ego sum. Stabat autem et Iudas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsis. Ut ergo dixit eis: Ego sum: abierunt retrorsum, et ceciderunt in terram.'

219-21 JOB 26:14, '...et cum vix parvam stillam sermonis eius audierimus, quis poterit tonitruum magnitudinis illius intueri?'

226-31 ST BERNARD, source not yet found.

237-8 JEREMIAH 9:8, 'Sagitta vulnerans lingua eorum, dolum locuta est....'

243-5 MATTHEW 25:41, '...Discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum, qui paratus est diabolo, et angelis eius.'

256-8 JOB, 24:1, '...qui autem noverunt eum, ignorant dies illius.'
JEREMIAH 36:31, '...omne malum quod locutus sum ad eos, et non audierunt.'
REVELATIONS 9:20-1, ' Et caeteri homines, qui non sunt occisi in his plagis, neque poenitentiam egerunt de operibus manuum suarum, ut non adorarent daemonia, et simulacra aurea, et argentea, et aerea et lapidea, et lignea, quae neque videre possunt, neque audire, neque ambulare, et non egerunt poenitentiam ab homicidiis suis, neque a veneficiis suis, neque a fornicatione sua, neque a furtis suis.'

258-60 ST EUSEBIUS, source not yet found. See O'Mara ((1994), 80 n.278-80) who has also been unable to find the source.

265-8 MATTHEW 25:34, '...Venite benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum a constitutione mundi.'

OF THREE ARROWS THAT SHALL BE SHOT ON DOMESDAY

THE D-GROUP VERSION

[W]ho þat wole haue i*n* mynde þe dreed- f. 33v
ful day of dome so þat he be meuid wiþ
dreede to fle fro sy*n*ne, þenke he hou þe
Wise Ma*n* seide to his sone, 'Haue þi laste
þingis i*n* mynde, and / þou schalt neuer f. 34r
synne.' Þat is, be þe day of dome i*n* þi
my*n*de, and þe bisi my*n*de þe*r*eof schal kepe
þe fro sy*n*ne. Of þis day, þe Lord spekiþ bi
Ysaie seiȝynge, 'The Lord schal wende oute
of his place to visite þe wickidnesse of he*m*
þat enhabiten þe erþe.'

Certis þis visityng *and* þe dome of þe
Lord schulde sou*e*reyneli be dradde, for as
mich as God now doþ mercie, so mich in his
dome he schal do ve*n*iaunce in riȝtwisenesse
to / hem þat bileeueden not i*n* hy*m*, ne f. 34v
kepten hise heestes. For it is of God in
lickenesse as it is of þe su*n*ne. Þe su*n*ne,
holdynge his course, passiþ oute of þe signe
of þe liou*n* i*n*to þe signe of þe virgyne *and*
oute of þe signe of þe virgyne into þe signe

DTaRH

rubric: here biginneþ þe þre arowes þat Crist shal shete *in* his dome H, here bigynnen þe þre arowes R, here sueþ hou God schal schete þre arowis on domisday to dampnid men Ta, *om.* D 3 dreede] *om.* Ta 12 of...Lord(13)] *om.* R 18 þe sunne] *om.* H 19 holdynge] i *canc.* /, holdynge Ta oute] i *canc.* /, oute D signe...þe(20)] *om.* R

of þe balaunce. Þe lioun is a stronge beeste and a fel, *and* in þis signe was Crist, þe sunne of riȝtwisnesse, bifore his incarnacioun. For he was þanne so vengeable þat man or wom-/-man þat brake hise heests, f. 35r anoon schulde be deede. Ȝhe, for gedryng of stickis upon þe saboth day, a man was demed to þe deeþ bi þe dome of God.

But oute of þis signe of þe lioun, Crist passid into þe signe of þe virgyne whenne he toke mankynde and was borne of þe maiden Marie, and þanne Crist bicame ful merciful; for siþ he haþ ben as merciful, *and* ȝit is, as bifore he was vengeable. For whenne he was / in þe signe of lioun he f. 35v seide, 'The soule þat synneþ schal diȝe.' But now in þe signe of þe virgyne he seiþ, 'I wole not þe deeþ of þe synner, but more I wole þat he be turnid fro synne *and* lyue.'

But oute of þis signe of þe virgyne, Crist schal passe into þe signe of þe balaunce at þe day of þe dome. For þanne he schal weie alle oure þouȝtis, oure wordis, *and* oure dedis in euen paise of his riȝtwisnesse, / ȝeldynge truli to eueri man *and* f. 36r

26 þat] þat what TaH 28 þe] *om.* H 29 þe] *om.* R deeþ] i *canc.* /, deeþ Ta 33 maiden] virgyn TaR 35 he was] *om.* R 36 lioun] þe lioun TaR 38 seiþ] seith þus H 39 wole] nile R þe] a H 43 þe²] *om.* TaRH 45 paise] *twice* Ta

womman aftir her deseruyng. And what Crist schal þanne do to hise enemies, here what he seiþ, 'I schal gedre upon hem her yuels, and myn arowis þat ben my vengeaunces, I schal fulfille in hem.' For þre scharpe arowis Crist schal schete in his dome *and* hitt hem alle þat schulen be dampnid þere, departynge hem fro hym for euere; forþi þat / for þe loue of þe world *and* of her lustes, f. 36v þei dispiseden to kepe hise heestes.

The firste arowe or vengeaunce schal be þe dreedful voice of aungels whiche Crist schal sende to clepe al mankynde to þe dome, for Crist seiþ, 'Þe hour comeþ þat alle þat ben in grauis schulen here þe voice of Goddis sone. Þanne þoo þat haue kepte Goddis heestes schulen passe forþe into aȝenrisyng of lijf. Þei, forsoþe, / þat f. 37r diden yuel to her eende schulen passe into euerlastynge peyne.' Thanne, forsoþe, þe wrecchid, dampnid soule schal come to þe bodi and seie to it, 'Rise þou cursid, caitif careyne, for now fro þis tyme forþe into wiþouten eende, þou schalt be felawid to ugeli deuils, enemies of almiȝti God.

51 þre] sc *canc.*, þre D 54 forþi] *om.* H 55 þe] *om.* TaR world] w *canc.* /, world Ta of²] *om.* R 57 or] *and* Ta *margin* -i- DTaH 58 þe] *om.* H whiche] whom TaRH 59 þe] *om.* Ta 64 þei] þi Ta 65 into] to Ta 66 forsoþe] *twice, 1st canc.* R 68 *margin* nota R 71 ugeli] hugge H

Now wrecch, al þi worldli ioie schal be turnid into woo, þi delite into bittir-
nesse, and þi lau3tre / into wepynge. Now f. 37v
þi wrechid, stynkynge lust schal be turnid into euerlastyng sorowe. For now al þi fleschli desire is and euere schal be voidid fro þee. Now is comen to þee, al þat þou dreddist. Now is ago, al þing þat þou louediste. *And* to þee is comen, al þing þat þou hatidiste. Now cursid be þou cursid careyne. For in peyne of þi synnes, I haue brente in fire of helle siþen I passid fro þe. Cursid be þou / helle bronde, for þou f. 38r
haaste deseruid euerlastynge peyne. Cursid be þe tyme in which I was firste couplid to þee in synne, for now I may neuer leeue þi cursid cumpanye. For be I neuer so looþe, I am constreynid to be a3en knit to þe. Þerfore, go we now carefulli togidre, eiþer into schame of oþre, bifore þe dredeful Domisman, þere for to here and to take oure euerelastyng dampnacioun.'

Þanne alle wickid men and wymmen
schulen / see þe iust \cause/ of her damp- f. 38v
nacioun, writen wiþ her owne hondis in þe boke of her conscience redynge it hemseluen,

83 fire] þe fire Ta 86 which] *twice, 1st canc.* D
91 schame] sc *canc.* /, schame D dredeful] d *canc.* /, dreedful R 95 iust] i *canc.* /, iust Ta

boþe lerid and lewid. Thanne þei schulen see Crist þe Domisman ferse and wode, sore wraþþid aȝens hem. Of þis ferse wodenes and wraþþe, spekiþ Dauid in þe firste spalme of penaunce and in þe þridde, where he prayeþ to be deliuerid of hem booþe seiynge, 'Lord in þi wodenes, argue not aȝens me wiþ skiles, / ne chastise þou me in þi wraþþe.' f. 39r

No man þenke þat wraþþe ne wodenes or ony such troublid mannis passioun may be in God, but herefore þei ben sette in scripture. For þe werkis of God in punischynge and vengynge of synne schulen take effecte of suche passiouns as ben wraþþe and wodenesse in alle synners. Þat schulen be chastisid bi peyne þat schal haue an eende, as is purgatorie, be it here or elliswhere; þe / which peyne is clepid here f. 39v Goddis wraþþe. Or ellis þe vntelleable veniaunce þat dampnid wrecchis schulen suffre in þe orrible peyne of helle wiþouten eende, þe which is clepid Goddis wodenes.

Þese vengeaunces Dauid sawe in spirit and þerfore, in persoon of alle synners, felynge hym vnmiȝti to beire euere eiþir,

100 ferse...wraþþe(101)] *om.* H 101 of penaunce (102)] *om.* H 102 in] *om.* H prayeþ] preied H 103 to] to God to H 105 me] not me H 118 peyne] *twice* D 119 which] w *canc.* / which R 121 in... seiynge(124)] he seide H

firste he axiþ to be deliuerid of helle *and*
siþen of purgatorie seiynge, / 'Lord, I bi- f. 40r
seche þee þat in þe day of þi dreedeful
dome, where þou schalt haue þee to synners
as a man þat were wode, sparynge noþing,
ouercome þou me not þere wiþ skiles con-
cludynge me fynali, and conuictynge me
foreuer. Neiþer schame þou not me ne
ateinte me þanne wiþ eendeles repreue.
Herefore, I praie þe Lord argue þou me not.
Arguynge, as clerkis knowen, is to ouercome
/ wiþ skiles. But ȝeue me grace, gode Lord, f. 40v
so to argue and to ouercome, wiþ skiles of
þi lawe, þe errours of my blynde conscience
here in þis lijf whiles tyme is of mercie.
Þat I verili forþinke al my wickidnesse,
truli confessynge hem to þee, and to hem þat
ben wiser þan I in weiȝynge and tellynge to
me my defautis, whiche oþrewise neiþer I
knowe ne can amende, neiþer to þee Lord, ne
to hem whom I ha\ue offendid. For bi newe
clene lyuyng bifore hem to whom I haue tres-
passid, it bihoueþ me to lyue in mekenes
withouten veyn glorie, feruentli prayynge to
God for myself *and* for hem whom I haue
offendid/, / wityngli or vnwityngli, alweie f. 41r

126 dome] day of doom H 130 not] *om.* TaR ne] neiþir Ta 132 herefore] þerfore H 135 to[2]] *om.* R 138 wickidnesse] wickidnesses Ta 148 wityngli] ue offendid *canc.*, wityngli D

scharpeli punischynge my synne here þe whiles I lyue, so þat I ascape, here and aftir þis lijf, þi vengeaunce. And þat it þus be, "I praie þe Lord haue mercie of me, for I am vnmi3ti to beire þin indignacioun, eiþer here or in þi dome." Forþi merciful Lord, for þin hooli name, helpe me now in þis lijf, *and* schewe to me here þi greete mercie,puyrgynge me here wiþ / diuerse tri- f. 41v bulaciouns aftir my diuerse trespassyngis. Þat þere þorou I be maad clene bifore þi dome, passynge forþe fro þens into þi blisse wiþ þe. For I knowleche Lord, þat neiþir in þi dome I may beire þi arguyng ne bifore þat tyme þi chastisyng, but if þou vpbeire me *with* þi mercie boþe here and þere.'

O hou ferdful is it to þenke upon þe dreedful day of þe Lord to alle men. But to hem þat / setten þe loue of þe world *and* þe f. 42r lustis of her flesch bifore Cristis loue, oppressynge, dispisynge or scornynge hem þat plesiden hem not in here willes, þis day schal be day of vengeaunce. For þanne, alle cursid wrecchis þat sueden þe world to her eende schulen se hem þat sueden Crist, whom

152 of] on RH 153 for...dome(154)] *om.* TaH 155 Lord] *twice, 1st canc.* R 157 puyrgynge] p *canc.* /, puyrgynge D 161 for...þere(164)] *om.* H 166 day] *om.* R 168 lustis] luste R 170 willes] w *canc.* /, willis Ta

þei hatiden, sitte wiþ Crist in þe dome,
dampnynge hem in þis siȝt. Alle þese
wrecchis schulen be troublid, hauynge / in f. 42v
hem moost orrible drede, seiynge, 'These ben
þoo whiche sumtyme we hadden in scorne and
in dispite. We vnwitti wrecches heelden her
lijf wodenesse and her eende withouten
honour. But lo hou now þei ben acountid
among þe sones of God.' But amonge al þat
multitude of seintis, þese wrecches schulen
not fynde oon þat schal haue compassioun of
hem, but alle schulen be glad and concente
wiþ Crist to dampne hem iustli, / as Dauid f. 43r
seiþ, 'The riȝtwise man schal glade whanne
he schal see þat vengeaunce.' Þanne, as
Crist seiþ, dampnid caitifs schulen seche
for to entre into creuyse of stones *and* into
swelowis of þe erþe fro þe ferdful face of
þe Domisman. Þanne þei schulen desire þat
mountaynes felle upon hem and hilles to hide

174 sitte] i *canc.* /, sitte Ta 175 dampnynge] i *canc.* /, dampnynge D 176 troublid] t *canc.* /, troublid R 179 in] *om.* R 182 but] *and here* parte is amonge seintis but Ta, and amonge þe seintis of God is her parte but we haue errid fro þe weie of truþe *and* of riȝtwisenesse *and* þe sunne of vndir-stondyng roos not to us we weren werie in þe weie of wickidnesse and of perdicioun *and* we haue gone harde weies but we (k *canc.* /) knewen not þe weie of þe Lord alas alas what haþ pride profitid to me what haþ þe boost of pride ȝoue to me alle þese þingis ben passid as a schadowe *and* we myȝte schewe no token of vertu þei þat schulen be dampnid schulen seie þese þingis as þe Wise Man seiþ and þerfore seiþ Ioob in mirþe and ioie þei leden þer daies *and* in apointe þei goen doun to helle but R 184 haue] not haue H 185 consente...Crist(186)] *with* Crist concente H 188 see] *om.* R 191 ferdful] dredeful Ta, dreed R

hem, so wo þei schulen be on euery side.
Þis is þe wounde of þe firste arowe.

The secunde arowe schal be of schame
repreuynge / aȝens alle false cristene men f. 43v
and wymmen, whenne Crist schal seie to hem
þus, 'I was an-hungrid, and ȝe ȝaue me no
mete; I was þristi, and ȝe ȝaue me no
drynke,' *and* so forþe. Ful dreedeful schal
þis voice be whenne he schal seie to hem,
'As ofte as ȝe diden not þese þingis in my
name to hem þat hadden nede, so ofte ȝe
wernide me myn owne good.'

And no wondre þouȝ þis voice of Crist
schal be dreedeful to wrecchis / in his f. 44r
dome, siþ it is writen þat Crist, whanne he
bicame man in fourme of a seruaunte for to
be demed of þe false Iewis, seide to hem þat
souȝten for to take hym, 'I am he whom ȝe
seken.' *And* wiþ þat word, anoon þei fellen
abacke to þe erþe. Þanne if Crist, whanne
þat he was deedli and came for to be demed,
hadde so feerdful a voice þat he þrewe wiþ
his word so many sterne men to þe grounde,
hou fer more ferdful / a voice schal he f. 44v
haue whenne he schal come wiþ his ooste of

196 *margin* -2- TaH 200 þristi] tristi H me] *om.* H 201 forþe] i *canc.* //, forþ rehersynge þe seuen dedis of mercie Ta 202 he] Crist TaR 203 diden] do H 214 for to] to R 215 feerdful] f *canc.* //, ferdful Ta 217 a] *om.* TaRH 218 come] come vndeedly TaR

aungels and of seintis, for to deme yuel men and goode, ech aftir þat he deseruid. *And* forþi, þat þis day of dreede schulde be i*n* mannis my*n*de, Iob seiþ, 'Siþ vnneþis me*n* mowen here a litil sparke of Godd*is* wordis, þe greete þundir blast of his dome who schal here or suffre?' Oo, siþ hooli aungels schulen þa*n*ne tremble, what schal þanne cursid wrecchis do? Þe*r*fore Bernard / seiþ, f. 45r 'Whanne þe synful caitif schal be accusid, *and* his owne conscience schal witnes aȝens hym, and eue*r*y creature of God schal rise aȝens hym i*n*to vengeaunce, þa*n*ne þe voice of C*r*i*s*t schal be as a ful greuous arowe, ful harde for to suffre.' Forþi Ieremie seiþ, 'The tunge or voice of Crist in his dome schal be as an arowe [wou*n*dynge].'

The þridde arowe schal be an arowe of eendles dampnyng of alle wickid folke whanne Crist / schal seie to hem, 'Go ȝe cursid f. 45v wiȝtis into eue*r*lasty*n*ge fire, þe which is bifore ordeined to þe deuil and to hise aungels.' Lucifer is þe prince of deuils, and he haþ a grete oost of aungels þat fellen wiþ hym fro heuene, *and* of men and

220 he] he haþ TaH 221 forþi] *om*. H 223 sparke] spark heere Ta 224 schal] i *canc*. /, schal Ta 227 Bernard] seint Bernard R 228 caitif] i *canc*. /, caitif D 233 for to] to R forþi] for H 234 tunge] t *canc*. / tunge R 235 woundynge] \woun<.>/ D 236 *margin* -3- TaRH 240 bifore] *om*. R 243 fro heuene] *om*. TaRH

wy*mm*en þat schulen be dampnid. And ech of þese is an aungel of Lucifer, to tempte men to yuel. For as ich good man and wo*mm*a*n* is þe aungel of God, sente of hym to drawe oþre fro vice / to vertu bi her good ensaumple f. 46r of kepynge of Goddis hestes, so ich wickid man and wo*mm*an is þe aungel of þe deuil, sente of hym to drawe men fro ver*t*u to vice bi her yuel ensaumple of brekyn*g*e of Goddis heestes. For whe*þer* man or wo*mm*an sue God or þe deuil, in effecte þei clepen ech oþe*re*, man and wo*mm*an, aftir hem. And þe*re* aftir, schulen þei be rewardid ioie or peyne, whe*þer* man\y/, fewe or noon suen hem.

Forþi, wha*n*ne / Crist schal sitte f. 46v domisman, departynge wiþ his word proude, stynkynge geete fro meke lombis, þanne so ferse vengeaunce schal anoon sue his word, as moost scharpe arowe woundynge hem so greuou*s*li upon whom it falliþ, þat alle þe leches, fisiciens, or surgiens, ne alle þe creatures i*n* heue*n* or in erþe, schal not hele þe wounde of hym or of hir þat schal be da*m*pnid þere. For whanne C*r*i*s*t haþ his sentence a*3*ens þese caitifs, þe / erþe schal f. 47r

244 wy*mm*en] of wy*mm*en TaRH 246 yuel] *om.* R 251 men] oþe*re* R 258 forþi] for H 262 hem] *corr.* R 263 greuou*s*li] ferseli *canc.* / greuouseli R 267 þere] *om.* Ta haþ] haþ *3*oue*n* Ta 268 þese] þe H

opin and erþe schal swalowe hem, *and* þa*n*ne
þei schulen be turmentid *with* feendis eue*r*e
wiþouten eende; forþi þat þei wolden not
knowe Goddis heestes ne kepe hem.

But allas, alas þe*r*e ben ful many þat
bileeuen not þese trewe wordis. Forþi,
sodeyne vengeaunce schal come upon hem, of
whom seint Euseby seiþ, 'Wo, wo to hym to
whom it is ȝouen to fele raþir Goddis
vengeaunce þan to bileeue hise / wordis, f. 47v
þretynge and doy*n*ge vengeaunce.' For noþing
schewiþ man more to be cursid, þat is
departid fro God, þan to bileeue not his
word. For suche schulen neue*r*e kepe his
word, neiþe*r* drede hym ne loue hym
perfiteli. Þe*r*fore, wha*n*ne þe forwaried
schulen see þat þere is no rede*m*pciou*n*,
þa*n*ne may þei seie þese wordis of Ioob wiþ
siȝynge ful sore, 'That day mote perische
þat I was borne on, *and* þat careful niȝt
þat I was / conceyuid on, þat I ne had ben f. 48r
deede i*n* my modir wo*m*be. Wherto my modir
settiste þou me on þi knees *and* waschide me,
and rockide me, and feddiste me on þi

269 opin...schal] *om.* H schal] s *canc.* /, schal D
270 euere] *om.* R 272 knowe] k *canc.* /, knowe D
ne] *and* TaR 274 forþi] wherfore Ta 276 whom] w
canc. /, whom D 278 bileeue hise] *illeg.* R
279 doynge vengeaunce] *partly illeg.* R 280 schewiþ]
partly illeg. R 281 departid] *partly illeg.* R
not] not to TaRH 284 þerfore] and þerfore R, for
Ta 286 wordis] i *canc.* //, wordis Ta 288 þat²]
þe H 289 þat²] and þat H

breeste.' Alas, þat while so mich swynke þou loste o*n* me, þat norischide me a bro*n*de to brenne in helle fire.

Forþi, al misbileeued folke schulen be woundid to þe deeþe wiþ þis þridde arowe, whenne þei schulen be *in* þe pointe of di3ynge, ou*er* al þi*n*g / desirynge deeþ but þei schulen neuer di3e. Þanne schal Crist, wiþ moost bliþe chere, seie to iust men and wy*m*men þat bileeueden in hym *and* kepten his word, '3e blessid children of my Fadir, comeþ to me and takeþ ioie and blisse of me *and* wiþ me i*n* my ky*n*gdam þat was ordeined to 3ou of my Fadir fro þe bigynnyng.' To which blisse bry*n*ge us, Crist Ihe*sus*, þat bou3te us wiþ his p*re*cious blode upon þe rode tre, Amen.

f. 48v

293 þou] sche TaRH 296 forþi] wherfore R, for H misbileeued] *partly illeg.* R schulen] *partly illeg.* R 298 be] be dampnid wiþouten eende for deeþ schal euir fede hem for euir þei schulen be TaR þe] *om.* H 300 schal Crist] *rev.* RH 301 wiþ] seie wiþ H seie] *om.* H 309 amen] amen þat is so be it H

XIII

A SERMON BY JOHN GREGORY, AUSTIN FRIAR OF NEWPORT

INTRODUCTION

The last text in U edited for this thesis is the sermon by John Gregory which appears as the last 'literary' text in the third booklet, preceding the English will of Sir Robert Folkingham and other Latin legal documents.[1] This sermon is a unique copy and so the usual textual study has been replaced here with a history of the supposed author, John Gregory, and his house of Austin friars at Newport in Monmouthshire, Wales.

THE AUSTIN HOUSE AT NEWPORT, WALES

Very little is known about either John Gregory or the establishment of Austin friars in Newport, and several historians have cited the explicit of the sermon in U as evidence for its existence.[2] The

[1] See the description of U, i.7-10; see Pfander's edition of the text (1937), 54-64.

[2] See T. Tanner, Notitia Monastica; or, An Account of all the Abbies, Priories, and Houses of Friers, formerly in England and Wales (Cambridge, 1787), Monmouthshire, XII n.k: 'Though I meet with one John Gregory frater Augustin. de Newport. MS. in bibl. coll. Univ. Oxon.'; W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries...in England and Wales, eds. J. Caley *et al.* (repr. London, 1830), VI. iii.1487 n.o; W. Coxe, A Historical Tour Through Monmouthshire (2nd ed., Brecon, 1904), 71-2; D.D. Knowles, Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales (London, 1953), 201 and revised with R.N. Hadcock (London, 1971); F. Roth, The English Austin Friars: 1249-1538 (CASSICIACUM: Studies in St Augustine and the Augustinian Order VI, New York, 1966), I:History, 79, 305-7; F. Roth, Sources for a History of the English Austin Friars, AUGUSTINIANA II & III (Louvain, 1958-61); W. Rees, 'The Suppression of the Friaries in Glamorgan and Monmouthshire', South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society 3 (1954), 7-19; W. Rees, 'The Houses of the Friars at Cardiff and Newport: The first financial accounts after the Suppression', South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society 4 (1957), 52-6; T. Wakeman, The Monastery of Austin Friars at Newport, with notes on the house of Black Friars and other minor ecclesiastical establishments,

documentation for the Austin house at Newport is not extensive, though it was the first Austin settlement in Wales and the only known mendicant settlement in Newport. Rev. F. Roth believes that its destruction during the revolt of Owen Glendower in 1402, only decades after its foundation in 1377, 'was probably the principal reason why it never became an important center for the neighborhood.'[3]

From the few documents and sources collected by Roth concerning the Austin friars in Newport, a chronological history of the house is unveiled. On 28 April 1364, a papal license was given by Pope Urban V to the order to found four new houses in England at Rye (1364), Atherstone (1375), Newport (for twelve brethren-1377), Tawstock (1385), and when Tawstock failed, Thetford (1389).[4]

Before the house in Newport could be established, license was required from the the monks of St Peter's in Gloucester who held the advowsons of the local parish churches of St Woolos and St Nicholas.[5] The Newport house was then placed within the Oxford Limit in a document dating 1387, and Matthew Melevyth of

(Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, Newport, 1859), 8.

[3] Roth (1966), 79.

[4] Roth Sources 200-1, doc. 485; Knowles and Hadcock (1971), 239.

[5] Roth Sources 211-3, doc. 530; Roth (1966), 79; Wakeman (1859), 4-6.

Ludlow was appointed as a conventual on 11 May 1392.[6] As mentioned already, in 1402 the house was destroyed during the Glendower revolt, though it was rebuilt some time soon after.[7]

As with most religious establishments, a noble patron assisted in the founding of the Austin house in Newport: Hugh, the second Earl of Stafford. The area's noble patron was the Stafford family which, starting with Ralph, Earl of Stafford and first lord of Newport and Wentllwch, founded houses for the Austin friars in 1344 at Stafford and Shrewsbury.[8] Ralph's son Hugh, who succeeded his father as Earl in 1372, then founded the house at Newport in 1377.[9] T. Wakeman suggests that the Newport house was probably a cell to the older Stafford house and its members probably came from the Stafford establishment.[10] Hugh, Earl of Stafford, initially gave the house 31 burgages within the parish of Newport to be used for the actual site of the convent and for income property.[11] But according to a document dated 1395 from the records of the Lordship of Wentllwch, there

[6] Roth Sources 233-4, doc. 590; Knowles and Hadcock (1971), 239; Roth Sources 508, doc. 1168.

[7] Roth Sources 267, doc. 666; Roth (1966), 305; Knowles and Hadcock (1971), 239.

[8] Wakeman (1859), 4.

[9] Knowles and Hadcock (1971), 239; Wakeman (1859), 4.

[10] Wakeman (1859), 4.

[11] Rees (1954), 11.

were actually 32 burgages given: 31 plus one free place, the chapel of St Nicholas.[12]

The Stafford patronage continued through the next century when around 1448, Humphrey Stafford, later Duke of Buckingham and grandson to Hugh, gave the house another 22 burgages.[13] Henry, Duke of Buckingham's gift of six burgages to the Newport House is actually mentioned in a document, dated 2 November 1483, which records his beheading for revolting against Richard III.[14] The only known bequest to the Newport house was that of 20 shillings to OESA Newport by Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford who died on 20 December 1495.[15]

When the house was surrendered by Richard Battle 'vycar of ye house of ye Austen fryers of Newport' on 8 September 1538, there is no evidence that he was the only person left, and there was no list of the house's contents or property.[16] Afterwards, the buildings, except the advowsons and lead roofs, were leased to Maurice Baker on 24 June 1541, and then sold on 21 August 1543 to Sir Edward Carne.[17]

[12] Wakeman (1859), 7.

[13] Wakeman (1859), 7; Roth Sources 330, doc. 815.

[14] Roth Sources 370, doc. 938; Wakeman (1859), 7 (gives date as 1482).

[15] Roth Sources 382-3, doc. 968.

[16] Rees (1954), 13 and document on 19; Roth Sources 469-70, doc. 1124.

[17] Rees (1954), 15; Rees (1957), 56; Roth Sources 469-70, doc. 1124.

The physical location of the house itself was outside of the town of Newport to the southwest. At the turn of the century, Coxe described the remains of the Austin house as some detached buildings containing separate apartments, a large hall with gothic windows, and a church of gothic architecture that was dilapidated except for the north transept.[18] Unfortunately, nothing now remains of the Austin house which once stood 'by the key beneth the bridg'.[19]

JOHN GREGORY

According to Roth, John Gregory was originally at Ludlow, some distance north of Newport, where he was made an acolyte on 23 December 1374, subdeacon on 16 June 1375, and finally priest on 19 September 1377.[20] Because of this evidence of Gregory's residence at Ludlow, Roth believes that Gregory was not part of the Austin house at Newport, but had only come from Newport.[21] I would argue against this conclusion on the basis of the two following points. First, in 1392, Bartholomew of Venice, the Prior General of the Austin order, made Friar Matthew Melevyth of Ludlow a conventual at the Newport house.[22] If Melevyth could

[18] Coxe (1904), 71-2.

[19] The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539, ed. L.T. Smith (Carbondale, 1964), III.vi.14.

[20] Roth (1966), 407-8. Registrum Willelmi de Courtenay: 1370-1375, ed. W.W. Capes (CYS 15, 1914), 51: 'John Gregori, Fr. Aust., Ludlow'; and 56: 'John Gregori, Fr. Herem., Ludlow'.

[21] Roth (1966), 306.

[22] Roth Sources 508, doc. 1168.

move there, is it not possible that other friars from Ludlow, including John Gregory, would join him to live at the Newport settlement? Second, that the explicit in U states: 'Explicit bonus sermo per Iohannem Gregory, Fratrem Augustinensem de Neuport', and not 'Iohannem Gregory de Neuport, Fratrem Augustinensem', would suggest that John Gregory was an Austin friar of the Newport house.

Though these are not decisive arguments, sometimes that which is most obvious is true. In any case, we may never know and little more is revealed about John Gregory in the sermon itself, though a glance at the extensive sources he used for his sermon reflects the considerable volume of his knowledge. As Doyle has pointed out, the royal patron of the Newport house, Hugh, Earl of Stafford, was brother-in-law to Sir William Beauchamp, and Beauchamp's seat of Abergavenny lay between Newport and Ludlow.[23] If we were to assume that William Countour, Beauchamp's clerk, was the compiler and owner of this manuscript, it could be suggested that John Gregory was known by him and may have provided the exemplar for this, the only known copy of his sermon.[24]

[23] Doyle (1981), 273.

[24] For more about Countour as the compiler and owner, see the description of U, i.12-13.

A SERMON BY JOHN GREGORY, AUSTIN FRIAR OF NEWPORT

Per *propri*um sanguine*m* introiuit ad Hebreos ix°. f.162v

'Be his awne *pro*pre blode he entred in.' Blode kyndely maketh a tree þat is drie fruteful. Hit maketh mennes bodies þat ben seke heleful. 3if it be medlyd with morter, hit maketh walles stronge and myghtful.

Furst I say, 3if a tre be drie hit maketh hym fruteful. Þe beste remedy þat is for a tre whiche þat is drie in kynde [is] for to take mannes blode and ley it to þe rote of þe tre, and be vertu of the blode he shalle bere frute. Gostely be þis tre is vnderstond man. Þat man is like to a tre bereth witnesse seynt Marke viij°, Vidi homines velud arbores ambulantes. 'I seigh men walky*n*g as trees.' He waxeth drie when he doth synne, for thenne þe humour of grace is withdrawen from hym. Of þis speketh wele þe *pro*phete Ioel j° c°, Ligna agri aruerunt. 'Þe trees of þe felde waxen drie.' In þis case is no better remedy þenne to þe roote of suche an herte put þe hote blode of Crist

U

1 *margin* Sermo 16 *margin* Marc' 21 *margin* Ioel

be deuoute meditacioun; whiche meditacion tendeth in a man love, whiche is y-cleped þe kyndeliche hete of man, and þe loue of God is neuer ydel. Þenne þe tree þat was drie before because of synne, schal bere after gode frute be herty meditacioun.

Also blode kyndeliche heleth men of bodely sekenesse. We redyn of Constantyne þe Emperour whan he was meselle, hit was conselde hym þat he shulde haue a bath of childes blode to hele hym of his sekenesse. Þere is a certeyn sekenesse whiche is y-cleped þe sengles, and hit is a perelous sekenesse. But þe best medicyne þerto is for to take þe blode of another whiche þat hath y-hade þe same sekenesse and anoynt hym with hys blode, and þus he may be helyd.

Gostely þere is a grete sekenesse amonge mankynde and / þat is deth, for be- f. 163r
cause of Adamys synne euery man most nedely dee. Thenne ȝif man shulde haue been y-heled of this sekenesse, he most haue bene anoynted with þe blode of another þat hade þe same sekenesse. Þe whiche sekenesse suffred Crist, Godis sone, þat was dede, be whiche deth he heled vs clene of oure sekenesse, berynge witnesse þe prefas of

49 was] *on eras. corr.*

Esterne, Mortem nostram moriendo destruxit. 'Oure deth he deynge destrued.' Þenne with þe blode þat he shadde on þe rode tree, he clansed man of his sekenesse and graunted hym ful remissioun of his synnes. Herto acordeth seynt Poule ad Hebreos ix°, Omnia pene mundantur in sanguine, et sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio. 'Alle thynges, alle mest ben clansed in blode, and without shedynge of blode þere may be no remission.'

Also blode kyndeliche if it be medeled with morter, hit maketh walles stronge and myȝtfull. Men in olde tymes þat wolden buldyn stronge castelles, þei wolden take mannes blode and medele hit with þe morter. We reden in storyes of Brytan of Kynge Vortigerne whiche þat bulded a castelle, and als muche as þei buldyn on one day, hit felle doun another day. He lete clepe wyse men vnto hym and asked hem what was best conselle for to make þis castelle to stonde stydfast, and þei sayden þat he most haue a childes blode þat hade noon erthly fader, whiche shulde ben y-sprenged on þe morter ande þenne þe castelle shulde stonde stydefast.

57 *margin* Hebre

Gostely before þe passioun of Crist hit was so in þis worlde þat because of Adamis synne, whateuer þei bulded in wele-lyuynge, alle when þei deeden, euer þei felle doun into helle. Thenne þe meryt of gode buldynge myȝt stonde nouȝt vnto tyme þat hit was sprenged with Cristes blode, / whiche f. 163v þat hade noun erthely fader, and therfore seyth seynt Poule ad Hebreos xij, Accessistis ad ihesum et aspersionem sanguinis. '3e ben y-com to Ihesus and to spryngyng of blode.' Be þe spryngyng of this blode, þe meritory dedis whiche þat man doth now ben stydefast and stronge, þat summe tyme fellen doun because of synne.

Phisiciens sayn, and the Maister of Kyndes acordeth þerwith, libro vij°, þat þere ben three blodes infecte in a man be whiche a man ofte hath bodyly sekenesse. Þe furst infecte blode is betwene þe skynne and þe flessh, and þat engendreth þe morfue whiche is a spice of mesellery. Þe secunde blode infecte is in the veynes, and þat engendreth þe feuers. Þe thridde blode is within about þe herte, and þat engendreth deth. Be blode in holy scryptour is summe tyme vnderstond synne, as bereth witnesse

seynt Austyn vpon þat vers in þe sauter, Libera me de sanguinib*us*. 'Delyuer me from blodes.' Þat is for to say, delyuer me from synnes.

Gostely be þees thre infectes blodes in man, be whiche a man hath ofte tyme bodely sekenesse, may be vnderstond thre grete mescheues þat felle to mankynde because of synne: the furst mescheue was from þe sy3t of God a shameful out-puttynge, the secunde vnabelyd to alle merytory dedys worchynge, the thridde to þe body and to the soule a sorwefulle deynge.

Thenne be þe furst infecte blode, whiche þat engendreth mesellery, may be vnderstond þe furst mescheue þat felle to mankynde, þat was from þe si3t of God a shameful out-puttynge. For ryght as meselles for þe vnclennesse of kynde weren fer y-putte awey from þe com- / -pany of peple, in þe same degre man for his synne and for his vnclennesse was fer put out into helle from þe sight of God and his angelys. We redyn Numeri v°, þat þe children of Israel put out alle meselles out of þe castelle. Right so in the same degre Adam *and* Eue because of her synne, þei weren y-

f. 164r

106 *margin* Aug'

put out of þe castelle of paradys. Wherfore þer was no man in this worlde þat leuyd þat he nas acombred in synne. Dauid þe prophet saith, Ecce in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea. 'Loo in wykkednes I am conceyued, *and* in synnes my moder hath conceyued me.' And Salomon þat saith, Quis potest dicere mundus sum a peccato? 'Who may say I am clene from synne?'

Seynge God alle mankynde thus infecte in synne, of his grete high charite he ordeynt a remedy be whiche this corrupt blode shulde ben y-destrued. But better remedy myȝt þere noun ben to destrye þis corrupt blode þenne his awne precious blode. Therefore Crist suffred hymself be bonde to a peler, and þere he was scorged; and alle þe blode þat was betwene þe skynne *and* þe flessh holly was hade out, þat be vertu of þat blode, þe corrupt blode of man shulde ben y-clensed. We reden Leuiticus xiiij, þat it was comanded þat what man þat were y-smyte in meselery, he shuld ben y-wasshe in hote blode, and so he shuld be y-helyd. Therefore God seynge man y-smete in meselry of synne, he wesshe hym in his precious

135 *margin* Dauid 140 *margin* Sal'on 152 holly] hoylly 154 *margin* Leuitic'

blode. Hereto bereth witenesse seynt Iohan in þe Apocalips j° c°, <u>Dilexit nos et lauit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo</u>. 'He loued vs *and* wesshe vs fro oure synnes in his awne blode.' O man how gretely art þou y-holde to þi God! For when þou were polutyd, alle þe water vnder heuen myȝt nouȝt clense man. / And þerefore, Crist clensed hym and wesshe hym in his awne blode. f. 164ᵛ

The secunde blode corrupt whiche man hath ofte bodily sekenesse is in þe veynes, be whiche may be vnderstond the secunde meschef þat felle vnto mankynde, þat was an vnableynge to alle meritory dedys worchynge. For right as bodily feuers maketh a man vnable to alle maner worchynge, right in þe same degre synne maketh man vnable to þe seruyce of God. Seynge welle, gode God, alle mankynde corrupt in synne--and þer was no remedy to hele man of his synne, but oonly þe blode of Criste--þerfore, he suffred his awne soun to ben y-nailled on þe rode, on þe mont of Caluerye, in his hondys *and* in his fete, of whiche comen out grete stremes largely. The Maister of Kyndes seith þat þe best medicyne aȝens þe feuers

161 *margin* <u>Apoc'</u>

is for to lete a man blode on his both armes. Wherefore þe Iewes streyned so his precious body, drawyng so his hondes and his fete to þe places of þe nailes, þat because of grete halynge, þei braste alle þe senows *and* þe veynes in his body; owt of whiche hondys and feet come a grete flode of blode to clens alle þe corrupt blode þat was within þe veynes of man.

In figure herof we redyn Leuit*icus* viij°, þat when þe children of Israel haden y-synged aʒeyns God, Moyses went into þe temple and offerd vp a shepe for her synnes, *and* þen he lete his blode out *and* touched hem þerwith, *and* þei were thenne clensed of her synnes. Be þese children of Israel þat weren þus defouled, I vnderstonde mankynde þat was defouled in þe corrupt blode of synne; be Moyses, Crist whiche þat went into þe tabernacle, þat is into þis worlde, *and* offerd vp a shepe. This shepe was hymself þat riʒtfully may ben y-cleped a schepe for his grete mekenesse, of whiche saith þe prophete Ysaie liij c°, <u>Sicut ouis ad occisionem ductus est</u>. 'Right as / a shepe f. 165r he was y-lad vnto þe sleynge.' Þis schepe was y-offerd vp in mount of Caluary; þat is

196 *margin* <u>Leuitic'</u> 210 *margin* <u>Ysaie</u>

for to say, Crist was honged on þe rode tre, and there his blode y-shadde out holy to clens man of his synne. Of Crist þus clensynge, seith þe prophete Ioel iij° c°, Mundabo sanguinem eorum quem non mundaueram. 'I shalle clens here blode whiche before I clensed nou3t.'

The thridde corrupt blode in man be whiche a man hath bodily sekenesse is within-forth about þe hert, and þat is þe cause of deth. And of this seith þe Maister of Kyndes þat whan any corrupt blode neghith or touchith þe hert, but if hit be brou3t out sone by crafte or be kynde, hit engendreth in a man postumes, boches other deth. Be þis corrupt blode may be vnderstonde þe thridde meschef þat felle vnto mankynde because of synne, þat was to þe body and to þe soule a sorowful deynge. Right as corrupt blode about þe hert maketh a man dee bodily, in þe same degre dedely synne maketh a man dee gostely. To þis acordeth seynt Iame in his pistille j° c°, Peccatum cum consummatum fuerat, generat mortem. 'Whenne synne is y-ended, hit gendreth deth.' But alle mankynde was so infecte with þis corrupt blode þat alle þe

217 *margin* Ioel

water of paradys myȝt nouȝt wasshe man of his synne. For þe deuel hade so muche lordeshipe vpon alle mankynde þat alle þe aungels of heuen myȝt nouȝt saue oon mannes soule.

What avayled þe sacrifice of Moyses in the olde lawe, þat offred vp a shepe in þe tabernacle for þe puple synne; othere þe offrynge of þe hegh bisshope, þat onys in þe ȝere wolde offerne kyddes blode and calues blode for his awne ignoraunce and þe puples? Alle þese offrynges avayled nouȝt, because þei delyuerd no man of deth. Crist, Goddes sone of heuen, seyng welle þat alle mankynde was þus infecte with þis rotyn blode /--and f. 165v he segh welle þat hit was impossible þat by þe blode of kyddes other by þe blode of caluerne to clensyn his creature from þe pollucion of synne other openyn heuene ȝates to hem þat wern exiled--nouȝt in no straunge blode, but in his awne propre blode he offred hymself vpon þe rode tre. Therfore seith seynt Poule ad Hebreos ix° c°, *Christus* assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum *et cetera*, neque per sanguinem hircorum aut vitulorum set per proprium sanguinem introiuit. 'Crist beynge a

263 *margin* Hebr'

bisshope of goodys þat ben to com, nouther by blode of kyddes nouther by blode of caluerne, but be his awne *pro*pre blode he entred inne,' as I seyd at þe begynnynge.

A grete clerk Plini*us* <u>De Mirabilib*us* Mu*n*di</u>, li*bro* viij° c° j°, **h**e telleth of two *pro*pretes of þe **e**lephant. Þe furst *pro*prete is þis: þat þe **e**lephant is wonder colde of kynde, *and* because þerof he nys nou3t herty to fi3t in baytale, but be sight of blode he is made herty. Þe secunde *pro*prete is this: amonge alle þe vnresonable bestes þat þer beth, he is most of wytte and of knowynge *and* beste wele ben y-taght to worsshippe a kynge. **G**ostely be þis **e**lephant is vnderstond man whiche þat be reson shulde worsshipe a kynge. Þis kynge is kynge of alle kynges and lord of alle lordes. Þis elephant hath for to fi3t with thre enemys: þe deuel, þe worlde and the flesshe. Þe deuel shette at man three arows: **p**ryde, ire and envie; þe flesshe three arows: **g**loteny, lechery and slouth; þe worlde tweyn: couetyse and auarice, but it is for to sorowe.

Þis elephant þat is man is colde of kynde, and þerfore he nys nou3t herty to

272 *margin* <u>Plini'</u>

batayle. He withstont nou3t his enemy, but wilfully 3elt hym and þe cause is for he is colde of kynde in charite. *And* þer- / -fore seith Crist in þe gospelle M*atthew* xxiiij° c°, <u>Quoniam habundauit iniquitas, refrigesset caritas</u>. 'For wykkednesse is made plente, y-coled is charite.' But as I sayde, þis elephant be sight of blode is made herty in batayle. f. 166r

Holy scripture maketh mencion of three blodes: blode of kynde, blode of synne and blode of peyne. Of þe blode of kynde seith seynt Iohan in his epistelle j° c°, <u>Sanguis *Christi* emundat nos ab omni peccato</u>. 'Þe blode of Crist clenseth vs from alle synne.' Of þe secunde blode, þat is blode of synne, speketh þe p*r*ophete Ezechiel xxiiij° c°, <u>Ve ciuitati sang*uinum*</u>. 'Wo be to þe cite of blodes.' Þat is for to say, wo be to þat synful man to whom is y-ordend grete peyne because of synne. Of þe thridde blode, þat is þe blode of peyne, speketh seynt Iohan in þe Apocalips viij° c°, <u>Angelus tuba ceciuit, et facta est grando et ignis mixtus in sanguine, et misit illum *in* terram, et tercia pars terre combusta est</u>. Þe aungel blew a trompe <u>ponens p*r*aeteritum p*r*o futuro</u>,

298 *margin* <u>M^{t}</u> 307 *margin* <u>Ioh'</u> 311 *margin* <u>E3ech'</u> 317 *margin* <u>Apoc'</u>

þat is for to say, 'þe aungel shalle blow a trompe, and þer was y-made hayl and fire medled in blode *and* he sende it doun into þe erthe, and þe thridde parte of þe erthe was y-brend.'

Be this aungel þat shalle blow a trompe is vnderstond Gabriel, þat shalle blaw his trompe aʒeyns þe day of dome. Of this trompe seith seynt Ierom, 'Whethir I ete, drynke other slepe or any þinge elles do, euer me thenketh þat þe voys of þat gastefulle trompe sowneth in myne eerys: Surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium*m*. "Aryse deede men, come ʒe to þe dome." And when I come to þe dome, I ne wote neuer whethir þe iuge be my frende other my foo, whether any man / of law may helpe þere, whether þe iuge wolle receyue any money. Nay, forsothe! For riʒt as I am y-found þat tyme, so shalle I be demed. ʒif I [be] fou*n*de a gode man, I shalle haue þe blisse of heuene. ʒif I be an euel man, I shalle haue þe peyne of helle. Whethir I may fle est other west from þe iuge, nay: Quoniam neque ab oriente neque ab occidente, quoniam deus iudex est. "For nouther from est ne from west, þat God nys domesman." ' f. 166ᵛ

330 *margin* Ieromin' 337 any man(338)] *on eras. corr.*

Thenne to hem þat shullen ben y-dampned shalle ben hayl *and* fire y-medled in blode. In hayl is vnderstond grete colde, *and* in fire, grete heete. Be þese tweyn is vnderstond þe grettest peynes of helle þat is alteracion, and alteracioun is a moeuyng out of oon qualite into another qualite, and of þis seith Iob, Transibunt ab aquis nimium ad calorem nimium. 'Þei shullen passe from grete waters vnto grete colde.' And he send it adoun into the erthe; þat is for to say, he send hit to men þat lyuen erthliche aftur luste of her flesshe and after no resoun.

But þe thridde part of þe erthe was y-brent. Be þese three parties of þe erthe may ben vnderstond thre maners of synnes whiche þat men trespasen in: sum men trespasen of sekenesse, summe of ignorance and som of malice. There ben thre thynges apropred to þe Trinyte blessed: to þe Fadir myȝt, to þe Sone witte, to þe Holy Gost godenesse. He þat synneth of sekenesse, he synneth aȝeyns þe Fader, for myȝt and sekenesse ben contrarious. He þat synneth of ignoraunce, synneth aȝeyns þe Sone to whom is apropred wytte, for wytte and

356 *margin* Iob 358 grete] to grete, to *marked for eras.* 365 *margin* nota 367 *hand in margin*

ignoraunce ben contrarious. He þat syn-
/ -neth of malice, synneth aʒens þe Holy Gost to whom is apropred godenesse, for godenesse and malice ben contrarious. He synneth of malice þat contenuyth in his synne alle his lyf dayes in hope for to haue mercy atte þe latter ende, other elles þat is in despayr of þe mercy of God. And herof seith Crist in þe gospelle, 'He þat synneth aʒens þe Fader, hit may be forʒeue \him/, other aʒens þe Sone, it may be forʒeue hym. But he þat synneth aʒens þe Holy Gost, hit shalle nouʒt be forʒeue hym here in þis worlde ne in þe worlde þat is to comyn.' Thenne þe thridde parte of þe erthe shalle ben y-brend; þat is for to say, þei þat synnen aʒens þe Holy Gost, þei shullen ben y-dampned. f. 167r

These thre blodes shullen ben y-schewed to þe elephant: blode of kynde to comfort hym, blode of synne to wlate hym, blode of peyne to drede hym. Of þe shewynge of these thre blodes haue we figure in holy writte, Machabeorum vj c°, Quod serui regis ostenderunt elephantibus sanguinem vue et mori ad acuendos eos in prelio. 'Þat þe kynges seruantes shewedyn to þe elephantes

398 *margin* Macha

þe blode of þe grape and of þe blacbery to make hem sharpe in batayle.' Be þe blode of þe grape is vnderstond þe blode of Crist. For Crist clepith hymself a vyne when he saith in þis manere, Ego sum vitis vera. 'I am a trew vyne.' Out of this vyne come many grete clustres of grapes out of þe hert, [þ]e heued, þe hondes, þe feet and alle þe parties of þe body, Sicut gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram. 'Right as dropes of blode rennynge downe into þe erthe.' Be þe blode of þe blacbery is vnderstond þe blode of synne *and* þe blode of peyne. Þese seruantes þat shulden shew þese / blodes ben f. 167v þe prechours of Goddes wordes, the whiche shulden shewen þe blode of Crist, blode of synne and þe blode of peyne: þe blode of Crist in confortynge, blode of synne in wlatynge, þe blode of peyne in dredynge. Þat be þe syght of þese blodes, man shulde be made sharpe in batayl to fight aȝens his enemys. Crist þat faȝt aȝens his enemy on þe rode tre and myȝtly ouercome hym in batayle, nouȝt be blode of peyne nother be blode of synne, but be his awne p*ro*pre blode he entred in.

Þan man, take þou þis blode tofore þe

409 þe] he

þat is þe blode of Crist whiche is the blode of þe grape. For ȝif þou be a coward, hit wille herte þe. ȝif þou be colde, hit wolle hete þe. ȝif þou be seke, it wille hele þe. Of þe furst seith seynt Ion vj° c°, Sanguis meus vere est potus. 'My blode is verray drynk.' What maketh a man more hardy thenne drynk to fiȝt aȝens his bodily enemy? What maketh a man more hardy to fiȝt aȝens his gosteliche enemy, þat is þe deuel of helle, thenne hertliche þenkynge on þe blode of Crist? Of þe secunde berith witnesse Exodi iiij^to c°, Quicquid hauseris de flumine, vertetur in sanguinem. 'Whateuer þou draw out of þe flode, hyt shalle turne into blode.' Whateuer þou draw out of þe flode of þi conciens in thenkynge of þe passioun of Crist, hit shalle turne into þe blode of charite. Of þe thridde berith witnesse seynt Luke in his gospelle [viii°] c°, Quod mulier que habebat fluxum sanguinis, accessit retro et tetigit fimbriam vestimenti eius et sanata est. 'Þat a woman whiche þat hade a flux of blode, she went behynde Crist and touched þe hem of his clothynge, and she was y-heled of hir seke- / -nesse.' Be this woman is vnderstond man- f. 168r

433 *margin* Ioh' 440 *margin* Exodi 446 þe] *twice*
448 *margin* Luc' viii°] xv°

kynde whiche hade a flux of blode, þat was contynuacioun in synne.

Þenne þou man þat hast contynud in synne, go behynd Crist by mekenesse supposyng thiself nouȝt worthi to come before hym. Touche þe hemme of Cristes garment. Þe hemme of a garment is þe last ende of hym. Þe last þinge þat Crist suffred on þe rode tre was þat seynt Iohan seith in his gospelle xix° c°, Quod vnus militum lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua. 'Þat oon kny3t with a spere openyd his syde, *and* sodenliche þer went out blode and water.' Blode in redempcion, water in remission. Haue þis ende of this garment in thyn herte, and þou shalt ben y-helyd of alle thy sekenesse of synne. This garment of Crist, man, is ȝeue vnto þe *and* to noun other creature.

Acordynge herto a figure of holy writte where we reden in Genesi of Israel whiche þat hadde twelue children, and þe þongest childe he loued moost and þat was Ioseph. And for he loued hym most, he ȝaf hym a coot down to þe helys, and hit was a coote of diuerse coloures. Be þis Israel gosteliche

465 *margin* Ioh' 477 *margin* Genes'

is vnderstond God, for Israel is as muche for to say as <u>prynceps cum d*omino*</u> as 'a prynce with God.' For God is prynce of prynces, lord of lordes, kyng of kynges as berith witnesse seynt Iohan in þe Apocalips, <u>Rex regum et d*omin*us d*omin*ancium</u>.

God hath twelue children: ix ordres of aungelys in heuene and thre in erthe, ix and thre maken twelue. Ther ben creatures in erthe þat han beynge and lyuyng as stones, g*r*aces *and* trees. There ben creatures in erthe þat han beyng, lyuyng and felynge as / briddes, bestes and fisshes. Also þere bene creatures in erthe þat han beynge, lyuyng, felynge *and* vnderstondyng as man. Þenne man was his ȝongest childe, for he made hym last of alle creatures, and for he loued most hym, he ȝafe hym a cote downe to þe helys. This cote was Cristes passiou*n* whiche he suffred on þe rode tre for mankynde. For he deed neuer for nou*n* aungel in heuene ne fore nou*n* creature in erthe, but oonlyche for man. f. 168ᵛ

But þis cote was of diuerses colours: he was white, blewe, rede and blake. White, for he was a mayden and a mayden sone. He was blewe y-bete with staves and scorges.

487 *margin* <u>Apoc'</u>

He was rede y-bledde with his awne blode. He was blak with blode þat was y-bledde *and* wax colde. But þis cote was downe to þe helys, for from þe toppe of þe heued to þe sool of þe fote, þer was nouȝt an hool partie in his body. Man, þis cote he hath y-ȝefe þe to clyppe alle about þe aȝens alle maner temptacioun of synne. Þat God loued most man of alle creatures, I shalle shewe þe by an ensample.

I rede of a lorde whiche þat had a fayr douȝter, þe fairest creature þat myȝt be, *and* þis lorde loued moste his douȝter of alle erthely thynges. Come a sorteyn persoun and wowed þis mayden, and nouȝt withstondyng þe grete loue þat hir fader hadde vnto hir, she forsoke hir fader and went with þat man. This maiden was from hir fader long tyme, vnto þe tyme þat a serteyn persoun whiche þat loued muche þe lorde and eke his douȝter. And he treted so betwene þe lorde *and* his chylde, þat þe childe was reconsyled aȝeyn vnto hir fader. And when þe fader was plesed, he lete mary hir to a worthy / knyȝt, and at hir mariage she re- f. 169r ceyued ryales ȝiftes. Þe fader ȝaf hir a cote down to þe helys and y-writte in þe cote þese wordes: Dimisi te, vltra ne

adicias. 'I haue forȝefe þe, falle neuer efte.' Þe medyator ȝafe hir foure rynges *and* in eueriche ryng wreten serteyn wordes. In þe furst ryng þese wordes: Dilexi, disce diligere. 'I haue loued þe, lerne þou to loue me.' In þe secunde ryng þese wordes: Quid feci quantu*m* et quare? 'What ded I? How muche ded I? Wherfore ded I hit?' In þe thridde ryng þese wordes: Nobilis es, et ideo nobilitate*m* tuam ne dimittas. 'Nobel þou art, leue neuere þi noblete.' And in þe feurth ryng þese wordes: Frater tu*us* sum, accede ad me, ne timeas. 'Þi brother I am, come to me, ne drede þou nouȝt.' The knyȝt þat wedded hir ȝafe hir a seel and wreten in hym þese wordes: Iam co*n*iuncta es, noli reuerti. 'Now þou art knytte to me, turne þou neuer aȝeyn from me.'

Gostely by þis fader, by this mediator, by this spouse, [...] I vnderstond by this mayden, mannys soule. Be þis wower, þe deuel of helle whiche þat stryed Adam in paradys to breke Goddes comaundement; be whiche brekyng, he was put out of paradys and was from his fader fyue thousand ȝere. God is þi fader for he made þe, No*n*ne ipse est pater tuus qui fecit possedit et creauit te. He is þi medyator for he bouȝt þe,

Mediator dei et homi*ni Cristus* Ihe*sus*. 'Þe medyatour of God and man is Crist Ihe*sus*', for he reconsyled þe a3eyn to þi fader. He is þi spouse for he wedded þe in þe font-stou*n* and made þe of þe deuels childe, Goddes childe.

In this mariage, man receyued ryale 3iftes. Þe fader 3afe hir a cote downe / to þe helys and in þe cote wreten þese wordes: Dimisi te, vltra ne adiceas. 'I haue for3efe þe, falle neuer efte.' This cote is þe passiou*n* þat I spake of before. Þe mediatour 3afe hir rynges. Þese foure rynges beth vnderstond foure pryncipal wou*n*des in his body, tweyn in his two feet and two in his two hondes. In þe furst ryng þese wordes: Dilexi, disce diligere. 'I haue loued þe, lerne þou to loue me. Beholde man myn heued with þornes crowned, beholde my body alle to-rent. Whi was þis? For þe loue of þe! Þerfore lerne þou to loue me.' In þe secunde rynge þese wordes: 'What ded I for þe? I toke þi flesshe and þi blode. How muche dede I? I deed for þe. Wherefore ded I hit? To brynge þe to blysse.' In þe thridde ryng þese wordes: Nobilis es, et ideo nobilitatem tuam ne dimittas. 'Noble þou art, leue neuer thi

f. 169v

noblete. Man, þou þat were sumtyme thralle to God, to aungel, to þe deuel; now þou art þe deuels lorde, angelys lord *and* Goddes awne brother. Therfore, leue neuer thi noblete to forsake þi God *and* becom suget to þe deuel bycause of synne.' In þe furth ryng þese wordes: <u>Frater tuus sum *et cetera*</u>. 'Þi brother I am, com to me, ne drede þou nouȝt. Man be þou neuer so synful, com to me, for I com to clepe sy*n*ful and nouȝt riȝtful, com to me. Be in nou*n* despeyr for no synne. I am no stronge man, I am þi brother, ne drede þe nouȝt. Aske me forȝefnesse and þou shalt haue mercy of alle þi synnes.'

Þe spouse þat wedded hir ȝafe hir a seel and y-wreten in hym þese wordes: <u>Iam *coniuncta es, noli reuerti*</u>. 'Now þou art knytte vnto me,turne þou neuere / from me.' f. 170r This seel was þe grete wounde in his herte whiche was y-schape liche a bysshop seel; for in openyng of this wounde, helle ȝates weren y-closed and paradys ȝates y-opened. And þerefore seith seynt Bernard, <u>Sanguis *Christi* clauus est paradisi</u>. 'The blode of Crist is þe key of paradys.' Man, in þe openyng of þis wounde þou were y-wedded to

617 *margin* <u>B'nard'</u>

Crist be alle sacramentis of holy churche.

Þen my conseyl is this: þat þow haue mynde of þis blode þat I haue spoken of before, and of þe garmentys he*mm*e, þat was þe laste peyn þat he suffred on þe rode tre; by whiche þenkyng, þou may ouercome alle manere temptacio*un* of synne. Here then to haue grace of good lyuynge, and when þou gost he*nn*ys, ioy euerlastyng, Quod nobis concedat qui sine fine viuit *et* regnat, Amen.

Explicit bonus se*rm*o per Ioh*ann*em Gregory Fratrem Augustinensem de Neuport.

NOTES

In the margin above the text in the 17th c. hand of William Smith, historian of University College: 'Sermo *fratris Johannis* Gregory ordinis August' de Newport vide in calce ejusdem. p.339.'

1-2 HEBREWS 9:12, 'neque per sanguinem hircorum, aut vitulorum, sed per proprium sanguinem introivit semel in Sancta, aeterna redemptione inventa.'

9-14 For more on the image of the 'dry tree' see the 'Med. St Anselm', 3-22.

16-17 MARK 8:24, 'Et aspiciens, ait: Video homines velut arbores ambulantes.'

21 JOEL 1:12, 'Vinea confusa est, et ficus elanguit; malogranatum, et palma, et malum, et omnia ligna agri aruerunt, quia confusum est gaudium a filiis hominum.'

32-5 The story of Constantine probably orginates from the various lives of St Sylvester and 'De Sancto Silvestro' in the Legenda Aurea of Jacob de Voragine (Th. Graesse, ed. (2nd ed., Leipsig, 1850), XII.70-9), and the Middle English translation of the Alphabetum Narrationum of Etienne de Besancon (ed. M.M. Banks (EETS OS 127, 1905, ii.478/2-5). The tale also occurs in Gower's Confessio Amantis (Macauley (1969), I.ii.216/3187-224/3496).

38-41 The idea of bathing in blood to heal one of sickness can be found in the Ancren Riwle which parallels it with Christ's bathing us in his own blood to save us from our sins (Morton (1853, repr. 1968), 394/28-396/10).

52 'Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et uitam resurgendo reparauit' from the mass, see the The Sarum Missal, ed. J. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1916), 213/4-5, and the *Praefationes sine cantu per totum annum: In Paschate* from the Missale Romanum ex decreto ss. Concilii Tridentini... (Rome, 1909), 272. Pfander (1937), 55 n.26.

57-9 HEBREWS 9:22, 'Et omnia pene in sanguine secundum legem mundantur: et sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio.'

68-78 The story of Vortigern probably originates from Geoffrey of Monmouth, see The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, II The First Variant Version: A critical edition, ed. N. Wright (Cambridge, 1988), 98 (106). Pfander (1937), 55 n. 28.

88-9 HEBREWS 12:22, 24, 'Sed accessistis ad Sion montem, et civitatem Dei viventis, Ierusalem caelestem, et multorum millium angelorum frequentiam...et testamenti novi mediatorem Iesum, et sanguinis aspersionem melius loquentem quam Abel.'

94-104 The three types of blood infections probably orginates from Bartholomew Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum, though Pfander ((1937), 56 n.32) comments that they are not very similar, blood replacing the humour of melancholy, or treated in the same order: for leprosy, 'Þe þridde maner lepra comeþ of melancolye infectinge of blood' (DPR VII.lxiv.424/1-2) and 'De Morphea' (DPR VII.lxv.427-8/); for fever, 'Continual feuere comeþ of humour irootid wiþinne þe veynes' (DPR VII.xli.389/16); 'For þe humour melancoly is hard, sad and faste, it may nouȝt rotye but in abidinge of tyme, and ȝif it happiþ in eny wise þat it rotye in þe veynes, it schulde rather brede a feuere þan lepra' (DPR VII.lxiv.423/24-7). I have not been able to find any suggestion that blood infection near the heart causes pustules, boils or death. Gregory's version is closest to that found in The Southern Passion (ed. B.D. Brown (EETS OS 169, 1927), 60/1649-61/1664). The fact that this text was probably written earlier in the century at St Peter's, Gloucester, a house which was connected with the Austin friary in Newport might suggest that this was Gregory's source. Brown gives two sources for that in The Southern Passion, one from St Bonaventure's 'Lignum Vitae': 'Cruentatus enim Christus Dominus sanguine proprio, primum sudore, dehinc flagellis et aculeis, post clavis et tandem lancea copiose effuso, ut apud Deum esset copiosa redemptio' (Peltier (1898), VIII.iii: *Lignum Vitae: De Mysterio Glorificationis*, #31, 80); and St Bernard (PL 184:779-80, #13).

104-6 St Augustine's commentary on the psalms, see his 'Enarrationes in Psalmos L:19': 'Quare ergo pluraliter dixit: de sanguinibus? In multis sanguinibus, tamquam in origine

carnis peccati, multa peccata intellegi uoluit'(Aureli Augustini Opera (CCSL XXXVIII, Turnholt, 1956), X.i.613/7-9).

107 PSALM 50:16, 'Libera me de sanguinibus, Deus, Deus salutis meae, et exsultabit lingua mea iustitiam tuam.'

129-31 NUMBERS 5:1-4, 'Locutusque est Dominus ad Moysen, dicens: Praecipe filiis Israel, ut eiiciant de castris omnem leprosum, et qui semine fluit, pollutusque est super mortuo: tam masculum quam feminam eiicite de castris, ne contaminent ea cum habitaverint vobiscum. Feceruntque ita filii Israel, et eiecerunt eos extra castra, sicut locutus erat Dominus Moysi.'

136-7 PSALM 50:7, 'Ecce enim in iniquitatibus conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea.'

140-1 PROVERBS 20:9, 'Quis potest dicere: Mundum est cor meum, purus sum a peccato?'

154-7 LEVITICUS 14:7, 'quo asperget illum, qui mundandus est, septies, ut iure purgetur: et dimittet passerem vivum, ut in agrum avolet.'

161-2 REVELATIONS 1:5, 'et a Iesu Christo, qui est testis fidelis, primogenitus mortuorum, et princeps regum terrae, qui dilexit nos, et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo.'

185-8 Also in De Proprietatibus Rerum: 'In þise contynual feueres þat comeþ of blood me schal blede in aiþir arme, if strengþe and age suffreþ' (DPR VII.xli.390/15-16).

188-92 The image of Christ being stretched so his limbs and sinews snap is very common in Passion literature particularly Passion meditations such as the AB chapter from The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God: 'He spredeþ his armes abrod, but streiter wiþ cordis þei draweþ forþ his armes, til þe senewes and þe jointes al be for-borst' (Connolly (1993), 42/44-5). See also The Privity of the Passion in Horstman (1895), i.205-6. This image is also found in material for sermons, see FM III.xi.216/27-33 and V.vii.438/121-5.

196-202 LEVITICUS 8:30, 'Assumensque unguentum, et

sanguinem qui erat in altari, aspersit super Aaron et vestimenta eius, et super filios illius ac vestes eorum.'

198 *y-synged*, South West Midlands form of the past participle, sinned, see MED.

210-11 ISAIAH 53:7, 'Oblatus est quia ipse voluit, et non aperuit os suum; sicut ovis ad occisionem ducetur, et quasi agnus coram tondente se obmutescet, et non aperiet os suum.'

218 JOEL 3:21, 'Et mundabo sanguinem eorum, quem non mundaveram; et Dominus commorabitur in Sion.'

224-9 Source not yet found, but perhaps in a version of Bartholomew Anglicus' De Proprietatibus Rerum which was available to Gregory.

237-8 JAMES 1:15, 'Deinde concupiscentia cum conceperit, parit peccatum: peccatum vero cum consummatum fuerit, generat mortem.'

264-7 HEBREWS 9:11-2, 'Christus autem assistens pontifex futurorum bonorum, per amplius et perfectius tabernaculum non manufactum, id est, non huius creationis: neque per sanguinem hircorum, aut vitulorum, sed per proprium sanguinem introivit semel in Sancta, aeterna redemptione inventa.'

272-82 The two properties of the elephant from Pliny's De Mirabilibus Mundi: 'nam quid ad docilitatem attinet regem adorant, genua submittunt, coronas porrigunt' and 'elephantis frigidissimum esse sanguinem', (Pliny Natural History, ed. H.Rackham (repr. London, 1983), VIII.i.4/3 and VIII.xii.26/34). That blood excites an elephant before battle, see Alexander Neckham's De Naturis Rerum et De Laudibus Diviniae Sapientiae: 'Subvehit in bellis turres, visoque cruore armatos tumido pectore turbat atrox,' (ed. T. Wright (RS 1863), ix.487/67-8). This source is given in FM which ties this together with the quote from Maccabees and moralizes it in a way similar to that in Gregory (III.xii.222/77-82). Also found in De Proprietatibus Rerum: 'But þey beþ accidentalliche cruel and ferse whanne þey beþ to swiþe y-angred or whanne þey beþ wyndronke to make hem scharpe to fighte in

bataile' (DPR XVIII.xliii.1194/32-4). Bartholomew states that his source is Aristotle's De Animalibus, XIV. Pfander (1937), 59 n.52.

285-91 For more on the three enemies see the note to 'The Two Ways', 207-11.

291-2 Some of the text seems to be missing here?

299-300 MATTHEW 24:12, 'Et quoniam abundavit: iniquitas, refrigescet charitas multorum.'

307-8 I JOHN 1:7, 'Si autem in luce ambulamus sicut et ipse est in luce, societatem habemus ad invicem, et sanguis Iesu Christi, Filii eius, emundat nos ab omni peccato.'

311-12 EZECHIEL 24:6, 'Propterea haec dicit Dominus Deus: Vae civitati sanguinum, ollae cuius rubigo in ea est, et rubigo eius non exivit de ea! Per partes et per partes suas eiice eam, non cecidit super eam sors.'

317-20 REVELATIONS 8:7, 'Et primus angelus tuba cecinit, et facta est grando, et ignis, mista in sanguine, et missum est in terram, et tertia pars terrae combusta est, et tertia pars arborum concremata est, et omne foenum viride combustum est.'

329-35 St Jerome, from the Regula Monacharum, XXX: 'Semper tuba illa terribilis vestris perstrepat auribus: Surgite, mortui, venite ad judicium' (PL 30:417), and his Epistulae LXVI:10: 'Siue leges siue scribes siue uigilabis siue dormies, <Iesu> amor tibi semper bucina in auribus sonet' (CSEL (1909), 54:660). Neither of these are actually as close as that given in FM I.xiii.104/2-5.

345-6 PSALM 74:7-8, 'Quia neque ab oriente, neque ab occidente, neque a desertis montibus. Quoniam Deus iudex est; hunc humiliat, et hunc exultat.'

356-7 JOB 24:19, 'Ad nimium calorem transeat ab aquis nivium, et usque ad inferos peccatum illius.'

383-8 MATTHEW 12:31-2, 'Ideo dico vobis: Omne peccatum et blasphemia remittetur hominibus, spiritus autem blasphemia non remittetur. Et quicumque dixerit verbum contra Filium hominis, remittetur ei: qui autem dixerit

contra Spiritum sanctum, non remittetur ei, neque in hoc saeculo, neque in futuro.'

398-400 I MACCABEES 6:34, 'et elephantis ostenderunt sanguinem uvae et mori, ad acuendos eos in praelium.'

406 JOHN 15:1, 'Ego sum vitis vera, et Pater meus agricola est.'

410-11 LUKE 22:44, 'Et factus est sudor eius, sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram.'

433-4 JOHN 6:56, 'Caro enim mea vere est cibus: et sanguis meus, vere est potus.'

441-2 EXODUS 4:9, 'Quod si nec duobus quidem his signis crediderint, neque audierint vocem tuam: sume aquam fluminis, et effunde eam super aridam, et quidquid hauseris de fluvio, vertetur in sanguinem.'

448-51 LUKE 8:43-4 (see also Matthew 9:20), 'Et mulier quaedam erat in fluxu sanguinis ab annis duodecim, quae in medicos erogaverat omnem substantiam suam, nec ab ullo potuit curari: accessit retro, et tetigit fimbriam vestimenti eius: et confestim stetit fluxus sanguinis eius.'

465-7 JOHN 19:34, 'sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua.'

476-82 GENESIS 37:3, 'Israel autem diligebat Ioseph super omnes filios suos, eo quod in senectute genuisset eum: fecitque ei tunicam polymitam.'

478 *pongest*, an example of þ/ȝ confusion. See the Introduction, i.53-6.

488 REVELATIONS 19:16, 'Et habet in vestimento et in femore suo scriptum: Rex regum et Dominus dominantium.'

489-97 God's twelve children probably refer here, as explained in the text, to the nine orders of angels: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels, and the three levels of life on earth: plants, animals and man. The origination of the nine orders of angels comes from EPHESIANS 1:21 and COLOSSIANS 1:16 and later in Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite's Celestial

Hierarchies, see The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. F.L. Cross (1983), 52-3.

513-15 A familiar image in Passion literature, especially meditations; but originates from ISAIAH 1:6, 'A planta pedis usque ad verticem, non est in eo sanitas....' See Rolle's 'Meditation A' (Ogilvie-Thomson (1988), 66/92-3), the AB chapter from The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, (Connolly, 1993), 42/30-1, and the 'Med. Alone', 84-7.

520-55 The exemplum of the king and daughter has proven to have many indirect sources with much variation. Pfander covers it more thoroughly in his notes ((1937), 63 n.78-83) and in his discussion ((1937), 65-6). The original source appears to be the Gesta Romanorum (Oesterley (1872), I.273-5). Pfander (65-6) also discusses similar versions in St John's College, Cambridge 120 (f. 213^{v}), BL Harley 7322 (f. 152^{r}), and Magdalen College, Oxford 93 (f.170^{r}).

557 Some of the text seems to be missing here?

563-5 DEUTERONOMY 32:6, 'Haeccine reddis Domino, populo stulte et insipiens? Numquid non ipse est pater tuus, qui possedit te, et fecit, et ceavit te?'

566-7 I TIMOTHY 2:5, 'Unus enim Deus, unus et mediator Dei et hominum homo Christus Iesus.'

613-14 The wound in Christ's side or heart shaped like a Bishop's seal is a familar image in the cult of the Five Wounds of Jesus Christ. See Woolf (1968), 210 n.4.

617-18 St Bernard, source not yet found.

629-31 Benediction from The Sarum Missal, 'Ordo Misse': '...Qui uiuis et regnas deus...' (Wickham Legg (1916), 228-9).

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS BY ALPHABETICAL ORDER OF SIGLA

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B	Bodley 3
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D	Bodleian, Douce 13
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G	Princeton, Garrett 143
H	Glasgow, Hunterian 496
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O	BL Royal 17.A.xxvi
P	Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2125
Q	Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 3390
R	John Rylands Library, Eng. 85
Ry	John Rylands Library, Eng. 412
R^1	Bodleian, Rawlinson A.381
R^2	Bodleian, Rawlinson A.423
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So	Society of Antiquaries 300
T	Cambridge, Trinity College B.14.53
Ta	Bodleian, Tanner 336
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Y	BL Harley 211
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