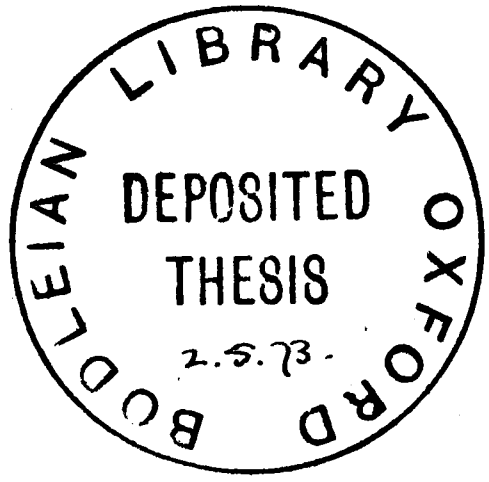
A CRITICAL EDITION OF CAXTON'S

THE ART AND CRAFT TO KNOW WELL TO DIE AND ARS MORIENDI

TOGETHER WITH THE ANTECEDENT MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL

by
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ABSTRACT

The following thesis seeks to make available sound critical texts of three fifteenth-century English versions of the Ars Moriendi - The Book of the Craft of Dying, Caxton's Art and Craft to Know Well to Die (1490) and his Ars Moriendi (1491). Of these three versions the fullest, most readable and most significant is The Book of the Craft of Dying, so that the balance of the thesis (which began as an edition of the two printed texts) has had to be adjusted somewhat in order to reflect that significance.

The Book of the Craft of Dying has been edited twice before, by C. Horstman, Yorkshire Writers, ii (London, 1896), 406-20, and by F.M.M. Comper, The Book of the Craft of Dying (London, 1917), 1-47. Horstman's edition takes MS. Rawl. C.894 as the copy-text, although that manuscript appears to be itself a direct copy of MS. Royal 17 C.xviii. In the present century at least four (and possibly five) more manuscripts containing The Book of the Craft of Dying have been discovered, and they enable us to reconstruct a text that is a good deal more authoritative than any that Horstman could have envisaged. The present text is based upon a full collation of all the eleven extant manuscripts that are accessible. The copy-text is MS. Bodley 423 (not known to Horstman), and this has been corrected in the light of the whole body of material variation exhibited by the extant manuscripts. A complete record of the material variants is provided in the footnotes to the text, giving at each point all the substantive evidence for the reading of the archetype.

Comper also chose MS. Bodley 423 as copy-text, but simply, it would seem, on palaeographical grounds. It was not her intention, however, to do more than provide a modernised transcription of that manuscript.

No modern edition of the two Caxton texts has as yet been produced, apart from the modernised transcriptions in Comper (1917), 53-88, 91-101. For the present edition the four copies of the Art and Craft have been collated and typographical errors corrected. The Bodleian copy of the Ars Moriendi is unique, and it has only been necessary, therefore, to correct clear typographical errors.

These three texts, together with Notes and Glossaries, constitute vol. ii of the present work. The Notes aim at clarifying some major ambiguities and obscurities in the texts in the light of the readings of two copies of the Latin original and, in the case of the Art and Craft, of two French translations. Some attempt is also made in the Notes to indicate the sources of the original. Such a description of sources remains to some extent incomplete, although the principal debts of the author of the Latin Ars Moriendi seem to be sufficiently well established. The three glossaries which accompany the respective texts are selective, but attempt to provide a systematic record of all words and meanings that are now obsolete.

The first volume consists of an introduction to these texts, designed to place them in their social and devotional contexts, to give an account of their production and distribution, to discuss their textual affiliations and to explain the editorial policies that have been adopted in regard to them. The introduction has been arranged under two main and somewhat

unequal divisions: A. The Manuscript Texts and B. The Printed Texts. This division of material has been adopted for the sake of clarity, although it should perhaps be emphasised that both the manuscript and the printed texts belong to the same central tradition. Such a method of organisation involves a certain amount of overlapping of material, notably in A.4 "Booklet Production and Compilation" and in A.5 "Audience and Circulation", where it seemed appropriate to relate the discussions to the printed texts.

The first section of A is devoted to a fairly full description of the extant manuscripts as part of a documentation of the social and devotional contexts within which the Ars Moriendi was developed in England. Attention is accordingly focussed upon the original ownership of these volumes wherever it can be ascertained or inferred with any reasonable degree of probability. Section A.2 presents a brief discussion of the date of composition of the Latin Ars Moriendi and its first English translation. Section A.3 discusses the provenance of The Book of the Craft of Dying, first by drawing together the evidence of the extant manuscripts as documented in A.1, and secondly by an internal analysis of the language of those manuscripts, but particularly of the copy-text. The linguistic analysis follows the pattern of S. Moore, S.B. Meech and H. Whitehall, "Middle English Dialect Characteristics and Dialect Boundaries", Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature, xiii (Michigan, 1935), 1-60, and claims only to offer conclusions within the evident limitations of that method.

Section A.4 discusses the nature of the production of such treatises

as The Book of the Craft of Dying and considers the significance of grouping it with other treatises to form coherent and self-contained booklets within the larger manuscript miscellany. Section A.5 proceeds specifically to a discussion of the audience and circulation of The Book of the Craft of Dying, and begins by identifying that treatise as part of a tradition stemming from the work of religious instruction initiated by the Fourth Lateran Council. Both these sections draw extensively upon the documentation presented in A.1. In section A.6 there is a brief note on the question of the authorship of the Ars Moriendi.

Section A.7 addresses itself to the complex matter of the classification of the eleven extant manuscripts. The procedure adopted has been that set out by W.W. Greg in The Calculus of Variants (Oxford, 1927), although variational groups do not emerge from the preliminary analysis of the manuscript readings with sufficient clarity to make such a method ultimately practicable. The relationship of the extant manuscripts would seem to have been complicated by contamination, but MS. Bodley 423 nevertheless appears to possess the strongest claims for adoption as the copy-text. A short Appendix to this section discusses the relationship of the extant manuscripts of A Treatise of Ghostly Battle in the light of the full collation made by Dr V. Murray, "An Edition of A Tretyse of Ghostly Batayle and Militia Christi", 2 vol. (MS. D.Phil. d.5158, Oxford, 1971). Section A.8 explains the decision to accept the copy-text as an authority only in the matter of accidentals, and to assess the quality of material variation at each point in the light of the preceding analysis, the results of which having been incorporated in a stemma. That section goes on to

set out all aspects of editorial policy, namely the decision to record material and not linguistic variation (together with an explanation of that distinction), punctuation, treatment of abbreviations and the use of certain conventions.

Part B is much briefer in scope, but follows the same pattern as is to be found in A. Section B.1 provides first a general bibliographical description of Caxton's Art and Craft, and then a particular account of the four surviving copies. This is followed by a description of the unique copy of Caxton's Ars Moriendi. Section B.2 attempts to relate the place of the Caxton texts to the Ars Moriendi tradition as a whole, a matter that has already been discussed to some extent in A.4 and A.5. Section B.3 analyses the variation between the four copies of the Art and Craft, and section B.4 sets out the principles that have been adopted in editing the printed texts.

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Any work in the field of ME devotional literature must be indebted to the documentation of material provided by Dr A.I. Doyle in his thesis, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries with special consideration of the part of the Clergy therein", and to his subsequent work on this subject. I should also like to acknowledge a personal debt to Dr Doyle for his kindness in supplying me with additional pieces of information as they came to light in his researches.

I am indebted to Miss Pamela Robinson, Lecturer in Palaeography and Diplomatic in The Queen's University, Belfast, for making clearer to me the nature of the production and compilation of manuscript booklets.

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Above all, I must thank my supervisor, Dr P.O.E. Gradon, Fellow of

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACD	W. Caxton, The Art and Craft to Know Well to Die (Westminster, 1490).
AF	Anglo-French.
AM	W. Caxton, Ars Moriendi (? Westminster, 1491).
BCD	The Book of the Craft of Dying.
CF	Central French.
CP	The longer version of the Latin Ars Moriendi.
DNB	L. Stephen and S. Lee, The Dictionary of National Biography, 22 vol., repr. (London, 1921-2).
EETS (OS)	Early English Text Society (Original Series).
EM	East Midland dialect (of ME).
ERE	J. Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 13 vol. (Edinburgh, 1908-26).
Gmc	Germanic.
GW	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 7 vol. (Leipzig, 1925-38).
HPT	W. and L. Hellinga, The Fifteenth-Century Printing Types of the Low Countries, 2 vol. (Amsterdam, 1966).
IMEV	C. Brown and R.H. Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943).
L	Latin.
LD	C.T. Lewis and C. Short, A Latin Dictionary (Oxford, 1900).
M	Midland dialects (of ME).
(e)ME	(early) Middle English.

MED	H. Kurath, S.M. Kuhn and J. Reidy, Middle English Dictionary (Michigan, 1952-).
MES	T.F. Mustanoja, A Middle English Syntax, i (Helsinki, 1960).
MnE	Modern English.
N	Northern dialect (of ME).
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia, 15 vol. (New York, etc., 1967).
NF	Northern French.
OE	Old English.
OED	J.A.H. Murray et al., The Oxford English Dictionary, 12 vol. and suppl. (Oxford, 1933).
(O)F	(Old) French.
ON	Old Norse.
PCC	Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Index Library, 12 vol. (London, 1893-1960).
PG	J-P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca, 166 vol. (Paris, 1857-66).
PL	J-P. Migne, Patrologia Latina, 217 vol. (Paris, 1844-55), with Indexes, 4 vol. (1862-4).
PtE	Present English.
QS	The shorter version of the Latin Ars Moriendi.
S	Southern dialects (of ME).
SE	South Eastern dialect (of ME).
STS	Scottish Text Society.
SW	South Western dialect (of ME).
VCH	H.A. Doubleday et al., The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Westminster, etc., 1900-).

WM West Midland dialect (of ME).

(1)WS (late) West Saxon.

s. xv in. (eunte) - 1400-40.

s. xv med. (io) - 1430-70.

s. xv ex. (euntė) - 1460-1500.

Part A:

THE MANUSCRIPT TEXTS

1. THE DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Sigla:

D Douce 322, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

H Harley 1706, British Museum, London.

Y Royal 17 C.xviii, British Museum, London.

C Corpus Christi College, Oxford 220.

W Rawlinson C.894, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

E Eng. 94, John Rylands Library, Manchester.

T Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.21.

Q Harley 4011, British Museum, London.

F Ff.v.45, University Library, Cambridge.

A Additional 10596, British Museum, London.

B Bodley 423, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

D MS. Douce 322, Bodleian Library, Oxford.[1]

Contents

1. (fol. 1^{v}) List of Contents; accurate but incomplete.
2. (fol. 2^{r}) Lydgate's Kalendar.[2]
3. (fol. 8^{r}a) Canticus Amoris.[3]

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1. See F. Madan, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, iv (Oxford, 1897), 593-5. The best account of this manuscript, together with MS. Harley 1706, is by A.I. Doyle, "Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey", Transactions Essex Archaeological Society, XXV (NS) ii (Colchester, 1958), 222-43.

2. IMEV, 1721.

3. IMEV, 1781.

4. (fol. 8^{v}b) Canticus Amoris.[1]

5. (fol. 9^{v}b) Prayers.[2]

6. (fol. 10^{r}a) Pety Job.[3] Falsely attributed to Rolle.[4]

7. (fol. 15^{r}b) Parce Michi Domine.[5] Falsely attributed to Rolle.

8. (fol. 17^{r}a) The Seven Deadly Sins.[6] (? by Rolle.)

9. (fol. 18^{r}a) "Hec sex obseruanda sunt omni Christiano in extremis";[7] Latin maxims followed by an expansion in English verse.

10. (fol. 19^{r}b) "A descripcioun of feythe, hope and Charyte."

11. (fol. 19^{v}a) "Thorough two thynge principally may a man knowe whether he be meke or no."

12. (fol. 19^{v}a) The Image, or Picture of Death, presented as a skeleton with a spear in his right hand and a bell in his left.[8]

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1. IMEV, 1460.

2. IMEV, 2352.

3. IMEV, 1854.

4. For an account of the Rolle canon, see H.E. Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle (New York and London, 1927). Doyle (1958), 225, suggests that Pety Job was ascribed to Rolle because of his Latin exposition of the same theme, Postillae super 9 lectiones mortuorum. Allen (1927), 369, says that this piece "purports to be copies from 'John Lucas' book'", but there seems no good reason for applying the rubric on fol. 20^{r}a beyond the pieces immediately preceding and following it.

5. IMEV, 561.

6. The first two quires of D (fol. 2-9, 10-17) seem to have been made up separately, since they are self-contained (comprising pieces 2-5, 6-8 respectively) and are written in different scripts.

7. IMEV, 741.

8. The conception of Death bearing a spear was common in the late ME period; see The Pardoner's Tale, l. 678. The bell is unusual; W.J. Wager, "Two

cont....

13. (fol. 19^{v}b) "... balades ... owte of the book of John Lucas";[1] two sets of stanzas on mortality.

14. (fol. 20^{r}b) Horologium Sapientiae.[2] Falsely attributed to Rolle.

15. (fol. 25^{v}b) "... a chapitle taken oute of a book cleped toure of all toures and techeth a man for to dye."[3]

16. (fol. 26^{v}b) The Book of the Craft of Dying.[4] Falsely attributed to Rolle.

17. (fol. 39^{r}a) A Treatise of Ghostly Battle.[5] Falsely attributed to Rolle.

18. (fol. 52^{v}b) A Ladder of Four Rungs.[6] Falsely attributed to Adam the

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Poems from the 'Booke of John Lucas'", Philological Quarterly, xv (October, 1936), 378, n. 4, suggests that it may be connected in origin with the bell which the rioters hear in The Pardoner's Tale, l. 644: "clynke biforn a cors".

1. IMEV, 3143.

2. This is ch. v of a larger tract of that name, an English version of Heinrich Suso's Horologium Sapientiae. The whole has been edited by K. Horstmann, "Orologium Sapientiae or The Seven Poyntes of Trewe Wisdom, aus MS. Douce 114", Anglia, x (1887), 323-89. Suso translated the work into Latin in 1334 with some additions from his own Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit (c. 1328).

3. An extract from an English version of Frere Lorens's Somme le Roi, ed. F.M.M. Comper, The Book of the Craft of Dying (London, 1917), 127-30. See W.N. Francis, The Book of Vices and Virtues, EETS (OS) 217 (London, 1942), xxxvi-xxxvii. The extract in D is the first chapter of the Ars Moriendi section of that work, pp. 68-71 in Francis's edition.

4. Ed. C. Horstman, Yorkshire Writers, ii (London, 1896), 406-20.

5. Ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 420-36.

6. Ed. P. Hodgson, Deonise Hid Diuinite, EETS (OS) 231 (London, 1955), 100-117. It is a ME translation of the Scala Claustralium, now attributed to Guigo II, ninth prior of the Grande Chartreuse (c. 1173-93), and thought to have been written shortly before 1150. This and items 19, 21-3, have been ascribed to Adam the Carthusian without good foundation. The source

cont....

Carthusian.

19. (fol. 62^{r}a) "a good seying of Seynt Alberte the Bysschop" on "how to receue the sacrament".[1] Falsely attributed to Adam the Carthusian.

20. (fol. 62^{v}a) A Latin note[2] attributed to "magister Adamus cartusiensis".

21. (fol. 62^{v}b) "... a lytell shorte tretyse that telleth howe there were syx masteres assembled to geder ... to speke of tribulacioun."

22. (fol. 63^{v}a) Nota de Paciencia Infirmitatis; in Latin.

23. (fol. 64^{r}b) "... the xii profetes and euangelistes of tribulacioun."[3] Falsely attributed to Adam the Carthusian.

24. (fol. 78^{r}) "... the xii Chapitres whyche Richard Hampole the Eremyte made, howe that a man shulde lyue in contemplacioun."[4]

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for the ascription of these works to Adam the Carthusian in modern catalogues would seem to be John Bale's Index Britanniae Scriptorum (c. 1548-51), but in MSS. D and H only piece 20 is ascribed to him. It seems probable that the source of Bale's attribution is merely an extension of the attribution found in D and H to the immediately preceding and following pieces. The deduction may have been directly derived from D or H, or from a related manuscript. The Latin incipit provided by Bale which corresponds to piece 19 suggests H rather than D, as also does the source which Bale quotes, a London stationer's shop. For a full presentation of the evidence and a discussion of its implications, see A.I. Doyle, "A Text Attributed to Ruusbroec circulating in England", Dr. L. Reypens-Album, ed. A. Ampe (Antwerp, 1964), 154-6.

1. This is the ME version B, ed. Doyle (1964), 169-71.

2. The note reads as follows: "Hec sunt que Maria Magdalena immo circumspeccionis emit aromata cognicio, videlicet propria compunccio. interna. Confessio pura 7 satisfaccio condigna."

3. Pieces 21-3 ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 389-406. The last is a translation of the De XII Utilitatibus Tribulationis, ascribed to Peter of Blois, and is derived from the older translation (ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 45-60), probably by Rolle.

4. One of several extant English versions of Rolle's epistle, De Emendatione Vitae. See H.E. Allen (1927), 240-41.

25. (fol. 94^{r}b) Meditacio Sancti Augustini;[1] in English. Falsely attributed to Rolle.

26. (fol. 97^{r}a) "Howe a man or a woman of sympyl connyng shall make hys prayer to god almyghty."[2] Falsely attributed to Rolle.

27. (ii) (fol. 98^{r}a-98^{v}b) Part of St Brendan's Confession,[3] including the beginning of the section on "Quinque Sensus".

27. (i) (fol. 99^{r}a-99^{v}b) Further matter from St Brendan's Confession.[4]

27. (iv) (fol. 100^{r}a) Further matter from St Brendan's Confession.[5]

28. (fol. 100^{r}a) De Carta Celestis Hereditatis;[6] in English.

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1. Ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 377-80.

2. This is the final section or sections of The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1506. The early printed edition has been edited by C. Horstman, ii (1896), 72-105. The matter in D is incomplete at the end, corresponding to Horstman, pp. 102-4.

3. Ed. R.H. Bowers, "The Middle English St Brendan's Confession", Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen, 175 (NS) 75 (1939), 40-49. The matter corresponds to ll. 186-261, pp. 45-6 in Bowers.

4. Corresponding to ll. 109-86, pp. 43-5 in Bowers.

5. Corresponding to ll. 342-55, pp. 48-9 in Bowers, i.e. the end, but omitting the colophon.

6. This is the seventh tract of a late fourteenth-century manual of religious instruction intended for the use of the laity, and known as The Poor Caitiff. See M.T. Brady, "The Pore Caitif: An Introductory Study", Traditio, x (1954), 529-48. No critical edition is as yet available for the complete work, but Sister Brady has one under preparation. The charter is often found independently, but is here incomplete, lacking the final two-thirds. The allegory of the charter has been printed by M.C. Spalding, The Middle English Charters of Christ (Pennsylvania, 1914), Appendix II, no. 4, pp. 98-102, although she does not print the final section based upon the work known as Augustinus ad Julianum Comitem (in fact the Liber Exhortationis of Paulinus of Aquileia, d. 802; see PL.xl.1047-78).

27. (iii) (fol. 101^{r}a) Further matter from St Brendan's Confession, including the beginning of the section on "Septem opera misericordie corporalia".

27. (iv) (fol. 101^{v}b) Further matter from St Brendan's Confession, including the beginning of the section on "Septem opera misericordie spiritualia".[1]

Binding of purple velvet.

On parchment. Foliated in pencil i + 102. Folios 2-11 are also paginated in ink.

Handwriting. The manuscript would appear to have been written in a professional scriptorium, s. xv med., perhaps c. 1450-60, in two different scripts, possibly by one scribe.

(a) script 1. fol. 1-9, 18-20^{r}, and lemmata - Anglicana Formata.[2]

(b) script 2. fol. 10-17, 20^{v}-end - a well-written secretary hand.

The rulings of the pages vary with the script employed. Those pages written entirely in script 1 are fully ruled in ink; those in script 2 are written within frame ruling in brown crayon. There are no catchwords for script 1, but for script 2 catchwords are written within a scroll design with red shading. It is difficult to determine whether both these scripts could have been written by the same hand. Dr Doyle finds that the work of the text is "sufficiently uniform, or regularly varying, to have been done by

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1. Fol. 101^{r}a-101^{v}b correspond to ll. 261-342, pp. 46-8 in Bowers.

2. The terminology is that of M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500 (Oxford, 1969), xvi-xvii.

a single hand".[1]

Collation. i-ii (fly leaves) $1\text{-}12^{8}$ 13^{8} (lacks 1, 2, 7, 8) iii (paper fly leaf). It is evident that the final quire is no longer complete. The catchwords on fol. 97^{v} "the do", do not accord with the opening words of fol. 98^{r}a "for I haue ...", nor with those of fol. 99^{r}a "bodyly or gostly ...". They are the only catchwords in the manuscript that do not now tally. In the list of contents on fol. 1^{v} there runs as follows:

> 14. Item. how a man or a woman of sympyll kunnyng shall make hys prayer to god almyghty.
> 15. Item. A confession whyche ys also a prayer made by seynt Brandon.
> 16. Item. the Charter of heuynly herytage.

The manuscript now lacks the conclusion of the first and last of these, and the beginning of the second. The difficulty of reconstructing the original state of D is complicated somewhat by the fact that the two pairs of conjugate leaves which remain have been bound together in the wrong order. The correct order of these leaves should be 99, 98, 101 and 100. It is possible to calculate quite accurately the amount of material that has been lost between fol. 97 and 99 (taking the reconstructed order of the leaves but retaining the old foliation). It is necessary to account for the conclusion of "a man or a woman of sympyll kunnyng" and the first 109 lines of St Brendan's Confession at the beginning of the thirteenth quire. A calculation of the amount of absent material is consistent with the supposition that it must have occupied exactly two leaves. One may note that fol. 98, 99 and 101 contain 75, 75 and 81 lines of St Brendan's

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1. Doyle (1958), 223.

Confession, and compare the conclusion of The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God in Horstman, ii (1896), 104-5. Similarly, one is able to calculate further that the De Carta Celestis Hereditatis would have been completed on the verso of the eighth and last leaf of the original quire. One may, therefore, regard it as certain that D originally contained a complete text of the final three items recorded in its list of contents. If confirmation of this conclusion should be necessary, it would seem to be provided by H which, in lay-out and substantive readings,[1] seems to have been a direct copy of D. All three pieces are found in full in H and in the same order. One should also note that there are six more short pieces in H before the table of contents which there comes at the end. It is possible that these were also originally present in D, in which case it would be necessary to assume the loss of some four more leaves. This may not, however, be thought probable since Aristotle's ABC, which concludes the list of contents in H, is not in fact present in the list of contents in D.

Provenance. On the recto of the first fly leaf at the beginning is an engrossed ex dono inscription, written in a hand of s. xv ex. It runs as follows:

> These booke in whome is contente dyuers deuowte tretis 7 specyally þe tretis þat is callid ars moriendi ys of þe ȝifte of Wylliam Baron esquyer to remayne for euyr to þe place and nonrye of detforde and specially to the use of dame pernelle wrattisley sister of þe same place by licence of her abbas þe whiche pernelle is nece to þe for seyde gentylman William Baron.

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1. See pp. 15-16, 141-9 below.

On fol. 10^{r} are the arms of Baron - Gules a chevron compony argent and azure between three garbs or.[1] On fol. 78^{r} are the arms of Thomas Knollys - Azure crusily a cross moline (voided throughout, i.e.) disjoined or[2] - quartering the Baron coat.

William Baron was the head of an ancient Berkshire family. There are two important historical references to such a figure.[3] In 9 Henry VI (1430), a William Baron is recorded as M.P. for the borough of Reading. It is presumably the same William Baron who is mentioned in the Roll of the Issues of the Pell, of Easter, 9 Edward IV (1469), as one of the four tellers of the Exchequer. He married Joan, daughter of Thomas Knollys of North Mimms.[4] He seems to have lived in St Bartholomew's Close, London,[5] and was buried in the nearby Charterhouse, c. 1484.[6]

Jane, the daughter of William Baron, married c. 1456 Sir Walter Wrottesley, and by him had four sons and five daughters. Parnell or Petronilla was the youngest of these daughters. She could not have been

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1. See Papworth's Ordinary of British Armorials, repr. (London, 1961), 430.

2. Papworth (1961), 610.

3. See G. Wrottesley, "A History of the Family of Wrottesley of Wrottesley, Co. Stafford", William Salt Archaeological Society, VI (NS) ii (Exeter, 1903), 238-40.

4. See W. Page, "The Parish of North Mimms", VCH, Hertfordshire (London, 1908), 253.

5. The tenancy of William Baron is recorded by John Cok in the Rental of St Bartholomew's Hospital, a work which was completed in 1456. See N. Moore, The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital, ii (London, 1918), 29.

6. Doyle (1964), 160; N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), 251, gives the date of Baron's death as 1485. See J. Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C.L. Kingsford, ii (Oxford, 1908), 83.

born much before c. 1465, and perhaps a little later, but before 1473 when Sir Walter Wrottesley died.

Petronilla Wrottesley was at the Dominican nunnery of Dartford by 1478, and was still there in 1512.[1] The nunnery of Dartford is described in the Monasticon Anglicanum as follows:

> This was a nunnery to which the best and noblest families of the country sent their relatives, both for education and as Nuns. Bridget, the fourth daughter of King Edward the Fourth, was a Nun here.[2]

Dr Doyle thinks that the volume was probably made in a shop in the vicinity of St Bartholomew's. Since he dates the hand responsible for it to 1460-80,[3] it would seem possible that it was commissioned by Baron for his grand-daughter.[4] This interpretation of the evidence allows one to see the kind of public for which such a volume was designed, and helps one to fit this literature into a recognisable and well-defined context. But the natural desire to arrive at such conclusions may lead one to strain the evidence at one's disposal. It has to be admitted that the present evidence is not sufficient to form a complete and reliable account of the history of this particular manuscript, although the social background into which it fits does seem clear enough.

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1. Doyle (1964), 160.

2. W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. J. Caley, et al., VI.i (London, 1846), 537, col. 1.

3. Doyle (1964), 160.

4. The inscription refers to nece; but OED s.v. niece, sb. 1.a records the sense "grand-daughter" and comments that "In older use, down to c. 1600, the sense of "grand-daughter" appears to have been common, but it is often difficult or impossible to make out which relationship is expressed by the word."

If one believes that the manuscript was in fact commissioned for Petronilla Wrottesley, then one is bound also to conclude that it could not have been produced until the 1470s at the earliest. Dr Doyle's dating of the manuscript to 1460-80 is consistent with such an hypothesis. But if one accepts the dating proposed above,[1] namely 1450-60, then it is clear that it must originally have been produced for some other person, although probably of a similar social standing and with the same general purpose. One might think immediately of William Baron himself or his wife; in this way one can explain most satisfactorily the presence of both coats of arms in this manuscript.

The manuscript presumably remained at the nunnery in Dartford until its dissolution in 1539. The next notice of it is not until its acquisition from the library of Ebenezer Mussel: "Ebenezer Mussel. His Sale.[2] Third Day, Monday, June 2, 1766. Lot 276." The book passed in this way into the Douce family, and was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Francis Douce on his death in 1834.

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. $26^{v}b$-$39^{r}a$.

Incipit:

> Here begynneth the Booke of crafte of Dying. A Prologe. For asmoche as the passage of Dethe owte of the wrechedness of the Exyle of thys worlde....

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1. P. 7.

2. Auction Catalogue of the Library of Ebenezer Mussel (London, 1766), p. 14.

Explicit:

> ... by the mediacion of our lorde Ihesu criste that ys medyatour betwene god and man. Amen.

Colophon:

> Here endeth the book of the crafte of dying and begynneth a tretyse of gostly batayle.

Size of leaf: 275 x 190mm.

Size of written space: 38-44 lines, 220 x 140mm. Double columns. Ten-line historiated initial at the head of the first chapter. Three- and four-line blue initials flourished in red at the head of the prologue and remaining chapters. Chapter-headings in red; paragraph marks in red and blue alternately. Quotations placed within paragraph marks, underlined in red, and written in fere-textura script.

H MS. Harley 1706, British Museum, London.[1]

Contents

1. (fol. 1^{v}) Various medicinal receipts.

2-26. (fol. 3^{r}-83^{r}a) The same pieces in the same order as Douce 322.

27. (fol. 84^{r}b) St Brendan's Confession, consisting of the following sections:

> (i) (fol. 85^{r}b) "The x Commaundementys."
>
> (ii) (fol. 86^{v}b) "Quinque sensus."

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1. See A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, ii (London, 1808), 178-9.

(iii) (fol. 87^{r}b) "Septem opera mise(ri)cordie corporalia."

(iv) (fol. 87^{v}b) "Septem opera misericordie spiritualia."

28. (fol. 88^{r}a) De Carta Celestis Hereditatis.

29. (fol. 90^{r}a) Consilia Isidori.[1]

30. (fol. 92^{v}b) Augustinus de Contemptu Mundi.[2]

31. (fol. 93^{r}a) "Why ys the worlde leuyd that fals ys and veyne."[3]

32. (fol. 94^{r}a) Aristotle's ABC.[4]

33. (fol. 94^{v}a) The Seven Degrees of Humility.[5] Attributed to St Anselm.

34. (fol. 94^{v}b) The Seven Degrees of Pride.

35. (fol. 95^{r}) Table of Contents, which lists 17 items.[6]

Fol. 95^{v} is blank, and on fol. 96 begins a more angular script, presumably by another hand. Fol. 1-95 make up a separate and coherent manuscript book, identical with Douce 322 save possibly for the final few items. The

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1. Ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 367-74. This piece is found also in the second part of H, fol. 140^{r}a-149^{r}b, and it is this second copy which Horstman took as his copy-text. The first copy, fol. 90ff. is incomplete, corresponding only to Horstman, 367-72, i.e. lacking the final five sections. The Consilia Isidori is a translation of the Latin compilation from Isidore's Synonyma.

2. Ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 374, again from the second part of H, fol. 149^{v}a-150^{r}b. The first copy, fol. 92ff. is somewhat abridged.

3. IMEV, 4160. Again found in the second part of H, fol. 150^{r}b-151^{r}b.

4. IMEV, 3793.

5. Doyle (1958), 227, compares PL. 159, col. 663-6, and the fifteenth-century English Disce Mori; also MS. Jesus College, Oxford 39, 480-82.

6. Although the table of contents contains only 17 items, it covers all the major pieces and appears authoritative and knowledgeable. St Brendan's Confession (pace the Harleian Catalogue, items 26-30, p. 178) is, for example, correctly listed as one and not five items.

description of H will confine itself, therefore, to this first part, although the rest of the volume, fol. 96-215, is connected both by ownership (i.e. Elizabeth Beaumont/Oxford at the end of the fifteenth century) and by subject-matter, containing as it does, for example, The Lamentation of the Dying Creature (fol. 96^{r}-105^{v}), The Mirror of Sinners (fol. 106^{r}a-110^{r}b), and The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God (fol. 154^{v}a-204^{v}b), the last chapter of which is found in the first part (fol. 83^{r}a-84^{r}b). A number of pieces, in fact, are to be found in both parts, as will be evident from the notes.

Bound in modern half-morocco, with gilt lettering and Harley armorial bookstamps, 1966.

On parchment. Foliated in pencil v + 95. There is also another but inconsistent foliation in ink.[1]

Handwriting. Again two scripts are employed:

(a) script 1. fol. 3^{r}-10^{v}b, 18^{v}a-20^{r}a, and lemmata - Anglicana Formata.

(b) script 2. fol. 11^{r}a-18^{r}b, 20^{r}b-95 - mixed hand (elements of both Anglicana and Secretary), s. xv ex.

Possibly one hand throughout. Fol. 3-8, 18^{v} are fully ruled in ink, the remainder are fully ruled in brown crayon. Prick marks in the outer margin of only a few leaves. Catchwords without any decorative design. The pattern is the same as that of D, although the execution seems to be less careful. Such features are consistent with the hypothesis that H

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1. Reference is made always to the pencil foliation.

is a copy of D. Dr Doyle has pointed out further that:

> One sign of Harley's probable dependence is that all the other features and sequence of Douce are reproduced, but the marks of the latter volume's particular purpose and manner of compilation are obliterated by the rapid abandonment of page-for-page transcription, and the omission of specially significant decoration.[1]

Collation. i-iv (fly leaves of new binding) v (paper fly leaf of earlier binding) vi (vellum pastedown) vii (parchment fly leaf) $1\text{-}11^{8}$ 12^{6} (lacks 5). Only one of the original signatures, g4 on fol. 54^{r}, remains.

Provenance. In the tail margin of fol. 11^{r} is written: "Thys ys my boke Elysabeth beamount." The same name appears also at the head of fol. 216^{r}. In the tail margin of fol. 3^{r} is written "Elysabeth Oxynford". The same name appears also on fol. 93^{v}, 95^{r} and 214^{v}, and in the outer margin of fol. 4^{r} is a different form of it: "Elisebet Ver". In sixteenth-century hands are written in the outer margin of fol. 3^{r} "Edmond Jernyng-ham", and in the tail margin of fol. 37^{r}: "Elysabeth Rokewod". At the head of fol. 215^{r} are suffrages in Latin to St Ethelburga, in a late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century hand.

Lady Elizabeth Beaumont was a daughter of Richard Scrope.[2] Both the Beaumont and Scrope families had strong connections with the English religious houses, notably Dartford and Barking. The prioress of Dartford c. 1442-58 was Margaret Beaumont, aunt of William Beaumont, Elizabeth's first husband. From c. 1471-2 the prioress was Joan Scrope, an aunt or

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1. Doyle (1958), 223.

2. G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, ii, rev. V. Gibbs (London, 1912), 63.

cousin of Elizabeth herself.[1] At Barking Abbey Elizabeth's sister Ann was a nun in 1515,[2] and held the office of cellaress in 1527.[3] Margaret Scrope, who was a nun at Barking in 1513,[4] chantress in 1527,[5] and was granted a pension at the dissolution in 1539,[6] was described as a cousin in Elizabeth's will in 1537.[7]

A long friendship existed between the two husbands of Elizabeth Scrope, William Beaumont and John Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford. After the death of William Beaumont, 19 December 1507, Elizabeth married the Earl of Oxford, already himself a widower, between 28 November 1508-10 April 1509.[8] The Vere family itself had connections with Barking Abbey; the mother of John Vere, the 13th Earl, had given Barking a manuscript of French prose, now Magdalen College, Oxford 41, in 1474/5 or possibly 1477.[9] Through

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1. See J. Weever, Ancient Funeral Monuments (London, 1631), 335; C.F.R. Palmer, "History of the Priory of Dartford, in Kent", Archaeological Journal, xxxvi (London, 1879), 258-60.

2. See J.W. Clay, North Country Wills, Publ. Surtees Soc., cxvi (Durham, 1908), 85.

3. VCH, Essex, ii (London, 1907), 122.

4. J. Raine, Testamenta Eboracensia, Publ. Surtees Soc., lxxix (Durham, 1884), 51.

5. VCH, Essex, ii (1907), 122.

6. VCH, Essex, ii (1907), 120.

7. H.W. Lewer, "The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth, Widow of John de Veer, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford", Trans. Essex Arch. Soc., XX (NS) i (Colchester, 1930), 13.

8. G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, x, rev. H.A. Doubleday et al. (London, 1945), 243.

9. See Doyle (1958), 235.

her marriage to John Vere, Elizabeth Beaumont belonged to one of the most influential families in the land. The Earl of Oxford officiated as Lord Great Chamberlain of England at the coronation of both Henry VII and Henry VIII.[1] After his death in 1513 Elizabeth herself remained in favour at court. In 1520 she attended the Queen at the Field of Cloth of Gold. In 1521 the King thought that the "old lady Oxford" would be a suitable governess for Princess Mary.[2] Elizabeth made her will on 30 May 1537, shortly before her death on 26 June 1537.[3] The abbess and sisters of Barking Abbey were listed among the bequests.

MS. Harley 1706 must have been in Elizabeth Beaumont's possession from at least 1507 (the year of the death of William Beaumont) presumably until her death in 1537, although it is not mentioned in her will. The names of "Edmond Jernyngham" and "Elysabeth Rokewod" are mentioned in her will as a "nephew" and "one of my maidens" respectively.[4]

The connection with Barking Abbey is confirmed by the suffrages on fol. 215^{r}, since St Ethelburga was the first abbess.[5] It has been urged, in fact, that the manuscript must, as a result, have belonged to Barking Abbey. Wanley seems to suggest[6] that if H had been given to Barking Abbey it would have remained there until the dissolution. This seems difficult

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1. The Complete Peerage, x (1945), 242-3.
2. The Complete Peerage, x (1945), 244.
3. See Lewer (1930), 7-16.
4. Lewer (1930), 13, 15.
5. Dugdale, i (1846), 436; see also DNB, vi.883.
6. Harleian Catalogue (1808), 179.

to reconcile with the certain possession of the book by Elizabeth Beaumont in the early sixteenth century. Dr Doyle has pointed out,[1] however, that it is possible to believe (pace Wanley) that the book passed from an individual at Barking to Lady Beaumont, a possibility reinforced by the known relationships of members of the nunneries of Barking and Dartford with Lady Beaumont's immediate circle of family and friends. This seems to be a somewhat elaborate and unnecessary piece of reasoning. Given the very relationships so far considered, it is easier to believe that the suffrages were written whilst the book belonged to Lady Beaumont, and that the book was owned by and perhaps produced for her from the beginning.

There are two annotations in the margin of H which seem of particular interest. They are as follows:

(i) fol. 18^{r}

> Item pius (nota. Nota) Nichil prodest homini ieiunare et orare et alia religionis opera agere nisi mens ab iniquitate reuocetur.

(ii) fol. 116^{v} trimmed in the process of binding, but identifiable as a quotation from Augustine, De Vera Religione, derived from the Latin treatise by William Flete, of which the main text is a translation. It seems to read: "peccatum est ideo (v)oluntariam quia (? id quod) non sit volun(tarium) non est peccatum".

One may also note on fol. 94^{v}b the distich:"Seculi leticia. est impunita nequicia", written by a "contemporary clerkly hand".[2] Dr Doyle has drawn attention to these annotations in his discussion, and comments

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1. Doyle (1958), 232.

2. Doyle (1958), 233.

that they "seem to imply more than ordinary lay learning and interests".[1] He suggests that the notes could have been written by a clerk acting as chaplain or confessor either to a convent of nuns or to a noblewoman like the Countess of Oxford. But it is difficult to be sure what "ordinary" lay learning might have involved, and whether the Countess of Oxford's learning could be properly described as "ordinary". She seems to have been connected with families of more than usual piety and importance.

It is not known what happened to Harley 1706 after the death of Elizabeth in 1537, although it is a reasonable speculation that Bale had access to it at a London stationer's shop a decade or so later. Bale (1495-1563) has the following entry in his Index Britanniae Scriptorum:

> Adamus Cartusiensis doctor ex Alberto episcopo sancto, de eucharistia scripsit, seu potius de eius receptione, li.I. "Quando dominum nostrum sub panis forma recipitis", etc. Ex officina Michaelis Lobley.[2]

Dr Doyle has pointed out[3] that this seems to be a translation of the first sentence of H: "Furst when ye resceue oure lorde in fourme of brede ..." and MS. Trinity College, Cambridge R.3.21, omitting the word "Furst". This is Dr Doyle's version B, omitting a preliminary sentence, found in Douce 322 and the other two manuscripts containing the English version: "Seynt albert the byschop seyth thes wordis (folowynge)." The works attributed by Bale to Adam the Carthusian are pieces 18, 19 and 21 in D and H,[4]

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1. Doyle (1958), 233.
2. R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, Index Britanniae Scriptorum (Oxford, 1902), 3.
3. Doyle (1964), 155.
4. See p. 4, n. 6 above.

although only piece 20 is attributed to him in these manuscripts themselves. If one accepts that the source of Bale's attribution is an extension of the manuscript attribution, then it seems likely that Bale had access to H rather than D.

The next reference to H is by E. Bernard, Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae,[1] where it is listed as belonging to Henry Worseley, of Lincoln's Inn. The Harley MSS. 1585-1747 were given to Robert Harley by Worseley some time before 13 December 1712,[2] when Wanley began to catalogue them. The Harley collection of manuscripts was sold to the British Museum by the widow of Edward Harley in 1753.[3]

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 25^{v}a-36^{v}b.

Incipit:

> For as moche as the passage off dethe owte off the wrechedness of the exyle of thys worlde....

Explicit:

> ... be the mediacion off oure lord Ihesu cryste that ys medyatoure be twen god and man. Amen.

Colophon:

> Here the booke endeth of the crafte of dying and be gynneth a tretyse of gostly batayle.

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1. E. Bernard, Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae, II.i (Oxford, 1697), 211-12, no. 6853. This seems to have been the source of the confusion between Barking and Ely that is resolved in Wanley's note.

2. See C.E. Wright and R.C. Wright, The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715-1726, i (London, 1966), xix.

3. S. de Ricci, English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530-1930) (Cambridge, 1930), 35.

Size of leaf: 265 x 190mm.

Size of written space: 38-43 lines, 205 x 150mm. Double columns. Six-line blue and red initial flourished in red at the head of chapter 1. Two- and three-line blue initials flourished in red at the head of the prologue and remaining chapters. Paragraph marks in alternating red and blue. Chapter-headings, colophon and references to authorities in red. Quotations are underlined in red and written in fere-textura script.

Y MS. Royal 17 C.xviii, British Museum, London.[1]

Contents

1. (fol. 1^r) "... a litill short tretis þat telleth how there were six maistris assembled to geder ... to speke of tribulacion."

2. (fol. 1^v) Nota de Paciencia Infirmitatis; in Latin.

3. (fol. 2^v) "... the xii prophetis and euuangelistis of tribulacione."

4. (fol. 21^r) The Book of the Craft of Dying.

5. (fol. 39^r) A Treatise of Ghostly Battle.[2]

6. (fol. 57^r) Walter Hilton's Treatise of Mixed Life.[3]

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1. See G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, ii (Oxford, 1921), 245-6.

2. Pieces 1-5 are also found in D and H (pieces 16-17, 21-3).

3. Ed. C. Horstman, Yorkshire Writers, i (London, 1895), 264-92. Horstman and J.E. Wells, A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400 (New Haven and London, 1916), 461-2, refer to the work as An Epistle on Mixed Life, since from the text of ch. 2 it appears to have been originally in the form of a personal epistle, possibly addressed to someone under the author's direction. Horstman, p. 269, considered that the introductory chapter (not found in the earlier manuscripts) was added later in order to give the treatise a wider scope. The text of Y is incomplete. It contains the additional introductory matter, beginning "Brethirne and susteryne bodely and goostely ...", and matter corresponding to the prologue and ch. 1-13 in MS. Vernon (although not subdivided into chapters in the same way). It corresponds to Horstman, pp. 264-78.

7. (fol. 65^{r}) A short extract from Walter Hilton's The Scale of Perfection.[1]

8. (fol. 65^{r}) An extract from The Abbey of the Holy Ghost,[2] beg.: "... and what prayer is the holy man tellithe þus."

9. (fol. 66^{r}) An extract from The Scale of Perfection.[3]

10. (fol. 66^{v}) "In what maner men or women of symple cunnynge mow thynke or pray in hyr begynnynge."[4]

11. (fol. 69^{r}) "A goode contemplacion for a preste or he go to masse", beg.: "(T)howe that arte a preste and shalt synge thi masse thou moste haue vi thyngis...."

12. (fol. 71^{r}) An extract from The Scale of Perfection.[5]

13. (fol. 77^{v}) A Treatise of Twelve Degrees of Meekness.[6]

14. (fol. 82^{r}) Walter Hilton's Treatise of Eight Chapters on Perfection.[7]

15. (fol. 89^{v}) The Blessed Meditations of St Bernard.[8]

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1. The concluding part of Bk. I, ch. 23. The whole work has been translated by Dom G. Sitwell, Orchard Books (London, 1953).

2. Ed. Horstman, i (1895), 321-37. The corresponding matter is on pp. 327-9. This piece carries straight on without sentence-break from the preceding extract.

3. Bk. I, ch. 24-5.

4. This is the same extract as piece 26 in D and H.

5. Bk. I, ch. 26-36. Note that ch. 24-36 are specifically concerned with prayer and meditation.

6. It is addressed to a brother.

7. Ed. F. Kuriyagawa, Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection (Tokyo, 1967).

8. A translation of the Meditationes Piissimae de Cognitione Humanae Conditionis, PL.clxxxiv. col. 485-508. Though often associated with St

cont....

16. (fol. 104^{v}) Consilia Isidori.[1]

17. (fol. 110^{v}) The Epistle of Pelagius to Demetrias.[2]

18. (fol. 121^{r}) "... a lytil tretise a ȝenes fleischly affeccyonez 7 all vnþrifti lustes."[3]

19. (fol. 132^{v}) "A specyall prayer iff þow be in any angny (sic) or greet tribulacyon", beg.: "Iff þow be in any greet tribulacyon or aduersite go in to þe chirch...."

20. (fol. 133^{r}) Three short prayers against temptation taught by the Virgin to St Bridget, beg.: "þe modir of crist tawte seynt Brigitte remediez ...".

Bound in modern half-morocco, with Royal arms on upper and lower covers, August 1908.

On parchment. Foliated in pencil ii + 134 + ii. There is an earlier but inconsistent foliation in ink.[4]

Handwriting. A single hand throughout, save for the final two pieces. Late but current Anglicana Formata, s.xv ex. Headings in fere-textura. Pieces

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Bernard, it is not generally regarded as one of his authentic works. See F. Cavallera, who classifies it under Apocryphal Works, Section B: "Ouvrages restitués à leurs véritables auteurs", no. 15 in M. Viller, Dictionnaire de spiritualité, i (Paris, 1937), 1500.

1. This is the same piece (although here complete) as piece 29 in H.

2. This is a translation of the second half of ch. 21, ch. 22-30 (i.e. the end) of Pelagii ad Demetriadem Epistola, PL.xxx. col. 35-45.

3. This treatise is addressed specifically to women.

4. Reference is made always to the pencil foliation.

19, 20 have been added in a smaller, contemporary hand similar to the original one. Pages are fully ruled in brown crayon. Prick marks in the outer margin of most leaves. Catchwords within a rudimentary scroll design.

Collation. i-ii (fly leaves) $1\text{-}10^{8}$ 11^{8} + 1 leaf (fol. 81) $12\text{-}14^{8}$ 15^{8} (lacks 7) 16^{8} (lacks 6) 17^{8} (? lacks 8) iii-iv (fly leaves). Note that piece 5 ends eight lines or so from the bottom of fol. 56^{v} (the end of a quire) and that piece 6 begins (although without rubric) at the head of fol. 57^{r}. Fol. 81^{v} (the single leaf) is blank, and piece 14 begins at the head of fol. 82^{r}. Piece 17 ends at the top of fol. 118^{v}; fol. 119^{r}-120^{v} were originally blank, but on fol. 119^{v} has been added a prayer: "O altissima crux, o humanus et innocens sanguis, etc.", with an indulgence, and on fol. 120^{r} the prayer is repeated in another hand, and followed by an invocation of the Eucharist. Piece 18 begins at the head of fol. 121^{r}; fol. 133^{v}-134^{v} are blank. There is possibly evidence in this of separable sections.

Provenance. There are a number of names written in the manuscript in hands of s.xvi. They are "Thoorlay" (fol. 20^{v}), "Wylliam Horlow" (fol. 81^{r}), "Clement Harrison" (fol. 104^{v}) and "Harlywes" (fol. 118^{v}). In the head margin of fol. 1^{r} is the monogram of John Theyer with no. 2 beside it.

The appearance of the name of William Harlowe or Harlowse (d. 1562) is another link between this manuscript and MS. Rawl.C.894. Not much seems to be known about him, but what has been discovered is presented in the account of W, since it is to be related to the family of Roberts of Willesden.

John Theyer (1597-1673)[1] lived near Brockworth in Gloucestershire. He left his collection of manuscripts to his grandson, Charles Theyer, in whose possession it was catalogued by Edward Bernard.[2] It would seem to have been acquired for the Royal collection shortly afterwards (c. 1678).[3] By an Act of Parliament of 1753 the Royal library was incorporated in the collection to form part of the British Museum, and has in fact been kept there since 1757.[4]

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 21^{r}-39^{r}.

Incipit:

> Prologus. H‹er›e ‹begy›nnyth the boke of the crafte of deynge. For as ‹moch› as the passage of deth oute of þe wre‹ch›ednes of the exile of this world....

Explicit:

> ... bi the mediacion of our lorde Ihesu criste that is moste hieste mediatoure be twix god and man. Amen.

No colophon, the heading of A Treatise of Ghostly Battle following immediately.

Size of leaf: 220 x 155mm.

Size of written space: 33 lines, 150 x 105mm. Single columns.

Two-line blue initials at the head of the prologue and chapters, and the prayers in ch. 6. Chapter-headings in fere-textura. Quotations underlined in red.

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1. See DNB, xix.610.
2. For MS. Royal 17 C.xviii see Bernard II.i (1697), 201, no. 6570.
3. See Warner and Gilson, i (1921), xxvi.
4. Warner and Gilson, i (1921), xi, xxxi.

C MS. Corpus Christi College, Oxford 220.[1]

Contents

1. (fol. 4^r) "... a litill shorte tretis that tellith how there were ‹six› maistris assemblid to gedir ... to spek of tribulacion."

2. (fol. 4^v) Nota de Paciencia Infirmitatis; in Latin.

3. (fol. 5^v) "... the xii prophetis and euua(n)gelistes of tribulacion."

4. (fol. 24^v) The Book of the Craft of Dying.

5. (fol. 42^r) A Treatise of Ghostly Battle.[2]

On fol. 1-3, 60-62 are fragments of an account-roll (s.xiv/xv in.) not, apparently, of a manor in Somerset (as suggested by Coxe), but of payments for the building operations of a convent: "a dormitorio usque ad chorum", "pro novo choro", etc.; also: "ad usum hospicie domine", "ad mensam domine"; for offerings for lights in various churches; to many persons, including an "armiger" for going to Markeyate (where there was a nunnery), and to J. Tylere of Dunstable (Beds.) for shoeing horses, and to others of the same neighbourhood.[3] The book, however, is much later than the document, and the two are not necessarily otherwise connected.

The book seems to have been sewn together by means of thongs drawn through

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1. See H.O. Coxe, Catalogus Codicum MSS. qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Hodie Adservantur, ii (Oxford, 1852), no. 4 "Corporis Christi", 87. This catalogue makes the common attributions of pieces 1 and 3 to Adam the Carthusian, and of pieces 4 and 5 to Rolle.

2. All five pieces in the same order are found at the beginning of Y (pieces 1-5).

3. This account is derived directly from A.I. Doyle, "A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries with special consideration of the part of the Clergy therein" (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. Dissertation 2301 and 2302, 1953), ii, 220.

holes made near the top and tail in the hinge of each of the seven quires. Each thong has a small triangle of hardened skin at one end which was drawn firmly against the hole on the inside of the quire, thus securing the four bifolia. The tongues protruding at the back of the quires were then tied tightly together, both at the top and tail. It seems clear that this method of sewing was the original one; Mr Graham Pollard has commented that "it is entirely non-professional, individual, and not a book from which any general conclusions could be safely drawn".[1] It has now a modern parchment case (c. 1930), possibly by Maltby in St Michael Street.

On parchment. Foliated in pencil i + 63.

Handwriting. Mixed hand based on Anglican Formata, s.xv ex./xvi in. Headings in fere-textura. The hand responsible for this manuscript is the same as that of Y. Pages are fully ruled in brown crayon. Prick marks in the outer margin of most leaves. Catchwords within a rudimentary scroll design.

Collation. i-iv (original parchment wrappers) 1^{8} 2^{8} (lacks 6; no matter missing) 3-6^{8} 7^{8} + 1 leaf (fol. 59) v-viii (original parchment wrappers). Most of the original signatures remain.

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1. The binding of this manuscript has attracted a good deal of recent interest among bibliographers, although no account of it has yet appeared in print. I am indebted to Mr Malcolm Parkes for allowing me to consult a personal letter written to him on 24 Sept. 1971 by Mr Graham Pollard (in which he discusses at length the binding process and from which I have extensively drawn), and to Miss Pamela Robinson who first began to realise the potential significance of such a binding.

Provenance. On fol. 61^{v} is written "Manyngham John", and below it: "I Dame Isabell Manyngham". On fol. 3^{v} is written: "This boke was appertaninge to Marye Dennis some tymes Ladie Abesse of a certen nunrey in Glocestershyre. She dyed in Bristowe 1595 (? 1593) a good olde maide verie virtuose and godlye and is buried in the Churche of the Gauntes one the grene."

Sir John Manyngham was descended from a family that seems to have held land in Bedfordshire for a number of centuries.[1] The first record of him seems to be as one of the commissioners for the peace in Bedfordshire in 1455. Through his second marriage (to Dame Isabell) he came into possession of the manor of Oldford in the parish of Stratford at Bow (then of Stepney). He made his will in 1496,[2] witnessed by the prior and a canon of Holy Trinity (Christ Church), Aldgate, where he was to be buried. He made bequests to the four orders of friars, to the monks of the Charterhouse and to the nunneries of Clerkenwell, Holywell and of the Minoresses in London. Dame Isabell, his widow, made her will in 1520,[3] also asking to be buried in the conventual church of the priory of Holy Trinity. Included in her will is a bequest to Dan John Manyngham, monk of Westminster (it is perhaps possible that it is his name on the manuscript) who died in 1527/8.[4] If the name in the manuscript is that of Sir John Manyngham it

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1. See J.R. Delafield, Delafield: The Family History, ii (Privately printed, 1945), 517-19, which forms the basis of the present account.

2. Proved in 1498, PCC 29 Horne.

3. Proved in 1521, PCC 10 Maynwaryng.

4. See E.H. Pearce, The Monks of Westminster (Cambridge, 1916), 186.

would seem likely, given the date of the manuscript itself, that he was the original owner.

Mary Dennis was a nun at Lacock (Wilts.) in 1519,[1] appointed as prioress of Kington (Wilts.) by the Royal Commissioners in 1535,[2] and granted a pension at the dissolution.[3] There is, however, no mention of her burial, either in 1593 or 1595, in the records for St Mark's (i.e. Gaunt's or Billeswyke Hospital) at Bristol.[4]

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 24^{v}-42^{r}.

Incipit:

> Prologus. Here begynnith the boke of the crafte of deynge. For als moch as the passage of deth oute of the wrechednes of the exile of this worlde....

Explicit:

> ... bi the meditacion of our lorde ihesu criste that is moste hiest mediatour bi twen god and man. Amen.

No colophon, the heading of A Treatise of Ghostly Battle following immediately.

Size of leaf: 215 x 150mm.

Size of written space: 32-33 lines, 150 x 105mm. Single columns.

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1. J. Maclean and W.C. Heane, The Visitation of the County of Gloucester, 1623, Publ. Harleian Soc., xxi (London, 1885), 51.

2. J. Gairdner, Letters and Papers Henry VIII, ix (London, 1886), 47, no. 160.

3. Dugdale, iv (1846), 398.

4. See A. Sabin, The Registers of the Church of St Augustine the Less, Bristol, 1577-1700, Publ. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., iii (Gloucester, 1956).

Two-line blue initials at the head of the prologue and chapters, and the prayers in ch. 6. Chapter-headings in fere-textura. Quotations underlined in red.

W MS. Rawlinson C. 894, Bodleian Library, Oxford.[1]

Contents

1-18. (fol. 1^{r}-97^{v}) The same pieces[2] in the same order as in Royal 17 C.xviii (pieces 1-18). The final treatise ends on fol. 106^{r}.

In a quire of eight leaves at the beginning of the volume there are the following pieces:

(i) (fol. $\pi 1^{v}$) Record of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths in the family of Roberts of Willesden, Middlesex, 1548-1687/8.[3]

(ii) (fol. $\pi 8^{v}$) Propphesia Sancti Thome Martyrii, beg.: "Lilium in meliore parte manebit...."

(iii) (fol. $\pi 8^{v}$) List of Contents.[4]

Twenty-four blank leaves, ruled for transcription, follow fol. 106^{r}.

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1. See W.D. Macray, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, V.ii (Oxford, 1878), 466-7.

2. Note that the heading to piece 3 (fol. 2^{v}) reads: "... þ^{e} xii prophetis and auauntegis of tribulacion", and that piece 13 (fol. 65^{r}) is addressed to a brother (see broþer, 65^{v}, ll. 4, 8 and 23) and not to a sister, pace Doyle, ii (1953), 215-16.

3. For a transcription of this see "Genealogical Notes of the Family of Roberts of Willesden, Middlesex", Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica (NS) iii (London, 1880), 25-8.

4. Nine pieces are listed, the major omissions being The Treatise of Mixed Life (piece 6) and The Epistle of Pelagius to Demetrias (piece 17).

Bodleian binding of the nineteenth century in light brown calf. On parchment. Foliated in pencil i + 138 + i. Refoliated in pencil ix + 106 + xxv.[1]

Handwriting. One script and hand throughout. A mixed hand, combining elements of Anglicana Formata and Secretary, s. xv ex.[2] Pages are fully ruled in brown crayon. Prick marks in the outer margin of most leaves. Catchwords without any decorative design.

Collation. i (fly-leaf) $1\text{-}8^{8}$ 9^{10} + 1 leaf (fol. 67) $10\text{-}17^{8}$. A great number of the original signatures remain. Note that a single leaf (fol. 67) has been added to the ninth quire, that piece 13 ends half-way down fol. 67^{v}, the remainder of that page being blank, and that piece 14 begins at the head of a new quire (fol. 68^{r}). The pattern of sectional division is that of Y, but it has not been so consistently observed in this manuscript since pieces 1-5 and 18 have not been similarly isolated. In this there is some evidence of W's dependence upon Y. The blank leaves at the end of W would also seem best to be explained by assuming that it was a copy of Y, since the collation of the two manuscripts and the material contained in them are practically identical.

Provenance. On fol. 106^{r} in a hand of s. xvi in. is written the name "Wylliam Harlowys". On the fly leaf is the name "Wylliam Orton". On

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1. References have been made throughout to the second series since that is the practice adopted by Macray.

2. The type of hand is illustrated by Parkes (1969), Plate 19 (ii), although the hand responsible for W is a somewhat later variety.

$\pi 1^{r}$ "Edmond Roberts Anno 1553"; the name "Roberts" also appears in the outer margin of fol. 26^{v}, 27^{r} and 87^{v}.

The name of William Harlowe or Harlowse (found twice in Y) is mentioned in a Grant of Arms made to his daughter, Dame Elizabeth Harlowse, wife of Sir Martin Bowes, in 1561.[1] He was buried in 1562 in the church of St Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury.[2] The identification of this William Harlowse with the owner of the Royal and Rawlinson manuscripts seems reasonably secure; William Bowes, the son of Sir Martin Bowes, was godfather to William Roberts (b. 1596), a grandson of Edmund Roberts.[3]

The book was presumably acquired by Edmund Roberts in 1553,[4] and remained in the family until the end of the seventeenth century. It eventually came into the possession of Richard Rawlinson (1690-1755) who bequeathed his manuscripts to the Bodleian.

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 18^{v}-33^{r}.

Incipit:

> Prologus. Here begynneth the boke of crafte of dying. For asmuch as þe passage of deth owt of the wrecchidnesse of the exile of this world....

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1. A.J. Jewers, "Grants and Certificates of Arms", The Genealogist (NS) xvi (Exeter and London, 1899-1900), 270. This is also recorded, but under "Harlowe", in W.H. Rylands, Grantees of Arms to the end of the XVIIth Century, Publ. Harleian Soc., lxvi (London, 1915).

2. See W.B. Bannerman, The Registers of St Mary the Virgin, Aldermanbury, London, Publ. Harleian Soc., lxi (London, 1931), i.22.

3. Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica (NS) iii (1880), 27.

4. It is not the only book known to have been in the possession of this family. MS. Eng. 98, John Rylands Library, was used as a genealogical register during the years 1508-68 by the families of Roberts of Willesden and Horde of Ewell (Surrey). See E. Powell, "Roberts and Horde Families", The Genealogist (NS) ii (London, 1885), 46-7.

Explicit:

> ... by the meditacion of oure lord Ihesu criste þat is most hyȝest mediatoure be twixt god and man. Amen.

No colophon, the heading of A Treatise of Ghostly Battle following immediately.

Size of leaf: 210 x 155mm.

Size of written space: 33 lines, 155 x 110mm. Single columns.

Two-line blue initials flourished in red at the head of the prologue and chapters, and the prayers in ch. 6. Chapter-headings and quotations in red.

E MS. Eng. 94, John Rylands Library, Manchester.[1]

Contents

1. (fol. 1^{r}a) Nicholas Love's The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ.[2]

2. (fol. 125^{r}a) The Book of the Craft of Dying.

3. (fol. 137^{v}b) A Treatise of Ghostly Battle.

4. (fol. 152^{r}a) "... a lytil shorte tretyce that tellethe howe there were vi mastirs assemblede to gedir ... to speke of tribulacioun."

5. (fol. 152^{v}b) Nota de Paciencia Infirmitatis; in Latin.

6. (fol. 153^{r}b) "... the xii prophetis of tribulacioun."[3] Ends on

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1. See M. Tyson, Hand-list of the Collection of English Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1928 (Manchester, 1929), 21.

2. Ed. L.F. Powell (Oxford, 1908).

3. Pieces 2-6 are all found in D, H, Y, C and W.

fol. $168^{v}b$.

Early nineteenth century-calf binding, with threads and bevilling in imitation of medieval and fifteenth-century styles. The John Rylands stamp is now in the centre of the upper cover.

On parchment. Foliated in pencil i + 168 + ii.

Handwriting. Fere-textura, s. xv med., perhaps c. 1440-50. One hand throughout. Pages are fully ruled in ink. Prick marks in the outer margin of a good number of leaves. Catchwords within scroll design.

Collation. i (paper fly leaf) $1\text{-}21^{8}$ ii (vellum pastedown) iii (paper fly leaf). The majority of the original signatures remain.

Provenance. In the outer margin of fol. 147^{r} is written in a hand of s. xvii the name "Gulielmus Northamtone", repeated (in English) in the outer margin of fol. 148^{r}.

Formerly MS. Coventry School 16,[1] having been donated to the school by Humfrey Wanley.[2] Now R 4595. The manuscript was purchased for the Rylands library for £50 in 1894 from Bull & Auvache, Bloomsbury. On the paper pastedown of the lower cover is written "Perfect. Jan. 1894" in the hand of E.G. Duff, librarian at the Rylands' home at Stretford Hall.

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1. See Bernard, II.i (1697), 34, no. 1461. This catalogue was contributed by Humfrey Wanley.

2. See Donors' Book, c. 1601-c. 1705, now MS. Add. 4467, Univ. Libr., Cambridge, and Catalogue, 1697, now MS. Add 4468, Univ. Libr., Cambridge, of the library of Coventry Grammar School. Wanley's gift of E is recorded in the Donors' Book on fol. 32^{v}, col. 2 and appears in the Catalogue on fol. 11^{v}, no. 2.

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. $125^{r}a$-$137^{v}b$.

Incipit:

> Here begynnethe the boke of the crafte of dyinge. For asmoche as the passage of dethe oute of the wretchednes of the exile of this worlde....

Explicit:

> ... bi the meditacioun of oure lorde ihesu criste that is moste hyeste mediatoure bi twix god and man. Amen.

Colophon:

> Explicit liber de arte moriendi completus.

Size of leaf: 365 x 235mm.

Size of written space: 36 lines, 260 x 155mm. Double columns.

Four-line and two-line blue initials flourished in red for prologue and chapters respectively. One-line initials, alternating blue and red, at the beginning of new sentences. Line-fillers are red and blue. Title, colophon and chapter-headings in red.

T MS. Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.21.[1]

The codex Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.21 is made up of a number of separate sections or booklets. The present description confines itself to the first section which contains the BCD. It is worth noting, however, that the hand responsible for the greater part of the second section, containing Parce Michi Domini and Pety Job (i.e. fol. 34^{r}-49^{v}, l. 4), has been identified as that of a professional scribe working with the resources

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1. See M.R. James, A Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, ii (Cambridge, 1901), 83-95.

of a professional scriptorium in the reign of Edward IV (1460-83). It seems probable that this scriptorium was that originally of John Shirley (d. 1456) in St Bartholomew's Close,[1] since the scribe and his associates had access to a large number of Shirleyan manuscripts. It seems clear that the Shirley manuscripts were kept together after his death since John Stow (1525-1605) records that he saw them and indeed owned some of them.[2] It seems a reasonable assumption that they had been kept together for the purposes of reproduction in one workshop. It seems clear, too, that scribes working in this shop had access to more than one exemplar for their copies, so that any presumption of conflation in texts deriving from this source would appear to be strengthened.[3]

The remainder of section 2 and all the other sections of T seem to have been written by a single hand. The volume is also united by the inclusion of pieces which are elsewhere found together with the BCD. It contains, for example, Parce Michi Domini (fol. 34^{r}-37^{v}), Pety Job (fol. 38^{r}-50^{v}) and A Saying of St Albert on the Sacrament (fol. 215^{v}).

Contents of Section 1

1. (fol. 1^{r}a) Paternoster.

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1. See Moore, ii (1918), 30.

2. Stow, ii (1908), 24.

3. An account of the activity of this scribe was first given by E.P. Hammond, "Two British Museum Manuscripts", Anglia, xxviii (1905), 1-28, and "A Scribe of Chaucer", Modern Philology, xxvii (1929-30), 27-33. This has been supplemented by A.I. Doyle, "An Unrecognized Piece of Piers the Ploughman's Creed and other Work by its Scribe", Speculum, xxxiv (1959), 428-36, who adds four more examples of this scribe's work, notably MS. F.172 of Worcester Cathedral Library.

2. (fol. $1^{r}b$) Ave Maria.

3. (fol. $1^{r}b$) The Apostles' Creed.

4. (fol. 1^{r}) A Latin Note on the Manner of Crossing Oneself.

5. (fol. $1^{v}b$) The Five Wits.

6. (fol. $1^{v}b$) The Ten Commandments.

7 (fol. $2^{r}a$) The Five Bodily Wits.

8. (fol. $2^{r}b$) The Five Ghostly Wits.

9. (fol. $2^{v}a$) The Seven Blessed Virtues.

10. (fol. $2^{v}b$) The Ten Commandments.

11. (fol. $6^{r}a$) The Seven Deadly Sins.

12. (fol. $7^{v}b$) "... howe many maner wyse syn ys foryeue."

13. (fol. $8^{r}b$) The Seven Works of Bodily Mercy.

14. (fol. $8^{v}a$) The Seven Works of Ghostly Mercy.

15. (fol. $8^{v}b$) The Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost.

16. (fol. $9^{r}b$) The Twelve Articles of the Faith.

17. (fol. $9^{v}b$) A Short Declaration of Belief in General.

18. (fol. $10^{r}a$) The Seven Sacraments.

19. (fol. $10^{r}b$) The Twelve Lettings of Prayer.[1]

20. (fol. $12^{r}a$) "Howe a man shall yelde a streyte reconyng of thre goodys."

21. (fol. $12^{v}b$) "Here sueth somwhat of charyte."

22. (fol. $17^{r}a$) The Four Errors.

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1. Pieces 1-19 would seem to comprise a fairly distinct compilation intended for private reading rather than public instruction, and hence otherwise found in small, pocket-size volumes. Doyle, i (1953), 39, cites five of these: Laud Misc. 23, Titus D xix, Rylands Eng. 85, Durham Cathedral A.iv.22, and Trinity College, Cambridge O.i.74.

23. (fol. 17^{r}b) "Howe men shuld be meke and pacient."

24. (fol. 18^{r}a) "Gregory in the xviii Omely."

25. (fol. 18^{r}b) "Seynt Denyse in hys booke of goddys names in the chapitre of Ryghtwysnes."

26. (fol. 18^{v}a) The Book of the Craft of Dying. Ends on fol. 32^{v}a.

The binding is seventeenth-century calf, rebacked, with the arms of George Wilmer.

On paper. Foliated in pencil ii + 32. The original foliation in ink 1-32 still remains.

Handwriting. The hand responsible for section 1 and most of the remainder of the manuscript book is a mixed hand, combining elements of Anglicana and Secretary, s. xv ex., perhaps c. 1475. Dr Doyle[1] notes that the script and style resemble that of Douce 322, and that in some sections the same lay-out is employed. Both manuscripts may, therefore, be attributed to the same workshop. The dating of this hand to the later years of the reign of Edward IV seems secure, since at least two sections must be attributed to this period. In the copy of Lydgate's Verses on English Kings (fol. 242^{r}-243^{v}) there is space left for a stanza on Edward IV at the end, and two exhortatory stanzas (fol. 245^{v}) are written on his behalf. The Verses on English Kings and the two exhortatory stanzas are copied in the reverse order but in an otherwise identical fashion on fol. 319^{r}-320^{v}. The same hand is also responsible for most of Trinity College, Cambridge, R.3.19,

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1. Doyle (1964), 160.

part of which must be later than 1463, and part later than 1478. None of his work can be shown to be later than the reign of Edward IV, and the same is true of the work of the second scribe of T, a considerable amount of which has been identified, as already noted.

The pages seem originally to have been fully ruled in brown crayon, but the lines have now almost completely faded away. Only a very few prick marks remain. Catchwords without any decorative design.

Collation. i-ii (fly leaves) $1\text{-}4^{8}$. The head of a few signatures remain.

Provenance. In the tail margin of fol. 245^{v} within a scroll design is written "Xplicit quod: Rogerus Thorney", immediately beneath the two exhortatory stanzas on Edward IV, whose name also appears within a scroll design in the outer margin of the same page. In the tail margin of fol. 85^{r} is written "Iste liber const‹at› Willm Meddil‹t›on"; the same name appears also on fol. 175^{r}, 221^{r} and 320^{v}. In the head margin of fol. 1^{r} is written "John Stowe", and at the end of the book on fol. 320^{v} is written "John Stowes boke". In the tail margin of fol. 1^{v} is written "Tho. Griffith 1650". The arms of George Wilmer are on the upper and lower covers of the book - Gules a chevron between three eagles displayed or, armed and langued sable.[1] The crest is an eagle displayed or, armed and

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1. The Wilmer arms were Gules a chevron vair between three eagles displayed or; see Papworth's Ordinary (1961), 397. They were confirmed to Thomas Wilmer of Ruyton, Co. Warwick, 16 Feb. 1582/3; see Rylands (1915), 281. Another grant (not recorded in Papworth's Ord. or Rylands) was apparently made to George Wilmer early in the seventeenth century; see J.J. Green, "The Puritan Family of Wilmer", Trans. Congregational Hist. Soc., iv, no. 3 (1909), 20.

langued sable, and the motto is "Expertus Credo".

Roger Thorney (pre 1450-1515)[1] was a wealthy mercer and patron of Wynkyn de Worde, who had connections with Jesus College, Cambridge through his wife, Eleanor Eccleston. Thorney's name seems to be attached to the stanzas on Edward IV, and may indeed have been written during that reign. If this is the case it is very possible that Thorney was the original owner of the book. On Thorney's death his widow married William Middleton who evidently thereby came into possession of his library.[2] The book, like many connected with John Shirley or his scriptorium, eventually passed into the possession of John Stow, and must shortly thereafter have been acquired by George Wilmer (c. 1583-1626). Wilmer was a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the principal donors to the college library. The present volume appears as one of two volumes of Poemata Lidgati,[3] and is subsequently described by Bernard as Lidgati Operum, vol. 1, although the Ars Moriendi is the first of three items specifically cited in that catalogue.[4]

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. $18^{v}a$-$32^{v}a$.

Incipit:

Here foloweth the craft to dy well 7 to lyue euer. (F)or asmoche

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1. See G. Bone, "Extant Manuscripts Printed from by W. de Worde with Notes on the Owner, Roger Thorney", The Library, 4th Ser., xii (1932), 284-306.

2. Bone (1932), 301-2.

3. James, "Lists of Manuscripts Given to the Library of Trinity College by Various Donors", Catalogue, ii (1901), xix.

4. Bernard, I.iii (1697), 97, no. 377.

as the passage out of the wrechydnes of the exyle of thys world....

Explicit:

... by the mediacion of oure lorde Ihesu cryste that ys mediatour betwyxt god and man. Amen.

Colophon:

Here endeth the craft of dying.

Size of leaf: 275 x 200mm.

Size of written space: 33-36 lines, 180 x 140mm. Double columns. Space has been left for a five-line initial at the head of ch. 1, for a four-line initial at the head of the prologue, and for two-line initials at the head of the remaining chapters and the prayers in ch. 6. Guide-letters remain in all these spaces. The opening word (or words) of new sections is engrossed. Chapter-headings are in red, but in the same script as that for the body of the text. Quotations are underlined in red and written in fere-textura script.

Q MS. Harley 4011, British Museum, London.[1]

Contents

1. (fol. 1^{r}a) Lydgate's So as the Crabbe Goth Forward.[2]
2. (fol. 1^{r}a) Lydgate's Ryght as a Rammes Horne.[3]
3. (fol. 1^{r}b) Lydgate's Stans Puer ad Mensam.[4]

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1. See A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, iii (London, 1808), 103.

2. IMEV 3655. Incomplete, containing only ll. 30-40.

3. IMEV 199, but note that this copy is not incomplete as is there stated.

4. IMEV 2233. Incomplete, containing only ll. 1-25, 29-56.

4. (fol. 1^{v}a) "Lenvoye to Humfray late Duke of Glowcestre"[1] (d. 1447).

5. (fol. 2^{r}a) "The desolacyon of Rome."[2]

6. (fol. 2^{v}b) "A devovte orysoun to þ^{e} holy sacrament."[3]

7. (fol. 3^{r}) The Book of the Craft of Dying.

8. (fol. 16^{r}) A Treatise of Twelve Degrees of Meekness.[4]

9. (fol. 18^{v}) Consilia Isidori.[5]

10. (fol. 21^{r}) Lydgate's Life of Our Lady.[6]

11. (fol. 120^{r}) The Libel of English Policy.[7]

12. (fol. 138^{r}) Lydgate's Kalendar.[8]

13. (fol. 143^{r}) Lydgate's Dietary.[9]

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1. An extract from Lydgate's Fall of Princes, Bk. III, ll. 1569-82, 1604-38. See R.H. Robbins and J.L. Cutler, Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse (Lexington, 1965), 1168.

2. An extract from Lydgate's Fall of Princes, Bk. II, ll. 4460-4592. See IMEV 1168.

3. This is the final prayer of Love's The Mirrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ; see Powell (1908), 323-4. The prayer in Q has been added by another hand, s. xv ex./xvi in.

4. It is here addressed to a brother. The treatise is also found in Y and W (piece 13).

5. Incomplete. The text corresponds to Horstman, ii (1896), 367-72, l. 2, but omits the sections on patience, manhood and peace, Horstman 369-70. The Consilia Isidori is also found in H (piece 29) and Y and W (piece 16).

6. IMEV 2574.

7. IMEV 3491. Incomplete, containing only ll. 1-626, 680-1091.

8. Incomplete, lacking ll. 1-59. The Kalendar is also found in D and H (piece 2).

9. IMEV 824. Incomplete, corresponding to H.N. MacCracken, The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ii, EETS (OS) 192 (London, 1934), 703, ll. 25-32, 705-6, ll. 97-146.

14. (fol. 144^{r}) Bokenham's Mappula Angliae.[1]

15. (fol. 164^{r}) A Treatise on the Calendar.[2]

16. (fol. 169^{v}) Skelton's On the Death of the Noble Prince, King Edward the Fourth.[3]

17. (fol. 171^{r}) John Russell's Boke of Kervyng 7 Nortur.[4]

Bound in modern half-morocco, with gilt lettering and Harley armorial bookstamps, July 1909.

On paper. Foliated in ink iii + 189 + iii.

Handwriting. Written by a number of hands, s. xv ex. On fol. 2^{v}b is written the name of William Woodeward, who would appear to have been the scribe responsible for the first five pieces. Pieces 7-9 would seem to have been written in a secretary hand, perhaps c. 1480-90. Pieces 10-13 would seem to have been written by W. Gravell, whose name is on fol. 119^{r}, while yet other hands are responsible for the final pieces. Pages are written for the most part within frame ruling in ink. Prick marks are not found on most leaves, but are found on both the inner and outer margins of fol. 138-43 containing the Kalendar, where the pages are fully ruled. Some catchwords without decorative design remain.

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1. Ed. C. Horstmann, Englische Studien, x (1887), 1-34.

2. Ed. C. Horstmann, Englische Studien, x (1887), 34-41.

3. IMEV 2192. This piece has been added by a later hand.

4. IMEV 1514.

Collation. It does not now seem possible to give a full collation of Q since the rebinding of the volume has removed all evidence of the original stitching, and there is insufficient evidence from prick marks, catchwords and signatures, few of which remain. It is clear, too, that the book is made up of a number of practically independent sections, as is indicated by content as well as by handwriting. Thus pieces 1-5 (Lydgatian poetry) and 7-9 (devotional treatises), for example, seem to possess an independent unity. A good deal of the original material has also evidently been lost. The Consilia Isidori (piece 9) is incomplete at the end; The Libel of English Policy (piece 11) is incomplete at the end and Lydgate's Kalendar (piece 12) is incomplete at the beginning. Again, Lydgate's Dietary (piece 13) is incomplete at the end, and is followed by a new section in a different hand. It is possible that a number of different exemplars may originally have been involved in the production of this volume.

Provenance. Attached to some Latin verses quoted in the Mappula Angliae on fol. 145^{r} is the name "Willelmus Brewyn". Underneath the heading on "The Office of vssher 7 marshall" on fol. 186^{r} is written in a contemporary hand (s. xv ex.) "my lorde my master of lilleshull abbot". In the inner margin of fol. 141^{v} opposite the Kalendar for 17 October is written "Seynt Etheldrede kan telle me whan" (? in the same hand respcnsible for piece 6). In the head margin of fol. 158^{r} is written "This ys artvr lavleys boke"; in the outer margin of fol. 161^{v} is written "This ys hari Laule boke", and on fol. 170^{v} is written "Fraunces Lawley owes this bok". In the head margin of fol. 125^{r} is written "This ys william pothar boke". On fol. 163^{v} is written "John Elcoke". In the head margin of fol. 1^{r} is written

"5 die Novembris A.D. 1723".

William Brewyn may be the chaplain of that name at Canterbury who compiled c. 1470 a guide-book to the churches of Rome in Latin.[1] See also the will of William Bruyn, chaplain of St Stephen's, Norwich (d. 1477) who bequeathed a number of books to libraries there.[2] The reference to the Augustinian monastery of Lilleshull in Shropshire next to the matter on the office of usher and marshall draws attention to the variety of material contained in this manuscript. The range of interest seems compatible with that of a gentleman living in a monastic prelate's household. Dr Doyle compares MS. Univ. Libr., Cambridge Kk.i.6, compiled by Richard Fox who held such a position at St Alban's.[3] St Etheldreda was the foundress and first abbess of the monastery of Ely. She died 23 June 679, but in 695 her body was transferred from a coffin of wood to one of stone. The translation of her body is observed on 17 October, which is popularly kept as St Etheldreda's day.[4] The date on fol. 1^{r} indicates the day on which the volume was acquired by Wanley[5] for the Harley collection from the library of John Batteley (1646-1708)[6] through his nephew of the same name.

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1. See C.E. Woodruff, A XVth Century Guide-Book to the Principal Churches of Rome (London, 1933).

2. H. Harrod, "Extracts from Early Wills in the Norwich Registries", Norfolk Archaeology, iv (Norwich, 1855), 335. Proved 1481 Cons. Ct Norwich 106, 107 A. Caston.

3. Doyle, ii (1953), 107.

4. See Dugdale, i (1846), 457, and DNB, vi.883-5.

5. See Wright, ii (1966), 263.

6. See DNB, i.1336-7; it is worth noting that Batteley was born at St Edmundsbury in Suffolk and was a Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge, i.e. the East Anglian associations of the volume seem to be persistent.

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 3^{r}-16^{r}.

Incipit:

> For as myche as the passage of deth owte of the wrechidnes of the exile of this world....

Explicit:

> ... bi the meditacion of oure lord Ihesu criste is mediator by twene god and man. Amen.

No colophon, although "Explicit ars moriendi" has been added c. 1500 in the outer margin of fol. 16^{r}.

Size of leaf: 280 x 195mm.

Size of written space: 36-39 lines, 210 x 135mm. Single columns. Two-line red initials at the head of the prologue and ch. 3-6. Two-line and one-line initials at the head of the prayers in ch. 4 and 6. Paragraph marks in red. Chapter-headings and Latin quotations in red. Numerous words, phrases and the English translations of the Latin quotations are underlined in red, but in a lighter shade which has faded considerably.

F MS. University Library, Cambridge, Ff.v.45.[1]

Contents

1. (fol. 1^{r}) The beginning of Rolle's The Form of Living.[2]
2. (fol. 3^{v}) Prayers, addressed to God and the Virgin.

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1. See A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge, ii (Cambridge, 1857), 501-3.

2. Ed. C. Horstman, i (1895), 3-49. The matter in F corresponds to Horstman pp. 3-10 (l. 27).

3. (fol. 8^{r}) The Mirror of Sinners.[1]

4. (fol. 13^{r}) Dictamen vel Lugubre Carmen Terribilissi(m)i Mortis.

5. (fol. 14^{r}) Horologium Sapientiae, ch. v.

6. (fol. 23^{r}) "... a chapitle taken oute of a boke cleped toure of alle toures and it techeth a man for to deye."

7. (fol. 24^{v}) The Book of the Craft of Dying.[2]

8. (fol. 46^{v}) The Three Arrows.[3] Falsely attributed to Wyclif.[4]

9. (fol. 51^{r}) The Name of Ihesu, entitled "Loue of Ihesu" in the manuscript.

10. (fol. 53^{v}) The Love of Ihesu, entitled "Desyre of Ihesu" in the manuscript. Falsely attributed to Wyclif.[5]

11. (fol. 56^{r}) Of Meekness.[6]

12. (fol. 58^{r}) Meditation, beg.: "Whan I peyse or weye thy most excellent dignyte 7 worthinesse and myn indisposicion 7 vyle onworthinesse...."

13. (fol. 58^{r}) Meditation, beg.: "The seruaunt of god owith to come to

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1. Ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 436-40.

2. Pieces 4-7 are also found together in the same order in D and H (pieces 13-16). These pieces represent a coherent group which may have been copied as a whole from a separate exemplar.

3. Ed. C. Horstman, ii (1896), 446-8.

4. Listed by W. W. Shirley among "Spurious Works Assigned to Wyclif by Bishop Bale", A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif (Oxford, 1865), 55.

5. All the remaining pieces from The Poor Caitiff are falsely attributed to Wyclif. For a discussion of the origins of this treatise see Brady (1954), 542-8.

6. Pieces 9-11 are tracts 9-11 of The Poor Caitiff.

comunyon w^{t} verry mekenesse 7 deuoute reuerence...."

14. (fol. 59^{v}) Prayer, beg.: "Lorde holy fader, for thyn onmesurable charyte...."

15. (fol. 59^{v}) The Counsel of Christ.

16. (fol. 62^{r}) A Treatise of Patience.

17. (fol. 63^{v}) A Short Treatise of Temptation.

18. (fol. 64^{r}) The Charter of Heaven.[1]

19. (fol. 68^{r}) Prayer, addressed to Jesus, in English, beg.: "Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce domini nostri ihesu christi in quo est salus, vita et resurrexio nostra...."

20. (fol. 69^{r}) Prayers, addressed to Jesus.[2]

21. (fol. 70^{v}) Suffrages, addressed to the Virgin, Angels, Patriarchs, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors and Handmaidens of God. End on fol. 72^{r}, fol. 72^{v} being blank.

Formerly bound in "old rough sheep", now bound in quarter niger, marbled paper sides (1970).

On parchment. Foliated in pencil v + 72 + v.

Handwriting. Fere-textura, s. xv ex. Capital letters are shaded with yellow wash, which suggests a date c. 1460-80. Pages are fully ruled in

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1. Pieces 15-18 are tracts 4-7 of The Poor Caitiff.

2. These prayers are all taken from ch. 6 of the BCD, Horstman, ii (1896), 418-20. They include all four prayers in the BCD addressed to Jesus, and one prayer which is here also addressed to Jesus but which in the BCD, Horstman, pp. 419-20, is addressed to the Father. All five prayers are here cast in the first person, but their order is the same as that in the BCD.

ink. Prick marks in the outer margin of a majority of leaves. Catchwords without any decorative design.

Collation. i (fly leaf of new binding) ii (paper pastedown) iii-v (paper fly leaves of earlier binding) 1^{4} (lacks 3, 4) 2^{8} 3^{6} $4\text{-}10^{8}$ vi-viii (paper fly leaves of earlier binding) ix (paper pastedown) x (fly leaf of new binding).

No signatures remain.

Provenance. On fol. 72^{v} is written "John Whyte".

The book belonged to John Moore (1646-1714),[1] bishop successively of Norwich and Ely. It is thus recorded by Bernard in the catalogue of Moore's library.[2] On Moore's death the library was sold to George I who gave it, in 1715, to the University Library, Cambridge.[3]

The consistent spelling "-ht-" in F may indicate an Eastern origin.

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 24^{v}-46^{v}.

Incipit:

> Here byginneth þe Crafte of deyinge. A Prolog. For as moche as þe passage of dethe oute of þe wrecchednesse of þe exile of this worlde....

Explicit:

> ... by þe mediacion of oure lord Ihesu Cryst þ^{t} is mediatoure bituene God and man. Amen.

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1. See DNB, xiii.806-8.

2. Bernard, II.i (1697), 397, no. 760.

3. See C.H. Hartshorne, The Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge (London, 1829), 18-24.

No colophon.

Size of leaf: 220 x 150mm.

Size of written space: 24 lines, 160 x 110mm. Single columns.

Three-line initial on yellow field, flourished in ink and shaded with yellow wash at the head of ch. 1, and a similarly decorated two-line initial at the head of the prologue. Space has been left for two-line initials at the head of the remaining chapters; guide-letters remain in all these spaces. Chapter-headings and paragraph marks in red. Quotations underlined in red. Capital letters are shaded with yellow wash.

A MS. Additional 10596, British Museum, London.[1]

The manuscript consists of two rather unequal sections, written by two different fifteenth-century hands. The first section is made up entirely of the BCD and ends on fol. 24^{v}. Some matter is missing from between fol. 24^{v} and 25^{r} by excision and erasure. The two sections must have been put together at the latest by the middle of the sixteenth century, the date of the present binding. Both sections are here described since it is possible that they could have been together from the beginning, although it may be assumed (unless otherwise stated) that comments relate to the first section only.

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1. See List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1836-40 (London, 1843), 41. This catalogue provides the barest record of the major items; for a more complete and authoritative account see Doyle (1958), 233, 241-2.

Contents

1. (fol. 1^{r}) The Book of the Craft of Dying.

2. (fol. 25^{r}) The Book of Tobit.[1]

3. (fol. 47^{v}) Magnificat.[2]

4. (fol. 48^{r}) Benedictus.[3]

5. (fol. 49^{r}) A Devout Meditation,[4] beg.: "Blessid lord þ^{t} madist al þing of nouȝt...."

6. (fol. 54^{v}) Prayers, addressed to Jesus, Angels, Apostles and Evangelists, Patriarchs, Innocents, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins and Saints.

7. (fol. 77^{r}) A Pistle of Holy Sussanne.[5]

8. (fol. 82^{v}) Commemorations,[6] in Latin, addressed to St Ethelburga.

End on fol. 83^{r}, fol. 83^{v} being blank.

The manuscript is bound in stamped calf, sixteenth century. The binding carries a gilt fleur-de-lys ornament found with Oxford bindings of books printed between 1541 and 1560, but mostly between 1550 and 1560.[7]

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1. This is a copy of the second version of the Wycliffite Bible, ed. J. Forshall and F. Madden, The Holy Bible: made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers, ii (Oxford, 1850), 577-601.

2. In the second version, Forshall and Madden, iv (1850), 146.

3. In the second version, Forshall and Madden, iv (1850), 147-8.

4. Doyle (1958), 242, notes that this piece is found also in MS. Hh.iii.13, Univ. Library, Cambridge, fol. 111^{v}-112^{r}, s. xv med.

5. In the second version, Forshall and Madden, iii (1850), 662-6, Daniel, xiii.1-62 (now apocryphal).

6. Not recorded by U. Chevalier, Repertorium Hymnologicum, 6 vol. (Louvain, etc., 1892-1921).

7. N.R. Ker, "Pastedowns in Oxford Bindings", Oxford Bibliogr. Soc. (NS) v, 1951-2 (Oxford, 1954), 222 and Plate XIII, orn. 31.

On parchment. Foliated in pencil iii + 83 + ii.

Handwriting. The script employed in the first section is fere-textura, s. xv med., perhaps 1450-60. The hand is the same as that of F. The decoration is mid fifteenth-century at the latest. After "Explicit Tractatus de Arte Moriendi" on fol. 24^{v}, some four lines of rubric, beg.: "Et sequitur ...?", have been rubbed out. These lines are followed by "Crystis victoriouce passion be euer youre proteccion quod", followed by the scribe's signature (presumably), which has also been rubbed out, and concluding with "ordinis predicatorum". From this rubric it would appear that the BCD had been copied by a Dominican.

The second hand, also s. xv med., would seem to have been that of Matilda Hayle, a nun of Barking Abbey, since she writes her name on fol. 82^{r}. The Latin commemorations are written by hands of s. xv ex., xvi in.

Pages are fully ruled in ink. No prick marks remain. Catchword (on fol. 16^{v}) without any decorative design.

Collation. i (fly leaf) ii (vellum pastedown) iii (fly leaf) $1\text{-}10^{8}$ 11^{4} (fol. 81-3 + iv which seems to be a vellum pastedown) v (fly leaf). No signatures remain.

Provenance. On fol. 82^{r}: "Iste liber constat Matilde Hayle de Berkinge", which immediately follows piece 7 and is apparently in the same hand. At the tail of fol. 82^{r}, in a somewhat later hand, s. xv ex./xvi in.: "Iste liber constat D. Marie Hastynges de Berkynge". In the head margin of fol. 1^{r}: "Iste liber pertinet mihi Iohanni Preston anno domini 1577". On fol. iii^{r}: "Purchased of J. Dean, August 1836".

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 1^{r}-24^{v}.

Incipit:

> Here bygynneth a boke þ^{t} is called the Crafte of Deying. A Prolog. For as moche as the passage of dethe oute of the wrecchednesse of this worlde....

Explicit:

> ... by þe mediacion of our lord Ihesu Crist þ^{t} is mediatour bituene God 7 man. Amen.

Colophon:

> Explicit Tractatus de Arte Moriendi.

Size of leaf: 140 x 100mm.

Size of written space: 26 lines, 100 x 65mm. Single columns.

Eight-line historiated initial (the picture is of a death-bed scene), now badly rubbed and indistinct, at the head of ch. 1. Three-line gold initial with green and gold marginal decoration at the head of the prologue. Three- and two-line blue initials flourished in red at the head of the remaining chapters. Two-line blue initials flourished in red at the head of the prayers in ch. 6. Title, colophon and chapter-headings in red. Paragraph marks in red and blue alternately. Line fillers red and blue. Latin quotations underlined in red.

B MS. Bodley 423, Bodleian Library, Oxford.[1]

MS. Bodley 423 is a composite volume containing what seem to have been five originally distinct manuscripts. The Summary Catalogue notes that it was

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1. See F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, II.i (Oxford, 1922), no. 2322, pp. 308-10.

"made up of five MSS., written in the 12th and 15th centt. in England",[1]

and that:

> Sir Thomas Bodley's hand is on foll. 1, 244, 355, and he arranged that what came as four separate MSS. (A, B + C, D, E) should be bound as one. The first three (A-C) came as a donation from dr. William Cotton, bp. of Exeter, in 1605.[2]

In the tail margin of fol. 1^{r} Bodley has written:

1. Opera 6 dierum.
2. The Art to die w^{t} other thinges.
3. Stimulus Conscientiae.
4. The Stations of Rome.

This must be a note of the four separate manuscripts as he received them, and the order in which he arranged for them to be bound. But the first of these manuscripts received by Bodley was itself composed of what originally must have been two separate manuscripts, i.e. A and B in the Summary Catalogue. The manuscripts listed in the Summary Catalogue as A, D and E are clearly distinct, and form no part of the present inquiry. The manuscripts B and C, however, are closely related:

(i) the material contained in B provides precisely that devotional context in which it is usual to find the BCD. One should note in particular pieces 10-14 of The Poor Caitiff, including The Horse or Armour of Heaven (tract 8) which is a source of A Treatise of Ghostly Battle, and piece 17 The Book of Tribulation, another version of The Twelve Profits of Tribulation.

(ii) the hand responsible for B and C and the lay-out of the two is

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1. Madan and Craster (1922), 308.

2. Madan and Craster (1922), 309-10.

the same.[1]

There is also evidence, however, that B and C are to some extent independent of one another:

(i) the last leaf (fol. 227) of the final quire in B is blank, but there are no irregularities in the collation at the end.[2]

(ii) C consists of two quires of eight leaves, the final leaf of the second quire (fol. 243) also being blank.

(iii) C seems to have been received by the Bodleian as a separate manuscript, although B had already been bound in with A.

The evidence for both the relationship and the independence of B and C would seem to be most satisfactorily reconciled by the assumption that they were originally produced as independent booklets in the same scriptorium. A number of other extant manuscripts of the BCD testify to such a manner of production.[3]

It would seem necessary, therefore, to distinguish two separate processes, the primary one of booklet production, and the secondary one of compilation. The presence of B and C together in MS. Bodley 423 may suggest that they were brought together in the fifteenth century; on the other hand it may be assumed that B and C remained together as separate volumes in the same library. We seem justified on either hypothesis in taking seriously the claims of the BCD to independent production and circulation. But it is

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1. See further p. 60.

2. See p. 60.

3. See above, pp. 3, n. 6, 25, 32, 36-7, 45 and 48, n. 2.

also clear that we must take into account the fact that the work was drawn into a wider context of devotional literature (on the evidence of MS. Douce 322 and MS. Eng. 94 no later than the middle of the fifteenth century). The present description, therefore, comprises both the sections listed as MSS. B and C in the Summary Catalogue, although it may be assumed (unless otherwise stated) that comments relate to C only.

Contents of B

1. (fol. 128^{r}) The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God.[1]

2. (fol. 150^{r}) An Information of Contemplative Life and Active, as it is drawn out of the Revelation of Saint Bride.[2]

3. (fol. 156^{v}) A Religious Meditation,[3] beg.: "Reliquie cogitacionis diem festum agent tibi. Mi good Lord 7 merciful Fader Almighty...."

4. (fol. 161^{r}) A Religious Meditation, beg.: "Da nobis, Domine, auxilium de tribulacione. Lord, graunte vs helpe in oure tribulacion. I haue ofte in my mynde thought...."

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1. A copy of the complete work, the final section or sections of which being copied independently in DH (piece 26) and YW (piece 10). Imperfect at the beginning, lacking the table of the divisions of the work, prologue, section A and the greater part of section B, i.e. Horstman, ii (1896), 72-6, l. 5. This would amount to three manuscript leaves. After fol. 133 a further leaf has been lost, corresponding to Horstman, ii (1896), 83, l. 9-84, l. 21.

2. A fairly free ME translation of the Reuelationes Sancte Birgitte, VI.lxv. For a close ME translation of this chapter see W.P. Cumming, The Revelations of Saint Birgitta, EETS (OS) 178 (London, 1929), 25-36.

3. The greater part of this meditation, i.e. fol. 157^{v}, l. 14-fol. 161^{r} (the end) has been printed in modernized form as "Veni Creator Spiritus. A Medieval Meditation", Life of the Spirit, iv (June, 1950), 549-54.

5. (fol. 164^{r}) Salve Regina.[1]

6. (fol. 164^{v}) Prayer, beg.: "Almighty euerlastyng God that hast ordeyned þe body 7 the soule of the gloriouse virgyn 7 moder blessed Mary...."

7. (fol. 164^{v}) The Mirror and the Meed of Sorrow and Tribulation, beg.: "Cure lord Ihesu, spekynge of sorow and of tribulacyon, saith thus...."

8. (fol. 166^{r}) Against the Excusation of Lechery and other Deadly Sins, beg.: "Seynt Austyn seith that ther may nooman be taken of the deuel...."

9. (fol. 167^{r}) How thou shalt beware and withstand temptations both sleeping and waking.[2]

10. (fol. 168^{v}) The Counsel of Christ.

11. (fol. 170^{r}) Of Patience.

12. (fol. 171^{r}) Of Temptation.

13. (fol. 171^{v}) The Charter of Heaven.

14. (fol. 174^{v}) The Horse or Armour of Heaven.[3]

15. (fol. 178^{r}) A Treatise that is a Rule and a Form of Living pertaining to a Recluse.[4]

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1. IMEV 1039.

2. The matter of this piece, although slightly condensed, corresponds substantially to the greater part of Section X, p. 95, l. 23-p. 98, l. 12, part of Section Y, p. 99, l. 38-p. 100, l. 4 and part of Section Z, p. 101, l. 38-p. 102, l. 6 of The Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God, ed. Horstman, ii (1896).

3. Pieces 10-14 are tracts 4-8 of The Poor Caitiff; cf. DH piece 28, F pieces 9-11, 15-18.

4. A ME translation, somewhat abbreviated, of part of the De Institutis Inclusarum of Ailred of Rievaulx, written 1160-62. The Latin text has been critically edited by C.H. Talbot, Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, vii

cont....

16. (fol. 192^{v}) A Treatise to Learn to Weep.[1]

17. (fol. 205^{r}) The Book of Tribulation,[2] beg.: "Da nobis, Domine, auxilium de tribulacione. To the soule that art delyuered to temptacions and to tribulacions of this lyf is ordeyned the wisdom of this worlde...." Ends on fol. 226^{r}, fol. 227 being blank.

Contents of C

1. (fol. 228^{r}) The Book of the Craft of Dying.

2. (fol. 241^{v}) Moral Discourse,[3] beg.: "Haue in mynde that thou hast oo God that made the of nought...."

3. (fol. 241^{v}) Four Profitable Things.[4]

(1951), 167-217. A fuller and closer ME translation has been edited from MS. Vernon by C. Horstmann, "Informacio Alredi Abbatis Monasterii de Rieualle ad sororem suam inclusam: Translata de Latino in Anglicum per Thomam N.", Englische Studien, vii (1884), 304-44. It is not, however, a translation of the complete work, but of ch. 14-33 (the end) in Talbot's edition. See further A. Hoste, "Bibliotheca Aelrediana", Instrumenta Patristica, ii (Hague, 1962), 75-80, where the treatise is referred to as De Institutione Inclusarum.

1. IMEV 2347.

2. Another version of The Twelve Profits of Tribulation, somewhat longer than both of those printed by Horstman, ii (1896), 45-60, 391-406. This version should, according to its own terminology, be properly entitled The Twelve Services of Tribulation.

3. Printed in modernised form by Comper (1917), 131.

4. Extracted from Rolle's The Form of Living, iv. ll. 18-56 in H.E. Allen, English Writings of Richard Rolle, repr. (Oxford, 1963), 95-6. The extract carries on without a break from the preceding piece. This section was often so extracted. It was printed separately by de Worde in 1508 (reprinted in 1517 and 1519) together with The Remedy against the Troubles of Temptations (the general title given by de Worde to the edition) and A Devout Meditation in Saying the Psalter of Our Lady. All three pieces of this edition are to be found in Horstman, ii (1896), 106-28. Both MS. Bodley 423 and de Worde's edition agree in referring the extract to the third chapter of Rolle's work. This discrepancy may be accounted for by the fact that although the text in MS. Dd.v.64, Univ. Libr., Cambridge (printed by Allen) is divided into twelve chapters, most of the other manuscripts of the work show no such division.

The manuscript is bound in calf, seventeenth century.

On parchment. Foliated in ink 128-243.[1]

Handwriting. Anglicana Formata, s. xv med. The hand resembles that of Stephen Doddesham, the punctuation in particular being very similar. Doddesham may have been a professional scribe before he became a Carthusian, so that one may attribute resemblances between the two hands to the same workshop. The hand of sections B and C would seem to be somewhat earlier than the example of Doddesham illustrated by Parkes (1969), Plate 6 (ii). Fol. 133^{r}-164^{r}, 228^{r}-243^{v} are fully ruled in brown crayon; fol. 128^{r}-132^{v}, 164^{v}-227^{v} are fully ruled in ink. No prick marks remain. Catchwords underlined in red and between reversed parentheses.

Collation. 1^{8} (lacks 1-3) 2^{8} (lacks 2) 3-15^{8}. Some signatures remain in section B, none in section C.

Provenance. On fol. 226^{r} "Perry" or "Parry" (?), in a post-medieval hand, perhaps s. xvi ex. On fol. 227^{r} are the names "Alin Kyes pewterar of London", "Master Robertt Cuttyng" and "Peter Pvnggarnarde"[2] in a hand of s. xvi in. On fol. 241^{v} "John Tryvysam".

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1. Fol. 128-227 are also foliated in ink in a second series 1-99 (fol. 171 and 172 of the first series both appear as fol. 44 in the second). Another series of foliation in ink (fol. 1-6) begins on fol. 228 but is discontinued after fol. 233. The secondary series of foliation is disregarded for the purposesof reference.

2. None of these names has been found in A.B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London, 2 vol. (London, 1908-13) or in C. Welch, History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the City of London, 2 vol. (London, 1902).

Both sections B and C were owned by William Cotton, Bishop of Exeter, who donated them together with twenty-one other manuscripts to the Bodleian in 1605.[1]

The Book of the Craft of Dying is on fol. 228^{r}-241^{v}.

Incipit:

> Here beginneth the Boke of the Crafte of Dyeng. For asmuche as the passage of deeth of the wrecchednesse of the exile of thys world....

Explicit:

> ... by the mediacyon of oure lord Ihesu Cryst that is mediatour bitwene God 7 man. Amen.

Colophon:

> Explicit Tractatus vtilissimus de Arte Moriendi.

Size of leaf: 270 x 195mm.

Size of written space: 37 lines, 215 x 120mm. Single columns.

Three-line initial on red field with border decoration at the head of ch. 1 (unfinished; the colour of the initial and of some of the decoration has not been filled in, while the red is probably intended as a base for gold). Three-line blue initial at the head of the prologue. Two-line blue initials at the head of the remaining chapters. One-line initials in blue and red alternately at the head of various sections within the chapter, notably at the head of the separate prayers in ch. 4 and 6. Title and chapter-headings in red. Paragraph marks in red and blue alternately. Line fillers red and blue. Latin quotations and references to authorities

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1. See W.D. Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1890), 422.

underlined in red.

Dr Doyle has also drawn attention[1] to the existence of a manuscript olim Borthwick, now Foyle, sold at Sotheby's (Marbury Hall) 3 June 1946, Lot 112, and containing a copy of the Speculum Devotorum in Northern English followed by the BCD written in "a clear, uneven hand, s. xv med." On the first page of this manuscript are, apparently, the arms of John, 4th Lord Scrope of Upshall and Masham, impaling those of Elizabeth, his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Chaworth. A number of fruitless inquiries have been made to Foyle's concerning the present whereabouts of this manuscript. A letter from R. Batty, a director of W. & G. Foyle, Ltd., dated 15 June 1970, reads:

> I was unable to trace anything in our listings and doubt whether the library contains this text at all.

MS. Kk.i.5, No. 6, University Library, Cambridge (on paper, s. xv med./ex.), contains a greatly abridged version with some independent additions of ch. 1-3, and the beginning of ch. 4 of the CP text. It is written in a Scottish dialect of the mid fifteenth century; Girvan describes it as "probably the earliest extant piece of Scots literary prose".[2] The relationship between this version and the full CP text is discussed by both Girvan[3] and O'Connor.[4] It has been twice edited:

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1. Doyle, ii (1953), 267.
2. R. Girvan, Ratis Raving, STS (Third Ser.) ii (Edinburgh and London, 1939), i.
3. Girvan (1939), xvii.
4. M.C. O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well (New York, 1942), 102-4.

J.R. Lumby, Ratis Raving, EETS (OS) 43 (London, 1870), 1-8.

R. Girvan, Ratis Raving, STS (Third Ser.) ii (Edinburgh and London, 1939), Appendix I, pp. 166-74.

O'Connor notes[1] a connection between the second sentence of this version and the opening sentence of Caxton's ACD. MS. Kk.i.5 reads:

> It may awaill rycht mekile till have a gude ende, the quhilk makis al werk perfyte, as the ewill end wndois al gud werk before wrocht.[2]

O'Connor points out that this thought is not found outside these two versions. There is not, however, an identity of thought here. MS. Kk.i.5 notes that a bad end undoes a good life while the ACD stresses that a good life is necessary for a good end. The link between the two texts is thus to be seen simply as one of a generalised reflection on the relationship between one's life and its end.

The prayers contained in ch. 6 of the BCD also appear independently. The independent occurrence of five of these prayers in MS. Ff.v.45 has already been recorded.[3] Dr Doyle has kindly drawn my attention to some prayers "gaderid out of þe book clepid Ars Moriendi", fol. 6^{r}-8^{v} in MS. 80 University of Illinois (Urbana).[4] They were doubtless often so extracted.

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1. O'Connor (1942), 104.

2. Girvan (1939), 166, ll. 7-9.

3. See above, p. 49, piece 20 and n. 2.

4. See W.H. Bond and C.U. Faye, Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada (New York, 1962), 171. The manuscript is there described as "Written in England, 14th c.", a date which seems to be surprisingly early.

2. DATE

It may be possible to establish a terminus a quo from an examination of the Latin antecedents of the BCD, for the BCD is not an original work but a faithful translation of a Latin treatise known generically as the Ars Moriendi.[1] This treatise is extant in two principal versions, which O'Connor[2] conveniently distinguishes by their respective incipits:

(a) CP ("Cum de presentis ...").

(b) QS ("Quamvis secundum ...").

The CP version is extant in Latin, German, Low German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, French and English, but the QS version is not found in English. The CP version is much commoner than the QS in manuscript form; a count of the Latin manuscripts of the Ars Moriendi listed by O'Connor[3] gives over 200 copies of the CP version against possibly 12 but not more copies of the QS. It is difficult to be exactly sure of the numbers without an examination of the manuscripts themselves; O'Connor seems to be certain of only 6 copies of the QS.[4] Other copies have come to light since O'Connor's study. Reference is made in the present work to MS. Trinity College, Dublin 191, which contains the Latin text of the CP version and is not recorded

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1. The treatise is known variously as the Tractatus Artis Bene Moriendi, the Speculum Artis Bene Moriendi and the De Arte Bene Moriendi.

2. O'Connor (1942), 7.

3. O'Connor (1942), 61-112.

4. O'Connor (1942), 9, n. 57, 11, n. 3.

by O'Connor.

The earliest secure dating seems to O'Connor to be 1418, that of MS. 4014 (Lunael. Q.197) in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.[1] Some earlier dates seem to O'Connor to be improbably early, namely MS. 4405 Munich, fourteenth century,[2] MS. 3731 (Lunael. f.185) Vienna, dated 1400,[3] and MS. Helmst. 422 Wolfenbüttel, dated 1409.[4]

The reason why the early fifteenth-century dates are considered doubtful by O'Connor is that the Ars Moriendi is itself considerably indebted to the third part of Gerson's Opusculum Tripertitum (as the notes to the text of the BCD make clear),[5] a work which it has been customary to assign to the period 1405-10.[6] O'Connor adduces a letter written by Gerson to Jean Major, tutor to the son of Charles VI, which seems to establish that the Opusculum had been written by 1410 at the latest,[7] but no evidence is adduced to show that the Opusculum could not have been written somewhat earlier than 1405. Indeed O'Connor seems a little uncertain on this point when she comments that Gerson "supplies for the Ars the terminus a quo date of 1408, inasmuch as the Opusculum, a source, was written before that

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1. O'Connor (1942), 80.
2. O'Connor (1942), 71.
3. O'Connor (1942), 79.
4. O'Connor (1942), 83.
5. See espec. the notes to ch. 3-5, vol. ii, pp. 130-41.
6. See O'Connor (1942), 50-51.
7. O'Connor (1942), 50-51.

period".[1] If one accepts the possibility of a somewhat earlier dating for the Opusculum then it would not be difficult to accommodate at least MS. Helmst. 422 (1409). The three treatises which comprise the Opusculum seem to have appeared at first independently of one another and in French not Latin. That these treatises should have originally been written in the vernacular is explained by the fact that they were designed for the instruction of the lower clergy and ordinary laity. Mgr Glorieux would attribute the first of them, the Traité des dix commandements (which appeared together with an introductory letter Conqueritur Dominus) to the years 1400-1401.[2] The second and third treatises, Examen de conscience sur les sept péchés capitaux and Médecine de l'âme (i.e. the "De Scientia Mortis" or "De Arte Moriendi"), may possibly be referred to the year 1403.[3] Mgr Glorieux further suggests that the three treatises were brought together as the Opusculum Tripertitum and supplied with a general introduction Christianitati suus in 1404, since Mathieu Regnault, bishop of Thérouanne, received a copy on 15 March 1405.[4] It is not clear at what point the treatises were translated into Latin, but it would seem probable that Gerson himself was responsible for the translation.[5]

O'Connor's real objection to assigning the composition of the Ars

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1. O'Connor (1942), 23-4.
2. Mgr Glorieux, Jean Gerson: Oeuvres complètes, i (Tournai, 1960), 114.
3. Glorieux, i (1960), 118.
4. Glorieux, i (1960), 119.
5. Glorieux, i (1960), 42.

Moriendi to the first decade of the fifteenth century would seem to be based upon her hypothesis that it was directly inspired by the publicity given to the Opusculum at the Council of Constance (1414-18):

> It is not unlikely that during those four years of emphasis on more devout Christian living some zealous delegate had set out to enlarge the De arte moriendi of Gerson, which the council had recommended so highly as a valuable aid to reform.[1]

But hypotheses must yield to facts. The three earlier dates recorded for manuscripts containing the Ars Moriendi must be shown to be untenable on other grounds than these before they can be dismissed. O'Connor's general point concerning the influence of the Council of Constance in the dissemination of the work may still, of course, hold good even if we cannot regard it as the inspiration of the work itself.

It does not seem impossible, therefore, that the CP version was composed in the first decade of the fifteenth century. It could not very well have been composed much earlier than this since it refers to Gerson as Chancellor of the University of Paris (cf. the BCD 32/10, 46/10), an appointment he did not hold until 1395.[2]

A terminus ad quem of c. 1440 for the English translation of the CP version seems to be established by the earliest of the extant manuscripts, namely E,[3] and the fact that a number of other manuscripts must be assigned to roughly the same period, namely D, A and B.[4]

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1. O'Connor (1942), 54.
2. See NCE, vi (1967), 449-50.
3. See p. 35 above.
4. See above pp. 7, 53 and 60 respectively.

One may conclude, therefore, that the Latin original would seem to have been composed in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, possibly as early as the period 1400-10, and that the English translation belongs to the second quarter of the century. One may perhaps look to the Council of Constance as providing an additional impetus for such translation into the European vernaculars.

3. PROVENANCE

The evidence relating to the provenance of the BCD is both external (i.e. the ownership of the extant manuscripts together with the place of production where this may be inferred from such factors as lay-out and handwriting) and internal (i.e. language). The linguistic evidence will be drawn from an examination of the language of the copy-text, so that the specific conclusions it allows will relate to B only. But the evidence of other manuscripts has been taken into account wherever possible in order to arrive at conclusions possessing a more general validity. Both the external and internal types of evidence will now be considered in detail.

I. Origins of the Manuscript Books

In a large number of cases we seem able to identify the original owners of the extant manuscripts of the BCD and even on occasion their place of production with a reasonable degree of probability.

The association of D seems firstly to have been with William Baron who lived in London and had connections in Berkshire and Hertfordshire, and secondly with his grand-daughter, Petronilla Wrottesley, who was a nun at Dartford.[1]

H is associated particularly with Elizabeth Beaumont and perhaps through her with Barking Abbey (although the influences may be in the other direction).[2] There seems no reason to go beyond the metropolis for the

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1. See pp. 9-12 above.

2. See pp. 16-20 above.

origin of this book, although it cannot quite be certain whether the book was originally produced for Elizabeth or for some other person also connected with Barking Abbey.

Y and W are both to be connected with London, although the evidence of ownership belongs mostly to the sixteenth century.[1] The fact that both books were owned by William Harlowse, quite apart from their textual affiliations,[2] establishes a common source, and it does not seem reasonable to seek for that source beyond London and the neighbouring counties (especially given also the London association of C and the fact that Y and C were written by the same hand). The evidence for original ownership of C is more certain and points clearly to Bedfordshire and London.[3]

T may well have been produced in a scriptorium in St Bartholomew's Close, London (originally that of John Shirley),[4] the same scriptorium, possibly, to which D may be assigned.[5] The metropolitan origin of T would seem to be confirmed by its association with Roger Thorney, possibly the original owner.[6]

The evidence of Q is difficult to interpret because its constitutive elements may have different origins.[7] This supposition seems to be

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1. See pp. 25, 32-3 above.
2. For which see pp. 150-53 below.
3. See pp. 27, 29-30 above.
4. See pp. 36-7 above.
5. See pp. 11, 39 above.
6. See pp. 40-41 above.
7. See p. 45 above.

strengthened by the associations of the book both with Shropshire and East Anglia.[1] It is difficult, moreover, to be sure whether the information which we possess relates to original or subsequent ownership of the volume.

F may also be associated with East Anglia,[2] but its links with that area can hardly be said to be conclusive of its place of origin. It is, however, to be noted that F has been written by the same hand as that responsible for the first part of A, and must therefore be attributed to the same milieu.[3]

In the second part of A the associations with Barking Abbey are persistent,[4] but we may not be justified in generalising those associations so as to include the first part. The fact that the first part seems to have been copied by a Dominican[5] may also suggest an association with the Dominican nunnery of Dartford. It seems reasonable to refer A to those circles within which D and H seem to have circulated.

The associations of B seem to have been metropolitan,[6] but there is insufficient evidence to make a certain identification.

The interesting general conclusion that emerges from this analysis is

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1. See pp. 45-6 above.
2. See p. 50 above.
3. Cf. also the textual affiliations of the two manuscripts, p. 159 below.
4. See pp. 52-3 above.
5. See p. 53 above.
6. See p. 60 above.

that manuscripts containing the BCD seem to have circulated within a fairly compact region in and around the metropolis. Wherever there is good contemporary or near-contemporary evidence of place of origin it points unmistakeably to such a conclusion. One needs to qualify this conclusion, however, by also recognising that the BCD is known to have had more distant connections; the abridged version in MS. Kk.i.5 is written in a Scottish dialect,[1] while Dr Doyle records that MS. Borthwick was written by a Northern scribe.[2] Such a geographical concentration and diffusion at one and the same time was apparently not uncommon, and can be explained, as Dr Doyle explains it,[3] by interchange between one monastery and another of the same order.

II. Language

The following analysis is based upon Kurath's presentation in MED[4] of the standard account of ME dialect characteristics by Moore and his colleagues.[5] The methodology and terminology of Moore et al. has, however, been strongly criticised by Prof. McIntosh in a recent and influential

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1. See p. 62 above.

2. Doyle, i (1953), 223.

3. Doyle, i (1953), 224.

4. H. Kurath, "Plan and Methods", MED (Michigan, 1954), 8-12.

5. S. Moore, S.B. Meech and H. Whitehall, "Middle English Dialect Characteristics and Dialect Boundaries", Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature, xiii (Michigan, 1935), 1-60.

article.[1] Prof. McIntosh offers four main criticisms of the MED approach:

(i) insufficient criteria.

(ii) indiscriminate grouping of heterogeneous linguistic material.

(iii) failure to make distinctions that are linguistically and dialectally significant.

(iv) reliance upon phonemic inference rather than upon graphemic fact.[2]

In addition Prof. McIntosh draws attention to the danger of using texts which may be widely separated in time as well as in place.[3]

The new dialectology of the Edinburgh school seems to some extent to have discredited the old dialectal approach of the Michigan school, but cannot yet be said to have produced the systematic construct that is required to supersede it.[4] Moreover, the four apparently weighty arguments marshalled by Prof. McIntosh are in reality reducible to the one central criticism, namely the small number of dialectal criteria that is admitted in the traditional analysis. The first criticism seems only a particular example of the general statement that constitutes the first, i.e. Moore et al. make only two distinctions (between th- and h- forms of the objective case of the third person plural pronoun) where twelve at least are neces-

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1. A. McIntosh, "A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology", English Studies, xliv (1963), 1-11.

2. McIntosh (1963), 2-4.

3. McIntosh (1963), 5.

4. See M.L. Samuels, "Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology", English Studies, xliv (1963), 81-94, in which some indication is given of how the new approach may be developed.

sary.[1] The second criticism seems to state the objection from a somewhat different point of view but does not seem to be different in kind. The objection is that one isogloss (to use Kurath's term)[2] is based upon a grouping of dialectally discrepant material, namely the ME reflexes of OE y, ȳ, eo and ēo. The implication of this criticism fails to do justice to the fact that Moore et al. are aware of the necessity of distinguishing between original OE y and lWS y[3] and of allowing for the different ways in which ME e can be developed from OE y.[4] It is not only evident that the isogloss that they propose does not depend upon a failure to make such distinctions as these, but it is also clear that it is qualified by an awareness of possible variation in the development of the long and short rounded vowel and of the long and short diphthong:

> On theoretical grounds it would seem probable that the boundary for the retention of OE y and ȳ and of [œ] and [œ:] from OE eo, ēo as front round vowels would be substantially identical and this presumption is on the whole confirmed by our evidence.[5]

One should note further that Kurath's isogloss 5 is based solely upon the development of OE y in closed syllables; it is stated explicitly that:

> The isoglosses for the three other Western rounded front vowels ... are not sufficiently documented, but they probably parallel the hȳl/hil line.[6]

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1. According to McIntosh (1963), 3, one would need to distinguish between the following forms: hem; hom; heom; ham: þem; þam; þaim; þeim: them; tham; thaim and theim.

2. Moore et al. use the term "isophone".

3. Moore et al. (1935), 12.

4. Moore et al. (1935), 19-20.

5. Moore et al. (1935), 12.

6. Kurath (1954), 9.

It has been customary to classify texts dialectally on the basis of correspondences or differences in the distribution of phonemes within sound systems. This phonemic distribution can only for the most part be inferred from graphemic distribution within spelling systems, so that it is necessary to assume a correlation between the written and the spoken language. But the correspondence of the two systems is by no means co-extensive, nor does either of the systems embrace all the actual distinctions of the other. Thus the spelling system cannot tell us the phonetic value of any particular spelling, but it may enable us to distinguish one range of sounds (phonemes) from another. On the other hand variation occurs in the written language which is not reflected in the spoken language. Thus the variants erþe/erthe are a feature of the written language (orthographical variants) and would not seem to have any significance for the spoken language. It has therefore been necessary for dialectologists to discriminate between spelling variants which are phonemically significant and non-significant, a distinction which it may often be difficult in practice to make. But apart from the theoretical problems involved the result has been to exclude a body of material which is potentially significant for dialectal purposes. Thus Prof. McIntosh writes:

> It is important here to stress the fact that there is a good deal to be learnt from a thorough examination of those numerous cases of orthographic variation which have no phonetic implications, such as the examples (þ/th, i/y, ȝ/gh, u/v) noted earlier. They can be plotted on maps like any other variants, and many of them turn out to be demonstrably regional with a distribution in some cases of quite extraordinary interest.[1]

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1. A. McIntosh, "The Analysis of Written Middle English", Transactions of the Philological Society (1956), 35.

That Prof. McIntosh should argue for a graphemic and not a phonemic basis for analysis is understandable in the light of his aims, but the force of the criticism that the approach of Moore et al. is merely phonemic can only be assessed in the light of their aims. The distinction between the spelling -þ/-th in the inflexion of the present 3sg. and present plural (to take an hypothetical example) cannot significantly affect the findings of the traditional approach unless -þ or -th appears in the N and the nM in the present 3sg. or in the M in the present plural. There is certainly a need for a more detailed analysis at the graphemic level in order to establish many more reliable and precise dialectal criteria. But the undertaking is a massive one and apparently as yet still far from completion. In the meantime we can hope to work usefully within the traditional framework provided that we do not make exaggerated claims for it. Kurath seems justified in recognising the value as well as the limitations of this approach:

> The isoglosses established by Samuel Moore and his associates in their survey ... are not numerous enough for a definitive scheme of the dialect areas of England for the period of 1400-1450, but they can serve as a basis for the formulation of a convenient tentative scheme for general orientation.[1]

It is at the same time noted that Kurath limits the study to the years 1400-50, and it seems reasonable to suppose that B falls within these limits even though it must be placed at the end of that period. It must be admitted, however, that the majority of the extant manuscripts are to be dated later than 1450, so that we must be prepared to allow for differences

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1. Kurath (1954), 8.

in them that are due to chronological rather than dialectal causes, and to make some allowance also for the increasing standardisation that is evident in the development of the written language in the fifteenth century.

Isogloss 1. This isogloss marks the boundary of the distinctively N unrounded vowel preserved from OE ā, which in all dialects south of a line running westward and slightly northward from the Humber to the Lune was rounded to ǭ in eME.[1] It is important to note that the isogloss has not been determined by evidence derived from the lengthening of OE a before certain consonant groups, e.g. hand, nor by that from OE ā before w, e.g. cnāwan.[2] Apart from these two exceptions not all the evidence of the reflex of OE ā in B has been systematically classified but only the examples that are quoted below. It may, however, be assumed that these examples are representative:

almoost (1ˣ); booth (3ˣ); goost (2ˣ)/goste (2ˣ); holy (22ˣ); hool (2ˣ); moor (24ˣ)/more (5ˣ); moost (35ˣ)/most (1ˣ); oonly (6ˣ)/only (2ˣ); soor (2ˣ)/sore (1ˣ); sory (2ˣ); stones (1ˣ); tho (1ˣ); woo (2ˣ); woot (1ˣ).

The reflex of OE ā in B is thus usually oo, not uncommonly o, but never any spelling such as a, ai or ay which might indicate the retention of the unrounded vowel. The dialect of B is thus clearly to the south of isogloss 1.

A general point needs to be made before attention is focussed upon isoglosses 2-4, which are determined by the inflexional endings of the present 3sg. and present plural indicative of verbs, and that is that in

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1. See Kurath (1954), 8, 9, Maps 1 and 3, and K. Brunner, An Outline of Middle English Grammar, transl. G.K.W. Johnston (Oxford, 1963), § 11.4.

2. See Moore et al. (1935), 8.

the area enclosed by isoglosses 2-4 (characterised by -en, -e in the present plural) the ending of the present 3sg. seems occasionally to have been generalised into the plural. Thus in the area enclosed by isoglosses 2-3 there will perhaps be a minority of plural forms in -es, and in the area enclosed by isoglosses 3-4 a minority of plural forms in -eth. These minority forms have been disregarded in the determination of isoglosses 2 and 4.[1]

Isogloss 2. This isogloss is based upon the distribution of -es/-en inflexions in the present plural, and establishes a boundary running northwestward through the middle of Lincolnshire and the West Riding of Yorkshire to the Lune.[2] It may simply be stated that neither B nor any of the other ten extant manuscripts of the BCD show the inflexion -es in the present plural.

Isogloss 3. This isogloss is determined by the distribution of -es/-eth forms in the present 3sg. and runs westward from the Wash along the southern boundary of Lincolnshire, through southern Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and northwestward to the Dee.[3] The distribution of forms in B is as follows:

> -th (52x); -eth (52x); -ith (47x); -yth (2x); hath (20x), i.e. a total of 173 forms in -th and no forms in -es.

The evidence of B points conclusively to a provenance south of isogloss 3. The distribution of inflexional forms of the present 3sg. in B is paralleled

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1. See Moore et al. (1935), 9.
2. See Kurath (1954), 8, Maps 1 and 2.
3. See Kurath (1954), 8, Maps 1 and 2.

by that of the other extant manuscripts of the BCD. The only exceptions that have been noted are the following:

(i) At 21/7 DH reads grugys against grucchith. The distinctive N or nM -ys is unexpected in view of the fact that DH are otherwise to be noted for showing four minority or S plurals in -eth. A mechanical substitution seems likely here, however, since grugys is immediately followed by ys, present 3sg. of the substantive verb.

(ii) At 52/2 YCW read hastis against hastith. This form may be authentic although a mechanical error cannot be ruled out as a possibility.

The dialectal significance of isogloss 3 is increased by the fact that along the southern boundary of Lincolnshire it is paralleled by two other isoglosses established by Moore et al., namely C, determined by the distribution of sal, suld(e)/shal, shold(e) forms,[1] and E, determined by them/hem, ham, hom forms.[2] The evidence that B provides for isoglosses C and E may be briefly considered:

(i) C: shalt (4^x); shal(l) (26^x); sholn (1^x); shul(n) (10^x); shuldest (2^x); shold(e) (16^x); shuld(e) (26^x); sholden (1^x). There are thus 86 sh- but no s- forms.

The evidence is as conclusive as that of the -eth forms for the present singular.

(ii) E: the form of the third person plural pronoun in the objective case in B is always hem (49^x).

The consistency of this form is worth underlining since Moore et al. point out that:

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1. Moore et al. (1935), 10.

2. Moore et al. (1935), 11-12.

> Although hem was still more frequent than them in London written English up to 1450, them was so strongly intrusive that it was an increasingly frequent minority form in London and occurs after 1400 as either a minority or a majority form at many points south of a line E.[1]

The possessive form her was receding southward a good deal more quickly than hem, so that the consistency of her (20^{x}) in B and the complete absence of th- forms is even more remarkable. The appearance in B, therefore, of the forms hem and her alone for the objective and possessive cases respectively inclines one to suppose that the dialect of B was considerably to the south of isogloss E.

Isogloss 4. This isogloss is determined by the distribution of -en/-eth forms in the present plural, and runs westward from the Thames along the southern boundary of Essex, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, and then northward through Oxfordshire and Warwickshire and northwestward through southern Staffordshire and central Shropshire to Wales.[2] The distribution of forms in B is as follows:

> -en (40^{x}); -e (7^{x}); ben (28^{x}); be (14^{x}); han (7^{x}); haue (8^{x}), i.e. a total of 104 -e(n) forms.
> biþ (1^{x}).

The regular distribution of -e(n) forms in B leads to the conclusion that its provenance lies between isoglosses 2 and 4. If biþ is not a mechanical error then it would seem best explained as a minority plural form derived from the singular, OE biþ, since OE bēoþ, plural, would be expected to produce S beth, beeth. It is worth noting that at this point all the

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1. Moore et al. (1935), 11.
2. See Kurath (1954), 8, Maps 1 and 2.

remaining manuscripts read be(n), bene, etc. It is perhaps possible to assume that bip is the archetypal form, by chance preserved in one manuscript alone. It is at the least doubtful whether the scribe of B is himself responsible for introducing such a form as plural. At 65/1 we note that B reads "they that punysshen" independently against "that that punyssheth", and also 65/2 "they that folewen" against the correct reading "that foule". These readings would seem to establish that the scribe of B or his exemplar writes -en for the present plural.

The extant manuscripts would seem to point to a minority or S plural cometh at 45/10. The subject of this verb is "euels 7 aduersitees" and it would seem to have prompted correction in DHYCWE to commyn. One may note that B reads (erroneously) aduersite which seems to suggest that correction has here been made in the other direction, i.e. cometh being interpreted as singular an attempt was made to provide a singular subject for it.

Another minority or S plural would seem to lie behind the variant readings at 50/3 - semeth (DHQFB)/shewyth (YCWE)/seme (TA), translating L appareant. The subject of the verb in DHTFA is aunsweres plural, but in YCWEQB it is the singular answare. The singular form here seems to be erroneous (cf. L responsiones) and would seem to have originated as a correction designed tc provide a recognisable subject for a singular verb (as it must have been construed). The reading of TA would seem to have resulted from a correction designed to bring the verb into concord with a plural subject. The reading of the archetype would thus seem to have been that preserved by DHF and originates in a minority or S plural.[1]

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1. See also the note to disposen (44/4), vol. ii, p. 135 where it is suggested that the variants may best be explained by the assumption of a minority or S plural in the archetype.

From these examples it would seem possible to identify the scribe of B with the regular M distribution of inflexional endings in the present indicative. The analysis of variant readings for disposen (44/4), cometh (45/10) and semeth (50/3) seems to indicate the existence of a number of plural forms in -eth in the archetype successively eliminated in the process of copying by scribes for whom -en was the regular plural ending and for whom -eth was recognisable only as an inflexion of the present singular. A number of other variants of this type may also be recorded here:

(i) At 44/8 han yields the variants hath (DHYWE)/hath haue (C). A parallel plural han at 44/9 is omitted by YCWE but appears as haue in DH. The kind of inconsistency shown in DH seems a likely result of the substitution of M forms for minority or S ones by M copyists.

(ii) At 58/1 DH read hath for han plural, a seemingly clear example of a minority or S plural.

(iii) T seems to have preserved two minority or S plurals, foloweth against folewen (12/8) and hopeth against hopen (57/1). The forms may be original survivals in T since the scribe of T or his exemplar writes -yn for the plural at 14/9 - "theym that beleuyn" against "him that beleueth" (10^{x}), translating L credenti.

(iv) There are four examples of bith for the present plural in Q, at 45/10, 49/7, 56/6 and 56/13. At 64/6 Q has commyth against comen.

One may also note the occurrence of a few syncopated forms in the extant manuscripts of the BCD. Syncopation in the present indicative is not normally found in Anglian dialects in OE, but is primarily a characteristic of WS. In ME, therefore, one might also regard it as a S characteristic,

although it does seem to occur also in M texts.[1] Syncopation, however, is not common among the texts of the BCD; note, for example, yeldith (45/14) and DHTQ standeth (57/1). At 32/3 YW read stant against stonde in the present plural (C omits this passage). At 53/3 F reads list against lustith/lysteth but the fact that the word is omitted in A means unfortunately that we cannot tell whether it was introduced by the scribe of F or derived from the exclusive common ancestor of FA. At 54/5 BDWTF read lust/lyst against lyste (HYCEQ).

The distribution of -en/-eth forms in the extant manuscripts of the BCD shows clearly that all the copies are to be located between isoglosses 2 and 4. There is some evidence to suggest that the process of scribal copying has led to the substitution of -en forms for -eth ones, but it seems reasonable to suppose that these latter were minority forms inherited from the present singular inflexion rather than S plurals. This supposition seems to be supported by the form bip which appears 1^{x} in B and 4^{x} in Q, and by YW's stant (32/3) which cannot properly be a plural form unless extended from the singular. At any rate the forms in -eth, however they may be interpreted, point unmistakeably to the southern part of the M area.

It is important to note here that the eastern part of isogloss 4 from Essex to Oxfordshire is closely paralleled by isogloss 1 established by Moore et al., determined by the distribution of f-/v- for OE initial f[2] (isogloss 1, in fact runs somewhat to the north of isogloss 4 through

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1. See Brunner (1963), § 68, n. 3.

2. See Moore et al. (1935), 15-16.

Buckinghamshire and most of Oxfordshire).[1] The distribution of forms in B is as follows:

> fader(s) (13ˣ); falle(n) (10ˣ); fals(e) (3ˣ); faste (1ˣ); fele (4ˣ); felouship (1ˣ); felowe (1ˣ); fendes (2ˣ); fer (1ˣ); fere (2ˣ); ferful (2ˣ); ferynges (1ˣ); ferther (1ˣ); fewe (2ˣ); fyfthe (4ˣ); fynde (2ˣ); fyre (2ˣ); first (6ˣ); firthermoor (7ˣ); fyue (2ˣ); fle (3ˣ); flessh (1ˣ); folowe(n) (4ˣ); for (97ˣ); forsaid (1ˣ); forsake (4ˣ); forslouthed (3ˣ); foryefnes(se) (6ˣ); foryete (1ˣ); foryeue (4ˣ); fourthe (9ˣ); fre(e) (2ˣ); fredam (1ˣ); frende(s) (3ˣ); form (8ˣ); ful (10ˣ); fulfylle (1ˣ); fully (20ˣ).

The OE initial voiceless spirant f appears always (245ˣ) as f in B. The evidence seems conclusive, but the isolated spelling fouchest saaf at 40/12 with f for the initial voiced spirant in OF vo(u)cher (cf. vouched saf, 65/10) should urge caution since it suggests scribal substitution of f for v initially, a practice apparently quite common after 1400 precisely because of the dialectal character of initial v for f.[2] The value of this criterion as a test of dialect is strictly limited, as Moore et al. make clear:

> Although the evidence we have for this dialect characteristic is amply sufficient to prove its existence in ME and even to localize it within pretty definite limits, the boundary that is indicated is less certainly established than most of our other boundaries.[3]

But while it is necessary to acknowledge and to allow for these limitations it still seems reasonable to point out that the evidence provided by the distribution of initial f/v in native words seems in accord with that which determines isogloss 4, and that in this respect as in others the language

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1. See Kurath (1954), 9, Map 3.
2. See Moore et al. (1935), 15, and also Brunner (1963), § 36, n. 1.
3. Moore et al. (1935), 16.

of B is to be characterised as M rather than Southern.

Isogloss 5. The development of OE y in ME is a complicated matter, and as a result it is necessary to define with some care the kind of evidence from which secure dialectal inferences can be elicited and to insist upon the limited nature of the conclusions that can be arrived at. Isogloss 5[1] is based upon the development of original OE y and thus excludes the rounding of lWS i to y before r and in the neighbourhood of labials.[2] As a result the following evidence provided by B cannot be taken into account:

chirche (10^{x}), OE cirice, lWS cyrice.
muche (3^{x})/moche (12^{x})/mykelnesse (1^{x}), OE micel, lWS mycel.
suche (13^{x}), OE swilc, lWS swylc.
whiche (16^{x}), OE hwilc, lWS hwylc.

The forms muche, suche and whiche would seem, in fact, to reflect the influence of a standard language developed in official documents.[3]

The evidence of the reflex of Prim. Gmc u is also set aside in cases where there seems to have been unrounding of y to i in lWS,[4] e.g.:

bye (1^{x}), OE bycgan, lWS bicgan.
kynge (2^{x})/kyngdom (1^{x}), OE cyning, lWS cining.

The forms worse (1^{x})/worst (1^{x}) must also be treated as special cases, the spelling with o indicating derivation from u and not ü. OE has wyrsa, wyrsta (except in Kentish), in Anglian by retraction of i to u and subsequent i- mutation to y, and in WS probably by breaking of i to io and

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1. See Kurath (1954), 8, 10, Maps 1 and 5.

2. A. Campbell, Old English Grammar (Oxford, 1959), § 318.

3. See A. Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English (Uppsala, 1926), 24-5 and Samuels (1963), 86, 88-9.

4. See Campbell (1959), § 316 and n. 1.

i-mutation to ie, which becomes i ("unstable i") and thence y.[1] In lWS wyr- becomes wur-,[2] while in the North wyr- is unrounded to wir-.[3]

The isogloss does not attempt to discriminate between SE and sEM e and N and nEM i. Where original OE y appears in open syllables, e.g. yfel, it is possible to assume derivation from i as a result of the lengthening of i to e[4] equally as well as directly from y. A third possibility is available in the case of OE styran, namely lowering of i to e before r in a closed syllable after the loss of final -e.[5]

The detailed evidence which now follows is confined, therefore, to forms derived from original OE y and distinguishes both between their appearance in open and closed syllables and before lengthening and non-lengthening consonant groups.

(i) OE y in closed syllables:

(a) before non-lengthening consonant groups:

clippe (2x); first (6x); fulfylle (1x); hylle(s) (2x); kysse (2x); kytte (1x); lust (1x), cf. lustith (1x); synne(s) (25x); synful (11x).

(b) before lengthening consonant groups:

byrdon (1x); byrthe (2x); ferther (1x); firthermoor (7x); kynde (2x); mynde (7x).

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1. See Campbell (1959), § 149.
2. See Campbell (1959), § 320, 322.
3. See Brunner (1963), § 10, n. 1.3.
4. See Brunner (1963), § 12 B.
5. See Brunner (1963), § 11.7, n. 16.

(ii) OE *y* in open syllables:

besy(er) (2ˣ)/*besily(er)* (2ˣ)/*besynes* (1ˣ)/*bysely* (3ˣ); *euel(s)* (10ˣ); *mery* (1ˣ).

(iii) OE *y* in closed/open syllables:

dyde (3ˣ); *styred* (1ˣ).

It is clear from these statistics that the reflex of OE *y* in closed syllables in B is regularly *i*. The only possible SW or WM forms that appear are *lust*, present 2sg. (1ˣ) and *lustith*, present 3 sg. (1ˣ). In both cases it seems reasonable to interpret the spellings as indicating *u* and not *ü*. The form *lustith* (53/3) is probably to be referred to OED s.v. *lust*, v.3.intr. "To desire, wish, choose", which OED derives from *lust*, n. The form *lust* (54/5) is more problematical, but may perhaps be referred to OED s.v. *list*, v.[1] 2.b. "Without dependent inf.: To wish, desire, like, choose." It is perhaps possible that *lust* is an error for *luste*, subj., influenced by the following *lest*, but a syncopated indicative form is attested by DTFB whereas *lyste* is found only in HYCEQ. If *lust* is interpreted as a syncopated present 2sg. derived from OE *lyst*, the vowel may still be regarded as *u* rather than *ü* and may be explained as due to the influence of *lust*, noun or verb.

One may conclude with some confidence, therefore, that the dialect of B is to the east of isogloss 5.

Isogloss 6. This isogloss runs from the Severn northeastward through central Gloucestershire, northward through central Warwickshire and Derbyshire and then northwestward to the Lune.[1] It is based upon the distribu-

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1. See Kurath (1954), 8, Map 1.

tion of OE a/o before nasals except before lengthening groups (ng, nd, mb) and before nk in thank.[1] The distribution of forms in B is as follows:

can, pr. 3sg. (2x); from (8x); man (126x); many (9x); manly (3x); name (3x); nam(e)ly (10x).

The vowel in from would seem probably to be explained as due to the influence of ON frā, ON ā having the same development as its OE equivalent, i.e. remaining ā in the N (see isogloss 1) but becoming o̲ elsewhere.[2] The form fro is used more frequently than from in B, and always with the spelling fro as one would expect; from seems often but not always in B to have been used for fro before a vowel.

The evidence of forms before nasals otherwise clearly establishes that the dialect of B is to the east of isogloss 6.

Isogloss 7. This isogloss is determined by the distribution of -ng-/-nd- forms of the present participle, and shows that forms in -nd- were apparently restricted to the N and to the western and eastern margins of the M and South.[3] No account is taken of the endings of the verbal noun and gerund (which in B follows precisely the same pattern as that of those of the present participle), since it is clear that the N dialect, for example, distinguished between participial (-and) and gerundial (-ing) forms.[4] The distribution of inflexions in the present participle in B is

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1. See Moore et al. (1935), 10.
2. See Brunner (1963), § 17.
3. See Kurath (1954), 9, Map 4.
4. See Brunner (1963), § 68.

as follows:

-yng(e) (32[x]); -inge (1[x]); -eng(e), always after i/y, (9[x]).

Thus it would seem that the extreme eastern margin of the sEM is excluded by this evidence. It should be noted, however, that -nd- forms were recessive in the fifteenth century and that scribes were apt to introduce -ng- forms into the present participle which they would in any event have written for verbal nouns and gerunds.[1]

Conclusions. The evidence of isogloss 3 (-es/-eth forms in the present 3sg.) rules out the nWM, nEM and the N, and is not contradicted by the evidence of isoglosses 1 and 2 which it thereby makes redundant. The nWM, central WM and sWM[2] are ruled out by the evidence of isogloss 6, i.e. by the absence of such forms as mon. The sWM and the SW are ruled out by the evidence of isogloss 5, i.e. by the absence of forms in u from OE y in closed syllables. The sWM, SW and SE are ruled out by isogloss 4 (-en/-eth present plural), a conclusion which on the whole seems to be confirmed by the evidence of spellings for OE initial f. It follows that the language of B is that of the sEM dialect.

The limitations of the method that has been used restrict one to a conclusion that cannt be much more precise than this, and yet the term

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1. See Moore et al. (1935), 17.

2. It is to be noted that this statement of dialect distribution presupposes a traditional definition of WM whereas that of Kurath (1954), 8, would include the area south of central Shropshire and north of central Gloucestershire as part of the SW. It is to be noted further that the term "central WM" is used to refer to an area enclosed by isoglosses 3 and 4, i.e. south of central Staffordshire and southern Cheshire, north of southern Staffordshire and central Shropshire.

sEM still covers a vast part of the country. But the weight of the evidence strongly suggests that one is justified in looking to the southern part of this area, i.e. to London and the surrounding counties, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire and northeastern Berkshire, and possibly also to Bedfordshire, southern Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. The evidence which draws attention to this area seems to be:

(i) forms in hem and especially her.[1]

(ii) forms in -eth for present plural.[2]

If the evidence of forms of the present participle can be regarded as reliable the extreme eastern margins of the sEM area would seem to be ruled out.

The evidence that we have been considering relates in its entirety only, of course, to B, and shows the language of that text to be remarkably self-consistent. But it is worth noticing also that wherever the evidence of the remaining ten extant manuscripts has been consulted (isoglosses 2-4) it leads to similar conclusions. One may also refer at this point to Dr Murray's analysis of the language of D which she took as the copy-text for her edition of A Treatise of Ghostly Battle.[3] At the end of her discussion she argues for "a close correspondence in detail between the language of MS.B (i.e. Douce 322) and the language of London documents and letters of the fifteenth century".[4]

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1. See pp. 79-80 above.

2. See pp. 80-83 above.

3. V. Murray, "An Edition of A Tretyse of Gostly Batayle and Milicia Christi" 2 vol. (MS. D.Phil. d.5158, Oxford, 1971), i.26-40.

4. Murray, i (1971), 40.

It is worth stating explicitly as a general conclusion to the section on provenance what must already be apparent, and that is the complete consistency between the linguistic evidence and the evidence of the manuscript books themselves. There seems no reason to look beyond London and the neighbouring counties for the origin of the English translation of the BCD, although the question of ultimate origins must remain in the realms of probable inference rather than ascertainable fact.

4. BOOKLET PRODUCTION AND COMPILATION

A persistent feature of the manuscript books of the BCD is that their lay-out discloses an intervening stage (namely that of compilation) between the copying of texts and their arrangement in book form.[1] It is necessary, therefore, to account for at least three possible stages in the transmission of any given text:

(a) independent production and circulation.

(b) grouping of texts into booklets which could be independently circulated.

(c) grouping of booklets into manuscript books.

It is the second stage which is of significance, for although it is not theoretically necessary to the production of the manuscript book it is clear that in practice books were very frequently so constituted. One's ability to identify distinct stages in the transmission of texts is of great potential significance for both the textual and the literary critic, since the affiliations of a text at both levels must primarily be with other texts which make up the same booklet. Other texts in the same manuscript book may bear only the most general of relationships which in themselves may be of little or no importance.

The central problem is clearly to establish a set of criteria which is adequate to identify the independent booklet. The subject has not

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1. See particularly the discussion of B, pp. 56-7 above, and the references that are there supplied.

yet received the systematic treatment which it merits,[1] and it is not possible here to do much more than indicate the kind of evidence which is suggestive of booklet production among the extant manuscripts containing the BCD. One may briefly consider four types of external manuscript evidence which point to booklet production.

(i) The correspondence of a change of hand or script with the quire division of a manuscript is one type of evidence. On this basis one might infer that the first two quires of D were independently produced;[2] such an inference would seem to be supported by the fact that the two quires are complete in themselves and that the matter of the second quire (fol. 10-17) corresponds substantially with the second section of T.[3] The booklet divisions of T are especially well-marked. The first section consists of four quires of eight leaves, the final piece, the BCD, ending on fol. 32^{v}a, leaving one blank column; a different hand is responsible for the greater part of the second section.[4] Again, changes of hand make clear the composite nature of Q, and point to groups of pieces which are also related in subject matter.[5] The first section of A is written in a single hand different from that responsible for the rest of the manuscript, and

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1. No complete discussion has yet appeared in print to my knowledge, but I have throughout been indebted to Miss Pamela Robinson who is at present preparing a thesis on the subject. It is to be hoped that this thesis will establish the set of criteria which is necessarily lacking here.

2. See p. 3, n. 6 above.

3. See pp. 36-7 above.

4. See pp. 36-9 above.

5. See pp. 44-5 above.

consists of exactly three quires containing the BCD.[1]

(ii) The division of a book into groups of treatises corresponding with the quire division is especially suggestive of booklet production when the final quire containing a group of treatises has an irregularity in the number of its leaves, since the addition or removal of a leaf or leaves is only explicable in terms of a once independent existence. There would be no reason for such elaborate measures in a book designed as such from the beginning, for the scribe could then merely begin a new quire which would be filled by subsequent pieces. A good example of this type of evidence is provided by both Y and W. In the eleventh quire of Y there is an additional (ninth) leaf on which ends A Treatise of Twelve Degrees of Meekness, all the previous quires consisting of eight leaves.[2] In W the ninth quire consists of ten leaves with an additional (eleventh) leaf on which ends A Treatise of Twelve Degrees of Meekness, whereas all the remaining quires in the volume are made up of eight leaves.[3] Similarly in C a leaf has been added to the final quire in order to complete A Treatise of Ghostly Battle.[4]

(iii) An irregularity in the distribution of catchwords may also indicate booklet production. Thus in Y there are catchwords on fol. 80^{v} (i.e. the eighth leaf of the eleventh quire) but not on fol. 81^{v} (which is blank).[5] Similarly in W there is a catchword on fol. 66^{v} (i.e. the tenth

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1. See pp. 51, 53 above.

2. See p. 25 above.

3. See p. 32 above.

4. See p. 28 above.

5. There may perhaps have been a catchword at the foot of 81^{r}, but whatever was written has been inked over and is now illegible.

leaf of the ninth quire) but not on fol. 67^{v}. There is thus no indication of the quires that begin on fol. 82^{r} and 68^{r} respectively.

(iv) The words "Deo gracias" at the end of a piece or group of pieces point to booklet production, for the implication must be either that the scribe has come to the end of his allotted task or that he is reproducing his exemplar with sufficient fidelity to reveal the completion of earlier scribal labours. Thus at the end of Ghostly Battle in C on fol. 59^{v} the words "Deo gracias" in fact correspond with the end of the manuscript book, which is perhaps better regarded as no more than the original booklet itself in independent circulation, whereas in Y and W it has been combined with at least two and possibly three other booklets. It is to be noted, however, that "Deo gracias" appears at the end of Ghostly Battle in both Y (fol. 56^{v}) and W (fol. 48^{r}). The evidence provided by "Deo gracias" is more important when one is concerned with manuscript books which may be the result of a series of transcriptions in the course of which the original booklet divisions may have been much obscured. The words "Deo gracias" are found at the end of piece 23 in D, The Twelve Profits of Tribulation, half-way down fol. 77^{v}b; the inference that we are here at the end of a separable section is supported by the fact that piece 24 begins at the head of fol. 78^{r}. Similarly the appearance of "Deo gracias" on fol. 48^{r} in W is of particular interest, since the original independence of the first five treatises is not otherwise indicated,[1] although it can be inferred from Y and C.

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1. See p. 32 above.

The individual pieces of evidence that we have considered are seldom in themselves conclusive, but they do possess a cumulative value. It seems possible on such a basis to trace the stages of transcription and compilation implicit in the present state of extant manuscripts. Although it has not been possible to provide a systematic account of the criteria required to establish the existence of independent booklets, one can clearly see in the extant manuscripts of the BCD evidence of the three stages of transmission.

(a) There is good evidence of independent production of the BCD in the case of the copy-text,[1] and also of A.[2] In the first section of T the BCD is by far the most significant single piece, although it is associated there with a number of small pieces which in themselves constitute a quite well-known compilation.[3] The importance of the BCD is also indicated by the fact that it is singled out in the inscription at the beginning of D.[4] It is also worth noting in this context that Caxton published his own translation of a French version of the CP text in 1490. The work thus seems to have been sufficiently important to merit independent production at the end of the fifteenth century, even though in an abridged form.

(b) It is also clear, however, that the BCD soon became associated in booklet compilations with other pieces on death and with pieces of a

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1. See p. 56 above.
2. See p. 51 above.
3. See pp. 37-9 above.
4. See p. 9 above.

more general devotional interest. The original booklet has both been preserved independently (C) and in a collection with other compilations (Y), both manuscripts being the work of the same scribe. The booklet unit is not usually so clearly defined as it is in the case of C, and has to be inferred for the most part from manuscripts which reflect later developments in the process of transmission. We have already noted evidence for independent booklets in D,[1] and we may also note that the BCD belongs to another quite well-defined grouping of pieces within this manuscript (pieces 9-17) which might be said to constitute a section on death. One might point out, for example, that the rubric introducing piece 18 is separated from the colophon of piece 17, whereas pieces 9-17 are much more closely connected (compare the colophon of the BCD itself which runs straight on to Ghostly Battle).[2] On the other hand the rubric at the tail of fol. $61^{v}b$: "Explicit Ars Mortis cum Spirituali Bello 7 Scala Celi" seems rather to link pieces 16-18. The pieces on tribulation (21-3), which are elsewhere directly associated with the BCD, are clearly marked off both at the beginning and end. It seems clear that in the pre-history of D there are a number of independent booklets whose original scope and relationship have been somewhat disguised by re-copyings and possibly also by rearrangement. The list of contents on fol. 1^{v} in the same hand as that responsible for script 1 shows that the grouping of booklets had been made at the latest by the time of the production of the book itself.

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1. See pp. 93, 95 above.

2. See p. 13 above.

(c) It seems certain from H and W (themselves copies of D and Y respectively) that the organising principles behind the original compilations were not always apparent, with the result that evidence for booklet division has been to some extent eliminated.[1] The unit in these cases seems rather to have been that of the book as a whole and not its constitutive booklets.

The body of evidence provided by the extant manuscripts makes it clear that the BCD became a part of two main groupings:

1. The first group consists of a poem which MacCracken has entitled Death's Warning,[2] the fifth chapter of Suso's Horologium Sapientiæ, The Tower of All Towers, which is an English translation of the first part of the Ars Moriendi section of Lorens's Somme le Roi, and the BCD (DH pieces 13-16, F pieces 4-7).

2. The second group consists of three pieces which may collectively be referred to as The Twelve Profits of Tribulation, and which are followed by the BCD and Ghostly Battle (YCW pieces 1-5). The same five pieces are also found together in E (pieces 2-6), although in a different order, and it is further to be noted that Ghostly Battle and The Twelve Profits also appear in DH (pieces 17, 21-3).

Any account of the BCD, therefore, must pay attention both to its claims for independent recognition and to its associations with works of a wider devotional interest. The following discussion, then, will consider

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1. See above pp. 15-16 and 32 respectively.

2. See MacCracken, ii (1934), 655-7.

the BCD in relation to both these primary and secondary functions.

There is no reason for supposing that the primary function of the BCD is other than that which it represents itself as having, namely the provision of spiritual comfort and aid for those on the point of death:

> ... in thys present matere and tretys ... is drawe and conteyned a short manere of exhortacyon for techynge 7 confortynge of hem that ben in poynt of deeth.[1]

It is to be noted, however, that this statement of intent is derived directly from the introduction to the third part of Gerson's Opusculum.[2] Dr Doyle seems to consider, moreover, that the prefatory remarks and chapter-headings of the BCD do not accurately reflect the material which the treatise as a whole contains:

> ... it is soon clear on a careful reading that it is as a whole too elaborate for the last necessity and meant to be of more spiritual profit than for an occasional anticipation of that event.[3]

There is some justice in what Dr Doyle has to say, but it is important also to recognise that there is in the BCD a consistent practical concern which is reflected both by an awareness of the possibility of imminent death and by the associations (direct and indirect) with liturgical practice. The practical nature of the interrogations, which comprise the third chapter, is surely undeniable; the concluding remarks on this section make clear the persistent concern for those on the point of death and the particular problems with which they may be faced in that situation:

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1. BCD, 2/7-9.
2. See vol. ii, p. 114.
3. Doyle, i (1953), 220-21.

> Whos euere is not asked of a nother man of þese seuene interrogacyons whan he is in suche perel of deeth ... he must remembre himself in his soule....[1]

The prayers that form the second part of the fourth chapter clearly have no function outside the particular context of death. Thus the following prayer:

> Lorde Ihesu Crist, for that bytternesse that thow suffredyst for me in the crosse, and moost in that howre when thy moost blessed soule passed oute of thy body, haue mercy on my sowle in hir streight passynge.[2]

is significantly paralleled by a prayer in the Ordo Commendationis Animae.[3] Although the fifth chapter is more expansive in its discussion of such matters as late repentance, it nevertheless still offers advice of a specific and practical kind:

> And if the syke man hath loste his speche but yhit he hath hool and ful knouleche of þe interrogacyons that ben made to hym or the prayers that be rehersed before hym, than wiþ som vtter signe or only with concent of hert lete him aunsuere therto. Neuertheles it is gretly to be charged 7 hasted that the interrogacyons be made vn to hym or he lese his speche....[4]

Again, the prayers which constitute the sixth chapter meet a specific spiritual need, that of the man on the point of death, rather than serving a more general devotional purpose. Thus three of the prayers have been drawn from the Ordo Commendationis Animae.[5] This chapter again testifies

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1. BCD, 36/9-11.
2. BCD, 41/6-9.
3. See vol. ii, p. 133.
4. BCD, 49/12-50/2.
5. See vol. ii, pp. 143-5 and 147.

to the writer's sense of the possible urgency of the situation to which he is addressing himself, for he distinguishes clearly between those things that are necessary to the salvation of the dying man and those that are merely desirable:

> Afterward, yf he lyue yhit, let som man that is aboute hym say the orisons that folewen after, as the tyme 7 oportunyte wyl suffre; and they mowen be often rehersed ayen to excite the deuocyon of the syke man, yf he haue reson and vnderstondynge with him. But neuertheles this ought not to be do of necessite, as though he myght not be saued but it were ydoo, bot for the profyt 7 dcuocyon of the syke that labourith to hys endewarde it may, 7 it is wel ydoo that it be do so.[1]

It may be argued, however, that the practical concerns that we have noted are implicit in the sources of the BCD, and tell us little about the particular intentions of the author of the treatise himself. These intentions can, of course, only be fully defined in the light of these sources, which we may briefly consider at this point.

The major source is Gerson's Opusculum, which provides material for the prologue, ch. 3 (interrogations), ch. 4 (prayers) and ch. 5 (spiritual advice). The Opusculum itself seems to have drawn upon liturgical material and subsequently to have been incorporated into local liturgies.[2] The section on death in the Opusculum is sufficiently compact to have been used as a practical ordo by members of the laity when a priest for one

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1. BCD, 55/13-56/6..

2. See O'Connor (1942), 22-3. In a notice which precedes the introductory letter of the Opusculum there is written: "Hoc opus tanti fecere Gallicani Episcopi, ut Synodis suis ipsum elegerint ad institutionem tum Presbyterorum tum fidelium, legendum populo a Pastoribus praescripserint, & Libris suis Ritualibus inseruerint." (du Pin, i (1706), 425-6.)

reason or another could not be summoned to the dying man.' It is certain that the author of the BCD has in part drawn directly upon the Ordo Commendationis Animae for his sixth chapter. In this respect, therefore, he may be said to have reinforced the liturgical basis of the Opusculum rather than to have moved away from it.

The treatise as a whole has been greatly augmented by the commendation of death (ch. 1) and the temptations (ch. 2), the latter in fact comprising the longest single chapter of the BCD and certainly altering the balance of it in comparison with the Opusculum. It is to this chapter in particular that Dr Doyle directs our attention when he emphasises the wider interest of the BCD:

> The second chapter, for instance, is concerned with the perennial question of resistance to mental temptations (the special difficulty of contemplative life and devotion at any time), to which those of the dying are only the culmination.[1]

It is fair to say also, however, that the account of the temptations is given a specific focus in the BCD, which continually insists upon the needs of those on the point of death. Thus in the temptation of the faith the author observes that:

> ... it is right profitable 7 good, as it is vsed in som religions whan a man is in hys agonye or stryf of dyenge, with an hye voys ofte tymes to say the Crede before hym, that he that is syke may be fortifyed in stabylnesse of the feyth....[2]

Similarly, in the temptation of impatience, the sufferings of those on the point of death are seen in the limited perspective of patient endurance and

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1. Doyle, i (1953), 221.

2. BCD, 13/6-9.

submission to the will of God. The writer is directly concerned with the struggle of man's soul for salvation in the face of the peculiarly critical pressures that come upon him in the time of his death, "for they that be in syknesse in her deeth bedde suffren passyngly gret peyne, and sorwe 7 woo".[1] Such a concentration on the reality of the agonies of those on the point of death and the uncertainty of their spiritual struggle is very different from the perspective found, for example, in the Nota de Paciencia Infirmitatis, where infirmity is seen as purging sin and being the source of grace:

> Libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis. Valde ergo desideranda est infirmitas, quoniam in nobis peccatorum flammas extinguit & a Ihesu Christo graciam adquirit.[2]

It is the latter which is more properly concerned with the life of devotion in its fullest sense; the development of its leading idea, as in The Twelve Profits, is not possible in the context of death-bed suffering.

It is undeniable, of course, that the scope of the BCD has been widened beyond the bounds of a practical ordo, particularly by the addition of the material in the first two chapters but also by the inclusion of the instructive example of Christ's death at the beginning of ch. 4, and by the discussion of late repentance in ch. 5, drawn from the Quaestiones in Lib. IV Sententiarum of Duns Scotus.[3] The result seems to be a practical manual providing for the laity a discussion of the spiritual issues which manifest

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1. BCD, 19/7-9.
2. Horstman, ii (1896), 391.
3. See vol. ii, pp. 136-7.

themselves in the time of death, and giving directions to friends of the dying man which may be followed when there is no direct access to the sacraments of the Church. There seems no reason why anyone conversant with the BCD could not have used it to minister directly to a dying man. This purpose is explicitly set forth in a paragraph which follows a further series of prayers in ch. 6 of the CP version:[1]

> Cvm autem tot(a) salus hominis in fine consistat, sollicite curare deberet vnusquisque ut sibi de socio vel amico fideli 7 deuoto ac ydoneo ante mortem prouideat qui in extremis ei fideliter assistat ut ad fidei constanciam pacienciamque atque deuocionem necnon confidenciam atque perseueranciam ipsam sollicite incitet 7 animet ut eciam demum in agonia omnes oraciones precedentes 7 subsequentes super eum fideliter legat atque dicat cum attencione 7 intencione debita atque deuota.[2]

That this is how Caxton interpreted the significance of the Ars Moriendi in 1490 is shown not only by his inclusion of this paragraph from the CP version, but also by the nature of his abridgment. In general it may be said that if the emphasis of the BCD has been changed (which it has very little) it is in the direction of making it of more rather than less practical value. Thus chapters 3 (interrogations) 4 and 6 (prayers) are almost identical in content with those of the BCD. There are some omissions of content in chapters 1 and 5. One may note particularly the following omissions:

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1. A substantial body of material at the end of ch. 6 in the Latin version has not been included in the ME translation, although Caxton has drawn upon this material for his concluding paragraph; see the note to 96/19 ff., vol. ii, pp. 174-5.

2. MS. Trinity College, Dublin 191, fol. 92^{v}, ll. 9-14. The reference is to the modern foliation in pencil; an original foliation in ink has been disregarded.

(i) Ch. 1 - discussion of the death of sinners and repentance.[1]

(ii) Ch. 1 - discussion of the necessity of death and the providential dispensation of God.[2]

(iii) Ch. 5 - discussion of the failure to prepare for death.[3]

(iv) Ch. 5 - discussion of the neglect of spiritual medicines and of sickness as the just punishment of man by God for sin.[4]

(v) Ch. 5 - discussion of the need for man's deeds and words to be in accord.[5]

What seems to have been omitted in the first Caxton version are a number of general reflections on the nature of death and the necessity for immediate spiritual preparation. These omissions may be accounted for on the assumption that the Ars Moriendi was being put to a more directly practical use. From some other omissions it would appear that the ACD was intended more specifically for the ordinary laity. In this way one can account for the omission of the observation that the study of the art of dying is particularly to be required from religious,[6] and of the reference to religious practice in the event of death.[7] Apart from the omissions

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1. BCD, 4/6-5/6.
2. BCD, 6/14-8/10.
3. BCD, 44/2-9.
4. BCD, 45/6-46/2.
5. BCD, 52/7-53/2.
6. BCD, 9/5-11.
7. BCD, 54/11-55/5.

that we have now considered, the Ars Moriendi has been reduced by the consistent compression of material rather than by the elimination of any substantial part of it. Quotations are supplied in English only for the most part, and not in Latin and English as in the BCD, and the number of merely illustrative quotations has been often reduced. Similarly such illustrative exempla as those of Alexander and the ten Jewish tribes[1] and of the temptations of St Antony[2] have been omitted.

Despite this primary aim, so well-defined in both the BCD and the ACD, it seems clear that the Ars Moriendi continued[3] to be regarded as of significance in a wider devotional context. The introduction to the BCD recognises that the treatise may have a more general extension, although again this recognition is that of Gerson[4] rather than that of the author of the BCD himself:

> ... for douteles it is and may be profitable generaly to alle trewe Cristen men to lerne and haue the crafte 7 knoulache to deye wel.[5]

Caxton's introduction to the ACD also expresses this sense of the relevance of the art of dying to the direction of the whole life of man on earth and not merely to conduct in one's dying moments:

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1. BCD, 15/1-3; see vol. ii, p. 123.

2. BCD, 25/13-26/3; see vol. ii, p. 128.

3. An Ars Moriendi appears as an introduction to Virtue in General, the fourth part of Lorens's Somme le Roi, and of course follows the "De Praeceptis Decalogi" and the "De Confessione" in Gerson's Opusculum. See Francis (1942), xxi-xxvi and O'Connor (1942), 17-21.

4. See vol. ii, p. 114.

5. BCD, 2/11-13.

> ... euery man oughte to entende in suche wyse to lyue in this worlde/ in kepynge the commaundementes of god that he may come to a goode ende/ And that oute of this worlde full of wretchednes 7 tribulacyons he may goo to heuen vnto god and his seyntes in to Ioye perdurable.[1]

The same associations would seem to have led to the compilations which, as we have seen, are such a common feature of the manuscripts containing the BCD. We may now turn to the two groups of texts in order to find out what may have been the original purpose in making these compilations.

Group 1. The poem which begins this compilation is in the form of a warning addressed by Death to the reader. In the first stanza Death warns the reader to be disposed for him "or I my belle rynge".[2] This warning is repeated in the second stanza in which the reader is told that nothing can resist Death's "dredefull spere".[3] These two stanzas are evidently the authority for the picture of Death (as a skeleton with a spear in his right hand and a bell in his left) which accompanies the poem in D and H.[4] The third stanza treats of the transience of life; the fourth of the uncertainty and inevitability of Death's coming, and the fifth warns of God's vengeance for sin and exhorts remembrance of Christ's redemptive sacrifice, an exhortation which is elaborated and developed in the final three stanzas.

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1. ACD, 70/5-9. The introductory paragraph to the ACD may possibly be Caxton's own contribution; at any rate it does not follow that of the CP version, which is faithfully reproduced not only in the BCD but also in such French translations as that of MS. 127 Bibliothèque Municipale, Lille and of the printed edition of Jean Dupré (Paris, c. 1481). Cf., however, its similarity to that of MS. Kk.i.5, p. 63 above.

2. MacCracken, ii (1934), 655, l. 7.

3. MacCracken, ii (1934), 655, l. 8.

4. See p. 3 above.

The poem as a whole is somewhat unsatisfying, since in the course of it the terrifying voice of Death gives way to the voice of Christian wisdom and redemptive hope, although this shift of perspective is not built into the imaginative structure of the poem itself. This kind of imaginative incongruity is not present in the Horologium Sapientiae which follows the poem in all three manuscripts in which it appears, since the disciple can turn finally from the bitterness and despair of the Image of Death to the love of Everlasting Wisdom. But the pattern of thought expressed in the poem and the treatise is the same, and there can be little doubt that they have been brought together as part of a coherent sequence of pieces on death.

The purpose of the translation of the Horologium, as it is set forth by the translator in his introduction, was to sustain the whole life of devotion to Christ, "fort norche sumwhat 7 fede þat graciose fyre of lovue".[1] The chapter on death[2] enforces Wisdom's teaching that:

> Sooþly, a man forto kunne dye, is forto haue his herte and his soule in alle tymes vpwarde to þoo þinges þat beþ abouen....[3]

It does this by means of an image of death that presents itself to the disciple. The image is in the likeness of a young man of thirty who has been brought suddenly to the point of a death for which he has not prepared

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1. Horstmann (1887), 325, ll. 6-7.

2. Ch. 5, Horstmann (1887), 357-65.

3. Horstmann (1887), 358, ll. 3-5; this is the source of the quotation in the BCD, 8/12-9/4.

himself. The greater part of this chapter consists of a dialogue between the image of death and the disciple in which the image presents the bitterness and despair of such a death. The image stresses the significance of an undisposed death in the following terms:

> And þerfore I wepe not sorowynge þe dome of deth, but I wepe for þe harmes of vndisposed dethe; I wepe not for þat I schall passe hennes, but I am sory for þe harmes of þoo dayes þat ben passed vnprofitabil and withoute eny fruyte.[1]

By means of this figure Suso has been able to give imaginative reality to a discourse on the vanity of earthly things and to its spiritual consequences, the sufferings of purgatory. It makes clear to the disciple the urgency of building a life grounded in the unchanging love of Christ. In this way, therefore, the chapter on death in the Horologium can be seen as providing an imperative call to the life of devotion which the treatise as a whole proclaims.

The Tower of All Towers is in fact the first chapter of the Ars Moriendi section of the Somme le Roi. The title is somewhat enigmatic, for the Somme le Roi is not otherwise known by such a name, and for this reason Francis is inclined to suppose that the passage has been extracted from yet another complete English translation no longer extant.[2] The first part of the Ars Moriendi section in The Book of Vices and Virtues[3] develops the theme of the transient life of this world as a spiritual death, and requires

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1. Horstmann (1887), 359, ll. 21-5.

2. Francis (1942), xxxvi.

3. Francis (1942), 68-71. Reference is made throughout to the translation edited by Francis, although The Tower of All Towers has been edited in modern spelling by Comper (1917), 127-30.

a recognition of this reality as a starting-point for the true life of Christian virtue. It provides, therefore, a logical introduction to Virtue in General that follows it:

> þe man ne dieþ not gladly þat haþ not lerned hit, and þerfore lerne to dye, and þan schalt þou kunne lyue. For þer schal no man kunne lyue wel but he haue lerned to dye.[1]

The second part of the Ars Moriendi section is entitled, "How a man schal lerne to hate synne",[2] and bridges the discussion on learning how to die and the following section on how to do well and live well. The fact of death (in either a literal or a metaphorical sense) is no longer a centre of imaginative interest, and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that the compiler of the death section in D, H and F did not include it. One may note, perhaps, that the section on Virtue in General begins by underlining once again the necessity of dying to the world as a starting-point for the life of Christian virtue:

> Now ȝif þou wolte lerne good and to lyue in vertues, lerne first, as I haue seid, to dye. Departe þi gost fro þi body bi þenkynge and by desir, and go out of þis world dyenge; go in-to þe lond of lif, þere non dyeþ ne non eldeþ, þat is in paradis.[3]

It is not difficult to see why the BCD has been brought together with these pieces, for in all of them a recognition of the reality and closeness of physical death is a specific focus for a re-evaluation of human experience in terms of the highest aspirations of the human spirit. The contemplation of death becomes a present necessity both for the life of

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1. Francis (1942), 68, ll. 21-4.
2. Francis (1942), 71-3.
3. Francis (1942), 73, ll. 5-10.

devotion and for a means of adequately confronting that final experience. Despite a difference of emphasis it is perhaps inevitable that these devotional works and the BCD will cover much common ground. One may assume that the compiler was attracted to the BCD by precisely those elements in it which Dr Doyle has emphasised, namely the commendation of death (ch. 1), and the temptations (ch. 2).

Group 2. The first piece in this group, which may be referred to as the Six Masters, begins by defining the value of the subject of tribulation. It is seen as being both pleasing to God and profitable to the people:

> ... þer weren sixe maisters assembliden to gidur, and askiden eche oon of oþere what þey myȝte best speke of þat myȝte moost plese god & were moost profitable to þe peple, and alle þey weren acordid to speke of tribulacioun.[1]

Tribulation is seen as a starting-point of the life of devotion:

> ... for tribulacioun quenchiþ synne, and it lerneþ a man to knowe þe priuytees of god, and tribulacioun makiþ a man to knowe hym-silf and his euen-cristin, and it multiplieþ vertues in a man, and purgith hym and clensith hym lijk as fier dooþ golde; and what man that meekli in herte suffriþ tribulacioun, god is with-inne hym and berith þat heuy charge of tribulacioun wiþ hym; also tribulacioun beyeþ aȝen the tyme þat is lost, and holdiþ a man in þe wey of riȝtwisnes. ...[2]

The Six Masters is followed by a Nota de Paciencia Infirmitatis in Latin, which sets out to show, as we have already observed,[3] that infirmity purges sin and is a source of grace. It therefore recommends that infirmity should be accepted patiently:

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1. Horstman, ii (1896), 390.
2. Horstman, ii (1896), 390.
3. See p. 103 above.

> Pacienter est ergo tolleranda infirmitas corporis que est preparacio salutis, igitur cum graciarum accione est suscipienda, cum cordis leticia est tolleranda.[1]

The third piece on tribulation, The Twelve Profits, as its title indicates, enumerates the specific blessings that tribulation, properly understood, brings to man. It is by far the longest of the three pieces; the Six Masters and the Nota may perhaps be considered as little more than introductory paragraphs to it. The twelve profits that tribulation bestows on man may be listed as follows:

(i) help from God to deliver the soul from the suggestions of the devil, the false joys and riches of the world and the lusts of the flesh.[2]

(ii) freedom from the devil's temptations.[3]

(iii) cleansing of the soul.[4]

(iv) knowledge of God.[5]

(v) self-knowledge.[6]

(vi) payment of man's debts to God, i.e. of the penance owing to God for deadly sin.[7]

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1. Horstman, ii (1896), 391.

2. Horstman, ii (1896), 391-2.

3. Horstman, ii (1896), 393. The point seems to be rather the opposite one from that made at the beginning of ch. 2 of the BCD, 10/8-10: "Knowe alle men doutles that men þat dyen in her last syknesse 7 ende han grettest 7 moost greuous temptacyons, and suche as thei neuere had before in alle her lyf."

4. Horstman, ii (1896), 394.

5. Horstman, ii (1896), 397.

6. Horstman, ii (1896), 399.

7. Horstman, ii (1896), 401; cf. the BCD, pp. 21-2.

(vii) opening of man's heart to receive the grace of God.[1]

(viii) redirection of man's attentions to heavenly comforts.[2]

(ix) bringing of man to the attention of God.[3]

(x) special efficacy of prayer.[4]

(xi) keeping and nourishing of the health of man, especially in meekness.[5]

(xii) token of God's love.[6]

In general it may be said that tribulations draw man's attentions away from the distractions and delights of this world and bring him to understand the deeper realities of the world to come. The BCD, which follows The Twelve Profits in YCW, may in this context have been regarded as treating of the culmination of that human tribulation which brings man nearer to the understanding of God and of eternal truths.

The prologue to Ghostly Battle introduces, on the authority of Job vii.1 and Eph. vi.11-17, the image of life as a fight against spiritual foes, and proceeds to develop it in a schematic fashion:

(i) comparison of man's body to a horse, first in general terms, and then in detail from the bridle (= abstinence) to the stirrups (= humility

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1. Horstman, ii (1896), 402.
2. Horstman, ii (1896), 402.
3. Horstman, ii (1896), 403.
4. Horstman, ii (1896), 404.
5. Horstman, ii (1896), 405.
6. Horstman, ii (1896), 405.

and constancy).[1]

(ii) comparison of man's spiritual qualities to armour for the fight, from the habergeoun (= righteousness) to the spurs (= love and dread of God).[2]

(iii) three arrows, signifying respectively:

(a) the summoning to Judgement.

(b) the reproving of all false Christian men and women.

(c) the sentence of eternal damnation for all wicked men.[3]

But the images of the horse, armour and arrows, although suggestive of an imaginative sequence, do not in fact possess any coherent allegorical unity. The fiction of the three arrows belongs not to man's spiritual struggle in this world but to a new sequence on the four last things - death, judgement, heaven and hell.[4] It is true that heaven and hell are represented as the issues about which the struggle takes place,[5] but there is no imaginative realisation of the struggle itself. It seems clear that the sources upon which the author of Ghostly Battle has drawn have not been fully integrated.[6]

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1. Horstman, ii (1896), 421-3.

2. Horstman, ii (1896), 424-7.

3. Horstman, ii (1896), 429-31.

4. Horstman, ii (1896), 427-36.

5. Horstman, ii (1896), 427.

6. The allegories of horse and armour are drawn from Dives and Pauper, Precept x, ch. 5-6, and The Horse or Armour of Heaven, tract 8 of The Poor Caitiff. The allegory of the three arrows is drawn from a short treatise known as The Three Arrows of Doomsday, printed by Horstman, ii (1896), 446-8. For a discussion of the sources together with the texts of the hitherto unpublished source material see Murray, i (1971), 72-86, and Appendices A-C, 189-224.

The relationship between the BCD and Ghostly Battle does not appear to be as close as that found between other devotional treatises in the manuscript compilations. Certainly the BCD does not share the specific interest in the four last things that appears in Ghostly Battle, nor is the image of the spiritual battle one that is explicit in the BCD. It is true that the image of a struggle might be related to the temptation section of the BCD, but the dramatic potentialities inherent in the confrontation between devils and angels for the soul of the dying man are developed rather in the QS version.[1] The death section of the eschatological part of Ghostly Battle,[2] emphasising the transience of life and the inevitability of death, may have been seen as establishing a link with the BCD, although it has to be admitted that this section is relatively unimportant in the total economy of Ghostly Battle itself. In the final part of Ghostly Battle, however, we find in the stories of the mother and child in prison and the account of the transfiguration[3] the same kind of devotional interest that is to be found in such treatises as the Horologium and The Twelve Profits, namely an opposition between the evils and delusive joys of this world on the one hand, and the bliss of heaven on the other.

The second group of texts containing the BCD seems to be less tightly co-ordinated than the first, although it can still be seen to be held together by the common possession of themes that are fundamental to the

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1. See O'Connor (1942), 8-9.
2. Horstman, ii (1896), 428-9.
3. Horstman, ii (1896), 434-6.

whole life of devotion. It is true, however, that these themes are treated in different ways in the three major texts, and are to some extent incidental to the central preoccupations - tribulation as the source of spiritual understanding and grace, immediate preparation for death and the spiritual battle. It is hardly surprising, however, that the primary function of these treatises should be still apparent after the process of compilation. What deserves to be noted rather is the informed way in which these treatises have been brought together; in the case of the first group in particular there is evidence of a wide and discriminating knowledge.

5. AUDIENCE AND CIRCULATION

It has already been necessary to refer briefly to the general context in which the Ars Moriendi seems to have developed,[1] and it may be as well to begin this section on audience and circulation with a more explicit account of this general background.

The earliest form of an Ars Moriendi seems to be that which serves as an introduction to the Traité de la vertu en général, the first part of the Miroir du monde. If one accepts the authority of most modern scholarship, following Meyer's original hypothesis in 1892, this treatise was the source of an abridged version that appears as the fourth part of Lorens's Somme le Roi (1280).[2] As we have seen,[3] the Ars Moriendi provides a most apposite introduction to a discussion of the virtues and does not reflect the specific preoccupations with death that are characteristic of the BCD. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that until the fifteenth century the Ars Moriendi was understood as an integral element in such compendia of the faith as the Miroir du monde and the Somme le Roi, and entirely defined by that context.

The compendia of the faith are essentially popularisations of the moral

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1. See p. 106, n. 3 above.

2. The relationship between the various versions of the Miroir du monde and the Somme le Roi is fully discussed by E. Brayer, "Contenu, structure et combinaisons du Miroir du monde et de la Somme le Roi", Romania, lxxix (1958), 1-38, 433-70.

3. See pp. 109-10 above.

theology contained in the technical Summae that were common in the thirteenth century, but are also the result, in part at least, of the disciplinary legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215,[1] which seems to have given an impetus to the work of instruction of the laity (and of the secular clergy who were to minister directly to their spiritual needs) in fundamental matters concerning the faith.[2] This concern for the instruction of the laity manifests itself in England notably in the Constitutions of Pecham in 1281 and of Thoresby in 1357.[3] The Constitutions of Thoresby appeared together with an English version (somewhat expanded), known as The Lay Folks' Catechism and translated by John Gaytrick, a monk of St Mary's, York, at the express command of the Archbishop himself.[4] The Catechism set out to supply the minimum knowledge of Christian belief necessary for salvation:

> Oure fadir the Ercebishop, that god almighten saue,
> That ...
> Will that al men be saufe and knawe god almighten,
> And namely thas underloutes that to him langes,
> Has treted and ordayned for commune profet, ...
> That ilkane that vndir him has kepynge of saules,
> Openly on Inglis opon sononndaies

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1. The BCD itself draws upon an edict of that council in its insistence upon the priority of spiritual remedies over physical ones, BCD, 44/10ff.; see the note to 45/2-6, vol. ii, p. 136.

2. Good introductions to the whole subject will be found in E.J. Arnould, Le Manuel des péchés (Paris, 1940), 1-59, and W.A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1955), 189-243.

3. It is clear that Thoresby had Pecham's Constitutions very much in mind when drawing up his own; see T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, The Lay Folks' Catechism, EETS (OS) 118 (London, 1901), xii, xv-xvi.

4. See Simmons and Nolloth (1901), xvii-xviii.

> Teche and preche thaim, that thai haue cure of,
> The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten,
> That principali mai be shewed in this sex thinges:
> In the fourtene poyntes that falles to the trouthe,
> In the ten comandementez that god has gyven us,
> In the seuen Sacrementz that er in hali kirke,
> In seuen dedis of merci until oure euen-cristen;
> In the seuen vertues that ilk man sal use,
> And in the seuen dedely sinnes that man sal refuse.[1]

Such a treatise as the Somme le Roi, although certainly more expansive in its treatment of these fundamental issues, admirably fulfils the need for basic religious instruction in the vernacular. It is necessary only to state the five[2] major divisions of the Somme - The Ten Commandments, The Articles of the Faith, The Seven Deadly Sins, Virtue in General and Particular Virtues - to realise how closely it corresponds to the official requirements of the Church as formulated by successive councils. Its popularity, as evidenced by the number of English translations,[3] is not as a result difficult to explain.

A similarly instructive purpose informs The Poor Caitiff, an extremely popular late fourteenth-century work[4] whose various parts are not infre-

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1. The Lay Folks' Catechism, ll. 42-58, Simmons and Nolloth (1901), pp. 4, 6 and 20. The influence of Pecham's Constitutions will be apparent from a comparison of the corresponding passage: "In quorum remedium discriminum statuendo precipimus ut quilibet sacerdos plebi presidens, quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, die una sollempni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cuiuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos, decem mandata decalogi, duo precepta evangelii, scilicet, gemine caritatis, septem etiam opera misericordie, septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie, septem virtutes principales, ac septem gratie sacramenta." (F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, II.ii (Oxford, 1964), 900-901.)

2. As redefined by Brayer (1958), 2-3.

3. See Francis (1942), ix, xxxii-xl.

4. See Doyle, i (1953), 55.

quently to be found in manuscripts containing the BCD.[1] The intention of The Poor Caitiff, as expressed in its prologue, was to provide a summary of knowledge and belief for the benefit of ordinary unlearned people:

> This tretice compiled of a pore caytif and nedy of gostli help of alle cristen peple, bi þe greet merci and help of god, shal teche symple men 7 wymen of gode wille þe right wey to heuen, if þei wil bisy hem to haue it in mynde 7 wirche þeraftir, w^{t}outen multiplicacion of many bokes. And as a childe willing to ben a clerk bigynneth first at þe grounde þ^{t} is his a.b.c., so he þis desiring to spede þe bettir, bigynneth at þe grounde of helthe þ^{t} is cristen mannes bileue....[2]

Gerson's Opusculum lays the same stress upon the provision of that knowledge which is necessary for salvation. His decision to bring together its three parts - the "De Praeceptis Decalogi", the "De Confessione" (built around an exposition of the Seven Deadly Sins) and the "De Scientia Mortis" - to form a single work[3] is clearly in accord with a pattern that had by the fifteenth century been well established. Moreover, in an introductory letter and general introduction he has stated his intentions explicitly. In the introductory letter, "Ad quemdam Episcopum super Opusculo Tripertito plebibus publicando",[4] he sets out the need for knowledge (adducing Isa. v.13), the kind of knowledge that is necessary for salvation and the means of disseminating such knowledge. It is worth quoting extensively from this letter for it is clear that in it Gerson is addressing himself consciously to the same issues that had concerned

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1. DH (piece 28), F (pieces 9-11, 15-18) and B (pieces 10-14).
2. MS. Douce 288, fol. 1^{r}.
3. See p. 66 above.
4. du Pin, i (1706), 425-6.

Church reformers from the time of the Fourth Lateran Council onwards:

> Haec scientia non alia accipienda est quam cognitio Legis Dei & suorum Mandatorum ad salutem consequendam necessaria sive proficiens, de qua itidem scientia verum est illud Apostolicum. I.Cor. xiv. Ignorans ignorabitur, nam cum qualibet alia ignorantia potest stare salus. Et quoniam multi sunt ex simplicibus quibus non praedicatur verbum, aut non taliter praedicatur quod ad praefatam scientiam deveniant, agente hoc vel ignorantia vel negligentia praedicantium; commodum fore existimavi si velut in tabula quadam tenorem nostrae Legis & suorum Praeceptorum rememorationem sententioso compendio depingerem; aut velut in brevi speculo cernentibus objicerem: quatenus ipsi haberent Curati minus instructi aliquod solidum & aptum quod in toto vel per partes diebus Dominicis & Festivis legere possent suis plebibus, ut scirent & intelligerent ad quid & propter quid & a quo factae sunt: quid insuper credere, quid agere, & quid omittere divina Lege tenentur, & quemadmodum a peccato resurgere.[1]

In the general introduction to the Opusculum Gerson specifies four kinds of Christian for whom his treatise is particularly intended:

> Primo, Sacerdotibus & Curatis illiteratis atque simplicibus qui Confessiones audire debent. Secundo, indoctis quibuscunque personis saecularibus aut Religiosis, quae Ecclesiae solitis Sermonibus aut Praedicationibus pro divinorum Praeceptorum notitia interesse non possunt. Tertio, pueris & juvenibus qui a rudimentis infantiae circa Fidei nostrae generalem tenorem & principalia puncta primitus debent erudiri. Quarto, personis domos Dei vel Hospitalia loca frequentantibus & infirmorum sollicitudinem gerentibus.[2]

In this introduction we are made aware of the nature and extent of the problem of providing religious education which confronted conscientious Churchmen throughout the Middle Ages. The distinction between religious and lay people is not necessarily one between those who possess and those who lack a knowledge and understanding of the fundamental principles of Christian belief. The ordinary laity (or plebs as Gerson would call them)

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1. du Pin, i (1706), 425-6.
2. du Pin, i (1706), 427.

are dependent for their knowledge very largely from confessionals[1] conducted by priests who are themselves "illiteratis atque simplicibus". Again, some means must be found for instructing those who for one reason or another have no immediate access to the services of the Church and hence to the sermons which also play a central role in the dissemination of knowledge. The growth of compendia of the faith in the vernacular[2] is to be seen as a response to the same basic need for education, and hence seeking the same kind of audience. In this larger context of religious instruction it becomes possible to see why the BCD appears in the first section of T with what at first sight may seem to be a number of miscellaneous pieces on such matters as The Ten Commandments, The Seven Deadly Sins and The Twelve Articles of the Faith.[3]

The close of the Middle Ages has been characterised as a period preoccupied with death in its most gruesome aspects.[4] Huizinga discerns three leading motifs in its art and literature, namely regret for past splendours (Ubi sunt), physical decay and the dance of death.[5] In the

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1. The importance of the confessional in the religious instruction of the Middle Ages can hardly be overestimated, for in the confessional the penitent was examined on his religious knowledge and not only on his sins; see Pantin (1955), 191-2.

2. It should perhaps be recalled that the three treatises which constitute the Opusculum originally appeared in the vernacular; see p. 66 above.

3. See pp. 37-9 above.

4. See especially J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924), 124-35, and E. Mâle, L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France, 3e ed. (Paris, 1925), 347-89.

5. Huizinga (1924), 124-5.

course of his discussion Huizinga stresses the psychological need for men of this period to confront the hideousness of death:

> The medieval soul demands a more concrete embodiment of the perishable: that of the putrefying corpse.... Until far into the sixteenth century, tombs are adorned with hideous images of a naked corpse with clenched hands and rigid feet, gaping mouth and bowels crawling with worms. The imagination of those times relished these horrors, without ever looking one stage further, to see how corruption perishes in its turn, and flowers grow where it lay.[1]

The "medieval soul" is a somewhat grand but rather elusive concept. Such particular manifestations of it as can be identified in the Ars Moriendi are not to be placed in the tradition that Huizinga describes, although he himself seems to suppose that they can be.[2] The Ars Moriendi is rather the outcome of the Church's consistent efforts to define those matters of central importance to the salvation of man's soul and to convey them in such a form that they can be received and understood by the whole Christian community.

The BCD and the treatises that are closely related to it in the manuscript anthologies can be seen essentially as carrying out this work of instruction for those who are incapable of receiving it in Latin, that is to say, for the most part, the laity and female religious. Such an audience is clearly indicated by the translator of the Horologium in his preface:

> My moste worschipful lady aftir ȝowre hyȝ worþynesse, 7 derrest-loued goostly douȝhter after ȝour vertuous meeknes, y, ȝowre trewe

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1. Huizinga (1924), 126.

2. Huizinga (1924), 132. He may have in mind, as Mâle (1925), 381-9, clearly does, the QS version and the block books rather than the tradition with which we are here concerned.

> chapeleyne, vnworthy þe name of þe fader, considerynge 3owre excellente wisdame bothe to god and to þe worlde and felynge by experiens by the sparcles of gostly communicacyon ¶I The heet of the fyre of loue to oure lord Jhesu þat he of his grace haþ sente in to 3owre herte; fort norche sumwhat 7 fede þat graciose fyre of lovue, 7 to comfort 3owre gostlye wisdam namelye in þis wikkede worlde þat is fulle of deceyuable wisdam 7 fals feynede loue, I am stirede to wryte aftere myne simple kunnynge to 3owe, as 3e deuowtlye desyrene, a lytele schort tretyse of euerelastynge wisdam 7 þe trewe loue of Jhesu, drawne owt in englische of þat deuowt contemplatyfe boke wrytene clergialye in latyne þe whiche is clepede þe Orloge of wisdame....[1]

The treatise has been translated by a chaplain from a book that is written in a learned, scholarly manner, "clergialye in latyne", for a woman who can be seen from two different perspectives, as a "worschipful lady" and a "goostly dou3hter". The evidence to be derived from the extant manuscripts containing the BCD shows that it reached two kinds of audience that might be distinguished in this way. In the first category we may recall Joan Baron possibly[2] and Lady Elizabeth Beaumont certainly,[3] and in the second Petronilla Wrottesley.[4] Although the two kinds of woman can be distinguished no rigorous separation of the two should be supposed, as the preface to the Horologium makes clear. Close social (as well as merely religious) ties bound the two together, as is evident from the connections of a lady such as Elizabeth Beaumont.[5]

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1. Horstmann (1887), 325, ll. 1-13.

2. See pp. 10-12 above.

3. See pp. 16-20 above. Cf. Dame Isabell Manyngham who must have read C, p. 29 above, and Eleanor Eccleston who is associated with T, p. 41 above.

4. See pp. 9-12 above. Cf. Matilda Hayle, a nun of Barking Abbey, who may have owned the first part of A, p. 53 above.

5. See pp. 16-17 above.

A slightly different audience, corresponding more nearly with that to which the Constitutions of Pecham and Thoresby and the Opusculum of Gerson are addressed, is explicitly acknowledged in Ghostly Battle:

> Also thow owest to forthere the gospelle and susteyne bothe in worde, wylle and deede vn-to thy powere; yef thow be a preste, than preche hit and teche hit dewly and trewly, reuerentely and charytabely, with meke herte and parfyte lyuyng, where-thorowgh sympelle mene that be nat letterede and hane noo power of prechyng and techyng as thow hast, may be stabelede in trewe feyth off goddis lawe to encrese in vertewe and to hate synne; and yef thow be a lay-mane, the behoueth to helpe ande susteyne heme that hane powere ande trewly techyne hit.[1]

One is reminded again that the process of instruction initiated by the Fourth Lateran Council was designed to combat the ignorance of the secular clergy as well as of the laity.

It is appropriate as well as inevitable, therefore, that the BCD should address itself consistently to the needs of both secular and religious. It is significant that the second interrogation in the original Anselmian set has been omitted, since it possesses an exclusive relevance to the regular clergy.[2] Dr Doyle stresses rather the religious than the secular associations of the treatise:

> The Craft of Dying speaks frequently of "religious and other devout persons" in such a way that it is obvious that the former class was foremost in the author's mind, as his own condition and that of the majority of his prospective readers; but the repetition of the alternative denotes his presumption of a potential audience beyond.[3]

But this emphasis seems somewhat unlikely in view of the derivation of the BCD from Gerson's Opusculum and the wider interests which as a result it

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1. Horstman, ii (1896), 424-5.

2. See the note to 29/13-32/2, vol. ii, pp. 129-30.

3. Doyle, i (1953), 221.

necessarily reflects. It is, of course, true that the author of the BCD expresses at times a specific concern for the needs of religious and is familiar with the practices of religious, but at the same time he shows more than an awareness of a potential secular audience. The second and fuller (Gersonian) set of interrogations is addressed to "alle Cristen men, booth seculers 7 religiouse",[1] and whereas the first (Anselmian) set is addressed to "religiouse 7 deuoute persones"[2] there is no reason to suppose that the two adjectives are synonymous. Lady Elizabeth Beaumont might quite properly be described as devout. The introduction to the prayers that constitute the sixth chapter,[3] which may be assumed to be the original work of the author of the BCD, fairly maintains a balance between the interests of secular and religious. The audience that the treatise as a whole seems to presuppose is wide enough to embrace the distinction between secular and religious, and appeals beyond it to the common experience of all Christian men:

> And thou shalt vnderstonde also that not oonly þe deeth of holy martirs is so preciouse, but also the deeth of alle other rightful and good Cristen men....[4]
> And þerfor euery good parfyt Cristen man, and also euery other man, though he be imparfyt and late conuerted from synne....[5]
> But euery good Cristen man is bounden ... to byleue and ful feyth 7 credence yeue not oonly to the principal articles of the feyth but also to alle Holy Wryt in al manere of thinges....[6]

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1. BCD, 32/8-9.
2. BCD, 32/8.
3. BCD, pp. 55-7.
4. BCD, 4/6-8.
5. BCD, 6/4-5.
6. BCD, 11/12-12/3.

What is to be noticed, however, is that the facts of ownership and the modifications introduced into the sources (and particularly into the Anselmian interrogations) point to a somewhat restricted religious audience, namely female religious. As we have seen, there is little to distinguish such religious from the devout lay circles to which they originally belonged and with which they remained in close contact. In most cases where we have good evidence of the original ownership of manuscript books containing the BCD, for example, of William Baron, Elizabeth Beaumont and John Manyngham, there is also good evidence of strong religious connections. In these circumstances, therefore, one can understand that the BCD should address itself both to religious and to secular people. Some of the omissions in the abridged version published by Caxton in 1490 seem to have been made on the supposition of a more specifically lay audience for that work,[1] but the possibility of a religious audience has been by no means excluded.[2]

The BCD seems to have circulated among substantial lay families with strong religious connections in and around the metropolis during the second half of the fifteenth century. These limitations in the distribution of the work seem to correspond to a familiar pattern, and one which accounts for the fact (surprising as it may seem to us) that the Somme le Roi was translated no less than nine times between 1340 (Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt) and 1486 (Caxton's Royal Book) in Midland and South-Eastern dialects. Dr Doyle has justly observed that:

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1. See p. 105 above.

2. See particularly ACD, 79/23-80/3 and 89/21 ff.

> The multiplication of translations indicates a common feeling of a need and its answer, in the appropriate contexts, as well as the discontinuity of medieval literary circulation, even in continuous and sympathetic social circles.[1]

Similarly, in 1490 Caxton produced a new translation from a French version of the CP text even though he was working in the very area in which the BCD was being produced and circulating. Indeed Roger Thorney, possibly the original owner of T, was himself a mercer and a patron of Wynkyn de Worde.[2]

Thus the Ars Moriendi from the earliest times seems to have been associated with the need to instruct the laity in those fundamental matters concerning salvation, and hence finds a regular place in the compendia of faith that were produced to supply that need. Even when it is raised to a new level of seriousness and importance in Gerson's Opusculum it is still directed to the same audience and is still related to wider matters concerning the faith. When it finally becomes a treatise possessing a quite independent validity it nevertheless retains its old associations, for it quickly becomes absorbed again (through the process of compilation) into contexts similar although not identical to those from which it had first issued.

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1. Doyle, i (1953), 73.
2. See p. 41 above.

6. A NOTE ON AUTHORSHIP

The fascinating questions of the authorship of the CP text and its English translation are here relegated to the status of a short note, because the identity of the former is still doubtful and can only be established by an examination of the early Latin copies and related texts, while that of the latter is entirely speculative. O'Connor discusses the matter at some length,[1] without however arriving at any precise conclusions. She does in fact argue for Dominican authorship of the treatise,[2] but none of the evidence that she adduces, either internal or external, can be said to be decisive.

The name of Richard Rolle (c. 1300-1349) has been associated with the Ars Moriendi as a result of the ascriptions in Bale's Index,[3] but the date of the treatise alone shows such an ascription to have been incorrect.[4]

The edition of the CP text printed by the Drucker der Albanuslegende in Cologne in 1474 attributes the work, both in its incipit and colophon, to Matthew of Cracow (c. 1330-1410). Matthew studied at the University of Prague and was professor of theology both at Prague and Heidelberg; in 1405 he became Bishop of Worms.[5] None of the early manuscripts of the CP

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1. O'Connor (1942), 48-60.
2. O'Connor (1942), 55-60.
3. Poole and Bateson (1902), 350.
4. See p. 67 above and cf. the discussion in Allen (1927), 423-5.
5. See NCE, ix (1967), 491-2.

text, however, seems to acknowledge Matthew's authorship,[1] which is not otherwise inherently unlikely.

MS. Trinity College, Dublin 191 assigns the CP text to "Iacobus Iunterbuck ordinis carthusiencium (sic) prope erfordiam".[2] Jacob of Jüterbog (1381-1465), also known as Jacobus de Paradiso, Jacobus de Polonia, Jacobus de Clusa and Jacobus de Erfordia, studied and taught at the University of Cracow, and became rector of the University of Erfurt in 1456.[3] The Trinity manuscript belongs, however, to the late fifteenth century, and the scribe may be confusing the CP text with a De Arte Bene Moriendi ascribed to Jacob in two fifteenth-century editions printed at Leipzig.[4]

The name of Domenico Capranica (1400-1458), Bishop of Fermo,[5] is closely associated with the Ars Moriendi, both in the manuscript texts[6] and in seven of the printed editions (six Florentine and one Venetian) of the Italian translation of the CP text.[7] The early fifteenth-century copies

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1. See O'Connor (1942), 49.

2. MS. Trinity College, Dublin 191, fol. 84^{r}.

3. See The Catholic Encyclopedia, viii (London, 1910), 261-2, W. Stammler, Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon, ii (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936), 568-70 and F. Stegmüller, Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi, iii (Madrid, 1951), 197.

4. See L. Hain, Repertorium Bibliographicum, II.i (Stuttgart and Paris, 1831), p. 151, no. 9339, 9340.

5. See NCE, iii (1967), 90-91.

6. See O'Connor (1942), 72, n. 63, 79-81, 89, 94, 97-100 and 112.

7. See O'Connor (1942), 157, n. 316.

of the CP text, if authentic,[1] would show that Capranica could not in fact have been the author of the Ars Moriendi, although O'Connor may well be right in supposing that he was its Italian translator.[2]

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1. See pp. 65-7 above.

2. See O'Connor (1942), 49.

7. THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

I. The traditional method of establishing a critical text by the formation of a stemma and the rejection of unoriginal readings by recension has been seriously questioned in recent years, most notably perhaps by Prof. Kane in his edition of the A version of Piers Plowman.[1] This may be considered as a reaction to the excessive claims made for the scientific objectivity of that method by its various exponents and the mechanical results it has sometimes produced. Prof. Donaldson, indeed, in a paper on the psychology of editors of medieval texts,[2] has written with wry humour of the apparent desire of those editors for invisibility or even non-existence, but there is room for sympathy with those who make serious attempts to control the subjective impulse. There can be little doubt that a superior text will be assured by the reconstruction of a reliable stemma. The real problem is whether this can ever be possible in particular circumstances. It is fair to point out, however, that the limitations of the traditional method have been reflected in the conservatism of medieval editors who have seldom, it seems, eliminated unoriginal readings on such a basis.

The analysis of agreements in error remains the foundation for determining the genetic relationships of extant manuscripts. There are three possibilities that this method must account for, however, if its findings

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1. G. Kane, Piers Plowman: The A Version (London, 1960), ch. III-IV, 53-172.

2. E.T. Donaldson, "The Psychology of Editors of Middle English Texts", Speaking of Chaucer (London, 1970), 102-18.

are to be secure, namely of coincident error, conjectural emendation and contamination.

An attempt is sometimes made to control the effects of coincident error by drawing a distinction between striking errors and unremarkable ones. This can be dangerous since it attends rather to the result than to the cause. The most striking errors, such as those which result from homoeoteleuton, are often the most likely to have been made independently. But the traditional method can accommodate convergent variation of this order since there is unlikely to be any marked persistence of such agreements in error. This view, however, has been directly challenged by Prof. Kane, who has written:

> Comparison and analysis of the variant readings brought to light a number of well-defined tendencies of variation which acted to produce coincident variants. The discovery of such tendencies seriously diminished confidence in the possibility of distinguishing between genetic groups, groups produced by conflation, and those produced by coincident variation.[1]

If we admit the possibility of coincident variation producing groups as persistent as those resulting from a genetic relationship, then the process of determining genetic groups from variational groups must become extremely hazardous, if not impossible.

It is as well to remind ourselves at the beginning of a linguistic ambiguity in the term coincident variation, which can perhaps lead to logical inconsistencies. It is not, of course, possible that coincidence can account for groups that rival genetic groups, as is easily demonstrable. Given, as in the BCD, eleven extant manuscripts, the chance of any particular group of three emerging will be expressed by the formula:

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1. Kane (1960), 62.

$$\frac{N!}{n!\ (N-n)!}$$

and works out at 165-1. The chance of this group emerging twice will be 165^2, three times $22{,}225^2$ ... and so on. The only conclusion available is that constant groupings do not arise in this way. Prof. Kane's statement, therefore, cannot be a statistical proposition since that would simply be concerned with the mathematical possibilities of a chance concurrence of random factors, but a value judgement having sufficient affinities with the laws of probability as to give it an appearance of being a statistical statement. In one sense, then, Prof. Kane is saying that coincident variants are by no means coincidental, but rather the product of a scribal response that is pre-determined. The likelihood of this proposition can be related to the laws of probability by examining the factors involved.

At any given point in a text a transcription can do one of two things: vary the reading of the exemplar, or reproduce it. The very preservation of a single text requires that a scribe should follow his exemplar on a vast majority of occasions. If this does not happen, as for example in the traditional ballads which have been considerably modified in the course of oral transmission, then the resources of textual criticism are not available, and we can merely print different versions. Experience confirms the fact that scribes followed their exemplars with a degree of fidelity that makes textual criticism in most instances possible. The degree of fidelity is often very surprising, as may be indicated by the numerous and distinctive correspondences in orthography between texts which seem to be related on the basis of substantive agreements. It is not inconsistent with such an observation that textual criticism should also postulate

universal variation, namely that in every act of transcription (except perhaps in very short texts) there will be some variants. A great number of these will be random in the sense that they will be mechanical and unconscious.

Some will be pre-determined by certain scribal habits. Prof. Kane identifies a number of motives for deliberate scribal substitution,[1] notably the desire to make the copy more intelligible. This is evidently likely to happen when the exemplar contains a clearly erroneous reading. But it seems clear, too, that scribes were on occasion prepared to make good readings more explicit[2] or difficult readings more easy, the latter tendency often expressing itself in homoeographs.[3] And yet the analysis of scribal psychology (which certainly needs to be considered by any editor) introduces complications which it is not possible to control. In the first place one cannot use any generalisation about scribal habits to make the necessary postulates about the work of any one particular scribe. About the activities of any scribe we may confidently postulate unconscious variation, but we can in no one instance be confident to assert a willingness to emend the copy-text. Some scribes will be willing, others reluctant; similarly, that which constitutes a difficult reading for one will be sufficiently comprehensible for another. The scribal capacity for conscious alteration of his copy can only be determined by a close analysis of his work on the basis

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1. Kane (1960), 127 ff.
2. Kane (1960), 131.
3. Kane (1960), 132-3.

of some necessary speculations concerning his exemplar. But it is a necessary part of Prof. Kane's principle of editing that such scribal substitution will be readily detectable.

We may allow, however, the fact that a tendency to make such substitutions is shared in varying degrees by every scribe. But it can never be more than a tendency if we are dealing with only one version of a work, and it is therefore not going to be uniform in its operation. One may surely assert that no scribe will be systematic in his substitutions, and that many scribes will substitute randomly. But for an agreement in conscious substitution it is necessary that substitution should be made at the same point. The chances of such a concurrence are not possible to define, and are themselves subject to an indeterminable amount of variation, but it seems reasonable to suppose that they will not often be considerable. Prof. Kane's identification of scribal tendencies derives in the first place from the identification of the absence of such tendencies in many scribes successively and at many different points.[1]

But the formation of variational groups does not depend simply upon a coincidence of motive, however strong those motives may be, and upon a coincidence in the points at which those motives may find practical realisation, but also upon a coincidental identity in the resultant substitutions. It should be evident that the same tendency to substitute can satisfy itself in very different ways in any given context, but again it will not be possible to define the possibilities for divergence, and hence the chances of

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1. Kane (1960), 127-8.

concurrence in the eventual readings. It seems likely that the result of scribal substitutions will be rather to isolate manuscripts in independent readings than to unite them in common ones.

Thus, a scribe is more likely to copy his exemplar than to emend it. A tendency to emend in a given direction is not opposed to this principle but is limited by it, although greater freedom is assumed in some cases than in others. To form a variational group it is necessary that there should be a consistent coincidence in the place of substitution and its specific result. A single agreement between genetically related manuscripts depends simply on the postulate that variation will take place at some one point, and that that variation will persist in more than one successive transcription, a postulate assured by the overwhelming tendency for a scribe to reproduce rather than to vary his source. In these circumstances it is hardly reasonable to suppose that groups produced by coincident variation can rival genetic groups in persistence. Further, since scribal substitution leads to isolative readings, individual scribal habits are capable of identification and their contribution to the formation of variational groups assessed and controlled.

Conjectural emendation is simply the most extreme form that scribal intervention will take, but if it is successful it will obscure the genetic relationships of the manuscripts since the scribe will thus have eliminated the errors by which one is attempting to establish those relationships. But again such emendation is unlikely to be systematic or systematically successful, and some readings will resist any attempt at emendation.

Contamination provides a much more serious difficulty for the traditional

method, in some circumstances perhaps an insuperable one. It is again possible to argue that the process of contamination is unlikely to have been systematic, and that accordingly a majority of errors will still be inherited from the exemplar, and a minority from collation. Nevertheless the difficulties of allowing for contamination are undeniable, and they may be such as to make the formation of a stemma suitable for recension impossible. Contamination will be indicated by widespread cross-groupings of manuscripts, and will not perhaps be difficult to detect. There seems little doubt that the history of the extant manuscripts of the BCD can only be explained with reference to one or more acts of conflation.

And yet perhaps the strongest objection to the validity of the traditional method is more radical than any of the possibilities so far mentioned. Its central logic requires a circularity of argument. It is necessary that an editor should assess the quality of variant readings in order to construct a stemma whereby the quality of those readings can be assessed. In the light of this necessity the claim of scientific objectivity is unjustifiable. Nevertheless it is possible to justify the formation of a stemma, and to show that within certain limitations it still has a value for the textual critic. The judgement of an editor employing such a method may yet not be inferior to that of an editor assessing the tendencies of scribal substitution, although he clearly can no longer claim to be non-existent.

The major difficulty is to define an error with some precision, and requires predication, however minimal, of the characteristics of the archetype, the recovery of which is the whole object of an analysis of genetic relationships. By "error" in this context we can only mean deviations from

that archetype, and we are therefore obliged to make some undisguisably subjective assumptions about it. We clearly cannot demand that the archetype should be grammatically correct or stylistically elegant in a manner that accords with our own preconceptions of correctness and elegance, but what is more serious we cannot always suppose that it will be correct in the sense of reflecting the author's final intention. The extant manuscripts bear witness only to an archetype, and that archetype may itself be several or many removes from the autograph copy, how many removes it is impossible in any given case to be sure. Thus the fact that a reading is erroneous does not in this sense necessarily indicate that it is unoriginal. The erroneous reading may be possessed by the archetype, and the correct reading simply the result of successful emendation. A judgement about originality rather than mere correctness is required. The terminology "agreement in error" is unfortunate because it mistakes the object of reconstruction. The final end, the author's latest intention, may ultimately only be recoverable on the basis of modern conjectural emendation, but the immediate and only possible end of a genetic analysis is the recovery of the archetype of the extant manuscripts. It is better to talk in terms of originality provided that it is remembered that originality is used itself in terms of the archetype. There will inevitably be a large number of variant readings that will elude definition in this way since arguments about originality are so easily reversible. It is easy, too, to be swayed in one's judgement by the numerical superiority of readings whose real worth the establishment of a stemma is designed to test.

The editor of the BCD has an additional resource in the determination

of error, namely the Latin source of the English translation. The variant readings of the English manuscripts have been compared throughout with the Latin text of MS. Trinity College, Dublin 191, but one must be careful not to make any immediate presumption of error on this basis, since there are over 200 extant copies of the CP text, and it is impossible to tell which, if any, was the actual source of the English translation. If one makes some allowance for variation between the Latin copies, it is still possible on a number of occasions to attribute unoriginality to a manuscript reading on the basis of the Latin text.

It is not possible, then, to eliminate individual judgement from the editorial procedure, but it may be possible to limit and postpone the exercise of that judgement. This is the great merit of the calculus as expounded by Greg,[1] wherever, that is, it can be shown to be applicable. It will be necessary to define more cautiously than in the past the value of a stemma that can be formed in these circumstances, but at the least a knowledge of the genetic relationships of the extant manuscripts will afford the editor a valuable indication of the weight of the evidence at his disposal, and help in the all-important matter of deciding upon the copy-text. The very difficulty of determining originality is paradoxically a recommendation of such a method, since inconsistency of interpretation is likely to lead to contradictory results being embodied in a composite text. Only by employing such a method can one hope to combine the necessary sophistication in the analysis of complex detail with a rigorous consistency

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1. W.W. Greg, The Calculus of Variants (Oxford, 1927).

in its application. Those who reject it do not thereby escape the central problems of textual criticism.

II. In the discussion that follows the manuscripts will be quoted in the order DHYCWETQFAB since that order accords with a prior notion of the genetic relationships, although such a notion may not necessarily be exact. When readings are attributed to two or more manuscripts, they will be quoted in the form that belongs to the earlier or earliest manuscript in that order.

The results of a preliminary classification of simple variants without resolution from complex variants is presented in Table 1. All type 2 variants have to be represented by at least five agreements before they are recorded. The agreements are recorded under the sigla assigned to the manuscripts in which they occur; it is assumed, of course, that these readings are opposed to Σ, that is, the reading supported by all the remaining extant manuscripts.

The small number of type 1 variants for D and Y respectively suggests the possibility that they might be ancestors of one or more of the remaining extant manuscripts. An analysis of type 2 variants makes clear the groups DH (97), YCW (60) and YCWE (85). It is clear, too, that D and Y are associated with no other manuscripts in groups of this order of constancy.

In the grouping Σ : DH it is a necessary inference that one of the two constituent groups at least is genetic. If the group DH is not genetic, then its common ancestor must also be the ancestor of the exclusive common ancestor of Σ, and the agreement of D and H (apart from the chance concurrence of variation in them both and with the same result) must ensure

Table 1

Type 1 variants

D (12)	W (34)	F (86)
H (64)	E (145)	A (287)
Y (4)	T (328)	B (134)
C (50)	Q (545)	

Type 2 variants

(a) Forms 9:2

DH (97)	EQ (12)	QA (20)
HQ (5)	TQ (36)	QB (23)
YC (8)	TF (5)	FA (59)
YW (6)	TA (9)	AB (9)
EA (11)	TB (5)	
ET (5)	QF (13)	

(b) Forms 8:3

DHT (13)	YCW (60)	QFA (15)
DHQ (13)	TQB (8)	QAB (6)
DHB (6)	TFA (5)	FAB (5)

(c) Forms 7:4

DHTQ (5)	YCWQ (9)	TFAB (8)
DHQB (8)	YCWB (5)	
YCWE (85)	TQFA (8)	

originality. If one can establish, therefore, that the readings of DH are sometimes unoriginal, then the group DH must be genetic. But it is not possible to demonstrate the originality or unoriginality of any reading, since the process of argument necessarily involves in each case the unprovable assumption that convergent variation cannot account for it. Nevertheless one can make a rational appeal to the laws of probability on the basis of a full collation of the extant manuscripts. One can also assert with greater confidence, perhaps, the unoriginality of certain readings, since there are clear limitations to the scope of conjectural emendation, however intelligent or meddlesome one may regard the scribe to be. At all events, a full collation of the extant manuscripts suggests the following unoriginal readings possessed by DH in common against all other extant manuscripts. (In the presentation of evidence the reading presumed to be original or supported by the majority of the extant manuscripts precedes that presumed to be unoriginal or supported by the minority of extant manuscripts.)

The MS. D in forty-five unoriginal agreements with H

4/15 god seith in] seith; L diuina sapiencia ait. 5/7 a wyse man] wysemen; L sapiens sic ait. 5/13 in] of. 6/7-8 DH rep. of wyse ... maner. 6/11 his wille] hym; L suamque ... voluntatem. 7/1 DH add to. 12/9 DH add ne. 12/10 but] om. 14/7 do] be doon. 15/13 the frute ... redempcion] tp. 16/2 als many] asmoche. 19/7 thynges] thyng. 20/2 is] om. 21/2 shulle] shulde; L possidebitis. 21/3 DH add And. 22/7 and] of. 22/13 ne] vt. 23/12 hym silfe] hemselfe. 27/12 Cantor] Cantorum. 28/6 vos] nos. 29/4 myghty] om.; L potenti. 33/8 For] om.; L Nam. 33/12 DH add ys. 37/3 commend and] om. 42/13 thrise] thys; L ter. 44/12 in] of; L in. 46/3 laufully] lawfull; L legittime. 46/8 drawynge] drawen; L agonizant. 48/13 it is to be considerid] tp. 52/5 But] w^t; L nisi. 54/6 it] om. 54/10 and] om.; L si. 55/3 DH add the. 57/9 that] om.; L illam. 57/11 necligences] necligence; L necligenciarum. 58/9 thi]

the; L tue. 59/11 of] that ys. 61/6 travellis] trauayle; L laboribus. 64/6 thi] the; L tua. 64/6 Aungels] aungell; L angelorum. 64/7 the] om. 65/3 the] thy; L coram. 65/6 they] the; L dissipentur. 66/1 Cryst goddis sone] Crystys son. 67/1 and] om; L 7.

It must be admitted that the present instance underlines the difficulty of making judgements about originality. A number of the forty-five variants adduced may well be merely incorrect, and thus perhaps possessed by the archetype and corrected in the transcription of an exclusive common ancestor of Σ. D and H possess in common some distinctive errors (i.e. such as to defeat the conjectures of the ablest scribe), but these seem to stand for the most part outside the specific grouping of Σ: DH. One may appeal, therefore, to distinctive agreements of DH in complex variants, but where only one and not always the same member of Σ is absent or diverges. There are nine such agreements, and they are as follows:

8/3 the leude] he leved DH; the om. Q; loude A. 33/10 wexith yn] vexeth DH; vexith with in C; groweth in A. 40/12 wouchiste safe and woldiste by] woldest vouchesafe to bye DH; voucest saff to bye A; L redimere voluisti ... emere dignatus es. 49/12-13 hole and full] full and olde DH; ful B; L sanam 7 integram. 49/14 with] w^{t}oute DH; T ref. 55/13 yett] DH om.; Q om. cl.; L adhuc. 58/10 fulfill] foryeue DH; Fulli Q; L suppleas. 61/10 faylynge] falyng DH; sayling W; L defeccione. 62/12 det] darte DH; T om. phr.; L debita.

The evidence may be considered sufficient to guard against the possibilities of convergent variation of D and H from their source, and of conjectural emendation in an exclusive common ancestor of Σ. But it is clear also that the evidence does not amount to a demonstration, and the inferences that it affords are less conclusive of probability than one might have wished. In the present circumstances the possible effects of scribal alteration need seriously to be examined. In many individual cases one would not be able confidently to reject the possibility of scribal correction, in some it

would even appear likely. One is bound to stress, therefore, that a rejection of scribal correction as an explanation for the superior readings of Σ is made to some extent on the number of successful emendations required by such an assumption as well as on the inherent improbability of some particular emendations. One need hardly add that the presence of a Latin source, despite the qualification one must retain about the reliability of its evidence, is of the greatest assistance in determining the possibilities of successful emendation.

On a basis of reasonable probability, then, one may conclude that a not insignificant number of shared readings of D and H are unoriginal, and that accordingly D and H form a genetic group. The relative difficulty of reaching this conclusion makes it reasonable to suppose that the exclusive common ancestor of D and H, if it exists, is not far removed from the archetype of all the extant manuscripts.

Three theoretical possibilities are available; that D and H are derived from an exclusive common ancestor, or that one is the ancestor of the other. The possibility of H as an ancestor of D can reasonably be discounted, not only because of the number of unresolved type 1 variants contained by H (64), but also because of the intrinsic improbability of the successful correction of some twenty-five of these variants. But again it must be admitted that the majority of H's isolative readings are trivial slips which are quite likely to have been emended successfully. It is clear, then, that one should not be impressed by the mere number of type 1 variants, whether large or small, so much as by the intrinsic likelihood of successful emendation that they offer. Nevertheless D exhibits only

twenty-two isolative readings altogether, and there is an evident a priori possibility that it is the direct ancestor of H. Whether this possibility can be shown to be a probability will depend upon the nature of those twenty-two isolative readings.

On four of the twenty-two occasions the reading of H is also isolative against a well-defined agreement of the remaining manuscripts. These are as follows:

> 3/10 man] om. D; off hem H; men B. 39/4 and] nat D; om. H; or Q. 43/12 ham] then D; ther H; om. Q. 61/5 shuldiste] shulde D; shull H.

If D and H are independently derived from a common source, then these readings could be explained by coincident divergence of both, or (assuming the ancestor itself to have been divergent) by the single divergence of D or H. If the latter, then D contains the same reading as the presumed ancestor, and the same result would be assured if D was the ancestor of H.

On a further occasion H is found in agreement with a minority of manuscripts in a clear error resulting from homoeoteleuton:

> 24/15 D ad. hym; om. phr. HWQ.

It is not possible to tell the reading of H's source, and one can equally well assume that it read hym as that it did not.

These five isolative readings of D are theoretically accountable, therefore, on either of the two remaining hypotheses about the relation of D and H. They cannot, then, be used as evidence of that relationship, except negatively, perhaps, to make room for the supposition that H is directly descended from D.

There remain seventeen isolative readings of D for which it is necessary

to assume that H, if a direct descendant, has corrected or varied into conformity with a majority of the remaining manuscripts, on twelve occasions into conformity with all the remaining manuscripts.

One can distinguish perhaps seven instances in which it would be probable that a transcription would introduce the requisite corrections. They are:

> 4/6 not only (... but also)] only nat D. 14/5 it] om. D; om. pass. T. 21/11 satisfy] satyfsy D. 44/7 the] om. D. 45/5 D rep. the. 61/7 D rep. oure. 66/12 Archaungellis] Archaungell D; om. QB.

On the ten remaining occasions it would seem perfectly possible for the successful corrections to have been introduced, the likelihood of it having in fact happened depending presumably upon the relation of the numbers involved to the variational tendencies of H. A logical demonstration does not, however, seem available for such a proposition. The ten variants are as follows:

> 22/2 a] om. D; om. phr. YCWE. 22/6 prolixiori] prolixori D. (note foll. prolixior] prolixio DH; prolixiori E; om. T). 32/4 eius] meum D; om. pass. C; 7 cetera E. (note DH agree in correct translation hys 32/5). 32/13 thus] thys D; L sic. 35/3 this] hys D; L hoc. 38/4 the] hys D; om. pass. YCWETQ. 47/7 deferred] desyred D. (note defyred H). 47/9 before] tofore D. 62/10-11 D rep. merciable ... of thy most. 64/3 creatur] creatore D.

It is apparent that it can never be possible to demonstrate logically that one extant manuscript must be the (latest) ancestor of another extant manuscript. The descendant will on the postulate of universal variation contain a significant number of readings which will isolate it from its exemplar, and which on some occasions will identify it with other extant manuscripts against its exemplar. In those instances where originality cannot be determined (necessarily not a few) one is theoretically at liberty

to attribute deviations not to the supposed descendant but to the presumptive exemplar. In practice it seems reasonable to assume that readings which isolate one member of a genetic group or identify it with a minority of the extant manuscripts are to be attributed to the variational tendency of the manuscript possessing them. But since it is precisely this attribution which is in certain instances rejected in the attempt to establish DH as an ancestral group, it follows that the conclusions reached can be based on no more than a reasonable probability. Some measure of uncertainty can be eliminated. It is possible from the isolative readings of the descendant manuscript to establish an independent tendency of variation, and that tendency can be used to interpret variations which have united manuscripts rather than divided them. The alignment of D and H on opposite sides of a grouping (though never in any constant grouping) can reasonably be interpreted as due to the variational tendency of H, though this judgement is not subject to logical proof. In so far as originality can be detected it would generally seem to lie with D and not with H. One instance in particular, however, is open to doubt, namely:

55/5 fyre] feere DWEB; feir YC; L ignem.

both because of the strength of the support for the reading attested by H and its undoubted correctness. It is necessary here to assume either successful emendation by H or chance variation which coincides with the correct reading, against the possibility of originality. One may point, perhaps, to the relative strength of support for feere, which may encourage a belief that H's reading has been derived from it.[1] Finally, it is reasonable to

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1. It would theoretically be possible to regard feere as a SE variant derived from OE fyr, but this explanation must be doubtful for both D and

cont....

emphasise again the relative infrequency of the separation of D and H in this way.

Doubt as to whether H is directly descended from D must centre on the eleven readings which it possesses and which were not available to it by a process of self-evident correction of D. A judgement on this matter must be related to the extent to which one is committed to the postulate of universal variation. Is one prepared to posit a minimum of thirty isolative variants for a transcription of a text of the length of the BCD to accommodate the proposition of D as the latest ancestor of H? It is as well to be aware of a certain arbitrariness here. Certainly one cannot disguise the subjectivity of the judgement that is required, involving, as it appears to do, some pronouncement on the scope of human fallibility. It is difficult to satisfy all one's doubts, but twenty-two isolative variants in D seem to me insufficient to assure independent derivation of D and H from a common source. Such doubts are eased by the reflection that the existence of a perfect copy does not greatly affect the establishment of a stemma. The copy merely becomes identified with its exemplar, with which it is identical. In the present instance the decision to treat D as the exemplar of H means that seventeen type 1 variants are retained which otherwise would have been eliminated.[1]

B. The reflex of OE ȳ is consistently spelled y in B, e.g. pryde (4^x), fyre (2^x), evidence which is in accord with the reflex of OE y; see pp. 86-7 above. Moreover Dr Murray, i (1971), 31, records the forms fyre, lytyll and pryde as typical of D, while fyre also appears in D at 64/13 and 65/7 in the BCD.

1. The relationship that is proposed for DH here is in accord with that established by Dr Murray, i (1971), 13-15, in her classification of the manuscripts of Ghostly Battle.

The relationship of Y to C, W and E seems in comparison a more straightforward matter to determine. YCW appear together in some sixty agreements against all the remaining extant manuscripts. In the grouping Σ : YCW, therefore, one of the groups at least must be genetic. The group YCW seems to share the following unoriginal readings:

The Manuscripts YCW in twenty-two unoriginal agreements

> 5/11 dewte] duteis; L debiti naturalis. 5/14 day] ende. 8/13 et] ad. 20/1 as] and; L sicut. 20/12 cuncta] om. 25/7 YCW ad. thynge and alle. 26/7-8 as ... (that is ... QB) thynges] om. 28/10 trewe] gode; L verax. 31/2 yef] om. 32/8-9 and ... religiouse] om. 33/12-13 wysedom ... begynnyng of] om. 40/10 a] I. 47/9 hem] hym; L illis. 50/4 than] that. 53/5 craft] craftes; L artem. 54/2 thy] this; L tuorum. 55/2 YCW ad. to. 57/1 so] for; L ita. 63/6 of thy] and; L remissionis. 64/3 that] and; L ut. 65/3 be agast] to agaste hym. 66/11 And ... name of the] om.

The probability that these common readings of YCW are unoriginal seems to me to be very strong indeed. In particular one may note a number of common omissions which would be proof against any attempt at conjectural emendation. On the basis of these readings one can claim with some confidence that the group YCW is genetic.

The disposition of type 1 variants suggests that Y (4) is the parent of C (50) and W (34), and that C and W are independently derived from Y. The independence of C and W within the group YCW seems clear from the number of their isolative readings, C (91), W (56), and from the probable presumption of unoriginality that can be made concerning some of them, C (20), W (20). But the precise relationship within the group YCW cannot be established until the nature of nineteen alterations introduced into Y have been determined. They are as follows:

16/3 'as'] om. CE; as W. 19/2 eras. with 2 (?) superimposed] that C; 7 W; and E. 19/3 publicane's'] publicane CE; publicanes W. 21/9 eras.] If CE; om. W. 21/9 offir't'] offir CE; offerryth W. 27/7 owthir struck through] owdir C; om. W; othir E. 28/13 'þat'] þat CW; om. E. 29/5 ye alt. to he] ye CE; he W. 34/10 foryete, with yete str. thr., sbp.] foryete CE; for W. 35/8 and sbp.] and CE; om. W. 35/8 to haue foryevenes str. thr.] to haue foryevenes CE; om. W. 37/14 For he prayed str. thr., sbp.] for he prayed C; om. WE. 39/9 'to godde'] om. CE; to god W. 44/10 yelde sbp., zeel in marg.] yelde C; zeele WE. 50/7 'for'] om. CWE. 50/11 to do welle like sbp.] to do welle like C; om. W; to devil like E. 63/3 MErcy'ful'] MErcy C; MErcifull W; Merciable E. 65/1 at sbp.] at C; om. WE. 65/8 ete alt. to enter] ete C; entre W; be merye E; L epulentur.

A common pattern is to be found in almost every example. It is, perhaps, possible that the alterations were introduced into Y before the transcription of both C and W, but that C chose consistently to ignore them whereas W did not. But it would seem more likely that the alterations were introduced into Y after C had been transcribed from it, since only one of the alterations appears in C, but before the transcription of W, since almost all the alterations have been incorporated into W. It is possible that the alterations were introduced by the scribe of W, but it must be at least doubtful since W does not always introduce them into his own transcription, although he generally does. The alterations are not for the most part authoritative; some seven original readings at least would seem to have been eliminated in the process. The appearance, then, is sometimes of agreement between Y and W against C, but the reality must always be of Y and C against W. The agreement of Y and C (and in the absence of Y, the simple reading of C) is therefore evidence of Y in these circumstances, and such readings are subsequently to be treated as type 1 variants of Y or type 2 variants of YE.

It would seem probable, also, that a number of interlinear transposi-

tions of the first person for the third person in the prayers that make up ch. 6 of the treatise should be interpreted in the same way. The detailed evidence is as follows:

> 57/3-58/4 first prayer; no transposition YCW. 58/9 me YCW. 58/9 my YCW. 58/10 my YCW. 58/11 me YCW. 58/12 'my' YC; my W. 58/15 'me' YC; me W. 58/15 'me' YCW. 59/5-12 third prayer; no transposition YCW. 60/1 'me' YW; om. C. 60/2 'myn' YW; om. C. (18 subsequent examples on same pattern to 63/8.) 63/9 'me' Y; om. CW. 63/10 'me' Y; om. CW.

The same pattern is again apparent. One should note that the transposition is not systematic, but is co-extensive, and that a reading is never found in C if not in Y and W, and never in W if not in Y. The agreement of Y and C at the least is necessary to assure the reading of Y, and it seems reasonable, therefore, to dismiss agreements of Y and W, and the two isolated readings of Y, as unoriginal.

The relationship of Y, C and W which has been so far indicated would appear to be confirmed by the type 2 variants, where the groups YC (8) and YW (5) occur, but not CW. The group YC presupposes alteration or variation of W into conformity with the remaining extant manuscripts, and the group YW alteration or variation of C. The group CW would presuppose the chance concurrence of CW in variation from Y in an exclusively common direction. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that such a group does not occur. A similar pattern is found in the 8:3 forms of type 2 variants, namely YCE (1), YWE (3), i.e. a variation of W and C respectively towards the remaining extant manuscripts, but not CWE. It is inherently more probable, however, that C and W will sometimes concur in coincidental variation in the direction of the readings supported by other extant manuscripts, for example in common correction of self-evident errors in the

common exemplar. Such groupings as Σ:Y and Σ:YE conceal occasions on which C and W have independently diverged into conformity with the complementary side of the grouping. It follows, however, that an explanation for all such occurrences will be readily available.

There are nine isolative readings of Y altogether where C and W appear in conformity with a majority of the extant manuscripts. They are as follows:

> 13/7 oftyn tymes] of tymes; ofte tyme QA. 13/8 Y rep. þat he; om. TQ. 21/7 gruge] gurch. 43/12 chaungyng] thaungeynge. 57/12 the] tho. 60/9 and] a; om.pass. T. 66/12 and] et; om. T. 66/13 and] et; om. T. 66/13 and] et.

There are a further eight occasions on which Y appears in groups opposed to groups including C and W. They are as follows:

> 5/11 in to] vnto YE; ref. Q. 13/7 or] of YQ; om. DHTB. 35/5 of] om. YB. 38/5 YE ad. the. 56/6 do soo] so do CWQF; soo E; do A. 59/5 vnquenchable] vnquechable YE. 61/12 amerous] amarous YTQ; amorus CWEFA. 67/5 mediacion] meditacion CWEQ.

One may conclude, perhaps, that these seventeen readings are sufficiently plausible in themselves not to challenge the proposition that Y is the latest ancestor of both C and W.[1]

The genetic relationships of both DH and YCW are thus presented as firm conclusions of collation, sufficient to justify a re-classification of all potentially collateral groups. The MSS. H, C and W are eliminated, and all

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1. This conclusion reverses the relationship proposed by Horstman, ii (1896), 389, n. 2: "Corp. and Rawl. are the best Mss., though neither is the original; Reg. closely follows Rawl.; Harl. often alters freely." Horstman's comments would seem not to be restricted to The Twelve Profits, since he takes Rawl. (i.e. W) as his copy-text for the BCD. The new relationship that is proposed here is largely but not entirely in accordance with the conclusions of Dr Murray for Ghostly Battle; see Appendix, pp. 193-7 below.

combinations in which they appear are accordingly re-defined.

III. The results of a re-classification of simple variants without resolution from complex variants are presented in Table 2. A minimum of five agreements is usually necessary for forms 6:2 and 5:3, and three agreements for forms 4:4 to be recorded.

The significant groups that seem to emerge from the three forms of type 2 variants are as follows:

(a) YE (95), FA (61).

(b) DYE (12), YEQ (16), QFA (19).

(c) DYEQ:TFAB (9), DYEB:TQFA (9), DTFA:YEQB (6).

It may be considered doubtful whether forms (b) and (c) can be genuinely said to exhibit any constant groupings at all. If one assumes for the purposes of argument that the above groupings are constant, then it is clear that they are not all mutually consistent. A demonstration of the manuscript relations may be possible once the potential consistent groupings have been examined and defined.

The presumptive constant groupings can yield the following consistent groupings, assuming YE and FA to be inseparable in all possible combinations:

(i) DYE, QFA - with which YEQ is inconsistent.

DYEB:TQFA - with which DYEQ:TFAB, DTFA:YEQB are inconsistent.

(ii) YEQ - with which DYE, QFA are inconsistent.

DYEQ:TFAB - with which DYEB:TQFA, DTFA:YEQB are inconsistent.

(iii) YEQ - with which DYE, QFA are inconsistent.

YEQB:DTFA - with which DYEQ:TFAB, DYEB:TQFA are inconsistent.

Table 2

Type 1 variants

D (117)	T (332)	A (291)
Y (81)	Q (557)	B (137)
E (151)	F (87)	

Type 2 variants

(a) Forms 6:2

DT (13)	EQ (13)	QF (13)
DQ (13)	EA (11)	QA (19)
YE (95)	TQ (35)	QB (23)
YQ (8)	TF (5)	FA (61)
YB (7)	TA (10)	AB (8)
ET (7)	TB (5)	

(b) Forms 5:3

DYE (12)	YEB (7)	QAB (7)
DTQ (5)	TQB (8)	FAB (5)
DQB (8)	TFA (6)	
YEQ (16)	QFA (20)	

(c) Forms 4:4

DYEQ:TFAB (9)	DYTB:EQFA (3)	DTFA:YEQB (6)
DYEF:TQAB (4)	DETQ:YFAB (2)	DFAB:YETQ (4)
DYEB:TQFA (9)	DTQF:YEAB (3)	
DYTQ:EFAB (4)	DTQB:YEFA (4)	

These are not all the combinations that could be formed, but they seem to include the major possibilities. Since (i) reconciles more groupings than (ii) and (iii) it might seem reasonable to pursue the postulates of that grouping. But it is worth examining a little more closely the inconsistent groupings that have to be dismissed as coincidental on the postulates of (i). If YEQ is to be regarded as a random or anomalous group it is difficult to be confident that QFA should be regarded as significant. If one assumes that YE and FA are genetic groups (not an improbable speculation given the disposition of the 6:2 forms of type 2 variants), then the groups YEQ and QFA would emerge by agreement of Q with the exclusive common ancestor of YE, say ε, and FA, say α, respectively. That is to say, the groups YEQ (= εQ), and QFA (= Qα), would have to be understood in the terms applicable to forms 6:2 and not 5:3, and in those terms (cf. DQ (13), TQ (35), QB (23)) they would hardly be regarded as particularly significant. Further, if one accepts QFA as significant one has to account for DYEQ:TFAB and YEQB:DTFA as a result of coincidental factors. The former demands the interchange of Q and TB to opposite sides of the grouping, the latter the interchange of Q and DT, i.e. it is necessary to assume that T and B on the one hand, and D and T on the other, separately but coincidentally detach themselves from their proper groups, and that both coincidentally unite themselves with FA, whilst Q coincidentally detaches itself from FA and coincidentally ranges itself with DYE and YEB respectively. Such a succession of coincidences can recommend itself to no one attempting a demonstration based upon an assumption of the reasonable operation of the laws of probability. One must theoretically, therefore, eliminate QFA from (i).

If one still assumes DYEB:TQFA to be significant one can introduce TFA (though attested only by six readings) into the place vacated by QFA. It will be apparent that this offers a theoretically more satisfactory account of the anomalous groupings DYEQ:TFAB, YEQB:DTFA, since requiring only that B and D respectively interchange with Q.

The assumption that FAB (attested only by five readings) might be a significant group, consistent with DYEQ:TFAB is open to the same objection as that for QFA, namely in this case the theoretical difficulty of accounting for the anomalous groupings DYEB:TQFA, YEQB:DTFA, involving the interchange of B and TQ, B and DT respectively.

The combination YE, DYE (or YEQ), FA, TFA best explains the 4:4 forms that emerge from collation. Both DYEQ:TFAB and DYEB:TQFA are consistent with those groups, although not with one another, and there does not seem to be a theoretical means available for discriminating between them. The collation of all material variants,[1] therefore, cannot be said on a basis of merely statistical analysis to make clear the affinities of Q and B, whilst those suggested for D and T can scarcely be treated with much confidence.

We have been so far concerned with an analysis of potential variational groups, some of which possibly being formed by an agreement in original readings thus point to the reading of the archetype and not to any relationship below that archetype. The calculus requires that one should now

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1. The inclusion of all complex variants resolved into simple variants confirms the classification offered by the simple variants alone; see Table 3.

introduce the notion of originality in order to determine the genetic groups that may be assumed to lie behind them. But it is evident that the variational groups required by the calculus have not in the present case emerged with sufficient clarity to make that method practicable, so that the notion of originality will have to be introduced at all points in an attempt to establish genetic relationship. It is fair to comment, nonetheless, that the statistical analysis encourages one to pursue the implications of DYE or YEQ, and perhaps also TFA as sides of significant groupings.

In the grouping Σ:YE, testified by ninety-five readings, one of the groups at least must necessarily be genetic. The following readings of YE can with varying degrees of probability and assurance be regarded as unoriginal:

The MS. Y in forty-eight unoriginal agreements with E

2/12 YE ad. and women. 2/12 lerne to] om. 4/8 good] true; L bonorum. 5/4 temptacions] temptacion; L temptacionibus. 7/2 resonable] vnresonable. 8/13 vt] et. 9/3 retraccion] detraccion. 10/7 temptacions] temptacion; L temptacionibus. 13/5 vnyte] humilite; L vnitate. 14/4 god] om.; L deo. 15/5 YE ad. goode. 16/3 as] om. 19/3 publicanes] publicane. 20/6 or dethe] om. 22/13 adhibet] adhibe. 23/7 by reason] om.; L racione. 23/8 and] or; L et. 24/5 insolenter] om. 24/9-10 maner of complacence] temptacion; L tanta ... complacencia. 24/12-13 gessit dum] gescit deo. 30/3 the] this. 31/4 deme] deney; L iudicare. 31/8 YE ad. alle. 32/5 YE ad. spirite or hys. 32/11 and] of; L de suo statu 7 salute. 33/3 And] om. 35/5 fully in thyne herte] om.; L ex toto corde. 35/8 askest] om. 36/12 in hys soule ... hymself] om. 39/9 to goddys wyll] om. 40/11 by] to; L. per. 41/3 so] a; L tante. 45/10 all] om.; L omnia. 47/11 suche] seke; L tali. 48/1 wylfully] om.; L voluntariam. 48/6 YE ad. shalle; L remittatur. 49/2 he] itt. 50/6 peryll] perills; L periculum. 51/6 fourth] om. 54/2 dedys] godis; L actuum. 55/4 shulden] shull; L debeant. 55/6 shulden] shullen. 59/5 vnquenchable] vnquechable. 61/8 helpe of] hope and; L auxilium tue miseracionis. 62/10 meryte] meritis; L meritum. 63/10 to] into;

L vnitati. 64/9 YE ad. and the worthi felaship. 64/13 in flaumyng] 7 flamyth; L flammis. 67/2 prayers] prayer; L oraciones.

One can on the basis of these agreements claim with some security that the group YE is genetic.

In the grouping Σ:FA, testified by sixty-one readings, the possibility that FA is genetic would seem to be supported by the following unoriginal readings:

The MS. F in twenty-six unoriginal agreements with A

2/4 lewde] onlerned. 12/7 wete] knowe. 15/11 put on the crose] om.; L in cruce positum. 24/10 a man] he; L homo. 31/10 FA ad. god. 33/1 in all thynges] om.; L per omnia. 33/7 and] om.; L atque. 33/11-12 of god ... drede] om. 34/8 in thyne herte] om.; L cor tuum. 34/13 wytyngly And] om.; L scienter. 36/4 god] hym; L deo. 36/8 y nough] om.; L satis. 40/3 me] hym. 41/7 in] on; L in. 41/13-14 Oracio ... synfull men] om. 44/4 hem self] hym self. 45/2 of] for. 50/4 of] for. (cf. 45/2). 51/5 ys] om.; L legitur. 53/1 cleped] called. 53/3 wele] om.; L bene. 56/11 to] om. 66/5 to] om. (cf. 56/11). 66/7 reioyse] reioye. 67/2 and] om.; L 7. 67/3 FA ad. So.

The claim for FA as a genetic group is statistically less strong than that for YE, but would appear to be a reasonable conclusion nonetheless, based as it is on a sufficient number of shared unoriginal readings as to make convergent variation an unlikely explanation. It is not impossible, however, that some of the agreements of FA represent original readings. The exclusive common ancestor of FA, if it did exist, would seem to have been close to the archetype, perhaps a direct copy of it.

In the analysis that follows it should be recognised that coincidental agreement becomes a factor that always needs to be reckoned with, since judgements concerning originality are sometimes completely reversible, and since the laws of probability have insufficient scope to operate. In

these circumstances all agreements are recorded, followed by judgements about originality which can often be no more than tentative.

The group DYE appears in twelve agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

> 2/5 wonderly] wonderfull. 2/13 to] for to. 12/7 in] abs. 17/8 DYE ad. for. 25/2 himself] hym. 27/7 DYE incl. man. 35/7 7 worship] om.; L ob amorem 7 veneracionem. 48/8 desperacyoun] dispeyre. 48/13 as] om.; L tanquam. 52/7 gret] abs. 57/8 DYE incl. of. 63/9 all thynge] all thynges; L quicquid.

The evidence suggests that the MSS. DYE possess in common some readings that are clearly unoriginal, whilst all the shared readings could plausibly be explained as unoriginal.[1]

The group YEQ appears in sixteen agreements against Σ, i.e. a relationship which is as strongly attested statistically as that for DYE. The agreements that form the group YEQ are as follows:

> 5/11 dette] dettis; L debiti (gen. sg.) 8/1 YEQ incl. the. 18/9 of] for. 27/3 owght] owith. 29/13 these] the; L ille. 30/3 answereth] seith; L respondeat. 44/10 And] abs. 46/12 hele] helth. 47/10 feynyngly] feynynge; L ficte. 49/12 but] om. 54/4 or] and. 54/10 in] abs. 58/2 in to] vnto. 58/6 all thyng] alle thyngis; L omnium (but foll. by sg. vb in English). 63/13 sacrament] sacramentis; L sacramentum. 65/9 YEQ incl. so.

These agreements appear to be in unoriginal readings, which are perhaps unlikely to have arisen independently.

The group QFA cannot have been formed coincidentally, but since the readings shared by these manuscripts suggests a special relationship they will be considered below.[2]

The group TFA appears in six agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

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1. The use of the abbreviations abs. = absent, and incl. = include, is intended to suggest a non-committal attitude towards the nature of the readings thus described.

2. See pp. 186-8 below.

21/14 as] om.; L quasi. 27/5 conferme] conforme; L conformare. 32/13 pryncipall] om.; L principales. 33/3 heresyes and erroures] tp.; L hereses 7 errores. 37/10 Forthermore] om.; L Preterea. 47/12 TFA incl. it.

The statistical support for the group TFA is in its own terms unremarkable, and coincidental agreement becomes a possibility that must seriously be weighed. The agreements are mostly of unoriginal readings, but there is nothing in the nature of these readings to rule out the possibility of convergent variation. The agreements of FA noted above would lead one to assume that any group of which FA, say α, is a member, would be formed by the preservation of original readings. Further, the assumption that TFA is genetic is challenged by the group DT,[1] attested by thirteen agreements, in which DT share readings which seem unoriginal. The agreements of DT are as follows:

6/1 DT incl. to. 6/6 shuld] shull; L debet. 9/4 DT incl. a. 13/13 of] and. 26/11 al] om.; L totum. 29/2 breken] brennen; L tremunt. 35/1 the] thy. 35/5 DT incl. to. 39/10 DT incl. the. 49/6 afore] before. 61/1 dissese] dyseasys; L angustia. 61/5 sorwes] sorow; L doloribus. 66/7 the] abs.

None of the shared readings of DT seems necessarily original, whilst convergent variation, though perhaps possible, does not seem to be a probable explanation for them. The assumption of TFA as a significant group must therefore be abandoned, and the possible implications of DT allowed to remain.

The grouping DYEQ:TFAB is supported by nine readings. They are as follows:

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1. It is also, of course, challenged by the group TQ, which will be considered below, pp. 164-5.

4/1 DYEQ incl. more. 41/2 and] of DYEQ. 47/2 hele] helthe. 47/10 auowes] vowes. 49/11 hem] hym; L ea (pl.) 54/5 the] om.; L tibi sic contingat. 57/12 in to] vnto. 62/14 mediacyon] meditacion; L intercessionem. 65/8 face] vysage.

The evidence clearly suggests that DYEQ has the unoriginal readings on possibly five occasions where originality may be determined, but five readings are not, perhaps, very many. None of the readings really suggests that the group TFAB is united by the possession of unoriginal readings.

The grouping DYEB:TQFA is supported by nine readings. They are as follows:

8/8 that] abs. TQFA. 12/11 nat] abs. 13/5 and] abs. 19/14 TQFA ad. and. 25/3 in] on. 26/5 men] abs. 41/2 the] abs. 46/9 nothyng] any thyng. 48/10 w^{t}stande] w^{t}stondyng; L resistendo.

The agreements are mostly trivial and do not point unambiguously in one direction. On the whole the group DYEB seems the more likely to contain the original readings.

The grouping YEQB:DTFA is supported by six readings. They are as follows:

35/6 in to] vnto YEQB. 38/3 on] in. 38/7 stylly] stille. 48/8 party] parte. 50/2 answeres] answare; L responsiones. 57/13 the] abs.

The group YEQB is perhaps unoriginal in two readings, but convergent variation might well account for them. The evidence is to some extent ambivalent.

Thus YE, FA, DYE, YEQ, DYEQ and possibly DT emerge as significant groups. The affinities of T and B still remain largely unresolved, and it is necessary, therefore, to examine other well-attested groups before attempting to eliminate inconsistent groups.

The group DQ appears in thirteen agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

11/12 or] and. 19/3 in] And; L In. 24/6 tibi] om. 27/8 deeth] dye. 28/11 promysses] promyse; L promissis. 39/11 let hym] om.; L dicat. 39/13 that] thow. 53/6 DQ incl. to. 56/2 But] abs. 56/8 7] abs. 56/12 DQ incl. hem. 62/1 anguysshes] anguyssh; L angustiis. 62/14 7] of; L 7.

In so far as originality can be determined it would generally seem not to lie with DQ. Convergent variation would appear to be a possible explanation for the unoriginal agreements.

The group YQ appears in eight agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

2/12 trewe] abs. 12/1 hem] hym. 22/2 YQ incl. and. 22/2 and] abs. 31/1 thyng] thynges. 49/1 holy] the. 60/5 YQ ad. ende or. 63/5 blames] blame; L culpas.

The agreements are in unoriginal readings in so far as originality can be determined, but there is insufficient evidence here to presume that YQ can be either variationally or genetically significant.

The group YB appears in seven agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

4/2 men] man; L peccatorum. 6/10 conformyng] confirmynge. 9/2 commeth] come. 18/6 clyppe] be clip. 44/9 YB incl. or; L aut. 44/12 YB incl. of. 51/2 YB incl. the.

Three of these readings possibly represent agreement in original readings, whilst the singular for plural at 4/2 might also be original, the proximity of the Latin quotation perhaps encouraging correction. Originality does not seem possible to determine in the remaining three readings. The group would thus seem to be variational rather than genetic, and given also its slight statistical support can be dismissed at this stage in the attempt to discover genetic groups.

The group ET appears in seven agreements against Σ. They are as

follows:

5/2 hastyly or] abs. 7/4 god woll And] om. 7/10 be] abs. 11/10 or] and. 21/14 before] a fore. 37/10 ET incl. that. 59/3-4 clyppyng and most swettest] om.; L amplexum 7 suauissimum.

The agreement is in error on two occasions, but the errors could well have arisen independently.

The group EQ appears in thirteen agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

3/4 the] abs. 8/4 stryfe] stryveth. 8/15 kunne] knowe. 12/5 all] abs. 21/14 that] abs. 21/14 a] abs. 22/10 seca] ceca. 22/13 eternam] ineternum. 28/5 Apostle] gospel. 33/3 forsakest] forsake. 46/6 hele] helthe. 56/8 hem] him. 67/5 mediacion] meditacioun.

In so far as originality can be determined it does not seem to lie with EQ. Further, it is difficult to see how some of these agreements could have arisen independently.

The group EA appears in eleven agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

6/6 ne] nor. 8/6 ne] nor. 24/7 ne] nor. 26/13 to dye wylfully] abs. 28/2 forto ... hym] om. 28/5 a boue all thynges] om. 46/4 disposyng] dispose; L disponendo. 51/9 or] and. 51/10 EA incl. it. 52/3 ne] nor. 64/8 holy] om.

The introduction of nor for ne which accounts for four of these agreements represents a tendency that is identifiable in E and A independently. The agreements seem mostly to be in unoriginal readings, but convergent variation is clearly a possible, if not a probable, explanation for them.

The group TQ appears in thirty-five agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

3/13 TQ incl. hys. 5/2 to] in to; L in. 6/4 also] om.; L eciam. 7/10 sythen] seyth. 8/4 or] and. 8/4 culpes] culpas. 11/3 seyth

seynt Powle] tp. 11/9 auerte] aduerte. 12/2 of the feythe] om.; L fidei. 12/3 the] all holy. 13/10 TQ incl. the. 16/12 neuer] nat; L non. 23/3 TQ incl. 7; L atque. 25/1 And] abs. 30/2 thys] thus; L sic. 30/4 as] so. 30/14 than thanke] Thow thankyst; L Age ... gratias. 31/5 my euyll dedys ... and] om. 33/2 the] abs. 34/1 of] abs. 34/14 leve and] abs. 35/11 thynges] thyng; L ablata. 36/3 that] om. 36/3 neuer] nat; L non. (cf. 16/12). 37/14 TQ incl. seying. 40/6 w^{t}yn] w^{t}; L inter. 45/13 do] doth. 52/10 no man be] tp. 55/10 than] that; L tunc. 56/4 the] abs. 56/5 may and hit] abs. 59/11 oure] ende; L hora. 59/13 the] abs. 64/6 TQ incl. the. 67/3 the] abs.

About twelve of these agreements would seem to be unoriginal, and some of them would perhaps be difficult to account for on a supposition of independent variation, e.g. 7/10, 30/14, 40/6 and 59/11. It seems reasonable to suppose also that some of the agreements are in original readings; the correspondences with the Latin source suggest perhaps four such instances. For the remainder, rather more than half of the total number of agreements, no presumption of originality can be safely made. One might be impressed by the numerical weight of the agreements between T and Q, but it should be pointed out that Q appears extensively in 6:2 forms of type 2 variants, and that T and Q both exhibit a large number of type 1 variants. But the implications of these phenomena are not only in one direction; a marked tendency to vary the reading of the exemplar is likely also to eliminate agreements based upon variation in a common exemplar.

The group TF appears in five agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

3/2 TF incl. the. 8/6 voyde] auoyde. 16/14 inwarde] inwardly. 30/6 Repentest ... yee.] om. 50/10 TF incl. to.

There are too few readings linking T and F in this way to rule out the possibility of convergent variation.

The group TA appears in ten agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

8/4 thus] abs. 8/11-12 that he] to. 13/12 TA incl. olde; L antiquorum. 20/8 TA incl. to. 29/4 vn to] to. 39/4 in] wt. 43/11 that ys aboute hym] om.; L de astantibus. 46/6 there] therfore. 59/12 thy seruaunt] om.; L famuli tui. 64/1 by oure] om.

Convergent variation could account for the majority of these agreements. It is perhaps possible on one or two occasions, e.g. 13/12, 39/4 or 46/6, that an original reading has been preserved.

The group TB appears in five agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

8/6 TB incl. to. 19/3 In the woman] om. 22/7 the] abs. 41/1 TB incl. 7 nomen domini inuocabo. 65/4 the] abs.

These agreements are not distinctive numerically or qualitatively, and convergent variation could account for them. The reading at 41/1 might be original.

The group QF appears in thirteen agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

7/11 QF incl. that. 12/6 QF incl. of. 15/7 to] vppon. 25/11 QF incl. of a synner. 28/2 QF incl. or haue the better. 38/12 of] to. 40/6 QF incl. or take me. 40/14 ofte] om.; L sepe. 41/14 QF incl. a ȝen. 46/14 QF incl. or (and F) gete. 51/9 hele] helthe. 53/5 disposicions] disposicion; L disposicionem. 57/6 lorde Ihesu] tp.

A number of phrases are possessed by Q and F in common which are not found in any of the other extant manuscripts. There is no possibility that they can have arisen independently, and would seem to be related to similar readings that unite QFA. A discussion of all these readings will be found under QFA below.[1]

The group QA appears in nineteen agreements against Σ. They are as

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1. See pp. 186-8 below.

follows:

4/15 the book of] om. 12/1 ful ... credence yeue] tp. 12/9 QA incl. his. 14/9 QA incl. And. 24/2 art thow] tp. 38/7 ceynt] abs. 39/9 owne] om.; L voluntatem suam. 42/11 specially] abs. 46/7 therof] om.; L cuius. 48/7 sayde aboue] tp. 48/13 verrey] abs. 51/1 apon] in. 55/7 man] abs. 55/10 person] man; L persona. 59/1 yow] the. 63/7 QA incl. the. 65/7 the] abs. 66/9 Oracio] om. 66/13 QA incl. and.

Five of these agreements at least would appear to be in unoriginal readings, but convergent variation is a perfectly plausible explanation for them, as it is for all the agreements. Some of the inclusions may derive from the relationship suggested by QFA.

The group QB appears in twenty-three agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

7/4 whan and howe] tp.; L quando 7 qualiter. 11/7 QB incl. the. 16/6 no] abs. 17/7 apayde] paid. 22/3 as] om.; L secundum. 30/7 and] 3if. 31/6 deserued] seruid. 34/12 and] 3ef (cf. 30/7). 38/3 hys] the. 40/7 to] vn to. 40/13 QB incl. thi. 40/14 QB incl. And. 41/6 that] the; L illam. 43/11 hys] abs. 50/1 vn to] to. 50/9 QB incl. to; L saluetur. 51/1 QB incl. the. 54/1 QB ad. v. 57/6 all] om. 58/3 QB incl. w^{t}. 62/7 that] þe; L illius. 66/9 the] abs. 66/12 7 archangels] om.; L 7 archangeli.

Five of these agreements would seem to be in unoriginal readings, but convergent variation could account for them as it could for all of the agreements.

The group AB appears in eight agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

9/2 and] abs. 15/15 the] tho. 23/7 seekenes] sikenesses; L egritudines. 33/7 AB incl. in. 37/1-2 there may noman] he may not. 39/5 hys] abs. 48/10 there] om.; L ibidem. 50/13 to] fro; L homini christiano.

The agreements here may include both original and unoriginal readings, in addition to a few that cannot be defined in these terms. Given also that the numerical support for such a group is slight, it can be dismissed as not significant for the purposes of reconstructing both variational and genetic relationships.

The group DTQ appears in five agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

> 6/7 DTQ incl. of. 35/4 this] thus. 56/9 full] but. 56/12 DTQ incl. hem. 57/1 stondyn] standeth; L periclitantur.

It is not possible to define the quality of most of these readings. One agreement would seem to be in an unoriginal reading, namely singular for plural at 57/1. It is perhaps possible that this should in origin be regarded as a linguistic rather than a material variant, with minority or S -eth for M -en.

The group DQB appears in eight agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

> 9/13 be] abs. 20/6 and] or. 37/15 next] om. 39/14 DQB incl. and. 41/4 and] yef. 42/9 DQB incl. and. 43/3 alle] om.; L omnes. 60/9 maide] mayden.

Two omissions would seem to be shared by this group, but they could well have been made independently. Some of the agreements are possibly in original readings, but none of them are conclusive (or even perhaps suggestive) of a variational or genetic relationship.

The group YEB appears in seven agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

> 3/14 more] abs. 16/3 and] or. 24/7-8 ne presume nat of thy selfe] om. 40/6 me] abs. 45/3 YEB incl. the. 55/4 in] a. 65/5 god] om.; L deus.

The group is characterised by two common omissions, but these could well have arisen coincidentally in the exclusive common ancestor of YE and in B respectively. The evidence for a relationship of YEB below the archetype is thus slight both numerically and qualitatively.

The group TQB appears in eight agreements against Σ. They are as

follows:

> 6/7 the] abs. 34/3 TQB incl. done. 35/2 to] that he. 36/6 euer] abs. 37/15 TQB incl. in me. 39/8 conformyng] confermyng. 44/4 disposeth] dyspose; L disponunt. 57/10 all] om.; L tocius.

Two of the agreements could represent original readings, namely those at 34/3 and 37/15. It is also possible that the plural at 44/4 is original, or that disposeth reflects an earlier minority or S plural. Only one of the agreements, the omission at 57/10, appears certainly unoriginal, and it could well have been made independently.

The group QAB appears in seven agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

> 23/3 seyth seynt Powle] tp. 31/6 I woll] tp. 31/9 meryte] meritis; L merito. 32/11 hele] helth. 50/7 gretly be] tp. 50/11 a] om. 56/4 QAB incl. 3if.

Two of these readings would seem to be unoriginal, but they could well have arisen independently. The group QAB cannot on the basis of these agreements be considered significant.

The group FAB appears in five agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

> 19/5 FAB incl. in. 29/11 that] abs. 48/7 that] as. 52/3 ryches] rychesse. 58/5 stered] stired.

These agreements are not particularly distinctive; one or two of them may possibly be original. One is obliged to conclude that FAB is neither numerically nor qualitatively significant.

The grouping DYEF:TQAB is supported by four readings. They are as follows:

> 24/6 the] thow TQAB. 42/3 Oracio] om. 58/13 for to] to. 60/5 thys] the; L hac.

The unoriginal reading would seem to be shared by TQAB on the three occasions on which originality may be postulated, but convergent variation of all the four manuscripts, or of one or two manuscripts with an exclusive common ancestor of two or three of the manuscripts, seems a reasonable explanation for these agreements.

The grouping DYTQ:EFAB is supported by four readings. They are as follows:

29/12 EFAB incl. the. 42/11 woll] wolde EFAB. 49/12 haue] hathe. 63/1-2 euerlastyng] euerlastingely.

It does not seem possible to offer reliable judgements concerning originality in any of these four cases.

The grouping DYTB:EQFA is supported by three readings. They are as follows:

7/3 nedely] nedis EQFA. 9/10 no] not. 13/5 and] abs.

Again, it does not seem possible to determine originality in respect of such readings.

The grouping DETQ:YFAB is supported by two readings. They are as follows:

21/9 of] abs. YFAB. 26/14 vnto] into.

It is not possible to determine originality in either of these cases.

The grouping DTQF:YEAB is supported by three readings. They are as follows:

16/2 YEAB incl. o. 21/2 as] om. YEAB; L sicut. 50/4 there] abs.

The group DTQF would seem to have the original reading on possibly two occasions but at least one, and YEAB possibly once.

The grouping DTQB:YEFA is supported by four readings. They are as

follows:

> 9/3 YEFA incl. or withdrawynge. 25/8 neuer] nethir YEFA. 31/6 YEFA incl. that. 46/6 furst] abs.

It seems possible that YEFA share the original reading on three occasions, but that the absence of furst at 46/6 may be regarded as a common omission.

The grouping DFAB:YETQ is supported by four readings. They are as follows:

> 11/8 there] abs. YETQ. 36/7 the] thes. 52/4 vnto] to. 61/12 YETQ incl. the.

The agreements are not particularly distinctive, although DFAB may share an original reading at 11/8.

On the basis of this analysis it seems justifiable to eliminate a large number of groups as being insignificant for the purposes of reconstructing the genetic relationship of the extant manuscripts. The significant groups that remain would seem to be the following: DT, YE, EQ, TQ, QF, FA, DYE, YEQ, QFA, DYEQ. It is clear that these groups are not mutually consistent, and it becomes necessary either to remove or explain the inconsistent elements.

IV. The 5:3 forms in Table 2 seem to isolate DYE (12), YEQ (16) and QFA (20) as significant groups. These groups would seem to be confirmed by the occasions on which they appear together on the same side of a grouping that divides the manuscripts in equal numbers. Thus DYE is confirmed by DYEQ (9), DYEF (4) and DYEB (9), and YEQ by DYEQ (9), YETQ (4) and YEQB (6). But one must proceed cautiously in the development of such an argument since

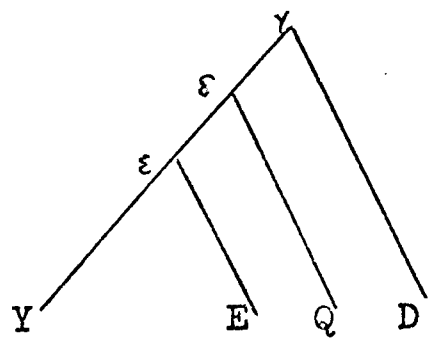
the inferences that the evidence affords do not point unambiguously in one direction. Thus the group TFA is suggested by DTFA (6), TQFA (9) and TFAB (9), i.e. this is firmer statistical evidence from the 4:4 forms than is available either for DYE or YEQ. The group TFA is but poorly represented among the 5:3 forms and could not on such a basis be considered particularly significant. It seems important, therefore, in the 4:4 forms to make clear the distinction between variational and genetic groups, since one of the groups at any given point must presumably offer the reading of the archetype, save for a few possible cases of independent variation in the two lines of descent. Thus the group DYEQ seems to be united by the possession of unoriginal readings, whilst DYEF and DYEB seem to reflect the readings of the archetype. Similarly, the groups YETQ and YEQB seem to share unoriginal readings. Thus the evidence for YEQ as a genetic group as distinct from a variational group would seem strengthened by an analysis of the 4:4 forms. The support for DYE as a genetic group is limited to DYEQ (which could be explained simply as coincidental agreement between D and the exclusive common ancestor of YEQ) and that for TFA is limited to TQFA (which is not particularly strong and could be explained as coincidental variation in exclusive common ancestors of TQ and FA respectively).

The supposition that the MSS. Y, E and Q are genetically related is surely strengthened by the readings uniting E and Q. Since Y and E are derived from an exclusive common ancestor, it is necessary to assume either contamination of Q with E, or of Y with a manuscript that is in these instances at least closer to the archetype. Since contamination may be thought unlikely to produce such readings as <u>ceca</u> and <u>in æternum</u>, it

seems reasonable to infer that some of Y's readings (though not perhaps a very great number) have been derived by contamination. This is not, perhaps, a particularly daring speculation since there is evidence for correction within the group YCW.[1]

The evidence for DYE as a genetic group is less strong but still exists, and does find support among the 4:4 forms (DYEQ). The fact that the groups DYEF and DYEB seem to share original readings may indicate that D is to be regarded as closer to the archetype than Q, although presumably still not a direct copy of it. The group DYEQ is, of course, also consistent with YEQ, so that the relatively persistent support for DYE may be explained by correction of Q (for which there is some evidence, linking Q with the group FA).[2]

The relationship between these four manuscripts that seems to emerge may be expressed diagrammatically as follows:



YE is explained by ε; EQ by correction of Y; YEQ by ε; DYE by γ, with correction of Q; DYEQ by γ.

One of the weaknesses in such an account of the manuscript relationships is the relatively slight support for D as one of four descendants

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1. See pp. 150-51 above.

2. See pp. 186-8 below.

from γ, although this does perhaps accord with the genetic status that has been given to it. But if one accepts the relationship of YEQ one cannot be confident that DYEQ is not the result of independent variation in D and δ, whilst DYE might be open to a similar explanation, namely independent variation in D and ε. Further, such an account has to assume that the group TQ has no genetic significance, and this would seem to be a hazardous assumption to have to make.

The classification of all material variants as simple variants, presented in Table 3, basically confirms the tendencies shown by the initial classification, as is only to be expected, but provides some further evidence whereby one might test the relative strength of the potential groupings suggested by the simple variants alone.

The group TQ is found in agreement in eight complex variants. They are as follows:

> 6/7 neyther] ne TQ; nor A. 10/9 and] abs. TQ; om. pass. F. 23/10 ne] om. phr. E; abs. TQ; nor A. 24/8 of] om. pass. YEB; om. TQ. 26/13 forto] to YB; om. phr. EA; om. TQ. 38/3-4 Also ... crosse] om. as part of larger om. YE; om. TQ (note that om. of TQ is supplied by B in tail margin, having been om. in main body of text). 57/1 yet] om. TQ; hastily A; L nondum. 62/13 hyr] hym TQ; it A; L eam.

Five of these agreements would certainly seem to be in the common possession of unoriginal readings, but since these are common omissions for the most part the possibility of convergent variation cannot be ruled out. Convergent variation may be an intrinsically less likely explanation in the case of hym for hyr at 62/13, where the pronoun refers to L anima, although the proximity of brother could perhaps have suggested the alteration independently. A tendency to alter the personal pronoun in this way

Table 3

Type 1 variants

D (208)	T (509)	A (464)
Y (164)	Q (867)	B (234)
E (282)	F (165)	

Type 2 variants

(a) Forms 6:2

DT (21)	ET (13)	QA (21)
DQ (23)	EQ (19)	QB (32)
DB (13)	EA (17)	FA (105)
YE (155)	TQ (43)	AB (14)
YQ (13)	TA (20)	
YB (11)	QF (21)	

(b) Forms 5:3

DYE (17)	YEB (10)	FAB (12)
DQB (11)	EFA (12)	
YEQ (17)	QFA (23)	

(c) Forms 4:4

DYET (3) / QFAB (2)	DYTQ (6) / EFAB (4)	DQFA (4) / YETB (2)
DYEQ (11) / TFAB (13)	DYTB (3) / EQFA (4)	DFAB (4) / YETQ (6)
DYEF (6) / TQAB (5)	DTQB (8) / YEFA (4)	
DYEB (18) / TQFA (12)	DTFA (7) / YEQB (11)	

can be identified in T and Q independently. This is shown by the following readings:

> 59/8 hyrself] hym sylue Q. 60/7 her] hit TA; me or hym Q; L eam.
> 62/1 hyr] hym T; it A; L eam.

Further, TQ seem to be united by the possession of different readings which nonetheless separate them equally from the readings exhibited by the other extant manuscripts. One may, perhaps, distinguish five such cases:

> 13/13 Ioob] Iacob T; om. pass. Q, but Q's om. might presuppose the reading "Iacob". 26/1 haue] heue T; yeve Q; lyfte FA; L exaltare. (Possibly to be explained by a common exemplar of TQ reading "heue".)
> 30/1 that plyte] plyght of dethe T; plyte of dying Q; suche plite A.
> 31/1 couer] T abridges passage, but reads conuerte; conuerte Q; om. pass. B. 64/13 gryntith] grucheth DE; greueth T; greuyth Q (in inner margin; "grente" in the text is struck through); L stridet.

The final example quoted here, where Q's original grente is wrongly corrected to greuyth (by the same hand, s. xv ex./xvi in., as that responsible for piece 6)[1] and thus into agreement with T, reinforces the belief that the agreements between T and Q cannot all be attributed to coincidental variation, but suggests the possibility that conflation rather than an exclusive common ancestor may be the explanation for them. In this way one might account for the relatively slight statistical support for TQ.

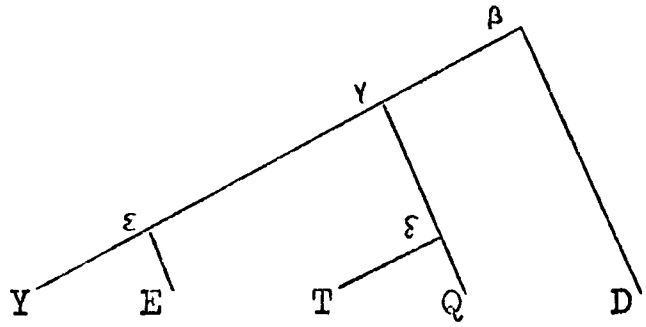
The evidence for a group TQ would seem to place a great strain on any mode of analysis, and is extremely difficult to interpret with assurance. It may be as well to summarise the arguments for and against the proposition that T and Q form a genetic group.

The principal reason for assuming that the group TQ is genetic would be the numerical support for it. It would be necessary in these circumstances, however, to account for the fact that the agreements uniting T and Q are less persistent than one might expect given an exclusive common

ancestor. The final classification of type 1 variants establishes that Q (867) and T (509) are separated from their exemplars by a considerable amount of variation, and it would seem reasonable to assume that sometimes one and sometimes the other will have varied a reading which had already been subject to variation in their source. In this way one may suppose that a good deal of the evidence on which one depends in order to establish a common source will have been removed. As a result the identification of an exclusive common ancestor for T and Q becomes a necessarily more speculative matter. If one accepts this identification it follows that the potential groups DT, EQ, QF, YEQ, QFA and DYEQ cannot in this sense be significant.

The weakness in this analysis of TQ as a genetic group should be evident. The main claim for it is a numerical one, and yet TQ is not in this sense distinguished among 6:2 forms of type 2 variants. The manuscripts which seem to have an exclusive common ancestor, namely YE and FA, are clearly separated statistically. It is true that T and Q exhibit a relatively large number of agreements, but this fact must be set against two other important facts. The first is that Q appears widely among the 6:2 forms of type 2 variants, and thus belongs to groups such as QB (32) which make TQ intelligible in merely statistical terms without resort to a genetic relationship. The second is that the tendency of independent variation shown by T and Q is considerable, and this fact would lead one to expect a correspondingly large number of coincidental agreements. The majority of the agreements uniting T and Q could be explained in this way, whilst a few agreements would appear to be in original readings. A slight

amount of contamination, as suggested by the correction of grente in Q, would account for a few readings that would be otherwise difficult to explain. Further, the postulate that TQ is a genetic group only accounts for TQ itself and does not resolve any of the other relationships suggested by the statistical evidence. For example, in the 4:4 forms of type 2 variants, where the distinction between variational and genetic groups is central, T belongs to the opposite side of the grouping to Q on two important occasions, namely DYEQ:TFAB and DTFA:YEQB. Given that TQ is a genetic group it would be necessary on both occasions to assume correction of T or convergent variation of Q with DYE and YEB. It is, in fact, very difficult to relate a genetic group TQ to the whole series of relationships suggested above[1] for the MSS. D, Y, E and Q. Such a group might be incorporated among those manuscripts in the following way:



There are evident weaknesses in such an hypothesis about the manuscript relationships. One has to recognise at once the lack of evidence to connect T with ε, or with Y and E separately, a weakness underlined by the agreements of Q with YE and E in particular. A fundamental weakness would be the relatively poor support for a group YETQ, expressing the independent variations of γ.

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1. See p. 173 above.

It would be possible, of course, to argue that the evidence for the groups DYE, YEQ and DYEQ is not very strong, and that all could be accommodated by a supposition of convergent variation. But one should recognise that the evidence for these groups is fairly distinctive in its own terms, and on the whole self-consistent. Moreover, if one is inclined to accept such a degree of convergent variation in these instances there should be no difficulty in explaining TQ in a similar fashion.

An analysis of some of the relevant 6:2 forms of type 2 variants produced by resolution of complex variants seems to underline the numerical weakness of the case for TQ and some of the contradictions implicit in it.

The group DT is found in eight complex variants. They are as follows:

2/12 and] to DT; om. YE; howe to Q. 5/5 or strife] abs. DT; of the stryff Q. 17/6 afor] om. DT; by fore Q; L preterita. 31/11 this] thus DT; Q in L, but no equivalent; om. A. 40/11 DT incl. the; om. phr. Q. 57/1 or] nor DT; ref. Q. 57/1 soulis] soule DT; om. Q; L anime (pl.). 65/8 ete] enter DT; be merye E; om. pass. F; L epulentur.

Three of these agreements are clearly in unoriginal readings, and two of them, soule (57/1) and enter (65/8) are not obvious cases of independent variation, although that must remain a possible explanation for them.

The group DQ is found in ten complex variants. They are as follows:

4/10 in to] vnto DQ; to YE. 7/11 ne] neyther DQ; nor EFA; ner T. 10/13 mennys] mannes DQ; om. A. 18/9 no man shulde] ther shuld noman DQ; shuld no man T. 20/3 faylen] fallen DQ; fayleth T. 26/2 drawe] haue drawen DQ; ... drawin E; om. pass. T. 31/3 it be] om. DQ; be Y; om. pass. T; om. cl. FA. 40/13 into] to DQ; vnto B. 42/10 tho] the DQ; thilke F. 51/9 the which] whyche DQ; þ^{t} A.

Most of these agreements seem to be in trivial readings which could, perhaps, have arisen independently. The agreement in fallen (20/3), however, would certainly appear to be in an unoriginal reading, unlikely to have occurred

independently. The agreement at 26/2 would seem explicable in relation to the group DYEQ, with such correction of Y as was assumed to account for the agreements between E and Q.

The group ET is found in six complex variants. They are as follows:

35/12 valewe] valoure ET; halfe Q. 44/10 a] abs. ET; ref. Q. 49/14 before] a fore ET; om. pass. Q. 51/2 ne] and D; nor ET. 56/12 and] abs. ET; or A. 59/9 thilke] that ylke D; that ET.

None of these agreements would seem to be particularly distinctive, save perhaps that at 35/12.

The group EQ is found in six complex variants. They are as follows:

10/8 Knowe] Howe EQ; om. F; So it is þ^{t} A; L Sciendum. 14/12 hit] abs. EQ; om. phr. T. 27/8 other] or EQ; nor A. 33/12 as hit] om. EQ; þ^{t} A; L sicut. 47/14 to] the EQ; om. phr. A. 65/5 dysparbled] dispartlid Y; disperkelede EQ; disparbyle T; scatered A.

These readings confirm the conclusion drawn from the simple variants.[1] Three of the agreements are in unoriginal readings, and two of them (10/8, 47/14) are not likely to have arisen independently. The agreement at 65/5 would also seem to argue against convergent variation.

The group QB is found in nine complex variants. They are as follows:

13/7 hys] the Y; abs. QB. 14/12 shullyn] abs. DTFA; ȝe shall QB. 18/3 hit] om. T; he QB. 25/9 which QB] om. DYET; he F; 7 he A. 26/7 as] om. pass. Y; that is QB. 38/1 T incl. 7 cetera; domine QB. 52/8 w^{t}] om. phr. T; and QB. 63/1 mery] om. pass. T; merciable QB; om. A; L iocundissime. 66/5 thyne] worthyest T; abs. QB.

The reading which QB share at 25/9 may well be original, and there are a few others about which no secure postulate of originality can be made. But the reading merciable at 63/1 would seem to be certainly unoriginal, and not, perhaps, very likely to have occurred independently.

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1. See p. 164 above.

These readings place the group TQ in a perspective that makes it unnecessary, if not unwise, to assume that it is genetic. The problem, therefore, remains as to where T can properly be placed among the extant manuscripts, if indeed a relationship can be established for it below the archetype. There do seem to be some affinities between D and T, but if they are genetically significant it would seem necessary to relate them to a group DYETQ. The evidence for such a group, it has to be admitted, is not very great, but some exists, and this will now be considered.

The statistical evidence for DT is not decisive, but it is worth pointing out that D is not clearly related to any other extant manuscript in this manner except Q.[1] The agreements of DT are certainly in unoriginal readings, wherever, that is, it is possible to discern originality, but it cannot be shown that the majority of them could not have arisen independently, whilst the relatively small number of readings involved means that they cannot be made subject to the laws of probability. It is possible that a few of the readings uniting DT are in original readings, an impression which is, perhaps, reinforced by some rather more general considerations. The affinities of D cannot be securely established, but in general one might say that the text offered by D is good. It exhibits a number of readings that are clearly erroneous, but is free from such major omissions as characterise, for example, the exclusive common ancestor of YE. The general reliability of D inclines one to suppose that it cannot have been far removed from the archetype, although such a judgement involves an

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1. The relationship of DH is, of course, ignored in this discussion.

assertion concerning the accuracy of transcription which it is impossible to prove. Nevertheless, if one wishes to identify a genetic relationship between D and T one is required to assume that D is at least three removes from the archetype, and this seems to me very unlikely. Similarly, there is some evidence to suggest that T is not far removed from the archetype, apart from the general lack of evidence to connect it with other of the extant manuscripts. It has already been noticed that T is associated with groups (namely TFAB and DTFA) that seem to possess the original readings.[1] In addition, there seem to be three possible occasions on which T preserves an original reading against that supported by all the remaining extant manuscripts. They are as follows:

> 37/15 all the] viii T; all Q; L octo. 44/13 T incl. lefte; L omnibus postpositis. 53/9 they ... grypen] he taketh the and grypeth T; L accesserit seu se inuoluerit.

On another occasion T shares with A the reading olde which might well be original, since the Latin reads antiquorum.[2] It must be recognised that four examples form a very unsafe basis from which to draw general conclusions, and indeed various explanations are available; contamination with a manuscript above the archetype and intelligent scribal correction are both possibilities. But such evidence does add to the general impression that T is a good independent witness.[3]

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1. See pp. 161-2 above.

2. See pp. 165-6 above.

3. Note also that at 35/4 ff. T preserves the order of Gerson's fifth and sixth interrogations; see vol. ii, p. 131.

The evidence linking D and T must, then, be seen in this wider perspective. The considerations that might still incline one to look for a relationship below the archetype are chiefly two: unoriginal agreements between D and T which are difficult to explain as a result of coincidental factors, and evidence for a group DYETQ to which such agreements between D and T must ultimately be referred.

Two unoriginal readings shared by DT seem notable examples of the first kind of consideration. These are the readings brennen for breken (29/2) and enter for ete (65/8). But these are isolated cases and provide no sufficient basis for assuming a genetic relationship. The context of breken - "they breken not in the furneyse" (29/2) - is such as to suggest brennen independently, and the appearance of enter could be accounted for in a similar way - "And late ryghtfull men ete and reioyse in the syght of god" (65/8-9). One might recall, in this context, that the reading of Y seems to have been corrected from ete to enter.[1]

As far as the second consideration is concerned, the possession of original readings by the group FAB may suggest a group DYETQ. The group FAB is found in seven complex variants. They are as follows:

> 2/12 and] to DT; om. YE; howe to Q. 15/14 FAB incl. a; ref. Q. 16/6 before] to fore D; afore YE; ref. T; om. pass. Q. 19/10-11 often] ofte tymes DYET; ofte tyme Q. 32/4 commendamus] commendo DYTQ; 7 cetera E. 48/13 in ful bileue] full beleued DYQ; om. phr. E; fully in beleue T. 53/6 tyl] vn to DEQ; vntill that Y; vnto that T.

The evidence afforded by these readings provides some useful indications of the manuscript relationships, but it cannot all be said to point emphatically

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1. See p. 151 above.

to a genetic group DYETQ. In the first place it should be acknowledged that the evidence is numerically slight, and must be treated cautiously as a result. Two of the readings, at least (namely at 15/14 and 16/6) have also to be dismissed, since no clear conclusions can be elicited from them. The variants offered at 2/12 might be interpreted as implying a grouping FAB:DYETQ, but it would be difficult to be sure which of the two constituent groups offers the original reading. The same may be said of the variants at 19/10-11, where one might equally suppose that FAB have omitted tyme(s) as that DYETQ have added it. The reading commendamus at 32/4, however, is certainly original, and given the relationship of YE, it would seem that DYETQ can be identified in the possession of an unoriginal reading. It is easy to see how this particular error could have arisen, namely repetition of the earlier "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum" (31/11-32/1), and it would seem very unlikely that such an error would have occurred five times independently. But it is not impossible for it to have occurred twice independently, and one might, therefore, refer the error independently to T and to the exclusive common ancestor of DYEQ. The variants at 48/13 suggest more directly such a division of the manuscripts. The reading attested by DYQ, which would seem unoriginal, presumably represents that of DYEQ, although E has here omitted the whole phrase. But the variant found in T is a good deal closer to the reading attested by FAB than that by DYEQ, so that one must again recognise that T bears witness to an original reading when DYEQ do not. The final reading, at 53/6, offers a different grouping of the extant manuscripts in a trivial reading which (assuming Y to have been corrected) places T within a group DYETQ.

But the evidence as a whole does not permit one to see T in terms of such a group, and is not inconsistent with the supposition that DYEQ is genetic, and that T is not related to such a group below the archetype.

The groups DYTQ and DETQ might (on the identification of an exclusive common ancestor for YE) bear witness to a group DYETQ, but the evidence for them is slender numerically and qualitatively,[1] and easily explained as chance concurrence of T with DYQ and DEQ respectively, so that attention could again be directed to a genetic group DYEQ.

The final conclusion of this analysis would seem to be, therefore, that T cannot be identified in any genetic relationship.

There is some additional support among the complex variants for the groups DYE, YEQ and DYEQ. Although this support is slight it is worth quoting in full because of the genetic significance of the relationships involved.

The group DYE is found in five complex variants. They are as follows:

3/11 to] for to DYE; om. pass. Q; om. longer pass. FA. 5/8 and an] and DYE; om. Q; an FA. 6/6 beleue] beleueth DYE; bileued F. 13/12 perseuerant] perseuerantly DYE; om. pass. Q. 60/7 the] a DYE; that T; om. B.

No certain conclusions can be drawn from this evidence, although the agreements of DYE may be assumed to be in unoriginal readings in most cases. A further reading at 30/7 would seem to identify DYE against the other extant manuscripts:

30/7 myghtest haue] had D; haddiste YE; mi3t haue Q.

In some cases one may, perhaps, assume that DYE represent DYEQ where Q has

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1. See p. 170 above.

an omission, for example, at 3/11, 5/8 and 13/12. In the remaining cases, and certainly that at 30/7, it is necessary to assume that Q has been corrected into conformity with original readings.

The group YEQ appears in one complex variant. It is as follows:

54/3 in to] vnto YEQ; to B.

The group DYEQ appears in two complex variants. They are as follows:

20/14 of] DYEQ; om. cl. T; om. pass. FB; w^t A. 24/2 DYEQ incl. of; ref. A.

It now becomes necessary to consider the group QFA which cannot in simple genetic terms be reconciled with the groups YEQ and DYEQ. There is no possibility that the shared readings of QFA can have arisen independently, and the presence of such an anomalous group must be explained by conflation. The group QFA appears in twenty agreements against Σ. They are as follows:

4/11 the] abs. 5/14 QFA incl. a (interlinear in Q). 11/9 QFA incl. or (and Q) turne away. 12/11 QFA incl. or skornynges. 15/8 QFA incl. or castyng. 17/13 QFA incl. or (7 A) encresid. 27/1 QFA incl. or makith amendis. 31/10 putte] I put QFA. 33/11 the] abs. 36/8 of] to; L salutis. 36/10 of] om.; L de. 37/3-4 all in fere] holly (7 FA); L se totum. 38/11 of] to. 42/4 QFA incl. or (and F) be nye. 46/1 QFA incl. or monysshid. 49/1 QFA incl. or wrappid. 50/4 therto] to (? Q putto in error for putte, perhaps, with om. of (ther) to). 55/8 hit] abs. 60/7 and] abs. 66/13 vertewes] virtutes.

The group QFA also appears in three complex variants. They are as follows:

4/12 and] ref. T; abs. QFA. 5/2 or] om. phr. ET; abs. QFA. 60/7 a] that T; the QFA; om. B.

Further, the group QFA is identifiable by the possession of different readings which nevertheless isolate the constituent manuscripts equally in these respects from the remaining extant manuscripts. One might distinguish

four such readings, and these are as follows:

> 25/6 QF incl. by mynd; in his mynde A. 41/14 Q incl. ... 7 socoure ... or bring; socoure 7 bryng FA. 46/12 behotyng] behotynges T; beheste Q; bihestyng FA. 48/9 Q incl. or monysche hym; 7 monysh FA.

It is worth recalling at this point the agreements uniting the two manuscripts Q and F,[1] and to note that they are in agreement in eight complex variants. The agreements are as follows:

> 7/5 QF incl. and; om. pass. T. 12/8 QF incl. or haue the better; or haue his entent A. 26/2 adoune] om. pass. E; om. overlapping pass. T; down QF; lowe A. 32/3 sey thus] ref. T; sey ... thus QF. 50/10 to] om. QF; ryght A; L nimis. 56/6 do soo] soo E; so done QF; do A. 64/7 QF incl. of; om. cl. A. 66/5 QF incl. and; to A.

In addition one might note the readings "or manyshingis" (Q), "or monysshyng" (F), at 13/1, which are not found in any other extant manuscript and which thus confirm the special relationship that must exist between Q and F.

> The group QA appears in two complex variants. They are as follows:
>
> 28/5 of] therof D; of temptacion T; abs. QA. 42/14 ascryued] ascrybyd T; askryed QA.

There is nothing remarkable about these agreements, which are thus in accord with the evidence provided by the simple variants.[2] It is worth noting, however, one reading which would seem to unite QA against all the other extant manuscripts:

> 46/14 prouyde] provide purvey Q; purueye A.

It will be noticed that ten agreements between QFA, four between QF and possibly one between QA consist of synonymous expressions or doublets so

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1. See p. 166 above.

2. See pp. 166-7 above.

familiar in the prose of the later fifteenth century. The status of these expressions is all-important in determining the manuscript relationships. The probability is that they are unoriginal, since the exclusive common ancestor of FA is unlikely to have been two removes from the archetype, and one would therefore have to assume either that DYETB is genetic, or that more than one descendant has independently and co-extensively eliminated the synonyms. But there are few readings beyond the synonyms themselves to suggest an exclusive common ancestor for DYETB, whereas the agreements of Q with YE and DYE, and the independence of T and B, would seem strongly to reject such an hypothesis. Further, the coincidence involved in the second alternative would place too great a strain on any form of reasoning that justifies itself by appeals to the laws of probability. The common possession of these readings by Q and FA cannot be attributed to coincidental variation, and yet the affinities of Q do not otherwise seem to lie with the group FA. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume contamination of Q with some member of the potential family to which the group FA belongs, perhaps the ancestor of FA, or F itself, or a faithful copy of F, but not A or any descendant of A. The readings that identify Q with FA would seem perfectly in accord with such a supposition.

The MS. B resists identification with any one other manuscript or group of manuscripts, and this fact would seem best explained by assuming that B is itself a direct copy of the archetype, or a member of a branch not otherwise represented. This would also explain why combinations involving B, for example, DYEB and FAB, seem sometimes to suggest originality. The evidence for the group FAB has already been considered.[1] The group

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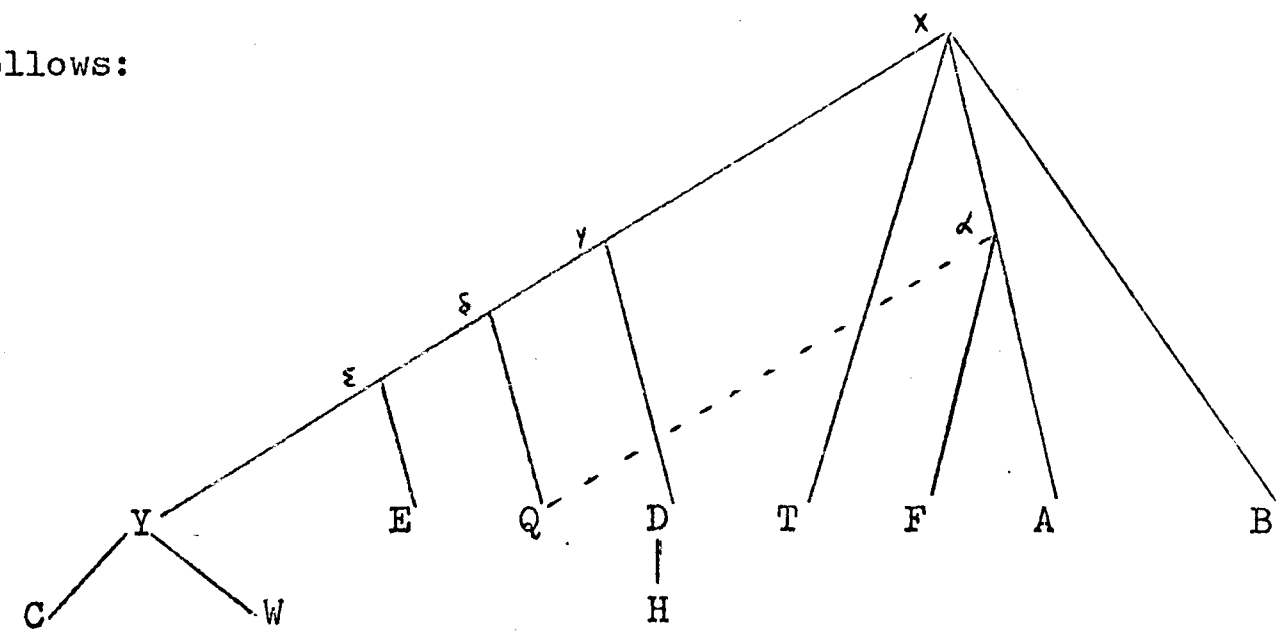
1. See pp. 183-5 above.

DYEB is found in nine complex variants. They are as follows:

> 4/12 and] DYEB; ref. T; abs. QFA. 5/4 hym] hym sylf TQF; om. A. 7/10 may or] or may T; byn or Q; om. FA. 19/8 and] abs. TFA; om. pass. Q. 23/5 hit] abs. TFA; om. pass. Q. 24/14 of hymself] om. TQA; ref. F. 24/15 w^{t}yn ('wip'in B)] in TA; om. Q; byfore F. 26/1 haue] heue T; yeve Q; lyfte FA. 46/12 behotyng] behotynges T; beheste Q; bihestyng FA.

A few of these readings may represent convergent variation between B and a common ancestor of DYE. A number of the readings offered by DYEB would seem original, namely those at 7/10, 24/14, 24/15, 26/1 and 46/12, although some of these judgements would depend upon the implicit acceptance of relationships previously proposed, and thus, perhaps, would be merely the result of that essential circularity inherent in the application of the genetic history of manuscripts to textual criticism. Nevertheless, it would seem legitimate to explain some of these agreements between DYEB simply as the result of divergence among the other extant manuscripts. In other words, the group DYEB is to be treated as coincidental and variational rather than genetic.

V. The whole series of manuscript affiliations suggested by the analysis of all the material variants may be represented diagrammatically as follows:



It has to be recognised that the relationships that the diagram presupposes remain merely a possibility; it is far removed from the logical demonstration that would be the desirable end of a genetic analysis. In particular, one could not easily reject an assertion that the groups DYE, YEQ and DYEQ are all the product of coincidental or variational rather than genetic factors. Moreover, it is clear that the formation of such a stemma requires the assumption of conflation in at least one major case, and also in a number of relatively minor ones which are nevertheless implicit in the general view of the manuscript affiliations that is here put forward. It is impossible to say whether the presence of conflated manuscripts in the genetic history of the extant copies of the BCD was in fact restricted to the cases that have been assumed. This is one more reason why one must treat the results of this analysis with some caution. If one were to stress these deficiencies in the evidence and in the analysis of that evidence, it might become necessary to regard ε, Q, D, T, α and B as of equal stemmatic value. It is suggested, however, that one can define the history of the extant manuscripts with greater precision than this, and in the ways that the diagram proposes. But it is finally a matter of greater or lesser probability, and not of certainty.

The central implication of the analysis of material variants, however, is not, perhaps, a matter of great uncertainty. It is that the choice of copy-text must lie between T and B. The evidence of the type 1 variants must determine the issue in favour of B, since none of the extant manuscripts possesses type 1 variants that are consistently original. Indeed, on a preliminary classification, seventy of B's type 1 variants were considered

unoriginal against more than two hundred and twenty of T's.

VI. It would seem legitimate at this point to introduce external knowledge of the extant manuscripts in order to confirm or clarify the conclusions that seem authorised by the analysis of material variants.

The MSS. Y and C would appear to have been written by the same hand. The contents and sequence of Y and W are identical, except for two final pieces added in a smaller hand in Y. The name of William Harlow appears in both manuscript books. There is, therefore, some reason to presume that these three manuscripts were produced in the same scriptorium. These facts would seem to be in accord with the conclusions put forward on pp. 150-51 that corrections were introduced into Y after the copying of C but before the copying of W. They are certainly confirmation of the close genetic relationship that exists between all three manuscripts.[1]

The contents and lay-out of H reinforce the conclusion that it is a direct copy of D.[2]

Dr Doyle has also noted a resemblance between D and the first of the hands responsible for T, and suggests that both manuscripts could perhaps be attributed to the same workshop.[3] Thus one might account for the textual affinities of D and T[4] without finding it necessary to attribute a genetic relationship to them.

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1. For evidence of W's dependence upon Y, see p. 32 above.
2. See pp. 13-16 above.
3. See p. 39 above.
4. See pp. 161, 179 and 181-5 above.

The MSS. F and A would appear to have been written by the same hand, and thus there is some confirmation of the close relationship that has been proposed for them.

The MS. B would seem to be one of the earliest extant manuscripts of the BCD, and was for this very reason printed by Comper in her modernised edition of the text. The Summary Catalogue dates it to "about the middle of the 15th cent.",[1] although it dates the preceding section of the manuscript book, written by the same hand, to c. 1430-40.[2] These dates may be a little too early, although they cannot be far wrong.[3] The hand is a clear one, and the whole text of the BCD has been preserved in a good condition. Thus the decision to print B, authorised by the analysis of the material variants, would seem to be supported by palaeographical evidence and the physical facts relating to the extant manuscript book.

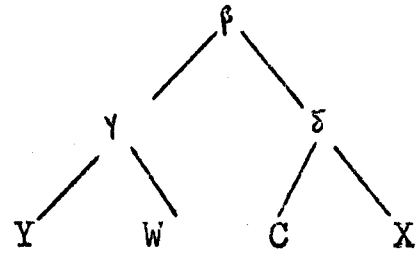
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1. Madan and Craster, II.i (1922), 309.
2. Madan and Craster, II.i (1922), 308.
3. See p. 60 above.

APPENDIX

The Classification of the Manuscripts of A Treatise of Ghostly Battle

Dr Murray's analysis of the relationship of MSS. Y, C, W and X (MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 142) - I use my own sigla which differ from those of Dr Murray - may be expressed diagrammatically as follows:



Dr Murray shows that W has a number of peculiar errors which make it impossible for Y to have been copied from it.[1] She observes that Y "has no large omissions peculiar to itself, and its peculiar errors are very minor and could easily be corrected by a scribe copying its text".[2] She nevertheless concludes that

> ... while it is thus possible that R (i.e. W) was copied directly from K (i.e. Y), it cannot be regarded as at all established, and the evidence could be as convincingly interpreted as showing that RK descend from a common ancestor.[3]

But a convincing interpretation does require to be made out for deriving YW from a common ancestor, since the nature and paucity of Y's peculiar errors strongly argue for making Y the latest ancestor of W. Although it may not be possible to demonstrate that one extant manuscript is the latest

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1. Murray, i (1971), 15-16.
2. Murray, i (1971), 16.
3. Murray, i (1971), 16.

ancestor of another extant manuscript,[1] the textual critic is not thereby absolved from the task of weighing up the probable factors involved and of seeking conclusions that are in accord with the laws of probability.

C and X must be closely related, as is clear from their common possession of a number of errors.[2] They are either derived from an exclusive common ancestor, or the one is a copy of the other. The evidence adduced by Dr Murray to show that X is terminal is convincing,[3] that for C less so.[4]

In her presentation of the evidence to show that C is terminal, Dr Murray does not seem to have assessed the likelihood of successful correction of its peculiar errors by a copyist, nor to have distinguished between simple and complex variants. Thus at 42/16 C reads bisse against blys, and at 45/16 repeats welth, readings that will almost certainly be correctly emended in the process of copying. One may similarly explain C's peculiar readings at 10/11, 20/15, 21/3, 21/16 and 25/16. At 15/2 C reads righ against bryght, but it is hardly a peculiar error since Y reads right. Moreover the word appears in a context which makes clear the correct reading: "clene, bryght, and smothe" (15/2) taking up the "clene, bryght, and smothe" of 14/18-15/1. At 44/15 C reads "that þer" against ther, but X reads "þat it fariþ by many" for "ther be many faren". C's reading that at 44/15 cannot therefore be accurately described as "not shared by any other manu-

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1. See pp. 147-8 above.
2. Murray, i (1971), 17.
3. Murray, i (1971), 15, and n. 2.
4. Murray, i (1971), 15, and n. 1.

script".[1] At 45/11 C reads his against hyr, but Y reads 't'his and W þis. Moreover, an alert scribe (e.g. that of X) will correct the possessive pronoun into agreement with its subject shé (45/11). At 48/1 C omits lyue in "lyue esyly", but X also varies at this point, reading "esely lyue", a variation which may be accounted for by C's omission. There is no difficulty in attributing the necessary correction to the scribe of X, for lyue appears both at 47/18 and at 48/2. The reading fly attributed to C for stye at 44/13 would be difficult to account for, but C does in fact read sty and not fly. One may conclude, therefore, that Dr Murray has not shown that C is terminal, and that it is more reasonable to assume that C is the latest ancestor of X, especially because such a supposition fits better the whole body of manuscript variation.

The evidence adduced by Dr Murray to establish YW as a variational group[2] does not seem secure, since again no distinction is made between simple and complex variants and no allowance seems to have been made for the fact that alterations have been introduced into Y.[3] Thus at 23/3 YW transpose "thow mayst", but CX read "þan maiste þou". Such a complex variant does not isolate YW as a variational group but unites YWCX in the transposition and isolates CX in the addition of þan. The variational group YW also depends upon complex variants at 1/11, 2/17, 6/16 and 45/11, which do not seem to have been adequately resolved by Dr Murray and are fully

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1. Murray, i (1971), 15, n. 1.
2. Murray, i (1971), 15, and n. 3.
3. Cf. pp. 150-51 above.

consistent with the grouping YWCX. Further, at 42/3 YW read knowyngys against knowyng, and omit "of all thyngys", but CX omit "for they ... be done" (42/3-4). It is at the least a possible assumption that the larger omission of CX has concealed agreements here connecting YW and CX. At 7/11 and 45/12 the agreement between Y and W depends upon alterations introduced into Y. The nature and extent of such variations need to be examined before they can be used as evidence for a variational group YW independent of CX. There remain four agreements connecting YW that are cited by Dr Murray, namely at 22/9, 26/4, 27/4 and 46/10. There seems no reason why these could not have been successfully corrected by C.

Nine variants are adduced by Dr Murray in support of a random grouping YWE,[1] but at 41/3, 41/7, 42/3-4 and 42/4 CX omit the passages in which these readings occur. One is theoretically at liberty to assume that these omissions conceal the grouping YW(CX)E. At 39/10 the group YWE depends upon an alteration introduced into Y. The remaining agreements, at 17/16, 23/3, 26/18 and 43/13, are trifling ones, easily explained by alteration or variation in C. Such agreements between YWE are not, therefore, to be considered random, but are consistent with the larger grouping YWCXE. The postulate of universal variation will account for the occasional absence of CX from such a group.

Eight variants are adduced by Dr Murray in support of a random grouping YCW.[2] Three of these, however, at 10/15-16, 40/9 and 41/16, are

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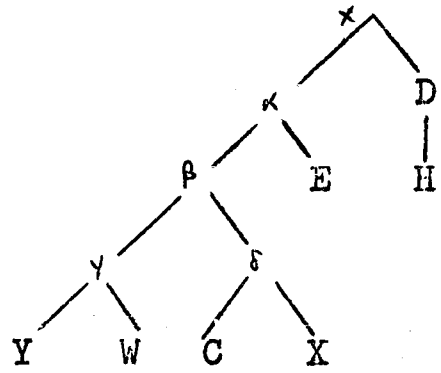
1. Murray, i (1971), 19.

2. Murray, i (1971), 19.

complex variants of the type Σ:YCW:X in which X's reading is closely related to that of YCW. The remaining variants, at 16/9, 20/18, 25/13, 36/16 and 40/15, are explicable on the assumption of independent alteration or variation in X. Again, the postulate of universal variation is sufficient to account for the occasional absence of X from the group YWCX.

If one distinguishes, therefore, between simple and complex variants, it becomes possible to perceive the unity of YWCX and no longer necessary to accept the existence of anomalous and unexplained groupings.

In conclusion Dr Murray observes that "there is surprisingly little material variation among the seven manuscripts",[1] but her analysis obliges us to construct the following stemma:



Such a stemma does not seem to be entirely consistent with her observation, since it has to assume so many intermediate acts of transcription. There is much to be said for modifying it by making Y the exclusive common ancestor of C, W and X, and CX an ancestral group.

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1. Murray, i (1971), 19.

8. PRINCIPLES OF EDITING

I. If one accepts the manuscript affiliations suggested by an analysis of all material variants (at best a matter of probability and not of certainty), it is clear that the authority of B is only relative and not absolute. One can, indeed, go further than this and claim that T has an equal authority. Such a claim must, of course, be qualified by a recognition of the extent of its independent variations, but the value of T as a guide to the readings of the archetype is surely undeniable. In so far as it is possible to reconstruct α from the readings of F and A there is another good source of evidence for x. The general reliability of D has already been underlined.[1] The restricted value of B is also indicated by one important negative consideration, namely the number of unoriginal type 1 variants that it possesses. There seem to be seventy-two clear examples of these, and they are as follows:

2/3 owte] om. 4/3 wytnesseth] wytnesseth and seyth T; seyth B; L attestante. 4/10 B ad. þat they dye in. 5/8 owte] om. (cf. 2/3). 6/10 committing] com. 6/11 to] vnto YE; in B; L voluntati. 7/1 ynough] om. 8/11 sewrely] semly. 11/5 Iohn] Austyn. 13/8 fortefyed] om. pass. Q; mortifyed B. 14/9 verrey] om.; L vera. 14/12 ye] om. 16/10 wytnesseth] seith; L teste (cf. 4/3). 17/12 ys] om. 17/13 augmented] encressed; L augmentatur. 18/3 to] om. phr. A; om. B; L ad. 19/2 and] that Y; om. B. 20/10 or short tyme] or short FA; om. B. 21/10 affliccion] affliccions; L afflictionem. 21/14 sythem] om.; L cum. 26/5 temptacion] om. 27/2 forthermore] also A; therfore B; L immo. 27/7 wyll] whyle. 27/9-10 though ... dethe and] om. 29/6 seekenes tribulacions] om. 30/4 well as] om.; L tam bene. 30/6 thow] om. pass. TF; om. B. 30/13 dethe and hys] dethe and T; om. B. 31/1-2 w^t ... fully] om. pass. T; om. B. 31/5 thy] þe; L tuum. 31/10 sey] seyde thys oft T; seide B. 35/9 hem ... any] om.

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1. See pp. 181-2 above.

35/13 thy] the; L tuorum. 37/5 late ... and] om. 38/8 wordys] worde; L verbis. 38/15 so ... wepe] postposed B. 39/1 B ad. in token þ^{t}. 39/2 B rep. wiþ teres of his herte. 41/12 redy meane] remedyous spede; L promptissimam mediatricem. 41/13 O] om. pass. FA; om. B. 43/1 blessed] om.; L beatissime. 43/5 thryse] ref. Q; om. B; L ter. 43/11 of] or. 45/10 aduersytees] aduersite; L aduersa. 46/2 takyng] om.; L recipiendo. 46/9 woll] wolde; L vult. 46/11 veyne and a] om.; L inanem. 49/12-13 hole and] and olde DH; om. B; L sanam 7. 50/12 B ad. that. 52/7 B ad. ful. 53/3 And] That. 53/4 besyly] om. A; visily B. 53/7 for in trouthe] For sothe B; L in veritate. 53/10 B ad. Syker ... syknesse. 55/4 hyr] om.; L sui. 55/6 prayers] praier; L de oracionibus. 57/2 B ad. In ... for the. 59/14 hygh iuge] grete nede Q; Iyuynge B; L altissimum iudicem. 61/7 oure] thy; L nostro. 61/7 thy] youre; L tuo. 61/10 and consumyng] om.; L 7 consumpcione. 62/3 and lorde] om.; L 7 domine. 63/4 mercyes] mercy; L miseracionum tuarum. 64/5 passeth] passed; L egrediente. 64/7 mete] mette; L subueniat. 64/10 resceue] resceiued; L excipiat. 65/1 that] they; L quod. 65/1 punyssheth] punysshen; L cruciat. 65/2 B ad. they. 65/2 foule] false E; folewen B; L nequissimus. 65/2 hys] this E; thy A; the B; L suo. 65/5 aryse] arysith; L exurgat.

It does not follow that the remaining type 1 variants of B are original, but that no a priori judgement about originality can be advanced for them. None of the type 1 variants of B, it should be stressed, seems to be original on such a basis.

It is clear that the evidence of the material variants, both positive and negative, points to an archetype that is superior to B. In these circumstances it seems reasonable to reject the editorial practice of printing the reading of the copy-text except when it is manifestly in error. It is often claimed in defence of such a practice that a uniform text is only thereby guaranteed. But there would seem to be two basic objections to this view. First, such uniformity is dependent upon one's ability to detect unoriginal readings in the guise of manifest errors. The judgements required here must be ultimately subjective and thus open to the same kind of inconsistency that it is desired to eliminate. Secondly, the retention

of unoriginal readings in a text cannot be sanctioned by the fact that a relatively large rather than a relatively small number of such readings are incorporated within the modern edition. Such a practice in the present case would fail to use to the full the material evidence provided by the extant manuscripts, and could be regarded as an evasion of the editorial responsibility to produce the most authoritative text that can be reliably reconstructed.

The present edition, therefore, takes the form of a reconstruction, based on B, of the archetype. The weight of all the material evidence is taken into account at each point at which substantive variation occurs. It follows, therefore, that readings supported by B alone, or by B together with a number of relatively unauthoritative manuscripts (as defined in the stemma on p. 189), will not necessarily be followed even though they make good sense. The guiding criterion will be the merit of such readings in relation to other readings of equal or superior stemmatic authority. It may be the case, also, that a good reading may possess poor stemmatic authority, and it would seem to be the business of an editor to restore such a reading to its proper place in the text in all instances where he can show good reason for so doing. Uniformity may well not be assured by such a thoroughgoing exercise of the individual editorial judgement, but the elimination of a significant number of unoriginal readings should be assured. Wherever it is not possible to discriminate between variant readings the reading supported by the copy-text will be allowed to stand. No special virtue, however, can be claimed for such a practice, as Prof. Donaldson has made clear in his discussion on the psychology of medieval

editors:

> Perhaps we ought to devise a new symbol, to be placed prominently in the text when authority is being docilely followed, one that means "Editor has no idea what to read here, and hence is taking refuge, as usual, in dear old MS. Pf." A small ostrich, with head in the sand, might do.[1]

The treatment of B, then, is in accord with Greg's doctrine of the copy-text.[2] A distinction is drawn between substantive readings and accidentals, so that the readings of B will normally only be decisive as far as the latter are concerned. In accordance with this principle all material (i.e. substantive) variants are recorded in the footnotes to the text, but linguistic variants are not. This practice provides all the evidence whereby the genealogical hypothesis may be tested, and gives at each pcint all the substantive evidence for the reading of the archetype.

II. The present edition attempts to record systematically all material variants but not linguistic variants. By material variant is understood all differences of words (and their grammatical forms) and of word-order, and by linguistic variant all differences in the forms of words other than grammatical, whether historical, dialectal or orthographical. The term "grammatical" is here taken to refer to such distinctions as that of number in nouns or mood and tense in verbs. Thus the distinction between thinketh/ thinken is material if the one is present 3 sg. indicative, and the other present plural, but linguistic if thinketh is a (Southern) dialectal variant

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1. Donaldson (1970), 116.

2. W.W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text", Studies in Bibliography, iii (1950-51), 19-36.

of the plural. Similarly the distinction between brother/brethren would be considered a material one, unless brother were to be interpreted as a survival of the OE uninflected plural brōðor. At 54/13 B's reading brother is interpreted as such a plural, although the latest record of it by OED is c. 1400. The form breþer (FA) is a mutated plural (Northern), developed perhaps from the dative singular brēðer on the analogy of the type fōt, dative singular fēt, nominative/accusative plural fēt. The form brethern (DHYCWTQ) is derived from the addition of the (Southern) weak plural inflexion -en to brether, and brothirn (E) from a similar addition to the plural brother. All these forms are considered to be simply linguistic variants of brother plural, and hence they are not recorded.

The principle is in general sufficiently clear, but there are difficulties in its detailed application as the example of brother might indicate. A number of particular instances are discussed below in order to indicate what the editorial practice in this respect has been.

A clear illustration of the distinction drawn between grammatical variants and linguistic variants is found in the treatment of the forms of the second person singular of verbs.

In OE the inflexion -(e)st appears in:

(i) present 2 sg. indicative of all verbs.

(ii) past 2 sg. indicative of weak verbs.

One may note, therefore, that the past 2 sg. indicative of strong verbs in the OE period has no corresponding subjunctive, i.e. there is no distinct form of the verb available to express non-factual statements. But the term "subjunctive" has nevertheless been used where there is no formal distinc-

tion to be made. Thus Prof. Campbell writes:

> In lWS -st is frequently extended to the 2nd sg. past subj., so that past indic. and subj. are no longer distinguished (since in pl. of subj. -en > -on).[1]

The same mode of analysis would seem to have been sanctioned by Jespersen:

> That these -st forms should really be considered as subjunctives is clear from the not infrequent occurrence of the form be'st.[2]

The confusion that exists in such a use of the term has been well pointed out by Prof. Visser:

> It is clear that this ambiguous treatment of the subject offends against the definition of "subjunctive" as a special form; its fallaciousness becomes increasingly evident when it is applied to later English, where, on account of the disappearance or decay of flexional endings, the number of monomorphous forms grows overwhelmingly large.[3]

What grammarians such as Prof. Campbell and Jespersen evidently mean is that the indicative form of the verb becomes increasingly used in non-factual statements. The indicative has, of course, always been used in OE side by side with the subjunctive in non-factual statements since the language possesses means other than verbal inflexions to indicate the modality of an utterance. The history of the language is in part a shift away from verbal inflexions in favour of alternative means of expressing modality, e.g. modal conjunctions, modal auxiliaries, inversion of word-order and so on.

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1. Campbell (1959), § 752.

2. O. Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar, vi, repr. (Northampton, 1965), § 2.61.

3. F.Th. Visser, An Historical Syntax of the English Language, ii (Leiden, 1966), 787.

But the historical development of the language can sometimes lead to the introduction of formal distinctions as well as to the elimination of them. Thus the extension of the ending -est to the past 2 sg. indicative of strong verbs in the course of ME makes possible in the later language a formal distinction that is not available to the earlier. It would be legitimate, therefore, to describe forms without -est as subjunctives provided that we can establish that forms with -est are alone used in factual statements. Similarly, in a language that uses art exclusively in factual statements be'st can be developed as an authentic subjunctive.

At 25/3 YCW read witt against woot. It would seem that in YCW the verb has been construed as parallel to lowe, meke (25/2), L "humiliet atque deprimat", but it is in fact an indicative (L ignorat) in an object clause dependent upon thenkynge. At 33/3 EQ read forsake against forsakist. It is perhaps possible that an imperative is intended here. At 34/8 DH read aske against askist in a series of direct questions in which the consistent use of indicative forms may suggest that aske is intended merely as a variant of the indicative. Similarly T reads "pray thow" against "p^{u} praiest" at 35/2, although the inversion of word-order may indicate that a subjunctive is intended. At 54/1 DHT read may against maist, translating L potes, and at 60/1 A reads may against maist. In both cases we seem to be concerned with factual statements and thus with variants of the indicative. At 60/5 DHET read wolt against wyl. The reading wyl is a subjunctive (L suscipias) in an object clause dependent upon an expression of volition, and hence wolt indicative must be regarded as a grammatical variant. At 63/4-5 Q reads do against doost and voide against voydest

where subjunctives or possibly imperatives seem intended. At 66/4 TQF read mayst against may in a final clause where there would seem to be an opposition between indicative and subjunctive forms of the modal auxiliary.

DH read kepte for past 2 sg. in factual statements at 26/2 and 26/3. Similarly D reads shulde (H shull) for shuldest at 61/5 in temporal function. At 39/6 DHYCWE read bought against boughtist; at 41/6 DHF read suffred against suffredyst and at 62/2 DHA read suffred against suffredyst. All the statements in which these verbs occur are merely factual. At 61/6 A reads cried against crydest in a factual statement, although translating L clamares, a subjunctive since the clause is consecutive.

The past tense of the verbs that we have just been considering is formed by means of a dental suffix so that -est is the regular indicative ending of the past 2 sg. - OE cēptest, bohtest, sceoldest. The verbs cry and suffer are both F loan-words in ME but are conjugated on the pattern of weak verbs. It would seem, therefore, that the use of the forms kepte past 2 sg., etc. in factual statements must be a sign of inflexional decay and is not to be related to the earlier modal distinction in these verbs. Such forms are therefore to be interpreted as historical variants of the indicative and hence are not recorded.

If it can be shown that the ending -est has been lost in factual statements then it follows that it is not possible to claim that forms without -est in non-factual statements are subjunctives. Thus at 30/7 DH read had against haddiste (YCWE), myghtest haue (TFAB) and miȝt haue (Q) in a conditional clause. The reading shared by DH, however, is to be interpreted as a variant of the indicative in the light of the forms without

-est in factual statements. The readings of Q are less easy to interpret in this respect than those of DH, but since -est in factual statements is preserved more regularly in Q such a form as miȝt in a conditional clause can perhaps justifiably be treated as a subjunctive.

At 30/4 DH read shulde against shuldest in modal function; at 34/12 DHYCW read myght against mightist, the modal auxiliary, in a conditional clause and at 34/3 EQ read myght against myghtist. In all three cases we seem to possess variant forms of the indicative.

At 36/1 DH read myght against mayst (8*), myghttuste (Q), variants which clearly show the preservation of -st(e) in Q, even in non-factual statements. The form myght would be historically regular as a descendant of OE meaht/miht present 2 sg. indicative; the form mayst is an analogical formation in ME. In the context of the language of DH it seems that myght can properly be treated as such an historical variant. At 36/3 Q reads miȝt against mayst, but in the context of the language of Q the assumption of an historical variant seems much less secure. One should note that Q reads and against and that at 36/3 which might have suggested a conditional clause and hence a subjunctive.

The three categories of linguistic variant have been adopted as a convenient means of classifying material as well as for the distinctions they imply. The term "historical" is the broadest of the three and refers to variants that arise from various processes in the historical development of a language.

MnE would normally make a material distinction between again and against, but the distinction between the two must originally have been

linguistic. MnE again is derived from OE ongeán, ongén, while against is derived from lOE or eME agen, ayen + -es (genitive, formed after tó-geánes, to-yenes where the genitive is governed by to) + -t (parasitic). Both forms are used in the same function and sense in ME (although developing at the same time their subsequently distinctive uses) and can in the present context be treated as linguistic variants.

The addition of the adverbial genitive ending -s to adverbs and conjunctions gives rise to the following linguistic variants:

13/7 ofte tymes/ofte tyme (QA).

19/10-11 often tymes/ofte tyme (Q).

29/11, 53/6 while/whyles (DH).

44/4-5 by tyme/be tymes (DHYCWEA).

46/7 ofte tymes/ofte tyme (F).

53/12 while/whyles (T).

54/1 whyle/whyles (T).

OE oft adverb has descended unchanged into the modern language, although possessing by now a distinctly poetic and archaic flavour. But from the ME oft (or ofte with the addition of an adverbial -e) an extended form often was developed, which serves in MnE all the common functions once performed by oft. It is arguable that there is now a semantic as well as a formal distinction between oft and often, since the archaic associations conjured up by oft can be regarded as making a contribution to the general sense of a context in which it appears. This can hardly have been the case in ME.

The differentiation of ME seld(e) and selden (seldom) was brought

about in precisely the opposite fashion from that of oft and often, and is not reflected in MnE since the secondary form has subsequently been lost. OE seldan adverb yields regularly ME selden; an alternative form seldum was developed in OE on the analogy of adverbial datives in -um, e.g. hwīlum. But in eME a new positive is formed to provide a regular series for the comparative seldor and superlative seldost.

A language can develop a number of different ways of expressing the same idea. Thus the Gmc negative prefix, OED un-[1], is cognate with L in- (OED in-[3]) and its assimilated form im- (OED im-[2]). The Gmc and L prefixes are regarded merely as historical variants so that the following variant readings are not recorded:

6/5 imparfyt/vnparfite (YCWTQ).

11/4 ympossible/vnpossible (YCW).

14/2 innumerable/vnnumerabil (E).

19/5 ynnumerable/vnnumerablė (CE).

27/11 inconuenyent/vnconuenient (E).

43/4 inuysible/vnvisible (DHTQ).

44/9 vntestat/intestate (FA).

62/9 innumerable/vnnumerabele (E).

The etymologically related suffixes -hede and -hod(e) give rise, for the most part, to linguistic variants merely, but a material distinction can be developed between such forms. Thus maidenhead means "state or condition of a maiden, virginity" (OED) and maidenhood means "condition of being a maiden, the time of life during which one is a maiden" (OED). But in ME maidenhood can be used in the sense that is now associated with

maidenhead and for this reason A's reading maydenhode at 43/1 can be treated as a linguistic variant. The following variants are also treated as linguistic:

59/9 Godhede/Godhode (A).

59/10 fadyrhode/fadirhede (YCWT).

61/4 manhede/manhode (DHTFA).

64/3 manhede/manhode (DHQ).

The OE verb streccan has two main forms of the past participle, -streaht/-streht, the latter by analogical extension of the root vowel of the infinitive. In Anglian there is occasionally smoothing of ea > æ, although forms with e prevail.[1] Smoothed æ > a in ME and > au by the development of a glide before the voiceless velar spirant. At 18/8 both the forms streyght (E's strayte is taken as an orthographical variant rather than related to ME streit) and straught are exhibited. In addition an analogical form strecched is exhibited by A.

The variants chapitre/chapitle (FA) at 4/15 and elsewhere derive from the same variant forms in OF where chapitle > chapitre.

Historical variants commonly arise from phonetic weakenings. The BCD exhibits a number of such variants of which the following are the chief examples. At 20/15 there are the variants that/that at (YC)/that that (E). At conjunction is a worn-down form of that, although possibly derived from ON at (used in precisely the same senses) or independently developed in the northern dialect in which it was very common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At 2/6 there are the variants perylous/perlouse (YCWE) and at 27/10 perylous/perlous (YCWEQF). The form perlouse is a

1. See Campbell (1959), § 223.

syncopated form of perylous and in the texts of the BCD a semantic distinction does not seem to have arisen between the forms. At 9/10 there are the variants whether/where (YWE), at 36/13 whether/where (YCWE) and at 49/1 wheþer/where (EQ). In each case where is interpreted as a contracted form derived from OE hwæþer, hweþer. At 38/13 there are the variants nat/no thing (Q)/nought (B). Not is an abbreviated form of nought adverb derived from OE nówiht. OED gives two principal meanings for nought adv.: C.1. "to no extent, not at all" and 2. "not". Only if nought is interpreted as OED C.2. can it and not be interpreted as linguistic variants. Nought is so interpreted in the following cases:

8/5 not/noght (DYCW).

40/3 not/noght (YC).

51/2 not/noght (C).

65/2 not/noght (YCF).

At 44/9 there are the variants vntestat/or vntestate (YWB)/oþer vntestate (C). Or is properly the phonetically reduced form of other conjunction and not the associated adverb which continued to be other, in MnE either, though or ... or is found as in YWB.

It should be noted at this point, however, that at 60/9 the readings mayde/mayden (DHQB) are treated as material variants (and the variant mayde introduced into the text) although the one is originally a shortened form of the other.

The boundaries between material and linguistic variants can only be defined for a given language at a certain point in time, for those boundaries are always shifting as some distinctions become increasingly

significant, others less so, as a language develops. The distinction between material and linguistic variation is particularly difficult to establish with respect to aphetic forms. A convenient distinction is whether the variant forms existed together in OF, for such a history would at least seem to assure to the respective forms a certain degree of independence.

It is to be noted that at 17/7 the form apayde has been restored where the copy-text reads payde. The latter may have been intended as an aphetic form of apay, but the words have a separate history (< OF apayer and payer respectively) and a usually distinct semantic range, though pay in the sense of apay is common in English from 1200-1500 (in this respect reflecting the use of OF payer). It is clear, too, that aphetic forms can develop in such a way that a material distinction quickly arises between them and their original forms (cf. sample which is found in its modern sense from the fifteenth century, though senses appropriate to essample, example are still at that time dominant). The following forms may also be treated as material variants:

8/6 voyde/auoyde (TF).

24/7 auaunte/vaunte (YCW).

31/6 deserued/seruyd (CQB).

60/12 voyde/avoyde (H).

The following forms, on the other hand, may be treated as linguistic variants:

26/2 adown/down (QF).

28/5 postyl/apostle (8^{x}).

32/11 staat/estate (T).

59/3 state/astate (FA).

Important dialectal distinctions emerge in the inflexions of the present indicative, but although the principle illustrated by thinketh/thinken is sufficiently clear in itself, it is somewhat complicated in detail, as may be shown by the following example.

At 56/8 F reads axith against asken (omitted by A) and FA read requireth against requiren. The subject of these verbs, "deuocyon 7 disposicyon 7 the profyt" (56/7), can be construed as needing a singular verb, as is indicated by a parallel instance at 52/5-6 where all the manuscripts exhibit -eth/-ith inflexions, and by the CP text which reads:

> prout deuocio 7 disposicio ac commoditas ipsorum 7 assistencium exigit 7 requirit.[1]

The forms asken and requiren can be explained in one of three ways:

(i) construction of the three separate nouns as constituting a plural subject.

(ii) attraction of the verb to the immediately preceding plural pronoun hem (56/7).

(iii) replacement of minority or S plural -eth by M -en.

If one accepts the third of these explanations then the readings of F and FA must be treated as linguistic variants. The authority of the Latin source would seem to suggest that explanation somewhat unlikely in this instance, and to show that F and FA respectively possess singular verbs.

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1. Fol. 90^{r}, l. 11.

They are thus to be treated as material variants and hence can be (and are) introduced into the text.

The extant manuscripts do seem, however, to exhibit a number of merely dialectal variants among the forms of the present indicative. A full discussion of these will be found in the language part of the section on provenance.[1] Such variants are not recorded among the list of variant readings unless there is some doubt as to their real status.

The variation at 2/7 between matere/matiere (DHEQ) would seem to be merely orthographical, although it results initially from a sound-change (OF ie > AF e). A large number of orthographical variants emerge in the fifteenth century as a result of the remodelling of forms, both in French and in English, on the basis of their classical or supposedly classical etymologies. At 19/1 there are the variant readings ensample/example (DHETFA) where ensample is derived from OF essample which is refashioned in OF as example after L exemplum. At 24/8 there are the variants arrette/arecte (DHTQ)/adyecte (YCWE). The forms arrette and arecte are variants of OF areter. In the fifteenth century the verb was derived from a putative L arrectare and hence forms with medial -ct- were introduced into English. Similar spelling variants fashioned on authentic or putative Latin models are the following:

> 32/10 examyned/exampned (FA), OF examiner, L examinare; cf. L damnare/dampnare.
>
> 41/14 refuge/refugye (DHT), OF refuge, L refugium.

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1. See pp. 79, 80-83 above.

42/14 ascryued/ascrybyd (T), OF ascriv-, stem of ascrire, L adscribere.

43/3 suffrages/suffragyes (DH), OF suffrage, L suffragium.

Such variation can produce material variants in English and in such cases the variation is recorded. Thus at 37/6 A reads wyles against gyles. The variant would seem to have originated in a NF variant wile of CF guile, although OED argues for a Scandinavian origin for wile (q.v.). At 48/8 there are the variants partye (FDHTA)/parte (YCWEQB). Since OF has the corresponding variants part and partie the variants in English have been treated as material variants and hence the form partye has been introduced into the text.

All erroneous spellings or miswritings are recorded since they cannot be reduced to rule, and all forms not recorded by OED or MED. Thus at 45/4 C's cherchgith against chargith is recorded.

A number of variants are recorded where the interpretation is doubtful or where linguistic variation in some manuscripts can account for material variation in the whole body of variants at a particular point. The following examples illustrate this practice:

26/8 rychesse/rychesses (DHE)/ryches (TQA). The word is an adoption of OF richesse. The form riches is originally merely a variant of richesse, but its form is identical with that of the native plural and the word eventually is construed as such in late ME. Since it is not possible to tell whether ryches is singular or plural the form is recorded independently.

29/3 lowe/loue (YCT)/leue (W). The form loue is a possible spelling variant of lowe but is recorded as an indication of the origin of W's leue.

47/3 quyete/quitte (YWE)/quyte (CT). The reading of CT is recorded since it could be either a variant of quitte or a miswriting of quyete.

47/4 selde/seeled (DH). The form seeled is not recorded by OED.

55/5 fere/feere (D)/fyre (HTQFA)/feir (YC). All these forms could perhaps be merely dialectal variants of fire n., but fear n. would seem in some cases to be intended.

61/10 failynge/falyng (DH)/sayling (W). The form exhibited by DH is recorded although a possible linguistic variant (see OED s.v. fail, v.) since there is possible confusion with fall, verb.

61/12 amarous/amerous (DHB)/amorous (FCWE)/most amorous (A). All the variants are recorded because of possible confusion with amorous, which may indeed in some cases be intended.

64/4 creatoure/creature (HYCW). OED records forms with -ure as variants of creatoure, but because of the potential confusion with creature (64/3) the variant form is recorded.

III. It should be noted that modern punctuation (which is taken to include capitalisation) is provided. It has sometimes been pointed out that modern punctuation is not well-suited to the requirements of ME writing,[1] but it seems, nevertheless, the only way available to an editor to make clear to the modern reader the pattern of the larger structures and sequences of thought as he understands them. Further, there seems little reason to suppose (as is possible in the case of Caxton's translations) that the punctuation of B can have any systematic authorial sanction.

Difficulties of punctuation appear especially at those points where the translator seems to have misunderstood the syntactic structure of his original, e.g. 7/3 ff. In such a case the editorial punctuation attempts to point out the original sequence of thought, since that seems to be the only way in which the ME patterns of expression can be understood.

Capital letters are used as little as possible. They are used for

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1. See Kane (1960), 170.

titles of persons and proper names - Dauid (4/1), Seint Iohn (4/13), Kynge Alisaundre (15/2), Innocent the Pope (15/9) - and adjectives formed from proper names - Cristen (2/12). They are used for titles of books - Boke of the Crafte of Dyeng (2/1), Crafte of Dyenge (2/7), Morals (20/11), Omelye (21/4) - but note "boke of Sapience" (4/15) where boke is not construed as forming part of the title. The titles of books are not underlined in the text since Latin quotations and expansions are already underlined. Reference to the whole Christian community as in the phrases "Holy Chirche" (4/12) and "Chirche of Rome" (12/3-4) is indicated by capitalisation.

References to the deity provide a particular problem. The treatment is as far as possible the same as that for proper names; thus God (4/5), Almighty God (7/4), Cryst (10/4), Godhede (39/12), Trinyte (39/13), Holy Goste (58/3). The personal pronouns referring to the deity are not capitalised. In the frequent collocation "our lord Ihesu Cryst" (30/9) lord is not capitalised, but when the noun is used independently to refer to the deity it is capitalised, e.g. Lord (32/1). Similarly, "bure lady, Seynt Mary" (41/11) but "oure Lady" (51/8-9). References to the father and the son in similar collocations are not capitalised, but an exception is made for "Almighty Fader" (66/10) since used in a function directly parallel to "Ihesu Cryst" (66/10) and "Holy Goste" (66/11).

The word-division of B is retained wherever it can clearly be discerned, and the general practice of B is used to inform decisions about word-division in those cases where it cannot easily be determined.

IV. All expansions of scribal abbreviations are underlined in the text (though not elsewhere) except Ihesu for Ihu which, because of its frequency,

is expanded silently. Since all Latin quotations are underlined it follows that expansions of the Latin in the text are not underlined. All abbreviations are expanded in accordance with the spelling habits of B, although it is sometimes difficult (as is often the case with fifteenth century texts) to discriminate between otiose strokes and genuine marks of abbreviation. A distinction between firmly drawn strokes (marks of abbreviation) and hairlines (calligraphic decoration) is perhaps possible, but it has to be noticed that such a distinction is not a consistent feature of fifteenth century scribal practice.[1] It is to be noted that the present edition expands medial signs of abbreviation, even though they may at times be only faintly indicated, e.g. commendable (18/10), but not marks at the end of words. Such a practice is in the last analysis somewhat arbitrary, but is based on the fact that a medial nasal is certainly abbreviated in this way and that many final strokes are certainly otiose. This is an important point since one finds with considerable frequency, for example, a cross-stroke through the loop of final -h as in deeth, though, etc., and particularly in the present 3 sg. indicative of verbs, e.g. seyth. All such marks, however (note especially strokes after or above final d, n and r) are treated as otiose and their presence is not recorded in the text. This principle is, of course, relaxed when an expansion is positively required, e.g. Gregory (24/12, 47/4, 51/4).

The cross-stroke over exhortacyon̄ (2/8) is also interpreted as otiose. Such an interpretation would seem to be supported by exhortacyon (2/10),

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1. See Parkes (1969), xxix.

where there is certainly no mark above -cyon, and a predominance of forms in -cyon against -cyoun not only in this text but in the other manuscripts of the BCD and also in the printed texts. It seems that in the fifteenth century at least -cyoun is rare in comparison with -cyon and that -cȳn is an abbreviation for -cyon merely. Confirmation for such an interpretation would seem clear from texts (such as B) in which u is consistently distinguished from n. One may perhaps assume, therefore, that the mark above -cyȳn is a reflex of the scribal habit to abbreviate in such circumstances and that it has lost its original significance.

V. A number of common editorial conventions have been observed. These are as follows:

þ^{e}, þ^{t}, þ^{u}, w^{t} have been retained.

7 Tironian sign for et, and.

( ) Omissions, emendations.

< > Damaged text.

[ ] Word(s) deleted.

` ´ Interlineation, marginal additions.

(fol. 228^{r}) Page division, noted at the change of page.

In the recording of variant forms it is to be noted that the variants are always quoted in the original order assigned to the sigla, namely DHYCWETQFAB. Since only material variants are recorded the linguistic form that is quoted will be that represented by the earlier or earliest siglum in that order. The order of citing sigla is sometimes modified by the desirability of introducing typical rather than untypical spellings into the text. Whenever the spelling of the first manuscript in the order

is untypical, the siglum of the earliest manuscript with a more representative spelling is quoted before it, in order that the source of the form incorporated into the text may readily be identified. Whenever the text providing the lemma does not follow the reading of the copy-text, the lemma is supported by the sigla of all the manuscripts in which its reading occurs, the variant readings being then set out in the usual way. Where a part but not the whole of a lemma is supplied by B, or where a material variant is introduced into the text but corrected into conformity with the spelling habits of B, this is indicated by prefixing B within brackets to the list of supporting sigla. Whenever the text in the lemma does follow the reading of B, however, no sigla are shown in support of it, and it may therefore be assumed that sigla which are not cited represent manuscripts whose readings at that point support that of the copy-text. The only qualification that needs to be added is that such an assumption cannot be made for manuscripts which omit or reformulate the passage from which the lemma is taken. Such omissions or reformulations will, of course, be recorded and will precede the citation of detailed variations within the passage.[1] Whenever the reading of a manuscript or its interpretation is uncertain, the siglum representing it is enclosed within brackets. Whenever a word such as a, of or the appears more than once in any given line, each separate occurrence is specified by a following (1st), (2nd), (3rd); it should be noted that the occurrences are always numbered successively from the beginning of each line.

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1. The practice in these matters is that set out by Kane (1960), 170-71.

Part B:

THE PRINTED TEXTS

1. DESCRIPTION OF PRINTED TEXTS

(i) W. Caxton, The Art and Craft to Know Well to Die (Westminster, 1490).

In the description that follows the material is divided into two sections: first, a bibliographical account applicable to all copies of the edition, and secondly, the peculiar details of the four extant copies.[1]

Drop-head title, but no title page.

$A1^r$: ¶ Here begynneth a lityll treatise shorte and abredged spekynge of the arte 7 crafte to knowe well to dye.

WHan it ys soo that what a man maketh or doeth / it is made to come to some ende / And yf the thynge be goode and well made / it muste nedes come to goode ende....

$^2B3^r$: And therfor to euery persone that wel and surely wyl deye. is of necessyte that he lerne to deye / or the deth come and preuente hym.

Colophon: Thus endeth the trayttye abredged of the arte to lerne well to deye / translated oute of frenshe in to englysshe by william Caxton the xv. day of Iuyn / the yere of our lord a MiiiiClxxxx.

Folio. A^8 B^4 $B3^2$ (lacks 2). 14 leaves. The register is uncertain, evidently as a result of a serious miscalculation in casting off from the copy-text. Such a miscalculation necessitated the printing of an extra

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1. For other descriptions of this edition see: S. de Ricci, A Census of Caxtons (Oxford, 1909), 6; E.G. Duff, Fifteenth Century English Books (Oxford, 1917), 35; GW 2615. For a facsimile (of L, evidently with corrections of After and lon-ge on $B2^r$, but not of accustumeday and orf-sons on the same page) see Assigns of Edward Lumley (London, 1875).

sheet, signed Biij, but with matter left for less than a page. As no copy complete with the conjugate blank has survived it is uncertain whether this sheet formed a separate quire, or whether the blank was folded back round quire B, giving the collation A^8 B^6 (lacks 1).

Without foliation, headlines or catchwords.

$A3^v$: 31 lines, 185 x 118mm. $A5^v$, $B2^v$ and $B4^r$ have 30 lines, the remainder 31. Type 6. 20 lines = 120mm. Haebler's M^{80}.[1] Two- and three-line lombardic initials. Space for two-line initials on $A6^v$ and $B3^v$, with lower-case guide-letter on $B3^v$ (not in L).

The ACD is printed throughout in Caxton's type 6, used in the years 1489-91, and later by his successor de Worde as his type 3. This type was a modification of Caxton's types 2 and 2*, with a reduced type-case, possibly for the sake of economy, but more probably within the trend towards simplified type-cases which is noticeable everywhere from the mid 1480s onwards. The design was first used by Caxton at Bruges c. 1475-6, being "imitative of the hand fashionable in scriptoria throughout the whole of Flanders, including what is now the north of France".[2] The original type 2 was made for Caxton by Johann Veldener, who used it himself once, as heading type in De Gambiglionibus, 1475, and who may have instructed Caxton in the art of printing at Cologne in 1471-2.[3] Type 6 is somewhat smaller

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1. K. Haebler, Typenrepertorium der Wiegendrucke, ii (Leipzig, 1908), 358.

2. HPT, i.19, col. 2.

3. See L.A. Sheppard, "Introduction to the Presses (Belgium)", Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum, Part IX, fasc. ii. Belgium (London, 1962), 1-li, and HPT, i.17-24, 28-9.

than its earlier versions, 20 lines of which had = 135mm.

Blades refers to the use with type 6 of a "set of Lombardic capitals, among which occurs now and then a letter from the Lombardic fount used in Type No. 5".[1] He gives facsimiles of sets for type 5 (Plate XXI) and type 6 (Plate XXIII) but misleadingly reproduces them in reduced size, and does not mention that they are facsimiles of lombard initials of two- and three-line height. Not all the initials found in the ACD are reproduced by Blades, for example the three-line W of $A1^{r}$. Most of the lombard initials in the ACD belong to the set associated by Blades with type 5. Mr G.D. Painter of the British Museum tells me that he doubts in fact whether two sets were ever used or designed for use in a pure state. It seems more likely that several forms of each letter in several sizes were used indiscriminately with types 5 and 6.

L British Museum, London.[2]

283 x 193mm. Lacks the blank leaf. The words "chyrche of Rome" on $A2^{r}$ are struck through. The British Museum device in yellow of the reign of George III is on $A1^{r}$ and $^{2}B3^{v}$, and on some of the fly leaves. On a fly leaf is written Perfect, the collation-mark of Joseph Ames. The watermarks seem to be a Gothic p and commonly a dog similar to Br. 3629.[3] The dogs probably belong to the Neville family at Troyes. There is also the rather

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1. W. Blades, The Life and Typography of William Caxton, ii (London, 1863), xl.

2. For a description of this copy see R. Proctor, An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum: From the Invention of Printing to the year MD (London, 1898), 9678.

3. C.M. Briquet, Les Filigranes, Jubilee Edition (Amsterdam, 1968).

less common lion mark, not in Briquet or Heawood,[1] found also in the Eneydos and in the Doctrinal of Sapience in a few leaves only.

Provenance. Owned in 1749 by James West. . His Sale.[2] Tenth Day, Thursday, April 8, 1773. Lot 1876. To John Ratcliffe.

John Ratcliffe. His Sale.[3] Ninth Day, Saturday, April 6, 1776. Lot 1666. To Nicol for King George III.

In 1823 the library of George III became the property of the trustees of the British Museum.

Bound in the private bindery of George III, in red morocco, gold-tooled, with his arms.

Press Mark. Formerly C. II. c. 8, now 1B.55134.

M John Rylands Library, Manchester.[4]

282 x 203mm. Lacks the blank leaf. "C & P" written in ink in head margin of A1^{r}. The copy is otherwise quite unmarked, save for modern foliation in pencil. Spencer apparently disliked markings of any kind in his books, and often had them cleaned. Thus fol. A1 and its conjugate A8 seem to have been cleaned, with the result that the chain lines are no longer visible.

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1. E. Heawood, Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries (Hilversum, 1950).

2. Bibliotheca Westiana: Auction Catalogue of the Library of James West (London, 1773), p. 114.

3. Bibliotheca Ratcliffiana: Auction Catalogue of the Library of John Ratcliffe (London, 1776), p. 86.

4. For a description of this copy see A Catalogue of English Incunabula in the John Rylands Library (Manchester, 1930), 5.

Provenance. James West. His Sale.[1] Tenth Day, Thursday, April 8, 1773. Lot 1874. To John Ratcliffe.

John Ratcliffe. His Sale.[2] Seventh Day, Wednesday, April 3, 1776. Lot 1220. To Gustavus Brander.

Gustavus Brander. His Sale.[3] Fifth Day, Friday, February 12, 1790. Lot 1011. To Leycester.

The Marquess of Blandford. His Sale.[4] Nineteenth Day, Tuesday, June 29, 1819. Lot 3787. To Dibdin for Earl Spencer.

It was obtained from the Spencer library at Althorp in Northamptonshire by Mrs Rylands in 1892, and entered the John Rylands Library on its opening in 1899.

Formerly bound in russia after The Pilgrimage of the Soul. Its present binding, perhaps by Charles Lewis, is in purple doublé morocco, gold-tooled, with the arms of George John, 2nd Earl Spencer.

Press Mark. 18931 (Inc. 23 C. 14).

O Bodleian Library, Oxford.

255 x 188mm. Lacks ^{2}B3 and the blank leaf. Caxton written in the head

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1. Bibliotheca Westiana (1773), p. 114.

2. Bibliotheca Ratcliffiana (1776), p. 61.

3. Auction Catalogue of the Library of Gustavus Brander (London, 1790), p.32.

4. White Knight's Library: Auction Catalogue, ii (London, 1819), p.177. It is from the description in this catalogue that we learn that the ACD was bound after The Pilgrimage of the Soul. The references given to the previous catalogues will show mention only of this copy of The Pilgrimage of the Soul.

margin of $A1^r$, in the same hand as that responsible for the original press mark on the fly leaf at the front of the book. An earlier hand has written twice in the same margin: "This book is full of pooperie", and would also seem to have struck through Thome and pape on several leaves of the Kalendar. This copy has been bound before the second edition of the Directorium Sacerdotum, printed probably in 1489 (Duff, 292). The full contents of the rest of the volume are:

1. (fol. $X1^r$)[1] Kalendar.
2. (fol. $X8^v$) Caxton's Device, McK. 1b.[2]
3. (fol. $a1^r$) Directorium Sacerdotum.
4. (fol. $x2^r$) Defensorium Directorium.
5. (fol. $x8^r$) Crede Michi. Ends on fol. $z\ 10^v$.

The collation of the whole volume is thus: $A^8\ B^4$, lacks 13, 14, $X^8\ a\text{-}y^8\ z^{10}$. 208 leaves.

Provenance. Since the ACD and the Directorium Sacerdotum were rebound together in the seventeenth century, it is possible that the two copies had always existed together in the same library. It is therefore worth examining the whole volume for evidence of provenance. There are a number of entries in a fifteenth-century hand, notably:

(fol. $X1^v$) 28th February: "Sancti oswaldi archiepiscopi ix (?) lectiones in comitatu vygor."[3]

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1. The symbol X is used to refer to the quire containing the Kalendar, although there seems to be a signature 4 on the fourth recto.

2. R.B. McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640 (London, 1913).

3. The last three words are in a different hand.

(fol. X5^{v}) 4th October: "Dedicatio ecclesie de Nupert sancti franssissi".

(fol. z10^{v}) tail margin: "Rychard Wylkoks".

The 4th October is the feast of St Francis, and the entry under that date would appear to indicate that the book once belonged to a Franciscan foundation. One looks for a foundation at Newport in Shropshire, since this would have lain within the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Worcester, i.e. Vigornia, Vigornium. But there are few English churches dedicated to St Francis, and no records of any at Newport, Shropshire, or indeed at any other place named Newport.[1]

In 1659 the volume entered the Bodleian with the remainder of the Selden collection entrusted to his executors, and not with those directly bequeathed, being mainly oriental books, on his death in 1654.

Bound in a seventeenth-century binding of limp vellum.

Press Mark. Formerly B.C.14 Th. Seld., then AA. 65 Th. Seld., then Q.Q. supra 1.7, now S. Selden d.11.

P Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[2]

203 x 140mm. Lacks the blank leaf. Every leaf cropped, in some cases (notably A1^{r} and A2^{r}) so badly that part of the original signature has been lost and has had to be replaced. Now mounted within frame ruling in red

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1. See on this subject F. Arnold-Forster, Studies in Church Dedications or England's Patron Saints, ii (London, 1899), 23-7 and F. Bond, Dedications of English Churches (Oxford, 1914), 23, 182.

2. For a description of this copy see M. Pellechet, Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1897), 1556.

ink and within quarto leaves. Thus we may account for the description of this copy as a Quarto volume in Tutet's Auction Catalogue and in the General Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1] Ornamental decoration (not earlier than the remounting) in red, blue and gold along the top half of the inner margin of $A1^r$. The device in red of the Bibliothèque Imperiale is on $A5^r$ and $^2B3^r$.

Provenance. Mark Cephas Tutet. His Sale.[2] Third Day, Friday, February 17, 1786. Lot 329. To Thomas Payne, the London bookseller, for £2-2-0. Payne resold it to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Bound in old russia.

Press Mark. Formerly D+3761, now Rés. D.338 (once, Exposé 213, Vitrine XXIII).

Copies of the ACD were owned in the first half of the eighteenth century by Thomas Rawlinson and the Earl of Oxford, but it is not possible to connect them certainly with any one known copy. The details of these untraced copies are:

1. Thomas Rawlinson. His Sale.[3] Seventeenth Day, Friday, November 3, 1727. Lot 2667. In the catalogue this copy is listed under "Libri

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1. Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, xxv (Paris, 1906), 320.

2. Auction Catalogue of the Collection of Printed Books and Manuscripts of Mark Cephas Tutet (London, 1786), p. 19.

3. Bibliothecae Rawlinsonianae, Pars IX: Auction Catalogue of Part of the Library of Thomas Rawlinson (London, 1727), p. 109.

Quarto", which suggests P.

2. The Earl of Oxford. Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae, iii (London, 1744), pp. 128-9, 1576. Obtained in 1743 by Thomas Osborne who compiled this catalogue.

(ii) W. Caxton, Ars Moriendi (? Westminster, 1491).[1]

Drop-head title, but no title page.

A1^{r}: ¶ Here begynneth a lytyll treatyse schortely compyled and called ars moriendi / that is to saye the craft for to deye for the helthe of mannes sowle.

WHan ony of lyklyhode shal deye / thenne is moste necessarye to haue a specyall frende / ...

A8^{v}: In hope abydyng his reward and euerlastyng glorie. Amen. Explicit.

No colophon.

Quarto. A^{8}. 8 leaves. Without foliation, headlines or catchwords.

A3^{v}: 24 lines, 144 x 91mm. Body of text in type 6, but type 8 (20 lines = 114mm) is used for headings on A1^{r}, A7^{v}, A8^{r} and A8^{v}, and for the final Explicit. Eight two-line lombardic initials.

Caxton's types 6 and 8 were later used by de Worde as his types 3 and 2, and the two unsigned books in these types, Ars Moriendi and The Chastising of God's Children (Duff 85), could typographically belong to either. But

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1. For other descriptions of this edition see de Ricci (1909), 5; Duff (1917), 33; GW 2634. For a facsimile see E.W.B. Nicholson, Ars Moriendi (London, 1891).

the Ars Moriendi seems to belong to Caxton's small quartos, and does not suit the folios that de Worde printed in these types and at that period. With its upper-case signatures and same number of lines it might belong to the same batch as The Book of Divers Ghostly Matters (Duff 55).

The unique copy is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
160 x 120mm. This copy has been cut down considerably, and very unevenly. There is no head margin at all on $A1^{v}$, while the lower half of the signature to A2 has been ploughed off. So too has part of a manuscript note, written in an early secretary hand of the sixteenth century in the outer margin of $A8^{v}$. Nicholson conjectures that this note once read:

The fiftene
degrees of
charyte

all the italicised letters having been cut off.[1] This is a fairly probable conjecture, since it is quite common to have marginal notes merely repeating statements in the text. But it must be confessed that the remaining part of the note in the Ars Moriendi seems to read rather "scene e (or o?) of". Watermarks are found in the centre of the inner margin of A3 and A6 (a unicorn) and on A7 (also a unicorn, but with a curved horn), perhaps reaching over into A2 as well, but the book has been rebound too tightly for it to be visible. The curved horn may come from the region of Paris, i.e. from St Cloud or Essones, although the watermarks could also be from Champagne or from Normandy. Bodleian device in black on the first seven recto leaves.

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1. Nicholson (1891), 6-7.

Provenance. In 1735 the Bodleian Library received by bequest the books and manuscripts of Thomas Tanner (1674-1735), bishop of St Asaph. The unique copy of the Ars Moriendi was originally part of Tanner 178, a volume of black-letter tracts which once contained five quarto pieces in the following order:

1. W. de Worde, The Three Kings of Cologne (Westminster, ? 1496).
2. W. de Worde, Meditations of St Bernard (Westminster, 1496).
3. W. Caxton, Ars Moriendi (? Westminster, 1491).
4. W. Caxton, The Governal of Health (Westminster, ? 1489).
5. G. Leeu, The Dialogue of Solomon and Marcolphus (Antwerp, ? 1492).

The Ars Moriendi and The Governal of Health were taken out of this volume on May 21, 1869, and were placed with the Caxtons in the Auct. They were bound separately by Hall of Oxford in green morocco.

Press Mark. Formerly part of Tanner 178, then Auct. Q.Q. supra 1.27, then Tanner 178*, then Arch. F.f.6. Now Arch. G.f.9.

2. THE PLACE OF THE CAXTON TEXTS IN THE ARS MORIENDI TRADITION

I. Caxton states in the colophon to the ACD (97/10-12) that he translated the work from a French original. There seems no reason to doubt the truth of this statement, and as we shall see it is fully substantiated by the evidence of the surviving French versions of the Ars Moriendi.

It is natural to look for a connection between the ACD and Colard Mansion's edition of the Ars Moriendi (GW 2584), printed at Bruges c. 1480, since Mansion would seem to have entered into some form of partnership with Caxton at Bruges during the mid 1470s.[1] Mr Blake does, in fact, find such a connection between the two editions:

> Two of Caxton's translations, Art of Dieing and Ovid's Metamorphoses, show a close affinity with the French versions printed by Colard Mansion, Caxton's printing partner in Bruges.[2]

It must be said, however, that Mansion's edition of the Ars Moriendi and Caxton's ACD are in no way closely related. Mansion's edition cannot possibly have been the source of Caxton's translation, for it is in its turn without doubt a French translation of the QS and not the CP version.[3]

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1. See N.F. Blake, Caxton and his World (London, 1969), 60-63.

2. Blake (1969), 68.

3. For an account of the QS version and its relationship to the CP version see O'Connor (1942), 7-9, 11-17 and 44-8. O'Connor states (pp. 8, 16) that the QS version ends with a paragraph comprising material drawn from ch. 4 and 6 of the CP version, Mansion (1480), fol. 174^{v}-176^{r}. This paragraph is followed in Mansion's edition by a section entitled "lorrible miroir que descript sainct iheromme touchant la mort" (fol. 176^{r}-179^{r}) and by the illustrative story of the efficacy of prayer said on behalf of a dying man together with the accompanying prayers (fol. 179^{r}-181^{v}), also found in the CP text (fol. 91^{v}, l. 8-fol. 92^{v}, l. 8; see the

cont....

Among the French printed editions of the Ars Moriendi[1] there is only one that provides a French translation of the CP text, namely that printed by Jean Dupré at Paris, c. 1481 (GW 2617).[2] In addition to the translation of the CP text Dupré provides an explanatory introduction (fol. $A2^{r}$-$A3^{r}$) and a substantial body of material described in general terms as "Des exhortacions faictes aux mourans" (fol. $C6^{v}$-$F3^{v}$), "Des exhortacions singulieres aux mourans" (fol. $F3^{v}$-$F4^{r}$) and "Des articles de la foy" (fol. $F4^{r}$-$F5^{r}$) together with a final summary (fol. $F5^{v}$). Moreover, the translation of the CP text ends with the seventh prayer of the sixth chapter, thus excluding not only the final three prayers as they appear in the BCD (63/3 ff.) but also all the subsequent material that follows those prayers in the CP text itself.[3] Thus the accretions that appear in Dupré's edition amount to thirty-seven folio pages while the translation of the CP text itself amounts to no more than thirty-one pages. The authenticity of this work has in the past been questioned,[4] but there can be no doubt that the

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note to 96/19 ff., vol. ii.174). It is to be noted that in the QS version as reflected in Mansion's edition the prayers have been incorporated within the story rather than following it. O'Connor seems to define the scope of the CP and QS texts in terms of the BCD, and thus one tends to consider the material that follows the prayers of ch. 6 in Latin and French copies as later accretions. But it seems better to suppose rather that the BCD and the ACD have omitted authentic CP material, presumably because it was too expansive for their purpose - one may recall that the prayers of ch. 6 are explicitly acknowledged as being profitable rather than necessary, BCD, 56/2-6, ACD, 90/6-7.

1. See O'Connor (1942), 149-56.

2. O'Connor (1942), 149.

3. See the note to 96/19 ff., vol. ii.174-5.

4. See O'Connor (1942), 150.

first part of the edition (fol. $A3^{r}$-$C6^{v}$) does consist of a fairly faithful translation of the CP text.

The additional material in Dupré treats mostly of the nature and purpose of the temptations that the dying man will experience and of the power and extent of God's mercy, but in a much more discursive fashion than the roughly corresponding temptation section (ch. 2) of the CP text. This kind of exposition is quite unsuited to the practical needs of the dying man, but is entirely in accord with the process of religious instruction from which the Ars Moriendi first emerged.[1] Thus one may understand the inclusion of the fourteen articles of the faith,[2] which the Dupré edition introduces in the following way: "Pour euiter a ignorance il est assauoir quil sont quatorse articles de la foy."[3] Similarly, the introduction stresses that the translation was undertaken to provide in French a knowledge that is necessary for salvation:

> Pour ceste consideracion ay pense en moy quil est expedient et necessaire a toute creature denquerir et sauoir bien mourir pour son salut. Mais pour ce que toutes gens nentendent pas le francois du latin me suys entremis pour lamour de dieu et ledifficacion de mon prouchain muer et conuertir de latin en francois ce petit liuret nomme 7 appelle la doctrine de bien mourir. car selon le second commandement de dieu qui dit. Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum. Cest a dire tu aymeras ton prouchain comme toymesmes. que se ie scay aucun bien ie luy doy eslargir, et se ie desire estre saulue aussi pareillement doy ie desirer mon prouchain estre saulue.[4]

The introduction is written in the first person (possibly by Dupré himself)

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1. See pp. 117 ff. above.

2. Cf. especially pp. 118-19 above.

3. Fol. $F4^{r}$, ll. 32-3.

4. Fol. $A2^{r}$, ll. 10-20.

and it is this person who would seem to have put together the additional material at the end, for he writes:

> ... en la meilleure maniere que ie pourray ie essairay escripre aucunes exhortacions me confiant en nostre seigneur que la force 7 la vertu lesquelles ignorance denye. charite laquelle dieu est / administrera et donnera faculte de parler.[1]

At least it may be said that this material is not to be found in the CP text and does seem to be original to this edition.

It should be already clear that Dupré's edition cannot have been the source of Caxton's translation, since authentic CP material is absent from it and yet present in the ACD. In addition to the omission of the final prayers (ACD, 93/8-20, 94/17-96/18) and the subsequent CP material (drawn upon by the ACD for its final paragraph, 96/19 ff.) one may note the following distinctive features of the Dupré translation of the CP text:

(i) the Anselmian interrogations are erroneously referred to St Augustine (fol. B6^{v}, l. 29); cf. the ACD, 79/7.

(ii) the division between ch. 3 and 4 is incorrectly taken to be that between the two sets of interrogations; thus ch. 4 in Dupré begins with the Gersonian set of interrogations (fol. C1^{v}). Moreover Dupré's ch. 4 contains not only part of the CP ch. 3 and ch. 4 (which begins on fol. C2^{r}, l. 32), but also includes part of the beginning of ch. 5 (fol. C3^{v}, ll. 2 ff.). The ACD does not confuse the chapter-division of the CP text in this way.

(iii) some matter at the end of ch. 4 and the beginning of ch. 5 in the CP text has been omitted (fol. C3^{v}, l. 2); most of this appears in

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1. Fol. A2^{v}, ll. 1-5.

the ACD, 84/13-86/6.

(iv) the division between the first two prayers of ch. 6 in the CP text has been suppressed (fol. $C5^{v}$, l. 18).

It is not necessary to examine detailed readings (which do not contradict the evidence presented above) in order to demonstrate the independence of Caxton's ACD from Dupré's edition of 1481. Nevertheless it is useful to compare the readings of the two, which are separated in time by no more than a decade, and this has accordingly been done in the notes to the text of the ACD.

O'Connor lists six possible manuscript copies of a French translation of the CP text. They are as follows:

MS. 127 Bibliothèque Municipale, Lille.

MS. 332 Bibliothèque Municipale, Lille.

MS. 1746 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

MS. 1640 Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

MS. 2323 Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

MS. 16741 Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin.[1]

A full collation of these manuscripts at least (for there may be other extant copies) will be necessary before any certain conclusions can be advanced about their relationship to Caxton's ACD. The present discussion is based only upon an examination of MS. Lille 127.

The colophon to MS. Lille 127 tells us that the translation into French was made in 1475:

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1. O'Connor (1942), 91-2, 94, 96-7 and 99.

> Cy fine le traictiet de bien morir, translate de latin en franchois que (?) escript Jo francheuille fait lan soixante et quinze abbe (?).[1]

The manuscript itself provides a faithful translation of the CP text, but ends with the opening lines of the first of the meditations that seem to belong to ch. 6 (CP, fol. 84^{r}-92^{v}, l. 18). The Latin edition of the Drucker der Albanuslegende printed at Cologne in 1474 (GW 2597) also ends at this point, and it would seem likely therefore that in this respect the French translation is merely following its original.[2] The first chapter of the CP text is considerably expanded in the French translation by a number of illustrative and explanatory passages - showing the mercy of God to those who are repentant (fol. 3^{r}, ll. 4-26) and that the death of the soul consists in its separation from God (fol. 3^{v}, ll. 14-25), elaborating the idea of this world as a spiritual exile (fol. 4^{r}, ll. 6-21), illustrating the need to commit one's will to God from Christ's obedience to the will of his father in the garden of Gethsemane (fol. 5^{r}, ll. 2-11), discussing the difficulty and duty of controlling fleshly desires, i.e. of denying to oneself the pleasure of the natural will (fol. 5^{r}, l. 12-fol. 5^{v}, l. 11) and providing explanatory glosses to vtilites (fol. 6^{r}, ll. 1-16), fuir (fol. 6^{r}, l. 18-fol. 6^{v}, l. 1), accepter (fol. 6^{v}, ll. 9-17), "tres prouffitable" (fol. 7^{r}, ll. 9-23), "de Religion" (fol. 7^{v}, ll. 3-8) and "il est tenu" (fol. 7^{v}, ll. 9-24).[3]

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1. Fol. 34^{v}, ll. 23-5.

2. The precise scope of the original treatise requires further investigation; see the note to 96/19 ff., vol. ii.174-5.

3. The words and phrases in the BCD which correspond to those glossed in MS. Lille 127 are profyte (7/8), fle (7/11), take (7/12), "moost profitable" (9/5), "of religyon" (9/8) and "most nedys" (9/11) respectively.

It will be clear, therefore, that the scope and balance of the opening chapter of the CP text has been a good deal altered as a result of these additions. It is to be noted, however, that additions of this nature are mostly confined to the first chapter, although there are a number of other explanatory glosses at the beginning of ch. 2. It would seem that the accretions are not original to MS. Lille 127, since an explanatory gloss is supplied for labeure (fol. 9^{r}, l. 26-fol. 9^{v}, l. 7), although the passage containing labeure has been omitted. MS. Lille 127, then, presents a full translation of the CP text together with a number of distinctive accretions that enable us to identify and isolate it within the CP tradition as a whole.

It is therefore a matter of the first importance that the ACD should reproduce material that belongs to the additional sections of MS. Lille 127, and this fact would seem to substantiate fully Caxton's statement in his colophon that he translated the work from a French original. The detailed correspondences of the two texts have been recorded in the notes, but it may be as well to remind ourselves briefly of some of the most distinctive agreements:

(i) a quotation from Plato, MS. Lille 127, fol. 3^{v}, ll. 14-16, ACD, 71/10-11.

(ii) a reference to a philosopher (as yet unidentified) designed to show that a good death is preferable to an evil life, MS. Lille 127, fol. 7^{v}, ll. 10-16, ACD, 72/9-12.

(iii) an assertion that one ought to desire death in order to be with Christ, MS. Lille 127, fol. 7^{v}, ll. 18-22, ACD, 72/13-16.

(iv) an insertion of material into a quotation from St Gregory, MS. Lille 127, fol. 13^{v}, ll. 1-3, ACD, 76/12-13.

(v) the assertion that Christ entered heaven through patient suffering, MS. Lille 127, fol. 13^{v}, ll. 14-15, ACD, 76/16-17.[1]

Apart from these agreements MS. Lille 127 and the ACD possess in common some distinctive errors which together are unlikely to have occurred independently, e.g.:

(i) a conflation of the first two clauses describing the loving posture of Christ on the cross, MS. Lille 127, fol. 12^{r}, ll. 23-4, ACD, 75/12.[2]

(ii) the omission of the fifth and sixth interrogations in the first Anselmian set (see MS. Lille 127, fol. 17^{r}, l. 8, ACD, 79/12).

(iii) the reversal of the order of Christ's crying and weeping on the cross, MS. Lille 127, fol. 19^{v}, l. 14, ACD, 82/9.

(iv) the readings pacience (MS. Lille 127, fol. 24^{r}, l. 4) and pacyence (ACD, 86/19) for CP penitenciam (fol. 89^{r}, l. 15); cf. the BCD repentaunce (47/14).

(v) the rearrangement of the order of the heavenly hierarchy, MS, Lille 127, fol. 31^{r}, ll. 10-13, ACD, 96/9-11.[3]

Despite these clear agreements between MS. Lille 127 and the ACD it would seem unlikely that the manuscript can be claimed to be the actual copy

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1. See also the notes to 71/12 ff. and 83/18-19, vol. ii.151 and 163 respectively.

2. See the note, vol. ii.157.

3. See also the note to dyssolucyons (88/3), vol. ii.166 and to "confounded in the fyre" (95/17), vol. ii.173.

that Caxton used to make his translation. In the descriptio mortis as it appears in MS. Lille 127 (fol. 4^r, ll. 1 ff.) the order of items has been slightly rearranged, whereas the ACD faithfully follows the order of the CP text.[1] The vocabulary of the ACD is at times closer to that of the CP text than that of MS. Lille 127, and is sometimes suggestive of a French original that differs slightly in its verbal detail from MS. Lille 127. In the former category one may note:

> consumpcyon (71/17) consumpcio (CP, fol. 84^r, l. 30) degastement (MS. Lille 127, fol. 4^r, l. 26).
>
> symply (78/3) simpliciter (CP, fol. 86^v, l. 15) "du tout en tout" (MS. Lille 127, fol. 15^r, l. 23).

and in the latter:

> reprouchable (71/7) detestabilior (CP, fol. 84^r, l. 16) "plus detestable" (MS. Lille 127, fol. 2^r, l. 8).
>
> guaryssed (75/2) mederi (CP, fol. 85^v, l. 10) medeciner (MS. Lille 127, fol. 11^v, l. 26).
>
> poynt (81/18) sic (CP, fol. 87^v, l. 20) estat (MS. Lille 127, fol. 19^r, l. 8).[2]

At times Dupré gives a reading which must almost certainly have been that of Caxton's original, e.g. force (fol. $C5^r$, l. 2), translating CP vis (fol. 89^v, l. 29), in the ACD also force (89/13), but in MS. Lille 127 puissance (fol. 26^v, ll. 8-9).[3]

The argument developed from the language of the ACD gains weight from the well-established fact that Caxton tended to reproduce the verbal detail

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1. See the note to 71/12 ff., vol. ii.151.
2. See also the note to delycatyf (90/13), vol. ii.168.
3. See also the notes to 76/22 and 81/3, vol. ii.158 and 161 respectively.

of his original rather than to search for English equivalents.[1] A comparison between the ACD and the BCD clearly shows the strength of this tendency, for there are many occasions on which the ACD reproduces the language of the CP text where the BCD does not, even though the BCD is a direct translation of the CP text and the ACD is derived from it by at least one remove. It is not necessary here to list systematically all the instances in which the ACD follows the CP text more closely than the BCD, but the following may be considered representative:

culpe (93/10) culpas (CP, fol. 91^{r}, l. 7) blames (BCD, 63/5).

deputed (84/18) deputatus (CP, fol. 88^{v}, l. 2) ordeyned (BCD, 42/8).

incongrue (89/10) incongruum (CP, fol. 89^{v}, l. 27) inconuenyent (BCD, 54/6).

informacyon (87/21) informacionem (CP, fol. 89^{r}, l. 34) counceyll (BCD, 50/5).

lacrymable (92/6) lacrimabilem (CP, fol. 90^{v}, l. 21) sorwful (BCD, 61/4).

playnli (72/2) plenarie (CP, fol. 84^{v}, l. 2) fully (BCD, 6/10).

satallytees (95/9) satellitibus (CP, fol. 91^{r}, l. 24) seruauntes (BCD, 65/2).

subgyette (73/6) subiectus (CP, fol. 85^{r}, l. 8) obeye (BCD, 12/3).

vyolated (93/16) violatum (CP, fol. 91^{r}, ll. 10-11) defouled (BCD, 63/10).

voluntary (86/21) voluntariam (CP, fol. 89^{r}, ll. 16-17) wilfully (BCD, 48/1).

It is evident from these features of vocabulary that the ACD is independent

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1. For a discussion of fifteenth-century methods of translation in general, see S.K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Michigan, 1940), and for a particular account of Caxton's habits as a translator see Blake (1969), 125-50.

of the BCD, a fact that is confirmed by its possession of some authentic CP readings not found in the BCD.[1]

The general conclusion that seems assured from this evidence is that the ACD is derived from a French original that is very closely related to MS. Lille 127. Apart from the introduction (for which no source has yet been found and which may possibly be considered as the translator's own preface),[2] MS. Lille 127 contains all the material that appears in the ACD. As we have seen, some of this material is peculiar to the French version. It seems reasonable to assume that Caxton's copy differed from MS. Lille 127 only in the matter of verbal detail and in some slight rearrangement of material (although such rearrangement may perhaps be attributed to Caxton himself).[3] MS. Lille 127 may therefore be regarded as a good authority for the reading of Caxton's source.

II. The second of the two books printed by Caxton on the art of dying, and which is known as the Ars Moriendi, is in fact a miscellany containing in addition to the section on the art of dying (pp. 100-103) a short meditation on the Eucharist (pp. 103-5), a list of the means whereby venial sins may be remitted (p. 105), a passage on three truths derived from Gerson's Opusculum, i.16 (pp. 105-7), a prayer for the dedication of a church (pp. 107-8), the twelve degrees of humility (pp. 108-9), the seven degrees of

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1. See the notes to commaunde at 83/10 and "ryght innocente" at 90/13, vol. ii.162-3 and 168 respectively.

2. See the note to 70/3 ff., vol. ii.148.

3. See the notes to 82/9, 83/18-84/4 and 92/4 ff., vol. ii.162, 163 and 170-71 respectively.

obedience (pp. 109-10), the twelve degrees of patience (p. 110) and the fifteen degrees of charity (pp. 110-11). The association of the Ars Moriendi with such a collection of pieces is by no means a new feature of its development in England, for we have already seen that the BCD is to be found in precisely the same kind of context.[1] It is also to be noted that the AM is associated typographically with The Book of Divers Ghostly Matters,[2] the latter volume containing three pieces:

(i) Horologium Sapientiae.

(ii) The Twelve Profits of Tribulation.

(iii) The Rule of St Benet.[3]

Once again we have to do with familiar and persistent associations of the Ars Moriendi in England.[4]

Caxton's AM is a considerably reduced and rearranged version of the CP text. It may be divided into four sections for the purpose of analysis, although no consistent attempt has been made in the text to indicate its overall structure:

(i) an introduction (AM, 100/4-101/4), stressing the need for a friend to attend the dying man, and providing disjointed pieces of advice designed to direct the behaviour of both dying man and attendant friend in

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1. See, for example, the first section of T, pp. 37-9 above, and the first part of the discussion on audience and circulation, pp. 117-22 above.

2. See pp. 229-30 above.

3. See N.S. Aurner, Caxton: Mirrour of Fifteenth-Century Letters, reiss. (New York, 1965), 111 and Blake (1969), 231.

4. See p. 98 above.

this situation. The material is drawn mostly from ch. 5 of the CP text, but combines elements of ch. 4 and 6.

(ii) the commendation of death followed by exhortations to faith, hope, patience and humility (AM, 101/5-102/16). This is by no means a systematic exposition, but consists rather of a number of striking passages drawn from ch. 1 and 2 of the CP text.

(iii) the first set of Anselmian interrogations (AM, 102/16-103/1), drawn from ch. 3 of the CP text.

(iv) prayers and invocations (AM, 103/1-21), drawn mostly from ch. 4 of the CP text, but containing elements of ch. 3.[1]

Such a compression of material is consistent with the supposition that the AM was intended for practical use, indeed much more obviously so than the ACD.[2] In this way we can explain the emphasis upon the attendant friend in the introductory paragraph (AM, 100/4 ff. and 100/22 ff.), the omission of the fifth temptation,[3] and of the devotional rather than essential prayers of ch. 6 in the CP text. As a result of these omissions and of the drastic reduction of material belonging to ch. 1, 2 and 5 of the CP text the interrogations of ch. 3 and the prayers of ch. 4 come into greater prominence.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the AM is its independence of the ACD. This is shown quite clearly by its possession of authentic CP

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1. A full record of the correspondences between the AM on the one hand and the BCD and the ACD on the other is provided in the notes, vol. ii. 176-80.

2. See pp. 104-6 above.

3. See the note to 102/16, vol. ii. 177-8.

material that is not to be found in Caxton's earlier version. The strongest evidence for the independence of the AM is the following:

(i) at 102/6-8 the AM supplies the full quotation attributed to St Jerome in the CP text (fol. 86^{r}, ll. 5-6). The ACD provides only part of that quotation without any attribution (76/9).

(ii) at 102/9-11 the AM gives a paraphrase of a quotation attributed to St Augustine in the CP text (fol. 86^{r}, ll. 22-3). The quotation is not to be found in the ACD.

(iii) at 102/16 ff. the second, fifth and sixth interrogations of the first Anselmian set are included, although they have all been omitted in the ACD.

(iv) at 103/16-17 the AM includes a prayer (CP, fol. 88^{v}, ll. 10-11) which does not appear in the ACD.[1]

No exact source of the AM has as yet been discovered, but it would seem unlikely to have been the French original of the ACD for that text also has probably omitted the fifth and sixth interrogations of the first Anselmian set.[2]

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1. See also the notes to 101/10, 102/3-6 and 103/3-4, vol. ii.176 and 178 respectively.

2. See p.239 above.

3. VARIATION AMONG THE COPIES OF THE ART AND CRAFT TO KNOW WELL TO DIE

One does not, of course, expect much variation between copies of early printed editions, although there is some, and in this connection one should note that L exhibits a press variant on $B2^{r}$ and $B3^{v}$. The detailed variations are as follows:

1. O reads "be to" in error for "to be" LMP (89/22). But one cannot simply assume that O has an uncorrected against a corrected forme because of other, more extensive variant readings on $B2^{r}$.

2. L reads accustumeday against accustumed MOP (90/1).

3. L reads orf-sons against orroysons MOP (90/2).

4. L reads A:ter against After MOP (90/2).

5. L reads lon-ge against lon:ge MOP (90/3).

The wrong sorts at the end of the first three lines of $B2^{r}$ in L have evidently been moved up from the line below (as it now appears), presumably because of a failure to justify the first line correctly. It would seem likely that the letters slipped in the composing-stick. The process of displacement seems to have been stopped by the addition of an hyphen to lon-ge at the end of the fourth line of $B2^{r}$, apparently without recognition of the errors. But when the forme came to be corrected such a meaningless series could not fail to be noticed. The first line of $B2^{r}$ was accordingly spaced out so that accustumed came precisely at the end. It is clear that the last few words of that line in MOP are comparatively widely spaced out. But the form orroysons in MOP could not have been the one involved in the error, since L reads -ay and ro is a ligature. The

word is variously spelt throughout the text, oreysons, orysons, oruysons, and the last of these must have been the form of the word first used here. In the rejustification of $B2^r$, l. 2 the form orroysons must have seemed the most convenient. Similarly After was substituted for Af-ter at the end of the following line.

Thus MOP give a corrected reading of accustumed, orroysons, After and lon:ge against L. But LMP agree on the correct reading "to be" also on $B2^r$ against O. One is forced logically to accept that the error "be to" of O occurred after the correction of L, since such a form as orroysons could not have produced the error we find in L. It would seem possible that after printing a number of copies of the corrected forme, including MP, the words "to be" became displaced (probably being drawn out by the ink-balls during inking) and were replaced more securely by the printer, but in the wrong order.

Since the printing would seem to have been done by formes, the printer would have had to calculate the imposition of the pages on the forme in order to secure seriatim arrangement of the pages after folding and binding. If we make the same calculation for the second quire of the ACD it is clear that $B2^r$ and $B3^v$ belong to the same outer forme. Thus if $B2^r$ of L belongs to an uncorrected forme, then $B3^v$ must also be uncorrected. And this is in fact the case.

6. MOP have a lower-case guide letter s in the space for a two-line initial S (94/7) on $B3^v$, but the guide letter is not found in L.

7. O lacks the thirteenth leaf, in LMP the thirteenth leaf is signed Biij. As a result of this anomalous signature there is a further signature

Bij on what is properly $B4^r$ in MP. No such signature on $B4^r$ is found in O (which may account for the absence of the thirteenth leaf) nor in L. It may not be necessary to assume that $B4^r$ of MP belong to a corrected forme, since all copies agree on $B1^v$, even in error - thon (89/6). The signatures on the twelfth and thirteenth leaves seem clearly to be the result of a hasty improvisation, owing to the miscalculation of the copy-text. Caxton's regular practice for folio volumes (as is evident from the remaining signatures of the ACD) was to sign the first page of each sheet but no more.

4. PRINCIPLES OF EDITING

The editorial policy for the ACD and the AM has been generally and deliberately conservative. In particular, it is to be noted that the original punctuation has been left substantially unaltered. The reasons for this are, first, that in printed copies it is naturally not subject to the variation from copy to copy as in the manuscripts of a given work and, secondly, that it is much more likely to have the authority of the author himself behind it. The compositor may very well have been setting from Caxton's autograph manuscript, in the case of the ACD almost certainly. It is possible, too, that Caxton may have checked the proofs himself. Further, given Caxton's somewhat partial understanding of syntactic relationships (doubtless to some extent the result of translating almost isolatively from word to word) the text does not always respond to the assumptions underlying the canons of modern punctuation. Since the editorial aim has been to correct the original only to bring it into conformity with the intention of the author (in so far as this is discernible) and not to introduce to the reader an improved version, it has seemed best to let the punctuation of the original stand. Full-stops are introduced occasionally into the text without notice in places where the sense seems now self-evidently to require them, and where their absence has seemed due to the compositor and not to the author.

The original distinction between u and v is preserved, since the symbols are genuine orthographical variants, but that between i and j is not, since at this time j is still evidently only a calligraphic variant.

For the same reason no attempt is made to distinguish between two forms of upper-case I. The word-division of the original is retained, save where this is demonstrably to perpetuate compositorial error.

Part C:

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

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